

Reverend Waller understood the role of business and economic development activities, and helped to start local businesses; specifically, the A-1 Garfield Exterminating and Janitorial Service, operated by Mr. Garfield Major. He encouraged his parishioners to vote and to shop in the neighborhoods where they lived, a sound and wise economic development strategy.

In the book of Matthew, the fifth Chapter, 14th through 16th verses, we read, "Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick, and it giveth light onto all that is in the house. Let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works and glorify your father which is in heaven."

The Lawndale Community of Chicago and the Nation have seen and benefited from the good works of Reverend Dr. Amos Waller, and now may his soul rest in peace.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 4618, AGRICULTURE DISASTER AND MARKET LOSS ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1998

Mr. HASTINGS of Washington (during the special order of the gentleman from Texas, Mr. HUNTER), from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 105-743) on the resolution (H. Res. 551) providing for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 4618) to provide emergency assistance to American farmers and ranchers for crop and livestock feed losses due to disasters and to respond to loss of world markets for American agricultural commodities, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 4578, PROTECT SOCIAL SECURITY ACCOUNT, AND H.R. 4579, TAXPAYER RELIEF ACT OF 1998

Mr. HASTINGS of Washington (during the special order of the gentleman from Texas, Mr. HUNTER), from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 105-744) on the resolution (H. Res. 552) providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 4578) to amend the Social Security Act to establish the Protect Social Security Account into which the Secretary of the Treasury shall deposit budget surpluses until a reform measure is enacted to ensure the long-term solvency of the OASDI trust funds, and for consideration of the bill (H.R. 4579) to provide tax relief for individuals, families, and farming and other small businesses, to provide tax incentives for education, to extend certain expiring provisions, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 2621, RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENT AUTHORITIES ACT OF 1997

Mr. HASTINGS of Washington (during the special order of the gentleman from Texas, Mr. HUNTER), from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 105-745) on the resolution (H. Res. 553) providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 2621) to extend trade authorities procedures with respect to reciprocal trade agreements, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

NATIONAL SECURITY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentleman from California (Mr. HUNTER) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I thought it would be appropriate today to talk a little bit about national security, especially in the wake of the President's remarks. We have had some remarkable statements by the President in the last several days regarding national defense.

They are remarkable not because they display any insight that is unusual, from my perspective, but that they are the first admission by the President that our military is broke and needs fixing. When I say it is broke and it needs fixing, I mean it is dramatically underfunded.

We spent about \$100 billion more per year in the 1980s under Ronald Reagan than we are spending today, if we look at real dollars. We do not have the soviet empire to contend with, but we still have fragments of the soviet empire, including Russia, which still has nuclear weapons which are still aimed at the United States.

We have now a number of nations exploding nuclear devices, like India and Pakistan. We have Communist China racing to fill the shoes, the superpower shoes, of the Soviet Union. Also we have a number of terrorist nations, or would-be terrorist nations, around the world, including North Korea, which are now testing missiles and developing missiles much more rapidly than our intelligence service ever thought they would.

Particularly, I think, we were alarmed when we saw just a few days ago, really, the North Korean Taepo Dong-1 missile, a three-stage missile, fired over Japan in a very long flight, or what would have been a very long flight, had they let it go all the way. We realized suddenly that they were years ahead of our intelligence estimates in terms of building and deploying intercontinental ballistic missiles, ICBMs.

ICBMs have an important meaning to the United States because that means

to us as Americans, those are the missiles that reach us. Short-range missiles like the Scud missiles that Saddam Hussein used to kill some of our troops in Desert Storm of course can still threaten troops in theater.

That means that if we have American Army personnel, Marine Corps personnel, or Navy personnel around the world, those Russian-made Scud missiles, which are proliferating to a lot of outlaw states like Iran, Iraq, Libya, Syria, and others, can fire on our troop concentrations.

But ICBMs have a special meaning to Americans because those are the missiles that reach us in our cities. That means, to a serviceperson who may be serving in the Middle East, there are lots of little missiles that can reach him in his role as a uniformed serviceman for the United States, but the missiles that are being developed now by the outlaw nations can reach his parents and his family, his city, his community. That has a special meaning to us.

Along with my good friend, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. CURT WELDON) and the chairman of our committee, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. FLOYD SPENCE), I have taken to asking a lot of questions concerning our progress in missile defense to the Secretary of Defense and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs when they appear before us.

My favorite question is, if an intercontinental ballistic missile was fired today at an American city and was coming in, do we have the ability to stop it before it explodes in our community? The answer always is no.

The reason I ask that question is not because I think maybe the Secretary does not know the answer, but because if we ask the average citizen in the United States or a lot of average citizens in the United States whether or not we have a defense against missiles, most will tell us, sure we do.

I remember watching one focus group when they were explaining to the monitor, good American citizens, hard-working, why they thought we had a defense against missiles. The guy that was running the program said, how would we shoot them down? One person said, we would scramble the jets. Of course, we know, a lot of us know, that one cannot possibly catch up with an ICBM that is traveling as fast as a 30-06 bullet or faster with a jet.

Another person said, we would shoot them down with cruise missiles. We know we cannot do that, those on the committee, because cruise missiles are very slow compared to ICBMs.

Another said, I thought Ronald Reagan took care of that program. But he did not take care of the program, President Reagan, that is, because he was stopped by the people who sit in this Chamber, by the U.S. Congress. We derided his warning to us that we were entering the age of missiles and we had to have a defense against missiles; that they would be proliferating around the

world to outlaw states, and that even if the Soviet Union went away, we were living in an age of missiles, we could not get away from that, and we had better start learning how to defend against it.

□ 1900

I think it is kind of interesting, Mr. Speaker, that you are here today, the great gentleman from New Hampshire (Mr. BASS). I want to make sure you are still there, because I remember when I was going on and on in one of our meetings about the need for missile defense and I invoked the name of Billy Mitchell. I reminded my colleagues that Billy Mitchell was warning the United States in the 1920s that we had entered the age of air power, and he so enraged some of our service leaders that when he sunk some ships, some Navy ships, with bombs to show that planes could sink ships, they promptly court-martialed him for his candor.

He criticized, incidentally, the state of national defense. But he was trying to warn the United States that we were entering an age of air power, of air battles for which we were ill-prepared. We learned that. And only by our industrial base roaring back in the 1930s and 1940s to take on the Axis Powers did we finally prevail. But his warning was a righteous warning it was a right warning, it was accurate. That, of course, was the Speaker's great uncle, the great General Billy Mitchell.

Well, today we are living in the age of missiles. Yet we have given short shrift and not enough money to missile defense programs. That means that if a leader in North Korea brings his generals in and says, What if we have a tank war with the Americans? Can we beat them? His generals say, No, they have the best tanks in the world. What if we try to take on their Navy? Can we beat them? No, they have the quietest submarines in the world. We will never beat the Americans at sea. What can we do to the Americans that they cannot stop? His generals will tell that North Korean leader, as I am sure they do on a very regular occasion, They cannot stop ballistic missiles. Why not? I do not know. We were watching television, they might say, watching international television and we saw all these congressmen, I guess they are called, getting up and fighting against the missile defense. They said it was a bad thing to have war in the heavens and to stop an incoming ballistic missile. We cannot figure it out, but the Americans decided to not have any defense. They want to be totally vulnerable to a missile strike.

What is that North Korean or Libyan or Iraqi or Iranian leader going to tell his Department of Defense? He is going to tell them, Go where they are vulnerable. Build missiles. We cannot beat their tanks. We cannot beat General Schwarzkopf's Army on the ground, or what is left of it under the Clinton administration. We cannot beat the Navy, but we can throw missiles at them and they have nothing to stop it.

Mr. Speaker, we need to spend a large chunk of money. And I know there is going to be some waste and I know there is going to be some redundancy, but we better spend a large chunk of money under a national emergency framework. That means get all the regulators out of there, get the guys out of there that say we cannot test at this test range because there are certain mockingbirds that will not sleep when we are testing missiles out here. Or we cannot test here because this is a historic site.

It means that when the bean counters come in and the Pentagon says we cannot go to the system yet because we have not checked off the 30,000 boxes and the small business set-asides on that, it means we have to sweep them out of the way and go on an emergency program that is just as important, I think, to our national survival today as the Manhattan Project was at the end of World War II.

My father was a U.S. Marine who had been in the Leyte Gulf operation in the South Pacific. He was in marine artillery and he was waiting for the call for his unit to deploy and invade the Japanese mainland. He did not have to do that because we came up with the Manhattan Project that built the nuclear weapon that we were forced to use at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

That precluded what we estimated to be 1 million U.S. casualties in trying to take the Japanese mainland. One of those casualties might have been my father. So, as tough a decision as that was for Mr. Truman to make, I think it was the right one and I think most Americans agree.

Well, today we are in a race. It is almost as important as that race in World War II. This is a race not to throw offensive systems at people and kill a lot of Russians or kill a lot of Iraqis or kill a lot of Iranians. This is a defensive system that will shoot down a missile in flight so that we do not have to kill a lot of our adversaries in a retaliatory strike.

I hope, Mr. Speaker, that this Congress, under the good leadership of our Speaker, Mr. GINGRICH, and the leadership of Mr. LOTT and a lot of right-minded Republicans and Democrats who realize that now missile defense is an emergency, will come to the fore and support a very strong, robust emergency missile defense program.

We need to build on an emergency schedule a defensive system that will handle the missiles that North Korea is just now testing; that will handle the Iranian missile that was tested a short time ago; and, will handle in fact intercontinental ballistic missiles of all shapes and sizes, because we can bet they are going to be coming out us.

Mr. Speaker, let me move to another part of the national security bill that I think is important. Incidentally, this bill was shepherded forward, was passed today with a big vote and it is the result of a lot of hard work by great members on the Committee on

National Security, Republicans and Democrats, starting with our good chairman, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. FLOYD SPENCE), a very strong advocate for national defense.

I was sorry to see that it was the last time this bill was going to be shepherded through the Committee on Rules by the gentleman from New York (Mr. GERRY SOLOMON), chairman of the committee, one of the best national security Members I have ever seen.

Mr. Speaker, want to talk a little bit about this bill. I am the chairman of the Subcommittee on Military Procurement which helps to authorize our ships and our planes and our tanks and those things. This bill does provide for ships and planes and tanks and a lot of other things like trucks and radios and generators and ammunition. But I can tell my colleagues, although we provided for all those types of things, we did not provide for much in terms of quantity.

For example, we are only going to build this year 1 F-16. We are only going to build 30 F/A-18 tactical aircraft. We have money in for the Joint Strike Fighter, which I think is important. We have money in for the F-22. We are going to build some remanufactured Kiowa Warriors. We are going to build other aircraft that are on the periphery in all three of the services in terms of being support aircraft and combat support aircraft, but we are not going to build a great many of those aircraft.

We are not going to build the B-2 bomber. Remember, Mr. Speaker, we only have 21 B-2 stealth bombers. The great thing about those bombers was that one of those bombers flying into a mission area could evade and avoid enemy air detection with their radars, could avoid enemy SAMs and could knock out the same number of targets as 75 conventional aircraft. So the B-2 bomber was a great multiplier. One B-2 equals 75 conventional aircraft. But we killed that program. President Clinton killed that program last year, and we are only going to have 21 B-2 bombers. So, we built none of them in this particular bill.

We are only building enough ships, just enough to keep up to what I call the 200-ship Navy. President Ronald Reagan had an almost 600-ship Navy just a few years ago. Today, we are building toward the 200-ship Navy, a very small Navy.

In the area of ammunition, we are still billions of dollars short. We are about a billion and a half dollars short of basic Army ammunition. We are still \$300 million short of basic Marine Corps ammunition.

Mr. Speaker, let me go to some of the personnel problems. We are going to be short, now we know, over 800 pilots in the U.S. Air Force. We are going to be short also of Navy pilots. We are going to be short lots of sailors, the people that go out and make the ships actually sail and deploy and do their missions.

I am told now by members of the U.S. Navy that when our Navy ships come in we are so short in certain munitions that we have to take the munitions off the decks of some of the incoming ships and put them on the decks of outgoing ships. That means we do not have very many. If we have to expend those ammunitions in a war or conflict, we are going to be short of ammo very, very quickly.

We did something in this bill that I do not think is a good thing, but we did it at the request of the conferees. Something we could not get through the conference, although the House did, I think, the right thing. That is we did not separate men and women in basic training.

Mr. Speaker, I have seen the requirements of infantrymen. I have seen the requirements of being able to carry a buddy who may weigh 220 pounds off the field, while at the same time maybe carrying a weapon and some other things. I have seen the mixed platoons, that is men and women in infantry platoons, and I will simply say that I think we are disserving the parents of America who are counting on having an Army where the guy next to their son is able to carry him off a battlefield, along with equipment, before he is killed.

In many, many other areas, but especially areas involving physical endurance, we are shortchanging not only the young people in the service who have to rely on their buddy, but we are also shortchanging, of course, the parents who invite them and ask them to join the uniformed services.

So, Mr. Speaker, we tried to get that provision through to maintain a separation. We know that there are many, many personal problems that have emanated from the lack of what I would call good, practical, common sense oversight with respect to training and mixing of the genders in training. I do not think we have done a service to either the families of the young women or the young men whom we have thrown together in these very tight environments in basic training.

Nonetheless, it was insisted by some of the conferees that we maintain that experiment in human behavior. But I will tell my colleagues that this committee is going to be watching very closely. The gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BUYER) and the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. BARTLETT) and the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE) and a lot of other folks who are really concerned about that are going to be monitoring it, along with myself. We are going to see to it that if there is not a reversal in the numbers of incidents that are arising from that mixed training, and other problems and disciplinary problems, we are going to come back with the bill that we had this year.

Mr. Speaker, I would be happy to yield to a gentleman who is a great friend of mine, the chairman of the Subcommittee on Military Research

and Development, who knows his stuff on defense and has been a champion of ballistic missile defense, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON).

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I was listening to the gentleman's special order and had to come over and first of all praise him for not just a special order, but for the leadership role he has played on defense issues in this Congress and in past Congresses as the chairman of the Subcommittee on Military Procurement.

The gentleman has fought long and hard with his colleagues on the other side to make sure that we had the money to buy the equipment with the very limited budget to meet the needs of our troops. And as he has said time and time again, we are in the midst of a crisis right now.

In fact, I predict that this 10-year period in time, the 1990s, will go down in history as the worst period of time in terms of undermining our national security. In the next century, people are going to realize that the economic savings that were generated during this administration were all done on the backs of our men and women in the military.

While we have been cutting defense, and now we are in the fifteenth consecutive year of real defense cuts, we have a Commander in Chief who has increased our deployment rate to 26 in the past 6 years. That compares to 10 in the previous 40 years. And none of these 26 deployments were budgeted for. None of them were paid for. The \$15 billion in contingency costs to pay for those came out of the hide of the men and women who serve in the military, their readiness, their modernization, and the research technology necessary to meet the threats of the 21st century.

My friend and colleague talked about missile defense. This issue is now becoming again a major national issue. It is becoming such an issue not just because of our collective work to raise the issue, but because of what is happening.

We were told by the intelligence community that we would not see these threats emerge. Earlier this year, we saw the Iranians test, and we think deploy right now, a medium-range missile, the Shahab 3, that threatens all of Israel.

□ 1915

Last week we had members of the Israeli Knesset, the chairman of their international affairs and defense committee Uzi Landau here for a week. The Israelis feel their backs are against the wall because they do not have a highly effective system that can defeat that Shahab 3 missile. They are vulnerable, just as our 25,000 troops in that theater are vulnerable.

We saw the North Koreans test the NoDong missile, and we think it has now been deployed, which puts all of our troops in Asia at risk, which includes Japan and South Korea. And we have no highly effective system to take

out that NoDong. Then in August, we saw what none of us felt would occur because the intelligence community told us it would not happen for years and that is the North Korean test of a 3-stage rocket, a 3-stage missile that they had the audacity to fly over the territorial land and waters of Japan.

We now have evidence that has been based on intelligence community assessments that says that this Taepo Dong missile may be able to do something that we were told 3 years ago would not happen for 15 years; that is, hit the territorial lands of the United States including all of Guam and parts of Alaska and Hawaii.

This is totally and completely unacceptable to us. And as my friend and colleague knows, members of both parties in this body and the other body have been crying for a response, for systems to protect our troops or allies and our people against the threat that missile proliferation in fact has produced. But to date we have not had success.

I say it is largely because there has been a lack of commitment on the part of this administration to follow through and to set the tone and to do something that the gentleman has repeatedly asked for, and that is to muster all the resources of our country, our national labs, our agencies, as much as President John Kennedy did when he mustered America to land on the moon within 10 years.

My colleague and friend has said that we should muster all the forces that we have in this country to solve this problem and to provide protection. And for those who say that we should not worry about missile defense, that it is something in the future, I would ask them to look those families of those 29 young Americans who were killed 7 years ago in Saudi Arabia when that low complexity Scud missile landed in their barracks and wiped them out, tell those moms and dads and brothers and sisters that this threat is not here, that it is not real.

The single largest loss of life we have had in this decade of our American troops was when that Scud missile was fired into our American barracks, and we could do nothing about it because we had no system in place. What bothers me, and I think my colleague will agree with me, is that this administration talks a good game. In fact, just this week, they had a major press event. They even asked that, they are talking with the Japanese about doing a joint missile defense initiative with Japan. I happen to support that kind of a concept but what bothers me is, they are not even funding the existing systems. Yet they are putting the rhetoric out that they want to fund an entirely new initiative with the Japanese.

Mr. HUNTER. Maybe they think, I would say to my colleague, maybe the Clinton administration thinks that they can talk those missiles down with the Japanese.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. I tend to agree with my colleague, that if talk

in fact were the answer, we would have had every missile in the entire world, because of the rhetoric and the hot air that has come out of this administration on its commitment to missile defense. But the point is that as they did with the Israelis and the supporters of Israel, understand this very well, when President Clinton went before AIPAC's national convention in Washington 2 years ago, he pounded his fist on the podium and he said, we will never allow the people of Israel to be vulnerable to Russian Katushka rockets. He said to them, we will help you build the Nautilus program.

What he did not tell the friends of Israel was that for the three previous years he had tried to zero out all the funding for the theater high energy laser program, which is what Nautilus is. And what he did not tell the friends of Israel was that in that fiscal year, the administration made no funding request to fund the Nautilus program. To this date, we have not received a funding request.

As my friend knows, I had to go to AIPAC, and I had to say to them, how much money does Israel need to move this program forward? The dollar amount that we put in our defense bill 2 years ago was not requested by this administration, in spite of the President's rhetoric. It was provided by the folks at AIPAC who gave us the number to put in the bill to provide the dollar support for Israel.

Now we have a request, a situation where they are saying we are going to help Japan. What about the \$11 billion necessary to fund the Meads program which we have committed to with the Italians and Germans? What about the money necessary to fund Navy Upper Tier, Navy Area Wide? What about the funding necessary to deploy PAC 3, THAAD? What about the funding necessary to help Israel continue the Arrow program? Where is all that funding coming from when this administration has said they are going to take our current missile defense budget from \$3.6 billion to \$2.6 billion.

You cannot do it. We need to take this message to the American people. The friends of Israel are aware of this rhetoric and they are on our side. But something is happening across America. I wanted to come over and I wanted to enter into the RECORD, if my colleague in fact will allow me, to put in the changing mood of the American people.

Over the past 2 months there have been over 20 national newspapers who have put into the Record endorsements of the need for this country to very quickly deploy national and regional missile defense systems.

I would like to, at this point in time, put into the RECORD comments from those 20 some odd newspapers, from all the major cities, from the Washington Times, the Savannah Morning News, the Wall Street Journal, the Daily Oklahoman, the Kansas City Star, the Boston Herald, the Chicago Sun-Times,

the Detroit News, the Wisconsin State Journal, the New Republic, the Cincinnati Enquirer, the Florida Times Union, the Pittsburgh Post Gazette, the Las Vegas Review Journal, the San Diego Union Tribune, the Indianapolis Star, the Arizona Republic, Providence Journal, the New York Post, the same arguments that we have been making that America is now beginning to listen to.

It is time this administration stopped the rhetoric and started putting the muscle where it is needed, and that is to deploy very quickly the most highly effective theater and national missile defense systems that our money can buy.

Mr. Speaker, I include for the RECORD the editorial comments to which I referred:

AMERICA'S EDITORIAL BOARDS SUPPORT
NATIONAL MISSILE DEFENSE

The irony in all of this is that Israel could have a missile defense years before similar protection is afforded Americans . . . Good for the Israelis that they have a government determined to protect from a real and growing danger from abroad. But could someone please explain why Americans do not deserve as much?

"TO HIT A BULLET WITH AN ARROW," THE
WASHINGTON TIMES, SEPTEMBER 23, 1998

Unfortunately, it seems some lawmakers would prefer to put their faith—America's safety—in arms-control agreements. They trust Baghdad and Pyongyang to keep their words more than they trust the ability of American scientists to devise a last-resort shield against hostile attacks.

"INVITATION TO MISSILES," SAVANNAH
MORNING NEWS, SEPTEMBER 12, 1998

So it's good to see Japanese officials wiping the mud from their eyes to say that while the object that whizzed over Japan was probably a missile, launching a satellite with similar sophisticated rocketry would have sent the same wake-up call: that no country is safe today from the very real threat of attack by missiles carrying weapons of mass destruction.

"THE MISSILE PLOT THICKENS," THE WALL
STREET JOURNAL, SEPTEMBER 10, 1998

Bold action is needed to counter Clinton's idle approach to defending the U.S. against a grave and growing threat.

"VULNERABLE AND AT RISK," THE DAILY
OKLAHOMAN, SEPTEMBER 8, 1998

Defenses against missiles for threatened American allies and our troops and installations overseas—and soon perhaps the nation itself—is the most important national security problem today. Everything that Congress can do to prod a head-in-the-sand administration must do so.

"MISSILE DEFENSES NEEDED EVEN MORE,"
BOSTON HERALD, SEPTEMBER 6, 1998

In fact, changing the policy goal from research to deployment—as soon as possible—will change the fundamental dynamics of the research. The threat is closing in faster than the response, and that's what must change.

"MISSILE THREAT CLOSING IN FAST," KANSAS
CITY STAR, SEPTEMBER 5, 1998

Lawmakers should get the process rolling toward development of this very necessary defensive system. We certainly hope no bin laden type ever gets his hands on a ballistic missile, but it would be grievously wrong to relay on hope alone.

"IN DEFENSE OF DEFENSE," CHICAGO SUN-
TIMES, SEPTEMBER 3, 1998

But the alternative is to leave America without any defense against enemy missile attack. In view of the Constitution's requirement that the government "provide for the common defense," that wouldn't seem to be an option.

"NORTH KOREA'S WAKE UP CALL," DETROIT
NEWS, SEPTEMBER 2, 1998

In these days of suicidal attackers, holding American hostages to attack is even less defensible than before. Holding them hostage is, in fact, an invitation to attack.

"NO DEFENSE ALLOWED," WASHINGTON TIMES,
SEPTEMBER 2, 1998

The North Korean missile launch shows how quickly the world can grow more dangerous. The United States can't protect itself or its friends from threats posed by rogues like North Korea or international terrorists. How many wake-up calls will America's leaders get?

"MISSILE DEFENSE NEEDED," DAILY
OKLAHOMAN, SEPTEMBER 1, 1998

America, meanwhile, is defenseless against missile attack—whether launched by Iraq, North Korea or another rogue state, or an independent operator like bin Laden. Either way the threat is real.

"MISSILE MADNESS," DAILY OKLAHOMAN,
AUGUST 31, 1998

If the United States waits until a terrorist state has blackmail capability, it's too late. Congress should update the nation's intelligence system and protect its shore from unexpected attack. The United States won't win "the war of the future" by relying on weapons and strategies of the past.

"OLD STRATEGY WON'T WIN NEW WAR,"
WISCONSIN STATE JOURNAL, AUGUST 27, 1998

Mr. Clinton's Administration has repeatedly recommended cuts in missile defense programs both in forward theaters and here at home. One way to clearly signal terrorists of America's new resolve would be to reverse this policy and restore missile defense funding to the level that existed before Mr. Clinton took office.

"A NEW TERRORISM POLICY?" DETROIT NEWS,
AUGUST 25, 1998

As for the religion of deterrence: Who would like to bet the peace of the world and the lives of hundreds of thousands of people on the rationality of Saddam Hussein and Kim Jong II? So far their behavior has not seemed overly influenced by the theories of Thomas Schelling. The point is not that deterrence will not work. The point is that deterrence may not work, and there are now many more places, and inflamed places, where it may fail. . . . So, then, are there land-based systems that belong in the security posture of the United States, as one of its many elements of defense and deterrence? In a madly proliferating world, the question must be asked.

"SHIELDS UP," THE NEW REPUBLIC, AUGUST 17
AND 24, 1998

It surely hasn't escaped the notice of this country's enemies that the U.S. has absolutely no defense against ballistic missile attack. The fact that the U.S. cannot shoot down a missile heading for an American city is a powerful and dangerous incentive for the bin Ladens of the world to acquire one.

"THE NEXT TERRORISM," THE WALL STREET
JOURNAL, AUGUST 21, 1998

We may always have terrorists gunning for us. Congress needs to move ahead with a strategic missile defense and hardening U.S. defenses against biochemical weapons of mass destruction.

"EMBASSY BOMBINGS," THE CINCINNATI ENQUIRER, AUGUST 13, 1998

Does anybody doubt that the terrorists in Tanzania and Kenya would have bombed a U.S. city, rather than obscure embassies, if they had the weaponry? In time, they may get the weapons. Americans need protection.

"REVIVE STAR WARS," THE FLORIDA TIMES-UNION, AUGUST 13, 1998

Missile technology is spreading more rapidly than predicted while the United States still has no missile defense whatever . . . The Iranian missile launch is another sobering warning: It's time to move faster on missile defense.

"DON'T WAIT ON DEFENSE SYSTEM UNTIL IT'S TOO LATE," KANSAS CITY STAR, AUGUST 9, 1998

The fact that the United States has absolutely no defenses against ballistic missile attack is an unacceptably large negative incentive to this country's enemies. The way to deter them is not by signing more archaic arms-control agreements but by researching and deploying a national missile defense system as quickly as possible after the next president takes office.

"EARLY WARNING," THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, JULY 29, 1998

To be sure, a workable missile defense is better than nothing; it is one more protection, even if it is not total. And in developing such a system, scientists stand to make important technological breakthroughs with spin-offs in other fields.

"A NEW ARGUMENT FOR MISSILE DEFENSE DESERVES SERIOUS STUDY," PITTSBURGH POST-GAZETTE, JULY 29, 1998

The Iranian missile test has energized calls from the congressional leadership for immediate attention to building and deploying an anti-missile defense system to protect the United States from incoming warheads . . . President Clinton should heed the calls to develop an ABM system.

"MISSILE THREAT LOOMS," LAS VEGAS REVIEW-JOURNAL, JULY 28, 1998

Recent events are challenging the Clinton Administration's relaxed assumptions about the need for a defense against ballistic missiles. And none too soon we think.

"MISSILE DEFENSES DESERVE URGENT PRIORITY," SAN DIEGO UNION-TRIBUNE, JULY 27, 1998

It's easier for some to worry about global warming that may or may not be resulting from human activity than it is to recognize the real threat of a missile crisis that could be prevented with a defense system along the lines Ronald Reagan urged on the nation so many years ago.

"REAGAN WAS RIGHT," DAILY OKLAHOMAN, JULY 23, 1998

There are indications that the administration will dismiss the Rumsfeld report as politically motivated and continue with its go slow approach. Clinton's 1999 budget request calls for just under \$1 billion for national missile defense . . . But Americans should take this report [from the Rumsfeld Commission] seriously and demand action from Congress.

"A VERY REAL THREAT," THE INDIANAPOLIS STAR, JULY 23, 1998

The Clinton Administration has used the three-year-old [NIE] assessment by the CIA as an excuse to take its time developing a national missile defense. The new [Rumsfeld] report issued last week indicates that policy is foolhardy. Ronald Reagan was right about the need for this sort of pro-active defense, so that never again would America have to rely on nuclear attack weapons to deter a possible foe.

"FORCING THE ISSUE," THE DAILY OKLAHOMAN, JULY 22, 1998

The Clinton Administration has for too long thwarted research and development and delayed deployments of effective defenses against missile attack. The message of the Rumsfeld commission is that there will be consequences to pay continuing the status quo. Dangerous consequences for all of us.

"UNPROTECTED AMERICANS, TIME FOR A CHANGE," THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC, JULY 20, 1998

The Rumsfeld panel's report is the latest sign that the United States will have to engage in more serious research, and make heavier investments, in anti-missile defenses that can help protect the public against menacing threats—and possibly even outright attacks—by rogue nations headed by irrational leaders.

"WE STILL NEED A SHIELD," PROVIDENCE (RHODE ISLAND) JOURNAL, JULY 20, 1998

Enough is enough. We have in the Rumsfeld Commission report evidence aplenty that we are facing a serious national security threat. To continue to leave Americans vulnerable is unconscionable.

"EVERY ROGUE HIS MISSILE," THE WASHINGTON TIMES, JULY 20, 1998

The commission's report should revive debate over development of an anti-ballistic missile system. Perhaps some of the money that Congress now spends on pork-barrel projects the Pentagon neither wants nor requests could be used to enhance the nation's defense against the newest, and most unpredictable, members of the world's nuclear club.

"RENEW ANTI-MISSILE DEBATE," WISCONSIN STATE JOURNAL, JULY 20, 1998

The emerging threat from countries like Iran, Iraq, and North Korea makes it irresponsible for America not to do whatever it can as soon as it can to develop a shield against these terrifying weapons.

"THE FINAL FRONTIER," NEW YORK POST, JULY 19, 1998

In this new age of emerging, virulently hostile nuclear powers, the United States must expeditiously negotiate with Russia an end to the ABM Treaty and deploy an anti-missile defense system.

"NAKED AMERICA," LAS VEGAS REVIEW JOURNAL, JULY 17, 1998

Until this odd Administration, we thought a President's first duty was to the common defense. At least Congress is a co-equal branch of government. And armed with the substance of this [Rumsfeld] report, it has a stronger political case for the more urgent development of missile defenses.

"ZERO WARNING," WALL STREET JOURNAL, JULY 16, 1998

North Korea soon will have a missile that can reach Alaska and Hawaii; does anyone think this mad regime will show the military prudence of the Soviet Union? Saddam Hussein would have fired nuclear weapons at the anti-Iraq coalition if he had had them and some of his Scud missiles did get through; does anyone think the world has seen the last of Saddam's ilk? . . . Republicans must lead the nation to act against real danger and abandon the foolish consolation of treaties with nonexistent adversaries.

"IT'S TIME FOR MISSILE DEFENSE," THE BOSTON HERALD, JULY 12, 1998.

Mr. HUNTER. I thank my friend for his excellent comments and for his leadership. I remind him that a couple of years ago, I think it was 1987, when the Israelis were building the Lavi fighter or embarking on the Lavi fighter program, which was kind of a mid-

range fighter aircraft that they thought they needed, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) and I and several other members on the Committee on National Security sent a letter to the Israeli leadership saying, if you had an attack by aircraft from a neighboring Arab country, and I think then we were thinking of Syria, you would shoot them all down before they got to Tel Aviv. But if you were attacked by ballistic missiles, Russian-made ballistic missiles coming from a neighboring Arab country, you would not be able to stop a single one. That is the essence of our letter.

We urged them to begin the Arrow missile program, the Arrow missile defense program. As a result of that, partly as a result of our letter and the result, I think, of a lot of other factors and also the importance, the realization by the Israeli leadership that they were in the missile age, they realized that even if we do not and they would have to defend against these missiles sooner or later, they began that program, the Arrow missile defense program. And it is going very well. They have had a number of successes. I have often thought that here we have a very small country, and it seems that they have been able to do more with a handful of scientists and a couple of pickup trucks than we have been able to do with this big defense apparatus, big Department of Energy apparatus and this huge bureaucracy. And maybe it is because we have a huge bureaucracy, but I think more important than that, it is because we have an administration in the White House that does not really want to do it.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. The gentleman raises a very interesting point. In fact, two hours ago I met with the senior leaders of the Israeli company building the Arrow program in my office as well as Israeli officials. They have had the success the gentleman refers to. In fact, this past week they had another success with the Arrow program. But it gets down to a basic philosophical debate in this city where the liberals want to tell us that arms control agreements and arms control regimes will provide the security protection we need.

And many on our side, like myself and my colleague are saying, you need systems because you cannot always trust those other signatories to the arms control regimes. But this administration has failed in three different ways.

First of all, they have not committed themselves to force the deployment of missile defense systems, partly because they want arms control agreements. This administration has the worst record in enforcement of arms control agreements in this century. Two months ago I did a floor speech where I documented 37 instances of arms control violations by Russia and China, where Russia and China sent technology to India, to Pakistan, to Iraq, to Iran, to Syria, Libya and North

Korea. In those 37 instances, the administration imposed sanctions three times and then waived the sanctions in each of those cases. So it should be no surprise to us when India and Pakistan saber rattled each other. We saw China sending 11 missiles to Pakistan. We saw the ring magnets going to Pakistan for their nuclear program. We saw the Russians sending technology to India.

Why should we then be surprised when these two countries are going at each other? We did nothing to stop that proliferation because this administration did not enforce the very arms control agreements that they maintain are the cornerstone of their security arrangements worldwide.

So not only have they not funded missile defense, they have not even enforced the arms control agreements that they maintain are the basis of stability in the world, and they have created the false impression through their rhetoric that they really are concerned about having systems in place to provide protection.

For all of those reasons, I think we are more vulnerable today, our allies are more vulnerable today than at any point in time in my lifetime.

Mr. HUNTER. The gentleman makes an important point. I know he is on the select committee, the special committee that is looking at this administration's transfer of technology to Communist China with respect to satellite technology and missile technology. I saw what I thought was a great cartoon the other day. Some cartoons really hit close to home. It had a truth to it.

The first question in the cartoon was, which country's missile technology has the Clinton administration most improved? And the second part of the cartoon was, Communist China's.

And the gentleman, I would ask him to make any comments that he can make at this time because I know he is on the special committee, but basically this administration allowed the top engineers and scientists in this country, people who can go out and examine a missile and tell what is wrong with it, they allowed them to interchange and meet with and send papers to the Communist Chinese rocket scientists who were having real trouble making the Long March missile work.

The Long March missile is a missile that the Chinese Communists use for two things. One is they put up satellites with them. Some of our satellite companies in the United States hire them to shoot our satellites up on their missiles. But the other use of the Long March is they have nuclear warheads on some of them aimed at cities in the United States.

It is not in our interest for the Long March missile to work. Especially if it is launched at Los Angeles. However, our engineers, under the permissions or the negligence of the Clinton administration, were allowed to engage for months at the request of the Chinese Communists, after they had some fail-

ures with the Long March missile launching a satellite, to engage with them and show them what they were doing wrong and after that series of interchanges, their most important type of Long March missile, as I understand it, has not had a failure.

That means we helped them fix whatever was wrong. That reminds me about the joke about the three guys who were caught by Khomeini and they were going to be guillotined, and the first one got under the guillotine and Khomeini ordered pull and the guillotine came halfway down and stuck. Khomeini said, that must be a message from Allah, let this man go. The second guy gets under there and he says, pull, and they pull it, sticks halfway down. Another message. Let him go. The third guy gets under and says, I think I see your problem. That is kind of what we did with the Chinese and the Long March missile.

□ 1930

Here we are, the target of those missiles carrying nuclear warheads, and our engineers are over there in China showing them what is making the missiles crash after they have only gone a few miles. We want those missiles to crash.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. If the gentleman will continue to yield, obviously, I am not authorized to divulge information from the select committee's investigation, but I can relate one piece of information that is in the public domain that I think points up exactly what the gentleman is referring to very clearly.

Before 1996, China had no high-speed supercomputers. None. The only two countries that manufacture high-speed supercomputers are the U.S. and Japan. Japan's export policy has been very rigid and very tight. Up until 1996, so was ours. In 1996, things began to change. Export waivers began to be issued. Presidential waivers began to be issued. For whatever reason. The bottom line. Today, there is public information, on the record, that China has over 100 high-speed supercomputers, all of which were obtained from the U.S., which gives China, listen to this fact, more high-speed supercomputing capability than our entire Department of Defense, within 2 years. That is on the record, in public documents provided by this administration, in terms of what capability China has.

Now, I am not against engaging China. In fact, I led two delegations there last year. I am for an engagement that is based on candor and strength, much like the engagement I think we should have with Russia. But facts are facts. They do not need over 100 high-speed supercomputers to do computational research. They need that kind of supercomputer research to design nuclear bombs, nuclear weapons, and to be able to do testing of nuclear systems, like we are doing with our ASCII Blue project.

The 100 supercomputers that China has, I would maintain many of them

are being used in developing new generations of weapons that China is, in fact, today working on. Prior to 1996, they had none. From 1996 until today they have in excess of 100. Again, more than the entire supercomputing capability of our Defense Department. If that is not an outrage, I do not know what is.

And I thank my colleague for yielding.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague and thank him for his contribution here today. I think he is one of the great experts in defense in our House and he has done a great job as the R&D subcommittee chairman.

Mr. Speaker, how much time do we have left?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BASS). The gentleman from California (Mr. HUNTER) has 24 minutes remaining.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, one other thing I wanted to comment about today, because it is coming up on the House floor, is so-called fast track, and I just want to tell my colleagues why I do not think this President, this administration, should be entrusted with fast track.

Fast track is power. It is a power that we give American presidents, we as Congress, who are vested under the Constitution, or chartered under the Constitution with the obligation of making trade agreements. We give up some of that trade agreement power, power to negotiate the agreement, to the executive branch; to the President. And so the President, instead of all the Congressmen making the deals and the committees being involved in all the details, the executive branch goes out and makes the deals, like NAFTA, and then they bring them back to the House of Representatives and to the Senate and we vote on them.

Now, I would say, first, a couple of things. First, I think that the negotiating team that the President has, that he has utilized for trade deals, has not been a very competent team. And I am thinking of the port entrance treaty that we made, or agreement that we made with Japan where we were going to be able to get some liberalization from Japan for other people coming in and unloading in ports around Japan. In that deal we were totally finessed.

I think of NAFTA, primarily negotiated by another administration but, nonetheless, by a bureaucracy that started with a \$3 billion trade surplus in favor of the U.S. and today is in a \$15 billion trade loss.

Now, the great thing about being a free trader, and I like free traders, I have a great sense of humor about them, but the great thing about being a free trader is they never have to say they are sorry. If we have a trade surplus with a nation, they say that is great; and if their deal makes a trade loss with a nation, a loss for America, they say that is great, too. Today we have a \$15 billion trade loss with Mexico. We went from a surplus of \$3 billion to a \$15 billion loss.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. As the gentleman knows, as a Republican and a colleague, I supported the same position he did on NAFTA, which is opposition to NAFTA, because I felt that this administration would not impose the requirements on Mexico in terms of improving wage rates and labor conditions and tougher environmental laws. So in not doing that, our companies would, in fact, fly south to Mexico, which they have done.

But the interesting point that I want to tie in here is organized labor has been so quick to criticize Republicans on issues like NAFTA when, in fact, it was this administration who shoved NAFTA down our throats in the Congress.

And I want to raise one more point.

Mr. HUNTER. President Clinton pushed NAFTA.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Absolutely.

Mr. HUNTER. He rammed it through.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. As he is doing with fast track this week.

I want to raise one more additional point before I leave and let my colleague finish his time. Unlike most of my Republican friends, I get strong support from organized labor, and I am proud of that. I come from a working class family and understand the needs of working class people. My friend, I think, probably has many similar votes. I do not know if he has the support I do, but I get a lot of support from labor.

I had a group of steelworkers in today asking me about what I was going to do on fast track. I asked them this question: Where has the AFL-CIO been on the one million union jobs that have been lost in this country because of this administration's cuts in defense and aerospace?

Now, we have heard Members get up and rale about the loss of decent paying wages and how critical that is. One million U.S. union jobs were lost in the past 6 years from cutbacks in defense and aerospace budgets. The AFL-CIO did not issue a peep. Union workers, steelworkers who were building the ships at Bath Iron Works, UAW workers who were building the C-17, people who were building the F/A-18-Cs and Ds, all of these cutbacks that have occurred across the country were with union plants. IBEW workers, UAW workers, steelworkers, Teamsters. Where was the AFL-CIO? Where was that on the rating card of rating Members of Congress on their votes? Why was no member of either party rated for not voting to provide the funding support to keep those union jobs in place?

And to all those union brothers and sisters out there who are today working at labor positions making one-half or one-third or one-fourth of what they used to make, I ask them, what did their union dues go for? Their union dues did not go to fight for those jobs they now do not have. One million of them are out of work today because

the only area we have cut in the Federal budget for the past 6 years has been the defense budget. The only area.

Sure, we can talk about decreasing the level of increase, and we call that a cut. And we all know that is not what we are talking about with defense. Defense is the only area of the budget that has sustained real cuts above the rate of inflation to gut the program itself. And that has resulted in one million American men and women who carry the union card who have lost their jobs.

When we cut the MilCon budget, the gentleman knows the requirements of the Federal Government, even though many on our side oppose it: Davis-Bacon. So who benefits or who loses when we cut the MilCon defense budget? All of those building trades: the steamfitters, the pipefitters, the brick layers. They are the ones who lose because we have cut back on MilCon construction projects, all of which must be done according to Davis-Bacon prevailing wage rates.

Where has the AFL-CIO been? It has been like this: With its fingers in its ears, its hands over its eyes, and its hands over its mouth. It has not spoken one word on behalf of the union members who are today out of work because of those cuts.

Mr. HUNTER. My friend makes a great point, and there is one other thing that we have done for every union worker and every nonunion worker in this country, and it was done by Presidents Reagan and Bush, and that is that we built a military that was strong enough.

Besides providing those millions of jobs, one million of which have been cut by the Clinton administration, but besides providing those jobs, we fielded a force, a military force, which, since 1991, has been cut roughly in half, but which was so strong in 1990 and 1991, that when we took on Saddam Hussein in the sands of the Middle East, even though we sent over, in my understanding, 40,000 body bags, that is where they put the bodies of the dead Americans after they have been killed in battle, we sent over 40,000 empty body bags, only a very few Americans came back in those bags because we were so strong that we won overwhelmingly without many casualties. If we had to fight that war today, having cut the Army from 18 to 10 divisions, our air power from 24 air wings to only 13, and our navy ships from 546 ships to about 333 ships, we could not win overwhelmingly. We would lose more Americans.

The gentleman knows how great it is when we go to a union picnic and we see, like during Desert Storm, all those bumper stickers saying, "I support our men in Desert Storm", "I support our troops," "I support our soldiers." The best service we can do for working men and women is to see to it that they come home, when they are of service age; that they come home alive, with all their faculties. And if they are re-

tired and they have a couple of kids out there, to see to it that their kids come home alive, with all their faculties. That is why we need a strong defense. I thank my friend for bringing that point up.

Mr. Speaker, let me just close on this pending fast track, and why I think it is a bad idea. I think we have established that trade deals are business deals. And if we look at the trade lobbyists and some of the proceedings that are now being investigated with respect to this administration, I do not think we can give them a clean bill of health and say that they were not unduly influenced by some bad elements. I think that is putting it charitably.

Secondly, I think they just are not smart enough or good enough to make good deals. After 4 years of making deals with China, we have now a trade deficit with Communist China that is over \$40 billion a year. So we have lost in trade with China. The merchandise trading lost this year was a loss to the United States, according to our own statistics from the Clinton administration, of over \$240 billion.

So the first rule is, if we have a guy who is a businessman who always loses money, we do not trust him with all our money. That is pretty simple. That is a very basic thing. We have, unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, folks in the Clinton administration who are losers, proven losers with respect to making trade deals, and we should not entrust all of this power to them. So not this President and not this time.

Mr. Speaker, I will be back with the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) and other members of the Committee on National Security to talk a little bit more about the need to rebuild national defense over the next several weeks.

SOCIAL SECURITY AND THE REPUBLICAN TAX PROPOSALS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, tonight I have a number of my colleagues, Democratic colleagues, who would join me this evening to talk about the issue of Social Security in the context of the tax proposals that the Republicans plan to bring to the House floor tomorrow as well as Saturday of this week.

Mr. Speaker, the Republicans, in my opinion, are moving full steam ahead with this plan to raid the budget surplus to pay for tax cuts instead of putting that money where it rightly belongs, and that is into Social Security. Make no mistake about it, Mr. Speaker, the Republican tax bill is a direct assault on Social Security. The budget surplus that the Republicans want to use to pay for their tax cuts that they are going to be putting before this House tomorrow or Saturday do not