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# House of Representatives

The House met at noon.

Father Martin G. Heinz, Director of Vocations, Diocese of Rockford, Rockford, Illinois, offered the following prayer:

Almighty Father, Creator of all things, we admire the work of Your hands and Your power in the world. We beg Your blessings as we raise our minds and hearts to You at the beginning of this congressional day. We ask Your guidance on all that we shall do and say over the resolutions passed and the conversations that bring us to our decisions. In all this, may we give honor and glory to You. You who protect our land, You who protect our people. Through this country's laws may its citizens grow in character and develop with dignity. May we grow in fidelity to Your wisdom so that this country may grow in the knowledge of Your love. Inspire our work in such a way that we never lose sight of our ultimate goal, the people of this country, strengthened through You, because of the laws we pass. We ask this through Christ our Lord. Amen.

## THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

## PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. LANTOS led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

## MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Lundregan, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed with an amendment in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 99. An act to amend title 49, United States Code, to extend Federal Aviation Administration programs through September 30, 1999, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 257. An act entitled ''The Cochran-Inouye National Missile Defense Act of 1999''.

S. 643. An act to authorize the Airport Improvement Program for 2 months, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that pursuant to Public Law 83–420, as amended by Public Law 99–371, the Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, reappoints the Senator from Arizona (Mr. MCCAIN) to the Board of Trustees of Gallaudet University.

## ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

The SPEAKER. The Chair will entertain five 1-minutes on each side.

## TRIBUTE TO RICHARD CARDWELL

(Mr. GANSKE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GANSKE. Mr. Speaker, Richard Cardwell from Des Moines, Iowa, is a hero. Richard, a retired plumber, is a wiry, muscular man from a lifetime of tugging on stubborn pipes. In his work he has been bitten many times by animals but he did not hesitate when he saw a dog mauling a man on the ground.

There was blood everywhere when Richard jumped out of his car. The man on the ground was protecting his neck from the vicious jaws of the dog and was losing a lot of blood from bites on his arms and head. Richard grabbed a stick and started hitting the Rottweiler.

Afterwards, Robert Jones, the victim of the dog's attack, said this about his scary experience: ''That dog was just putting the finishing touches on me when Richard Cardwell came along. If it hadn't been for him, I'd have been a goner.''

Richard is a brave guy. He risked his own life for another's. That huge dog could have gone for his throat. And while saving a life may be the first for Richard, it is not the first time he has come to the rescue. In fact, he once made a house call on a Christmas day to save my frozen house.

Mr. Speaker, we need more good neighbors like Richard Cardwell.

## INTRODUCTION OF RESOLUTION TO LOCATE AND SECURE RETURN OF ZACHARY BAUMEL

(Mr. LANTOS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, events are moving so fast that there is always a danger we will forget about our citizens who are missing in action. There is one such American citizen missing in action in the Middle East for the last 17 years.

A large group of my colleagues across the political spectrum join me in introducing this resolution calling on the Department of State to locate and secure the return of this American citizen, Zachary Baumel. We are asking the State Department to contact all governments concerned, and we are asking the Department of State to take into account the actions of all governments with respect to this issue in extending economic and other aids to countries in the region.

I ask all of my colleagues to cosponsor this legislation to bring this lost



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American, missing in action, back to his family.

## VOTE ''YES'' ON H.R. 4

(Mr. GIBBONS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, three out of four Americans, 75 percent, believe the United States already possesses the ability to defend itself from a missile attack. I think it is only fair to inform them that we cannot. Here in America we may have little or no warning of a ballistic missile attack that is launched just offshore by some terrorist or rogue nation.

Speaking of rogue nations, North Korea, Iraq and Iran have all improved and accelerated their ballistic missile programs to threaten the U.S. and its allies. China already has numerous long-range missiles aimed at U.S. cities, all using stolen U.S. technology.

There is no doubt that the threat is real. What is in doubt is whether Congress has the commitment to deploy a national missile defense system to engage and counter this threat.

Our path is clear, we must be committed and we must do our duty to defend America. I urge my colleagues to support this effort. Vote ''yes'' on H.R. 4, and let us provide the safety for our Nation, for our communities, for our homes, for our families and giving America the capability to defend ourselves from a ballistic missile attack.

## MILOSEVIC SHOULD BE ARRESTED, NOT NEGOTIATED WITH

(Mr. TRAFICANT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Speaker, the killing in Kosovo goes on. Ethnic Albanians continue to be slaughtered in cold blood. Despite all of this, Congress continues to believe that a deal can be made with this madman Milosevic.

Beam me up, Mr. Speaker. Uncle Sam should not be leading efforts to negotiate with Milosevic. Uncle Sam should be leading efforts to arrest Milosevic for genocide and for war crimes.

Let me tell this to my colleagues. A CIA report said 10 years ago that if Kosovo is not granted independence, there will be death all over, including America someday. Uncle Sam should support independence for Kosovo and NATO should enforce it.

I yield back all the deals Milosevic has broken, and I yield back all those dead bodies that continue to be piled up, executed in cold blood.

## U.S. ARMED FORCES CONTINUALLY ASKED TO DO MORE WITH LESS

(Mr. RYUN of Kansas asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RYUN of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I would like to offer an example of the United States Armed Forces continually being asked to do more with less.

Within the district I represent, the Second District of the great State of Kansas, resides the 190th Air Refueling Wing of the Kansas Air National Guard. This wing is responsible for a variety of support operations around the world. In the past year, under the stress of continued deployment, the wing has sent personnel and aircraft to Iceland, to Germany, to France, to Turkey, and to Alaska as well.

However, Mr. Speaker, the newest KC–135 aircraft used by the 190th was built in 1963. 1963. The oldest aircraft was built in 1956. The President's budget forces the wing to use that aircraft until 2040. That would make the existing aircraft nearly 80 years old.

Mr. Speaker, would my colleagues be comfortable flying into a military confrontation in an 80-year-old aircraft? I doubt that we would. So we must not ask our young pilots to go into combat in an aircraft that would be considered antique in any other area.

We must increase defense spending to give our military personnel the equipment they need to remain the world's premier military force.

## U.S. VULNERABLE TO BALLISTIC MISSILE ATTACK

(Mr. SCHAFFER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SCHAFFER. Mr. Speaker, there is a common saying in conservative circles about how people tend to start out in life as a liberal, and end up conservative having lived for a while. It is called being mugged by reality.

Well, it appears America has finally been mugged by reality on the issue of missile defense. Just last summer the Clinton administration insisted over and over again that a national missile defense system was not needed. We were assured that rogue nations were many years away from developing a ballistic missile threat that could reach our shores. Woops!

In a stunning turnaround, the White House has suddenly adopted the Republican view that the United States is indeed vulnerable to ballistic missile attack. Rogue nations such as Iran, Iraq, North Korea, and Communist China have missile capabilities which far exceed the administration's earlier estimates.

Upon pulling its head up out of the sand, the administration has now been mugged by reality. The only question now remains, did it happen soon enough?

## DANGERS OF GHB

(Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise again this morning to really encourage the House to move quickly to pass legislation to make illegal GHB. I have a bill, the Hillory J. Farias Date Rape Drug Prevention Act, H.R. 75, that I urge my colleagues to support.

But I rise this morning to tell my colleagues the story of a young man by the name of Steve Brown from Illinois who overdosed on this dangerous drug back in September of 1998. He almost lost his life because the police, the paramedics, nor the emergency room doctors were aware of the harmful effects of GHB.

Mr. Brown was a body builder who had used GHB as a recreational drug for years. Unfortunately, on that day in September, he took a dosage of the drug that proved to be almost fatal. He was found by his sister, Diane Brown, unconscious and unresponsive. When she called the paramedics she told them about his history with GHB, because they had no knowledge of what he had ingested.

She also had to inform the emergency room doctors of the drug.

Steve was unconscious for five hours. While in this state, his sister called her parents to tell them that they needed to travel to Illinois. His mother, unsure of what condition her son would be in when she arrived later said, ''I had to pack a dress for my only son's funeral.'' Thank goodness her son survived this ordeal.

This near-tragedy should be a lesson to all of us about the dangers of GHB. Unless it is scheduled under the Controlled Substances Act soon, we may hear about more stories of young people who died unnecessarily because we did not act.

I would like to thank Ms. Diane Brown for calling my office to share her story. I know that this experience has been painful for her family, but I am grateful that she felt compelled to speak out against GHB. I wish her family the best as they try to work through this situation.

I ask my colleagues to support my bill so that we can assure Ms. Brown and her family that we do not want this drug to hurt another person. I want to send a message to those who would argue that this drug is safe, that it is not and that it can be deadly.

Mr. Speaker, this drug is being manufactured by the bathtub loads. It is on the internet. We must hold hearings. And I am delighted with the interest of my colleagues on the Committee on Commerce and the Committee on the Judiciary to work together to stop the killing and the overdose of this dangerous unknown drug that has no taste and no smell that our young people are using. Mr. Speaker, let us get to work.

## OPPOSITION TO DEPLOYMENT OF MISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEM HAS BEEN A MISTAKE

(Mr. HILL of Montana asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HILL of Montana. Mr. Speaker, it is increasingly obvious that those who have obstructed the deployment of a missile defense system have seriously miscalculated the risks to our Nation.

Hostile, often referred to as rogue, nations now possess the technology to threaten our neighborhoods and our cities and our towns with advanced weapons and advanced delivery systems.

Yesterday, we saw a shift. Senate Democrats, who had previously obstructed a missile defense system, have now finally seen the light and have come to their senses recognizing that risk. I welcome their belated support, I only pray that it is not too late.

Our first and foremost duty to our constituents is a strong national defense. Let us hope that those in this House who have obstructed a national defense system will join their Senate colleagues and come to their senses too, recognizing that we must fulfill our constitutional duty to defend the Nation.

## SUNDRY MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. Sherman Williams, one of his secretaries.

## ANNOUNCEMENT REGARDING AMENDMENT PROCESS FOR BUDGET RESOLUTION FOR FISCAL YEAR 2000

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Rules is planning to meet the week of March 22 to grant a rule which will limit the amendment process for floor consideration of the budget resolution for fiscal year 2000. The Committee on the Budget ordered the budget resolution reported last night and is expected to file its committee report sometime over the next few days.

Any Member wishing to offer an amendment should submit 55 copies and a brief explanation of the amendment to the Committee on Rules in room H–312 of the Capitol by 4 p.m. on Tuesday, March 23.

As it has done in recent years, the Committee on Rules strongly suggests that Members wishing to offer amendments offer complete substitute amendments.

Members should also use the Office of Legislative Counsel and the Congressional Budget Office to ensure that their amendments are properly drafted and scored, and should check with the Office of the Parliamentarian to be certain their amendments comply with the rules of the House.

□ 1215

## DECLARATION OF POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES CONCERNING NATIONAL MISSILE DEFENSE DEPLOYMENT

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 120 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 120

*Resolved,* That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider in the House the bill (H.R. 4) to declare it to be the policy of the United States to deploy a national missile defense. The bill shall be considered as read for amendment. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill to final passage without intervening motion except: (1) two hours of debate equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Armed Services; and (2) one motion to recommit.

SEC. 2. Upon receipt of a message from the Senate transmitting H.R. 4 with Senate amendments thereto, it shall be in order to consider in the House a motion offered by the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services or his designee that the House disagree to the Senate amendments and request or agree to a conference with the Senate thereon.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HANSEN). The gentleman from New York (Mr. REYNOLDS) is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MOAKLEY) pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

Yesterday, the Committee on Rules met and granted a closed rule for H.R. 4, the National Missile Defense bill. The rule provides for 2 hours of debate equally divided and controlled by the chairman and the ranking minority member of the Committee on Armed Services.

The rule provides for one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

Finally, the rule provides that it will be in order, upon receipt of a message from the Senate transmitting H.R. 4, with Senate amendments, to consider in the House a motion offered by the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services or his designee that the House disagree to the Senate amendments and request or agree to a conference with the Senate.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 4 is a simple, one-sentence bill declaring that it is the policy of the United States to deploy a national missile defense. During remarks at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in my home State of New York, President Ronald Reagan said that ''a truly successful army is one that, because of its strength and ability and dedication, will not be called upon to fight, for no one will dare provoke it.''

Indeed, President Reagan's policy of peace through strength was the beginning of the end of the Cold War and established the United States as the world's only remaining superpower.

But the end of the Cold War did not bring about the end of a lasting threat to our Nation's security and our people's safety, which is why I rise today in support of the rule and the underlying bill, H.R. 4, which will establish a national missile defense system.

Mr. Speaker, my colleagues, ''eternal vigilance,'' wrote Jefferson, ''is the price of liberty.'' Yet our current national missile defense has neither the ability nor the technology to ensure that either our safety or our liberty is held in the United States.

Even as we sit at the dawn of the next century, the United States could not defend itself against even a single incoming ballistic missile.

Mr. Speaker, that fact bears repeating. Our current national defense could not shoot down even one incoming ballistic missile let alone the thousands that stand ready to point toward our Nation's borders.

According to the Rumsfeld Commission, the threat to America and her people from a ballistic missile attack is not only very real but even greater than once expected. Besides thousands of nuclear warheads on ballistic missiles maintained by Russia, China has more than a dozen long-range ballistic missiles targeted at the United States, and countries like North Korea and Iran are developing ballistic missile technology and capability much more rapidly than once believed.

Another astonishing fact is that the overwhelming majority of the American people, some 73 percent, is unaware of the threat to their country, their homes, and their families. They believe we already have the technology to knock down and defeat a ballistic missile attack. We do not.

The American people are entitled to know the truth, just as they are entitled to us doing something about it to ensure their safety and their lives. They are also entitled to know the facts about the cost of a national missile defense. And the facts are that the current national missile defense plans account for one-half of 1 percent of anticipated defense spending from fiscal year 2000 through 2005 and less than 2 percent of the Department of Defense's entire modernization budget during these years.

The threat of a ballistic missile attack is real, as real as our resolve must be to protect all Americans by deploying a national missile defense.

Mr. Speaker, my colleagues, President Reagan taught us that we could be victorious against the Cold War threat of nuclear annihilation by adopting a policy of peace through strength. Now we must be victorious against the threat of a ballistic missile attack by adopting a policy of peace through security, the security that a national missile defense will provide our country and our citizens.

I would like to commend the Committee on Armed Services chairman, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE) and the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON), chairman of the Subcommittee on Military Research and Development, for their hard work on this very important measure.

I urge my colleagues to support this rule and to support the underlying legislation.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague the gentleman from New York (Mr. REYNOLDS) for yielding me the customary half-hour.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this closed rule. The Committee on Rules has reported a series of bills to the floor under open rules in the last couple of months. But if the truth be told, Mr. Speaker, those bills could have been considered under the suspension of the rules and did not really have to come to the floor at all.

Now, when the House is about to consider legislation that is of paramount importance to every man, woman, and child in the country, the Republican party has reported out a closed rule.

What we heard earlier today during our closed session reinforces the significance of this issue. Yet we are being asked to consider it under a closed rule. For this reason, Mr. Speaker, I cannot support this rule.

Mr. Speaker, the Republican majority refuses to allow even one amendment on this bill. We asked for an additional hour of debate on the bill but that was not allowed. What is at stake here, Mr. Speaker, is the future and well-being of this Nation. Yet my Republican colleagues do not want to take the time to fully debate and air this issue.

I cannot support this closed process, and I strongly urge every Member of this body who supports the democratic ideals of free and open debate to oppose this closed and unfair rule.

The ranking minority member of the Committee on Armed Services yesterday indicated that, while he is opposed to the amendment that was proposed by the gentleman from Maine (Mr. ALLEN), he felt that the amendment should be considered by the House. The Allen amendment seeks to clarify that any national missile defense system must be proven to work before it is deployed and that any deployment decision must be weighed against other military as well as civilian priorities.

Allowing the House to consider an amendment like the Allen proposal is really not too much to ask, Mr. Speaker. Yet my Republican colleagues seem to think that allowing an alternative to their proposal to be heard on the floor is indeed too much to ask.

Mr. Speaker, if the Republican Party is really interested in changing the atmosphere in this House, we do not have to go up to a mountainside and smoke a peace pipe. All we have to do is be fair about the rules and allow the Democrats to participate on the floor.

Mr. Speaker, I see little evidence of that on this rule, and I urge my members to defeat this unfair, closed rule so that we can have an open debate on the entire issue.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I would remind the ranking member that yesterday the gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER) outlined that there would be more than ample debate in the hour that we have on the rule now, in the two hours of debate, and the hour on consideration of the conference resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. GOSS).

(Mr. GOSS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from New York, a new member of our committee and a valued member of our committee, for yielding me this time.

Today we embark on a crucial debate directly relevant to the lives of all American men, women, and especially our children. I would argue that the Congress of the United States has no more significant duty than to ensure the greatest level of protection for our national security.

With the dawn of the next century just a few short months away, we face a future that is bright with opportunity and promise, some of which we are realizing today, but a future that is also vulnerable to attack, including specifically missile attack, by those who would do us harm.

And let us be clear. Those who would do us harm inhabit many quarters of this ever-shrinking world. Many are actively seeking to develop and deploy the technology to provide themselves a ballistic missile capability to use against the United States of America.

We do not pursue this debate today to scare people, but rather to engage them in an open-eyed assessment of the world as it is. We all might wish to believe President Clinton's pronouncement that no American child is currently being targeted by a missile, but that is unfortunately not exactly a true statement.

Sadly, the 1964 election year Johnson campaign ad of a little girl playing in a field of flowers backdropped by an atomic cloud is still vivid and still a sickening possibility in today's world. Beyond the state of affairs today, there is also the reality that the world's bad guys are moving quickly and with the sense of purpose toward a tomorrow when they can wreak havoc and cause damage with weapons of mass destruction or mass casualty targeted against Americans and our interests.

I have always advocated investment in the eyes and ears capabilities of U.S. intelligence so we can have as full a picture as possible about the threats we face as we develop policies to protect ourselves. We need not only to know about the missiles but also about the plans and the intentions of the Saddam Husseins and Khadafis, Khomenis and Kim Jong Ils of the world today.

Some might say that since the Cuban missile crisis we have not focused enough on these threats in recent years, perhaps because the policymakers did not want to see the dangers. But, Mr. Speaker, our intelligence says unequivocally that the threat is real, growing, and much more immediate than some had thought. So I strongly believe we must commit ourselves to putting in place a missile defense program as soon as practical.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 4 is a deceptively simple bill. Its entirety is only one sentence. But the 15 words that comprise the operative text of H.R. 4 speak volumes to the entire planet that we will not shy away from the tough challenge of making America and her people safe from a missile attack.

Support this rule and vote for H.R. 4 and do America a favor.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KUCINICH).

(Mr. KUCINICH asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KUCINICH. Mr. Speaker, the American people may be surprised to know that although we have not declared it our policy to do so, we have already spent $120 billion of taxpayers' money for a nuclear umbrella which does not exist for a threat which has never materialized.

I propose that we can save the taxpayers at least another $120 billion by announcing to the world that we already have a nuclear umbrella. Who is going to know the difference? Latter-day Dr. Strangeloves are running around the Capitol today saying the sky is falling and we ought to buy a net to catch it. Save the taxpayers money.

Here is a prototype nuclear umbrella. This has about as much of a chance of repelling raindrops as the real thing would have in stopping nuclear missiles if scientific evidence is to be believed. Now, if we buy into the fear mongering, what is next? Duck-and-cover drills? Loyalty pledges? Red scare number 2? The second Cold War?

We have already proven that we can leave the post-Cold War world in peace not through preparing for war but through dedicated nuclear nonproliferation.

□ 1230

Let us work for peace and let us be brave and strong and true in defense of democratic values here at home and around the world.

Vote against the rule and vote against H.R. 4.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON).

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

This debate today is going to be a serious debate. I think we ought to set the tone early. I reject as a Member of this Congress trivializing this issue with an umbrella, because 28 young Americans 8 years ago came home in body bags because we had no system to defend against. And to say that somehow an umbrella with nothing there is the way we are going to discuss this issue is absolutely disgusting to me because half of those young men and women came from my State. It is not a joke to hold an umbrella up with nothing there and say this is what we are doing.

We have no defense today against any missile system. It is a national priority that this Congress needs to address. And to trivialize this debate as has been done in this body for 30 years has got to come to an end. I think we should treat this debate with more sincerity and dignity than that.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TRAFICANT).

(Mr. TRAFICANT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Speaker, even though I have opposed it in the past, I will vote for a missile defense system today. The first reason is the Russian spy who defected to America warned us that China is determined to destroy America. Since then, China has stolen our military secrets and China has missiles aimed at America. Russia has missiles that could reach America. North Korea has missiles that can reach America. India, Pakistan, Iran, all have nuclear capability.

But the main reason for my vote here today is very simple: Our misdirected foreign policy. It is so misdirected that if you threw it at the ground, it would miss.

Check this out. Most-favored-nation trade status for China is debated on economic merits. Beam me up. With a $70 billion trade surplus, China is buying nuclear attack submarines and missiles with our money and has them aimed at American cities. How stupid can you be, Congress? How stupid can we be?

I have no choice today. I do not believe Congress has a choice. These policies have placed America in great danger and these policies have placed my constituents, my neighbors, my family, my friends at great risk.

Let me say one last thing. National defense and security is our number-one priority, and you cannot protect America with the neighborhood crime watch. I am changing my vote. I am voting for the missile defense system for the United States of America.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 6 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. FRANK).

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I agree with the gentleman from Pennsylvania who spoke that this debate should not be trivialized. That is why I deplore seriously the refusal of the Republican leadership to make this open to amendment.

Yes, this is a serious subject and it ought to be given full discussion and not trivialized. But what trivializes this more than the arrogant refusal to allow any amendment? The question is not simply a missile defense or not but what sort? Under what circumstances? With what tradeoffs? With what information?

The Republican leadership ran for office to take over the House a few years ago with a long list of ways in which they were going to be better, more democratic. What we have seen since is a systematic striptease in which the Republicans have systematically discarded every pretense to ethical superiority in running the House. Term limits was, of course, one of the first to go as a serious effort. But now we have a pattern. We saw it last year when we debated impeachment. We see it now that we are debating a missile defense. The more important the subject, the less there will be democratic debate on the issue.

As the ranking member of the Committee on Rules pointed out, on noncontroversial measures of little significance, the Republicans are willing to give us open rules. They would undoubtedly be willing to give away ice in February—in Alaska—but when it comes to fundamental issues of great importance, political advantage and partisan maneuvering displaces commitment to democratic ideals.

The gentleman from Maine has a thoughtful alternative to the Republican proposal. It will be able to be brought up in the recommittal, because they have not yet figured out a way to snuff that one out, but there might have been other amendments. The recommittal, you only get one. There might have been other variations.

There are a number of important issues here. One is, what are the costs of this? Yes, there are people who are worried about a threat from missiles from overseas. There are 75-year-olds worried because they cannot afford to pay for the medicine that would keep them alive. There are people who live in neighborhoods who are afraid they do not have enough police protection; people who are afraid of unsafe transportation; people who are threatened by environmental hazards. We are operating in an era of limited resources. Billions and billions of dollars that go for this system are billions that will not be spent for other matters.

There are Members in this House who have told people they want to increase housing, they want to improve environmental conditions, they want to work harder to provide prescription drugs for people on Medicare. Yet they are going to vote today for a measure that might preempt all of those and not give us a chance to debate them. Where are the chances to have amendments?

The gentleman from New York who is presiding for the majority pointed out to the gentleman from Massachusetts, he quoted the gentleman from California, there are going to be 4 whole hours of debate. The gentleman's generosity is unbounded. We can debate it. But no amendments are in order. So I guess I congratulate the majority for not having abrogated the first amendment to the Constitution. They will let us talk. But where are the amendments? Where is the legislative process? No, it should not be trivialized.

By the way, this whole bill, so-called, as the gentleman from Florida said, it is a one-sentence bill. This one-sentence bill in and of itself it seems to me is of some dubious value, but even if it is simply a statement of policy, if that is considered important, why can we not debate what the impact would be on other forms of arms reduction treaties? Why can we not debate what the opportunity costs are in other funding? Why can we not debate whether or not we should do more of a study about technical feasibility?

Are we talking about protecting every inch of the United States? Well, how much is that going to cost? How feasible is it? What are the chances that money spent there will be successful as opposed to money spent in fighting disease, in fighting crime, in fighting in other theaters with conventional research?

North Korea is a threat. We have ground troops in North Korea who are at risk. Would this money be better spent in beefing up a conventional capability? Those are all significant subjects, none of which can be part of this debate. I take it back. They can be part of the debate. I do not mean to be ungracious. The gentleman from New York has kindly allowed us to talk about them. But an amendment to affect the bill, an effort to write them into policy, no, the Republicans will not have that, because it would spoil the partisan nature of this event.

The question is not simply yes or no on missile defense. That is wholly unintelligent. The question is what kind of missile defense? Under what circumstances? Is it feasible? At what cost? The Republicans quite carefully made sure that none of those could be the subject of an amendment. Because what they want out of this, apparently, is a political statement, not a genuine democratic debate.

By the way, I hope the argument is not that, ''Gee, we don't have time.'' This House has been languorous. We have not done very much. We could debate more of these things. But it is a refusal on the part of the majority to allow serious issues to be debated.

What we have, yes, is a trivialized debate. It has been trivialized by the calculated decision of the majority to make this a political exercise and to refuse to allow any amendments which will raise any of the serious issues that ought to be debated. And so in advance

they have devalued the statement they hoped to get because they have deprived us of the chance to do it.

Unfortunately, it is not an isolated incident. We could not debate censure versus impeachment. We cannot debate the specifics of the decision factors that go into this whole question. This is a group apparently that is determined to leave as its legacy in running the House of Representatives a refusal to allow the most important questions to come before the public to be debated in a serious and thoughtful fashion. So they will get their political victory today, but it will come at the price of an informed effort to try and come forward with a policy that truly deals with the complexities and the specific questions involved.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. HUNTER), one of the leading experts on our Nation's defense.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

My colleagues, we have a time in the oversight committee when the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs appear before the House Committee on Armed Services as they appear before a number of committees.

Sitting there with the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE) and the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) and the other members of the committee, I usually ask as a first question, this question of our Secretary of Defense. I ask, ''Could you stop, could the United States of America stop a single incoming ballistic missile today should it be coming in at an American city?'' The answer is always ''no.'' And yet most Americans think that we do have some kind of a defense.

Interestingly, if the Russian defense minister was sitting there at the witness table, he would be able to say ''yes,'' because the Russians do have missile defenses. They have the defenses that are allowed by the ABM treaty. They have interceptors which are tipped with nuclear devices that can go off when incoming missiles come in proximity of their cities that they have decided to protect under the ABM system. They also have what are known as SA–10 and SA–12 missile defense systems which they advertise in open literature as having capability against not only airplanes but ballistic missiles.

They, like a lot of other people in the world, understand something that the Weldon bill tries to make us understand, and that is this: We live in an age of missiles. Back in the 1920s, Billy Mitchell tried to prove to us that we lived in an age of air power. To do that, he sank a number of ships, American ships, and I believe one large German ship that had been captured. It infuriated the U.S. Navy because the U.S. Navy wanted to live in the past and they did not want anything that threatened the funding for their battleships and they thought that air power would do that. And so Billy Mitchell was a great advocate for air power. He argued for the development of air power by the United States, we refused to develop it in a timely way, and we paid to some degree the price for that in World War II. But his argument to some degree did get a few wheels spinning and we had more in World War II than we would have had if Billy Mitchell had not gone out there, ultimately getting court-martialed for the crime of saying that the United States was not ready for a conflict.

Well, today we live in an age of missiles. And for my friends that act like it is an impossible thing to shoot down a missile with a missile, that is not true. The missiles that came in on the American troops in Desert Storm and killed a number of them were ballistic missiles. They were slow ballistic missiles. But we did shoot down some of those ballistic missiles with our Patriot missile batteries. We have now upgraded those. So we have shot down the slower ballistic missiles. Our adversaries are making faster and faster missiles. My point is that we have shot down already the slower ballistic missiles and, yes, we do have the capability, if we decide to deploy.

Now, the other side throws this back at us. They say we have spent $120 billion and we have not deployed anything. Well, that is because we have always spent that money under the condition that nothing could be deployed and now it is thrown back in our face that we have not deployed. The Weldon bill mandates deployment. It puts us all on the same page, it gives us a national purpose, and hopefully we will move forward and defend America.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN).

□ 1245

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to this rule and to the bill, H.R. 4. I would have preferred the opportunity to debate an amendment that outlined what criteria and conditions need to be met before we pursue a policy to deploy a national missile defense system, an amendment like the one my colleague from Maine (Mr. ALLEN) wanted to offer. That opportunity has been denied by this closed rule.

Mr. Speaker, today we are rushing to embrace a bad idea. Today we are debating the deployment of a national missile defense system that does not work, costs too much, undermines and violates our arms control treaties, is aimed towards the wrong threat, will make us more vulnerable, not more secure, and will likely lead to a new arms race. A lot of figures regarding the cost of a national missile defense system will be thrown around in today's debate, but what is not in dispute is that over 40 years we have already spent over $120 billion in trying to develop a missile defense, 70 billion of that since President Reagan announced his Star Wars program in 1983, and we still have absolutely nothing but a failure to show for those tax dollars. This technology has failed 14 out of 18 tests for problems far less sophisticated than what is required by national missile defense. In short, we have a $120 billion failure on our hands. General Shelton of the Joint Chiefs of Staff said just last year spending more money on national missile defense will only amount to a rush to failure, and yet the supporters of H.R. 4 want us to throw good money after bad and spend, at minimum, another 10.5 billion on this failed project.

At a time when we are struggling to find money for Pell grants and Federal aid to send our kids to college, when we are struggling to find money to fully fund the Federal share of the Individuals With Disabilities Education Act, when we are struggling to find funds to protect our environment, to repair our infrastructure and to revitalize our neighborhoods, cities and towns, we seem to have no problem finding enough money for this fabulously expensive project.

Mr. Speaker, those of us who are expressing our reservations about this system are not trivializing this issue. We are raising legitimate concerns about the technical feasibility of this project, the costs and the implications of a national missile defense system. Mr. Speaker, I do not believe it is fiscally responsible to support H.R. 4. I think this is a bad idea. I think this could have a destabilizing effect on our national security. I urge my colleagues to oppose this closed rule and to oppose H.R. 4.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. GREEN).

Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that the American people want to hear procedural arguments or partisan jockeying. What they care about is our national security, and that is why I rise today in strong support of this rule and strong support of H.R. 4. I do so for one reason. I believe it must be our policy to deploy a national missile defense.

As my colleagues know, Mr. Speaker, the real surprise today is not the bipartisan support that I believe will emerge in this House later on but that took us so long to get here. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked and saddened when I saw the results of a recent poll conducted by the Center for Security Policy. Their survey of 800 registered voters revealed a number of very troubling public misconceptions. When asked hypothetically about a ballistic missile system and if it were fired at the U.S., 54 percent of those polled believe we could destroy that missile before it caused any damage. Over half of those polled believe we were capable of protecting ourselves from a ballistic missile attack, and of course the sad reality is that we cannot. And when respondents

learned this fact that we could not, 19 percent were shocked or angry, 28 percent said they were very surprised, 17 percent said they were somewhat surprised.

Mr. Speaker, I do not know what I find more troubling, the fact that so many people incorrectly believe that we can protect ourselves from missile attack or the lack of outrage on the part of so many leaders of the fact that we cannot.

Mr. Speaker, the evidence is overwhelming, the threat of attack is increasing. Concerns over Russia's control over its nuclear arsenal continue to grow. China continues to develop weapons of mass destruction. North Korea recently demonstrated that its missiles are capable of striking Alaska and Hawaii. And as we know, Iran and Iraq are working to develop missile technology that will threaten the Middle East and southern Europe.

We are no longer in the era of two superpowers kept in check by mutually assured destruction. The threats of today and tomorrow come from rogue states, in some cases nations with arsenals controlled by persons who we have to admit are blind with their hatred of the U.S. The harsh reality is that we are vulnerable. It is time that this Congress and this President got serious and made it the stated policy of our government to deploy a missile defense system. It would be reckless for us to stick our heads in the sand, it would be reckless for us to ignore the threats we face today, and worse yet, the threats we will face tomorrow if we fail to act. Let us make it this country's stated goal that we will deploy a national missile defense system that will protect us from those who seek to do us harm.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this rule, to support H.R. 4.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MARKEY).

Mr. MARKEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Massachusetts for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this legislation. Sixteen years ago Ronald Reagan stood in this Hall and articulated a vision. We, the United States, or Luke Skywalker? And the Soviet Union was the Evil Empire, and we were going to build a Star Wars system, an umbrella over this country that would render the intercontinental ballistic missiles of the Soviet Union useless, impotent and obsolete, in his words. And of course the whole scheme was concocted by ET, not the cuddly little alien from the Spielberg movies, but the original ET, Edward Teller, his vision. In the years since then Star Wars went from the star dust and moon beams of Reagan's rhetoric to become a giant pork barrel in the sky. In fact, we have spent approximately $50 billion on missile defense over the last 15 years with virtually nothing to show for it.

But I have some good news for my colleagues on the other side of the aisle. The Cold War is over. We won. The Soviets never used their weapons.

Now it was not because of Star Wars, because of course there was no Star Wars in the 1980's, and there was no Star Wars in the 1990's. The reason that we won was that we had a superior political and economic and military strategy apart from Star Wars because it never existed, and now, since their internal contradictions have led to the collapse of the Soviet system, for some reason or another the majority believes that we should take up the Star Wars prequel 3 months before the new George Lucas film hits the theaters. This resolution gives us a preview of things to come, and we need to give it two thumbs down. According to the GOP script, despite the end of the Cold War we are still going to deploy missile defenses. Why? Because, we are told, there are new ballistic missile threats from North Korea, and Iraq or China because, we are told, we need to defend against accidental nuclear war at a cost of tens of billions of dollars.

This is a bad idea. The North Koreans are starving to death, and we routinely bomb the heck out of Saddam Hussein with impunity. Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction, chemical weapons. Did he use them against us when our troops were heading towards Baghdad? No, he did not. Do my colleagues want to know why? Because we would wipe him off the face of the earth, that is why. We have overwhelming massive retaliatory capacity. If either side, any country, ever used weapons of mass destruction against us, we would destroy them. The greater threat from Korea, the greater threat from Iran is that they will put a nuclear weapon onto a freighter, put it right into the Seattle or the Boston or the San Diego port and just detonate it. We will not know where it is coming from, and we will not be able to identify the source. That is our greater threat by far, and if at any time they want to use any other means, then we will be able to give massive retaliatory response capacity to that problem.

The problem with the Republicans is, yes, the Cold War is over, but they still want Star Wars. They have arms race amnesia. They have forgotten everything but their favorite weapon system. But the real danger from the Republican plan is not the tens of billions of dollars which we are going to waste, but rather that it could touch off a new arms race between us and the Russians or the Chinese.

As the Duma meets to determine whether or not they are going to ratify the START II treaty which would result in the elimination of 3200 strategic weapons, do we really want to be talking about the deployment of a ballistic missile system that would make them even more vulnerable to a first strike from the United States? Do we want the Chinese to think that we are going to build a defensive system that allows us to attack them and they cannot attack us back? Do we not think that they are going to go to a new round of offensive weapons by an emboldened right wing military in both countries and other countries around the world that will result in us having to spend tens of billions of other dollars? When we make a step like the Republicans ask us to do today, we not only waste tens of billions of dollars, but we wind up ultimately undermining our security because of the investment made by our potential enemies in weapons which could actually hurt the United States of America.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to my Democratic colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. ANDREWS) in the House Republican majority's continued spirit of bipartisanship.

(Mr. ANDREWS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, there is no Member of this House who has done more to promote the rights of fairness to the minority than the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MOAKLEY) and I commend him and thank him for that, but on this issue on this day I respectfully part company with him. I think this rule strikes the appropriate balance in the tension between the powers of the President as Commander in Chief and our powers and duties to set broad policy for this country. I think it would be a terrible mistake for us to micromanage a serious military strategy issue like this, and I believe that an open rule in this sort of circumstance would invite that kind of micromanagement.

I also believe that it would be an equally serious mistake for us to abrogate our responsibility and not take a position as to where our country should go in this issue. The process that begins with this legislation on this day gives us that opportunity beginning with our opportunity to offer a motion to recommit today, but, more importantly, after today, after today when decisions about how to deploy, what to deploy, when to deploy, under what circumstances to deploy will be debated and worked out in the actions of the House Committee on Armed Services, in its bills that come to this floor over the next several years and probably decades.

I certainly understand and revere the rights of the minority, but in this case I believe that the essential constitutional balance prevails, and that balance calls for us to set broad policy, which we will do in this bill by casting our vote and for the President, as our Commander in Chief, to execute that policy as he or some day she sees fit.

I support the rule as I will support the bill in the debate hereafter.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Ms. DELAURO), the assistant to the Democratic leader.

Ms. DELAURO. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the rule essentially because the rule prohibits amendments

which, if adopted, will strengthen the bill and our Nation's long term security.

Yesterday in the other body, in the Senate, it unanimously passed its national defense bill with two important amendments. It conditioned a national missile defense deployment on annual authorizations and appropriations, it affirmed the United States policy to seek further cuts in Russia's nuclear arsenal. This was the right thing to do. It was a responsible thing to do.

The gentleman from Maine has authored a thoughtful amendment which should be debated in this body. That is what our responsibility is as a legislative body.

I support the Pentagon's plans to consider a national missile defense system at the turn of this century. We need to plan to guard against future long-range strategic missiles and a possible laser attack, but any system must be both affordable and capable of protecting all of our national security interests.

□ 1300

Pentagon leaders have emphasized over and over again that a rushed job would be, and I quote, a rush to failure that would cost taxpayers millions of dollars, jeopardize U.S. national security.

General Shelton, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said just last month, and I quote, that the simple fact is that we do not yet have the technology to field a national missile defense. He went on to say, and I quote, the Chiefs question putting additional billions of taxpayers dollars into fielding a system now that does not work or has not proven itself, end quote.

Our first priority must always be the long-term safety and security of American families. Without a guarantee of success, our national missile defense system may not be able to protect Americans from the threat of ballistic missiles that rogue nations like Iran and North Korea are expected to have developed by 2002.

I urge my colleagues to oppose the rule or to allow for this body to take up thoughtful amendments on this very critical and important issue. Oppose rash legislation that threatens to jeopardize our future national security.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE).

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this bill and the rule. As this resolution states, the U.S. must deploy now and not just develop a national missile defense system but deploy it. This resolution and debate hopefully will spur the deployment because, as has been noted so forcefully here today, we are now defenseless against a single ballistic missile launched against American soil.

Defending our Nation against attack is so fundamental a responsibility of ours and the stakes that we are talking about are so high, that I think it is important that we better understand how our country, with its great military, has gotten into our predicament of being defenseless.

The American people need to know. The answer is that since Ronald Reagan introduced the idea of missile defense over 15 years ago, every reason in the world has been found to delay. For one, we have heard the threat discounted. In 1995, the administration predicted that no ballistic missile threat would emerge for 15 years. This past August, the administration again assured Congress that the intelligence community would provide the necessary warning of a rogue state's development and deployment of a ballistic missile threat to the United States. Then that same month, that same month, North Korea test-fired its Taepo-Dong missile. The sophistication of this missile unfortunately caught our intelligence community by surprise.

North Korea, impoverished, unstable North Korea, a regime about which the Director of Central Intelligence recently said that he could hardly overstate his concern over and which in nearly all respects, according to him, has become more volatile and unpredictable, may soon be able to strike Alaska and Hawaii, not to mention our allies and U.S. troops in Asia.

Ominously, North Korea is continuing its work on missile development. This is the very threat that was supposed to be 15 years away. Even before this rosy assessment last July, Iran tested a medium range ballistic missile. Iran is receiving aid from Russia. Not surprisingly, the bipartisan Rumsfeld Commission recently concluded that the threat posed by nations seeking to acquire ballistic missiles and weapons of mass destruction, quote, is broader, more mature and evolving more rapidly than has been reported in estimates and reports by the intelligence community.

The fact is that we live in a world where even the most impoverished nations can develop ballistic missiles and warheads, especially with Russia's aid, and thus I ask the Members to support the rule and this resolution.

This by no way is said to disparage our intelligence efforts. Instead, we just need to appreciate that these threats are difficult to detect, and that we need to react in defense. Pearl Harbor caught us by complete surprise. We have no excuse with today's missile threat.

The second excuse to delay is the ABM Treaty.

Faced with the very real threats we've heard about, I'm at a complete loss as to why our country would let an outdated treaty keep us from developing a national missile defense system. Essentially, this Administration has allowed Russia to veto our missile defense efforts. This is the same country, Russia, that is contributing to missile proliferation by working with Iran.

Fortunately, Secretary of Defense Cohen has suggested that we would not be wedded to the ABM Treaty (Jan. 20)—that this treaty would not preclude our deployment of a defensive system. But this is only a step toward the deployment we need, and others in the Administration persists in calling the ABM Treaty ''the cornerstone of strategic stability'' (Berger, Feb. 8 letter).

I believe we need to get beyond a treaty that keeps us from defending our territory in the face of a very real threat—a treaty, I might add, that the Soviets secretly violated. And renegotiating this treaty in a way that still precludes us from deploying the best missile defense system we can—allowing for a dumbed-down system—which is what the Administration is suggesting, is simply not acceptable.

The fact is that the Russians have nothing to fear from us. The United States doesn't start wars. To forgo defending our territory because we're afraid of what the Russians or others may say about our defensive actions is indefensible.

Third, we hear that a national missile defense system is too costly. Yes, we have made an investment in missile defense since Ronald Reagan launched his initiative, though this has been a small fraction of what American industry invests in research each year. But let's be honest here, defense is not free. And there have been some failures. But since when does success come without failure? Entering the twentieth century, the United States is the wealthiest, most technologically advanced country in the history of the world. There is no reason beyond the ideology of arms control, complacency or worse not to deploy a national missile defense now.

Before World War II, many people were stuck in a similar mindset. Leaders in England and elsewhere didn't want to develop advanced defensive weaponry. One leader stood alone though, pushing for England to develop its technology, including radar, in the cause of its national defense. His efforts encountered much resistance. Many said that there could be no defense against air power. There was some outright opposition from those who favored disarmament, including Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, seeing disarmament as a way of better dealing with Germany. Well, history has told us that the dark days England soon after suffered through would have been much darker if England had not had Winston Churchill. Radar, by the way, which Churchill tirelessly pushed, was critical to winning the Battle of Britain.

Sometimes it's not easy exercising foresight and taking preemptive action. But I cannot think of a more pressing issue for this Congress to address than defending our nation against the emerging threat of ballistic missiles. I commend the authors of this important resolution and hope it receives overwhelming support from this body.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. DICKS).

(Mr. DICKS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DICKS. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MOAKLEY) yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution but I am going to oppose the rule because I think the Allen amendment should have been put in order. I wish we would have had an opportunity, like the Senate did, to take

amendments on this important national security issue.

Having said that, I do want to compliment my colleagues, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) and the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) and those people who have tried to work to make this into a bipartisan issue. I want to remind my colleagues, I have been on the Subcommittee on Defense for 21 years. I was there in 1983 when Ronald Reagan announced his effort to build a national missile defense system.

I happen to believe that we always have to have defense priorities. My number one defense priority today is theater missile defense. When we deploy our troops in all these countries, whether they are in the Middle East or whether they are in Saudia Arabia, wherever they are, Bosnia, we want to be able to have a credible theater missile defense system in place.

It was not until just this week that Patriot 3 had its first success. So as we come to this decision on national missile defense, I must point out to my colleagues that we still do not have the technology in place to deploy such a system, and that is why we are going to have to continue the research, continue to look at this on the year-by-year basis and, again, my hope is that the first thing we get done is theater missile defense to defend our troops.

I do believe there is a threat out there and I do believe that warning times are less than they used to be and many countries are proliferating and building ballistic missiles.

We are also going to have to work out a relationship with the Russians. This is not going to be accepted by them. We are going to have to negotiate with them. So hopefully, if we can deal with these issues, then we can go forward and have a system like this. I think we have to go into this with our eyes open.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. Speaker, I inquire of the Chair how much time is remaining on both sides.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HANSEN). The gentleman from New York (Mr. REYNOLDS) has 9½ minutes remaining. The gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MOAKLEY) has 5½ minutes remaining.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. WELDON).

Mr. WELDON of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. REYNOLDS) for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this rule and in strong support of the underlying piece of legislation. I represent the area of Florida that includes Cape Canaveral and the issues of ballistic missiles and space technology and aerospace technology is of tremendous interest. I ran in 1994 originally for Congress in support of deploying a missile defense system.

To those people who would say right now that we do not have something that is technically capable, I would say to them it depends on how one wants to define that. The Russians have had a missile defense system for 30 years. We currently have the Patriot system online. The technology is there. The debate is over how good it will work.

In my opinion, we should deploy the best system that we are capable of deploying now. After seeing the Rumsfeld report and personally reading the Cox report, I would say we need to make a commitment to not only deploy the best system we are capable of deploying now but to plan on upgrading that system within the next 10 years to a better, more sophisticated system, because the threat is real and the threat is great.

As parents, we are responsible for taking care of our kids and making sure they have good manners and making sure they get fed, but it would be very irresponsible if we left the front door unlocked and the window open every night allowing somebody to come in to rob, steal and commit mayhem.

What good is it for us in this country if we are going to do all of these wonderful things for Social Security and for education in America and all of the other proposed good things that we are going to do while we leave New York, Los Angeles, Boston, Miami, Philadelphia and all the great cities of this country vulnerable?

The Chinese have already said that we would not be willing to risk those cities in defense of Taiwan, and we already know, from reading the New York Times, that the Chinese have acquired the most sophisticated weapons systems.

Support the bill. Support the rule.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3½ minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON), who I have had the occasion to recognize as one of the leading experts on missiles.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, let me thank my distinguished colleague for his leadership on the rule. I also want to pay my respects to my good friend, the ranking Member on the Committee on Rules, who is a real gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, I want this debate to be focused on factual information and not rhetoric and so I am going to go through the comments made by my colleagues in opposition to this rule one at a time.

We heard from the gentleman from Massachusetts. He said this was a Republican partisan effort. When I introduced this bill last August, I reached out to the Democrat side. The bill had 24 Democrats and 24 Republicans when I dropped the bill in, because I did not want it to be a partisan battle. There were some in my party who criticized me for that.

When I introduced the bill in this session of Congress, Mr. Speaker, it had 28 Democrats and 30 Republicans. In fact, when it passed the Committee on Armed Services, the vote was 50 to 3, with Democrats joining Republicans in support. This has been a totally bipartisan process.

Mr. Speaker, amendments could have been offered. The gentleman from Maine (Mr. ALLEN) could have offered an amendment. He chose not to. Now, are we being unfair, Mr. Speaker?

At the Committee on Rules yesterday there were two people who wanted amendments, one Republican and one Democrat. I opposed both because each would have taken the bill to an extreme position that perhaps would not have been the clear-cut debate that we need on this issue, which is whether or not to move forward.

Some say there has been no debate. Mr. Speaker, in the 5 years I have controlled the Subcommittee on Military Research and Development, there have been over 60 hearings, briefings, classified sessions. For someone to say there has been no debate is just a case where they do not understand what in fact has transpired.

One of my colleagues on the other side said the cost. Let us look at the cost, Mr. Speaker. We have spent $9 billion in Bosnia already. The administration's estimate for the cost of NMD is $6 billion. So we are going to spend more to protect peace in Bosnia than we are to protect our own people.

In fact, we are spending $10 billion this year on environmental cleanup, $10 billion on environmental cleanup versus the administration's estimate of $6 billion for an NMD system.

The gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MARKEY) said this is going to jeopardize our relationship with Russia. I say hogwash. If one wants to know what is going to jeopardize our relationship with Russia, Mr. Speaker, ask the administration why they cancelled the funding for the only joint Russian-American missile defense initiative that we have last October, the Ramos project.

When we were in Russia this past weekend, that is what the Russians were concerned about, that this administration cancelled all the funding for the only joint program to build confidence that we have.

Ask the administration why they cancelled the Ross-Mamaedov talks back when they took office in 1993. It was President Bush who started those talks because Yeltsin said, let us work together. What did this president do? When he came into office in 1993, he cancelled the talks and said, no, we are not going to work together in missile defense.

If one wants to talk about instability, ask the arms control crowd. The arms control crowd who was arguing against our bill today, and I am glad they are because this is what they are, this was a chart that they had inserted in a national magazine on the debate about missile defense. One of my Russian friends read this to me and he said, ''Curt, I understand what you are trying to do but this is what is going to be all over Russia.''

The arms control crowd, the Natural Resources Defense Council, has a chart

saying destroy Russia, killing 20 million people. This is the kind of rhetoric that inflames the Russian side, not what we are doing. I ask my colleagues to support the rule and to support the bill in a true bipartisan fashion.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Maine (Mr. ALLEN), the producer of the amendment.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MOAKLEY) for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, this House should defeat this rule. It is a closed rule that silences an important voice in the national missile defense debate, and that voice is the voice of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. General Hugh Shelton, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, said in testimony before the Committee on Armed Services of the House last month that, and I quote, the decision to deploy a national missile defense system will be based on several factors, the most important of which will be assessments of the threat and the current state of the technology.

□ 1315

H.R. 4 does not address threat or technology, or cost, or arms control. I asked the Committee on Rules to make in order an amendment I drafted, but that request was denied. The amendment provided that it would be the policy of this country to deploy a national missile defense that is proven to be effective. In other words, the system needs to work.

Second, that it would not diminish our overall national security. We have the task of making sure that we develop and we proceed with strategic nuclear arms reduction talks with Russia. Third, that it would not compromise other critical defense priorities. We have to pay attention to our troops, and as the gentleman from Washington (Mr. DICKS) said a few moments ago, a theater missile defense to protect our forward-deployed troops is vitally important.

This is the position, the amendment I proposed, I believe is the position of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and I am dismayed that their views were shut out.

Now, H.R. 4 came up in the Committee on Armed Services, but it is interesting. The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON), the distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on Research and Development, said I did not offer this amendment in committee. Well, the truth is, I did not offer the amendment in committee because we had not even held a hearing with General Lyles. This bill was marked up in committee before we heard from General Lyles on that day.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALLEN. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Did the gentleman have an opportunity to offer an amendment in committee?

Mr. ALLEN. I certainly did.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. ALLEN. But I chose not to exercise that right, because I wanted to hear from the military as to their opinions.

Does it make sense for us to commit to a program before we hear from the office that executes that program?

H.R. 4 would deploy a national missile defense system before we have tested the system, before we know whether or not it works. My amendment, however, was not designed to kill this system. On the contrary, it was designed to make sure that a national missile defense system would work.

First, national missile defense must be demonstrated to be operationally effective against the threat as defined as of the time of the deployment and as we can project for a reasonable time into the future. Does anyone disagree that we should test national missile defense before we buy it?

Second, national missile defense should not diminish the overall national security of the United States by jeopardizing other efforts to reduce threats to this country, including negotiated reductions in Russian nuclear forces. Does anyone disagree on seeking further Russian disarmament?

Third, national missile defense must be affordable and not compromise readiness, quality of life of our troops, weapons modernization, and theater missile defense deployment. Does anyone disagree with these critical defense priorities?

H.R. 4, however, is silent on each one of these priorities. We should defeat this closed rule and allow Members the opportunity to vote to recognize that there are real world considerations for national missile defense deployment. That is the opportunity the Senate had; that is the opportunity that we should have in this House and well. I urge a ''no'' vote.

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALLEN. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman, because I just want to comment on the strangeness of my colleague from Pennsylvania's understanding of parliamentary procedure.

My objection was, and my assertion that this has been made partisan, was due to the refusal to allow the gentleman's amendment to come up on the floor of the House, the House of Representatives, the whole body, the body that represents the people.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania's answer, was well, he could have offered it in committee. That is another one of those gracious concessions that is offered only because it could not have been withheld. There are under our rules no way to stop an amendment from coming up in committee.

But the notion that because the rules allow amendments to be offered in committee, and the gentleman said he withheld because there had not yet been a hearing held that he wanted have to take place, that that is some justification for shutting off discussion of this amendment and a vote on this amendment as an amendment, not as a recommittal, on the floor of the House, makes no sense.

This is the place where the ultimate Democratic decisions are made, and the notion that oh, okay, one could have offered an amendment in committee, committees are not wholly representative of the House. They are not supposed to be. This is the body in which public policy is supposed to be discussed, and the majority's refusal to allow a fair debate and vote as an amendment on the gentleman's proposal is what makes this unduly partisan, in my judgment.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Massachusetts. I urge my colleagues to vote ''no'' on this rule.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER).

(Mr. DREIER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker I rise in strong support of this rule, and I would like to begin by complimenting the newest member of the Committee on Rules, the gentleman from New York (Mr. REYNOLDS), who I think in a tough situation has done an extraordinarily good job in dealing with this in, as he pointed out when he recognized the gentleman from New Jersey, in a very bipartisan way. I am very encouraged by that.

I also want to say that as we look at this issue, it is obvious to me that we have a number of experts; Mr. WELDON has done a wonderful job on this, I think about the U.S. Constitution. There are no more important words in the U.S. Constitution than the five words in the middle of the preamble: ''Provide for the common defense.''

In light of that, it seems to me that a 15-word bill, which is exactly what this is, is the right thing for us to do. One is either for it, or one is against it. That is really what it comes down to.

So I think that we have had full consideration in committee. Both the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services and the ranking minority member talked about the debate that took place in the Committee on Armed Services, and my friend from Massachusetts is right. There should be the opportunity on this floor for the gentleman from Maine (Mr. ALLEN) to offer his amendment. And guess what?

Back in 1994 when we won this majority, we very proudly made an important change in the Rules of the House. Now, he and I came together in 1980, and on numerous occasions, at least a couple of times a year, the opportunity to offer a motion to recommit was in fact denied to us when we were in the minority. When we made this rules

change in 1994, we decided that it would be, in fact, a rule of the House that the minority would have an opportunity to offer a motion to recommit. And guess what? The Allen amendment can be made in order under the motion to recommit that we have.

Now, we have this hour of debate on the rule; we are going to have, in fact, 3 hours of debate.

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DREIER. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, is the chairman of the Committee on Rules telling us that in his judgment now, the motion to recommit, which has 10 minutes of debate and which is often cast in a very partisan way, and it is better than nothing.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, if I could reclaim my time, I was just going to say that we are going to have 3 hours of debate. Now, if the decision is made at this moment that the motion of the gentleman from Maine (Mr. ALLEN) is the one that the ranking member of the committee wants to offer as a recommittal motion, for that entire 3 hours of debate, the opportunity is there, the opportunity is there for a full and open discussion on this issue.

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DREIER. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under the Rules of the House as I understood them, if the amendment of the gentleman from Maine (Mr. ALLEN) had been made in order, we could have had debate on that amendment, and then we would have also had a motion to recommit.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, if I could reclaim my time.

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I apparently misunderstood the gentleman saying that he would yield. I thought the gentleman said he would yield.

Mr. DREIER. May I reclaim my time.

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. I apologize for misunderstanding when I thought the gentleman said he was going to yield.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I did yield. The gentleman said that he wants to have a debate, and we are going to have debate. In fact, 3 hours of debate can take place on the Allen amendment if you all so choose. So the idea that the opportunity to offer it has been denied is crazy, because we changed the rules in 1994 to make that order.

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, may I make a couple of points as we conclude this debate on the rule?

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, of course the gentleman may conclude. He controls the time.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman very much.

What I want to say is if we look at the report that has come forward from the Rumsfeld Commission which was presented to us on the House floor today in a closed meeting, the declassified segment of that makes it obvious. It says, the Rumsfeld Commission, the ballistic missile threat to the United States is broader, more mature, and evolving more rapidly than reported in estimates and reports in the intelligence community.

Now, what does that say? It says that as we look at this threat that is there from Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, North Korea, Russia, China, it is obvious that this is the most responsible thing for us to do. So that is why I will say again, one is either for it or one is against it. This reminds me of the debate that we had in the 1980s.

Again, I congratulate my friend, the gentleman from New York (Mr. REYNOLDS) for the great job that he has done on this.

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I rise today out of concern that the majority is not allowing amendments on this important legislation. Yesterday the Administration and the Senate were able to compromise on a similar measure, simply because the Senate Majority Leader provided the room to compromise. Unfortunately, such leadership is absent today in the House.

I don't have to remind my colleagues of the importance of this decision today. As most of you know, I am the youngest member of the House. Many people have tried to find a name for my generation, because in earlier times there was the World War I generation, the World War II generation, and the Vietnam Generation. There are no wars to name us by.

Why is that? Because we have learned how to work with other nations to reduce the threat of armed conflict between the great powers. We have learned that effective diplomacy, backed by the threat of the use of force, can help defuse this threat among members of the international community.

Of course, the threats posed by rogue states such as Iraq and North Korea—who have been ostracized by the international community—have dramatically changed the rules. I believe that we need to prepare for the asymmetric threats posed by nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. However, we should not act impetuously.

The Administration has requested that we amend H.R. 4 in order to make clear that the decision to deploy a missile defense system is contingent on a variety of factors, including an assessment of the costs and feasibility of the project. The rule, however, prevents us from taking this sensible step. Instead, it asks that the House make the decision for the President after 2 hours of debate, without any consideration of what such a project entails.

The rule also prevents us from reaffirming our commitment to the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. It jeopardizes the adoption of the START II treaty by the Duma in Moscow. Indeed, the Russian parliament is also addressing concerns over weapons of mass destruction. To show our support for strategic arms reduction, we ought to demonstrate our commitment, yet we are unable to do so because of this rule.

As the legislative branch, we have a right to be involved in foreign policy decisions. Yet we need to use this right responsibly.

We learned in the 1980s that relentlessly pursuing the goal of a national missile defense system without any realistic assessment of the costs involved is a bad way to make foreign policy.

By not allowing amendments, the majority is again acting in their own political interests, not the interests of sensible, prudent policy. Mr. Speaker, I oppose this rule.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HANSEN). The question is on the resolution.

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

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 239, nays 185, not voting 9, as follows:

[Roll No. 57]

YEAS—239

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aderholt | Dickey | Hyde |
| Andrews | Doolittle | Isakson |
| Armey | Doyle | Istook |
| Bachus | Dreier | Jenkins |
| Baker | Duncan | Johnson (CT) |
| Ballenger | Dunn | Johnson, Sam |
| Barcia | Ehlers | Jones (NC) |
| Barr | Ehrlich | Kasich |
| Barrett (NE) | Emerson | Kelly |
| Bartlett | English | King (NY) |
| Barton | Everett | Kingston |
| Bass | Ewing | Knollenberg |
| Bateman | Fletcher | Kolbe |
| Bereuter | Foley | Kuykendall |
| Berry | Forbes | LaHood |
| Biggert | Fossella | Largent |
| Bilbray | Fowler | Latham |
| Bilirakis | Franks (NJ) | LaTourette |
| Bliley | Frelinghuysen | Lazio |
| Blunt | Gallegly | Leach |
| Boehlert | Ganske | Lewis (CA) |
| Bonilla | Gekas | Lewis (KY) |
| Bono | Gibbons | Linder |
| Boyd | Gilchrest | Lipinski |
| Brady (TX) | Gillmor | LoBiondo |
| Bryant | Gilman | Lucas (OK) |
| Burr | Goode | Manzullo |
| Callahan | Goodlatte | McCollum |
| Calvert | Goodling | McCrery |
| Camp | Goss | McHugh |
| Campbell | Graham | McInnis |
| Canady | Granger | McIntosh |
| Cannon | Green (WI) | McIntyre |
| Castle | Greenwood | McKeon |
| Chabot | Gutknecht | Metcalf |
| Chambliss | Hall (TX) | Mica |
| Chenoweth | Hansen | Miller (FL) |
| Coble | Hastings (WA) | Miller, Gary |
| Collins | Hayes | Moran (KS) |
| Combest | Hayworth | Morella |
| Cook | Hefley | Murtha |
| Cooksey | Herger | Nethercutt |
| Cox | Hill (MT) | Ney |
| Cramer | Hilleary | Northup |
| Crane | Hobson | Norwood |
| Cubin | Hoekstra | Nussle |
| Cunningham | Horn | Ortiz |
| Davis (VA) | Hostettler | Ose |
| Deal | Houghton | Oxley |
| DeLay | Hulshof | Packard |
| DeMint | Hunter | Paul |
| Diaz-Balart | Hutchinson | Pease |

Peterson (PA)
Petri
Pickering
Pickett
Pitts
Pombo
Porter
Portman
Pryce (OH)
Quinn
Radanovich
Ramstad
Regula
Reyes
Reynolds
Riley
Rodriguez
Rogan
Rogers
Rohrabacher
Ros-Lehtinen
Roukema
Royce
Ryan (WI)
Ryun (KS)
Salmon
Sanford
Saxton
Scarborough
Schaffer
Scott
Sensenbrenner
Sessions
Shadegg
Shaw
Shays
Sherwood
Shimkus
Shows
Shuster
Simpson
Sisisky
Skeen
Skelton
Smith (MI)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Souder
Spence
Spratt
Stearns
Stenholm
Stump
Sununu
Sweeney
Talent
Tancredo
Tauzin
Taylor (MS)
Taylor (NC)
Terry
Thomas
Thornberry
Thune
Tiahrt
Toomey
Turner
Upton
Walden
Walsh
Wamp
Watkins
Watts (OK)
Weldon (FL)
Weldon (PA)
Weller
Wexler
Whitfield
Wicker
Wilson
Wolf
Young (AK)
Young (FL)

NAYS—185

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Allen
Baird
Baldacci
Baldwin
Barrett (WI)
Becerra
Bentsen
Berkley
Berman
Bishop
Blagojevich
Blumenauer
Bonior
Borski
Boswell
Boucher
Brady (PA)
Brown (CA)
Brown (FL)
Brown (OH)
Capps
Capuano
Cardin
Carson
Clay
Clayton
Clement
Condit
Conyers
Costello
Coyne
Crowley
Cummings
Danner
Davis (FL)
Davis (IL)
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
Deutsch
Dicks
Dingell
Dixon
Doggett
Dooley
Edwards
Engel
Eshoo
Etheridge
Evans
Farr
Fattah
Filner
Ford
Frank (MA)
Gejdenson
Gephardt
Gonzalez
Gordon
Green (TX)
Gutierrez
Hall (OH)
Hastings (FL)
Hill (IN)
Hilliard
Hinchey
Hinojosa
Hoeffel
Holden
Holt
Hooley
Hoyer
Inslee
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee (TX)
Jefferson
John
Johnson, E. B.
Jones (OH)
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Kennedy
Kildee
Kilpatrick
Kind (WI)
Kleczka
Klink
Kucinich
LaFalce
Lampson
Lantos
Larson
Lee
Levin
Lewis (GA)
Lofgren
Lowey
Lucas (KY)
Luther
Maloney (CT)
Maloney (NY)
Markey
Martinez
Mascara
Matsui
McCarthy (MO)
McCarthy (NY)
McDermott
McGovern
McKinney
McNulty
Meehan
Meek (FL)
Meeks (NY)
Menendez
Millender-McDonald
Miller, George
Minge
Mink
Moakley
Mollohan
Moore
Moran (VA)
Nadler
Napolitano
Neal
Oberstar
Obey
Olver
Owens
Pallone
Pascrell
Pastor
Pelosi
Peterson (MN)
Phelps
Pomeroy
Price (NC)
Rahall
Rangel
Rivers
Roemer
Rothman
Roybal-Allard
Rush
Sabo
Sanchez
Sanders
Sandlin
Sawyer
Schakowsky
Serrano
Sherman
Slaughter
Smith (WA)
Snyder
Stabenow
Stark
Strickland
Stupak
Tanner
Tauscher
Thompson (CA)
Thompson (MS)
Thurman
Tierney
Towns
Traficant
Udall (CO)
Udall (NM)
Velazquez
Vento
Visclosky
Waters
Watt (NC)
Waxman
Weiner
Weygand
Wise
Woolsey
Wu
Wynn

NOT VOTING—9

Archer
Boehner
Burton
Buyer
Clyburn
Coburn
Frost
Myrick
Payne

□ 1343

Messrs. BOSWELL, KLECZKA, MATSUI, BISHOP, HINCHEY and MORAN of Virginia changed their vote from ''yea'' to ''nay.''

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Stated for:

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 57 on H. Res. 120, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted ''yea.''

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 120, I call up the bill (H.R. 4) to declare it to be the policy of the United States to deploy a national missile defense, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of H.R. 4 is as follows:

H.R. 4

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it is the policy of the United States to deploy a national missile defense.*

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SUNUNU). Pursuant to House Resolution 120, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE) and the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) each will control 1 hour.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE).

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

(Mr. SPENCE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, before beginning, I would like to remind all Members who attended this morning's briefing with the Rumsfeld Commission that the briefing was classified. Accordingly, during the next several hours of debate, Members should take extreme care not to discuss any of the details or specifics of what they heard.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 4 is a 15-word bill stating, and I quote, ''That it is the policy of the United States to deploy a national missile defense.'' The bill is clear in its intent, elegant in its simplicity and reflects a bipartisan belief that all Americans should be protected against the threat of ballistic missile attack.

Mr. Speaker, the biggest frustration of my life, as chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, has been to persuade our own government to protect our own citizens from nuclear attack. This is a threat that is not sometime in the future, it is a threat that is here this minute. As a matter of fact, the threat has already passed.

There is a scenario about President Yeltsin of Russia getting on the hot line to our President and saying the following: ''Mr. President, some dumb fool has pushed the wrong button over here and we've got an intercontinental ballistic missile with 10 multiple reentry vehicles on it heading your way. We can't call it back, we can't shoot it down, and thought you ought to know about it.''

The President calls over to the people in the Pentagon and tells them what he has heard and tells them to take care of it. They have to tell him, ''Mr. President, we can't defend against that one intercontinental ballistic missile launched by accident.''

That is not way out. That could happen. It could have already happened. As a matter of fact, a few years ago, the Norwegians launched a weather rocket in Norway. The sensors in Russia mistook that launch for a launch of an intercontinental ballistic missile from us on them, and they were literally minutes away from launching an attack against our country in retaliation; minutes away before they had it sorted out and called it off. That is what we are facing today. That is the threat. It is right here.

We have been trying to warn this administration and the American people of the dangers we face. I think back in history of all the many warnings that we had before Pearl Harbor. Those warnings were not heeded, and we see what happened. We have had many warnings to date on all sides of the many threats we face from throughout this world, of all kinds. The warnings are not being heeded.

We tried to pass a national missile defense back in 1995, the 1996 Defense Authorization bill. The President vetoed it. We have tried to do some other things since that time. We have had to try to take one step at a time to bring the administration to the realization of what is happening and what we need to do to properly defend this country.

After the President vetoed that bill, he said that there was no threat facing this country; we did not need a national missile defense. As a matter of fact, he even had the CIA issue a National Intelligence Estimate which politicized the issue and was phrased this way: ''Aside from the declared nuclear powers, it will be 10 or 15 years before rogue nations, other nations, will develop a capability.'' I said to myself, ''That is misleading. These other countries can buy the capability from the countries which have it right now. They do not have to do it as an indigenous thing on their part.''

I remember calling up the Director of the CIA at that time and trying to get him to change that National Intelligence Estimate to more clearly reflect the true state of affairs. He would not do it. So we had to appoint this Rumsfeld Commission, a bipartisan commission, to study the question and come back and give us an independent assessment of the threats we face.

After studying the seriousness of the question over a period of about a year, they came back, in a bipartisan way, unanimously, and said that instead of us having to be concerned about 10 or 15 years away from the threat, we would have little or no warning of a system deployed somewhere else that could impact on us in that way.

Even after the report came out, the administration still maintained that they would go on with the 3-by-3 policy they had, which meant they would study the question for 3 more years and, at the end of that time, if the threat was real, then we would decide whether or not to deploy the system.

So here we are today, after all this time, one step at a time, now trying to get them to utter that one word: Deploy.

North Korea's launch of a 3-stage ballistic missile last August was one of a number of disturbing events that confirmed the Rumsfeld Commission's findings and compelled the Administration to concede that the threat was not a decade away. Earlier this year, Secretary of Defense Cohen publicly confirmed the Administration's updated perspective on the threat in stating [quote] ''that there is a threat and the threat is growing.'' [unquote]

Technology has matured to the point where it is feasible to move forward with plans to deploy a national missile defense system. There will always be test failures and there will always be technological challenges. But Americans have never shied away from a challenge, and this is certainly no reason not to proceed in the face of a threat that gets worse by the day. And as this week's successful PATRIOT missile test demonstrated, missiles can intercept other missiles.

Even with Congress adding funding to missile defense programs during the past four years, the Administration has just recently recognized that its own budgets were inadequate. To its credit, the Administration has budgeted, for the first time, a level of funding intended to support an initial deployment of a national missile defense system. And just to put cost in perspective, the cost of a national missile defense system, by the Administration's own estimates, will comprise less than one percent of the overall defense budget, and less than two percent of our military modernization budget over the next five years.

Mr. Speaker, national missile defense is necessary, feasible, and affordable. But in spite of the growing consensus that the threat is real, progress on technology development, and increased funding, the Administration has steadfastly refused to commit to actually *deploy* a national missile defense. H.R. 4 fills this void and will put this House on record making an important commitment to each and every American that they will be defended.

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

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) be recognized to manage, at the end of my statement, the balance of the time on our side.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.R. 4, a bill to declare it the policy of the United States to deploy a national missile defense.

Many of my colleagues know me as a strong advocate for a strong national defense, maybe even doctrinaire when it comes to taking care of our troops. Fair enough. As my colleagues should also know, my support does not extend to all things defense, nor is it without qualification. Today's topic, national missile defense, is a case in point.

For some 15 years, I have been concerned that various proposals for deploying a national missile defense system were unjustified and too expensive. Further, I believe that any effort to do so would siphon needed resources from what I considered to be higher priority defense needs. Thus, I have not been among the voices advocating deployment of a national missile defense system. Instead, while others have been speaking passionately on the subject over the years, I have been listening.

I am persuaded by the facts from current intelligence estimates and the events of the past year, Mr. Speaker, that the technology needed to develop an ICBM capable of delivering a warhead of mass destruction against large portions of the United States is today in the hands of at least one so-called ''rogue'' actor. Worse, much of the needed technology has been demonstrated. And, as my good friend and former colleague, Ron Dellums, would say, ''I can see lightning and I can hear thunder.'' Accordingly, I now believe it is not only possible, but probable, that significant portions of the United States will be threatened by ICBM delivered warheads of mass destruction sometime before the year 2005; time the administration now says it needs to deploy a suitable, limited national missile defense system.

I also believe that $6.6 billion included in the administration's fiscal year 2000 future years defense plan for national missile defense deployment related activities recognizes this threat development and tacitly acknowledges that the administration also views the ultimate deployment of a limited national defense missile system as inevitable.

Mr. Speaker, the issue is not just about a national missile defense system, nor can it be. To successfully defend America from an ICBM delivered threat, we need to act on a potential threat of a missile over its entire life; not just the last 15 minutes to do so.

Priority must be given to our first line of defense: Aid and diplomacy, counterproliferation programs, and arms control agreements. Although not perfect, these programs work and are relatively cheap. More importantly, by reducing or preventing the number and sophistication of ICBMs that might threaten us, they make national missile defense system technically feasible. Deterrence also works, and since these forces already exist, it is the logical second line of defense.

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Finally, I now think deployment of a limited national defense system, as a third and final line of defense, is as advisable as it is inevitable. At the same time, however, I believe we must guard against the national missile defense program that undercuts the first and second lines of defense.

This brings us to H.R. 4, a simple declaration that we are committed to ultimately deploying a national missile defense, period. It is an opportunity to move past the philosophical debate that has divided us, to move past who is and who is not willing to defend America. Therefore, I must admit to my disappointment with the administration for considering this legislation to be unnecessary and withholding their support on that basis. Nevertheless, it is significant that its concerns do not rise to the level of a veto threat. Thus, I would ask my colleagues to keep this fact in mind during deliberations here today.

In my opinion, H.R. 4 does not go beyond the administration's program for a limited national missile defense in any way. According to the Congressional Budget Office, H.R. 4 will not increase missile defense costs one cent. More importantly, it does not compel a national missile defense system architecture that is incompatible with the ABM Treaty. Equally important, Mr. Speaker, it does not mandate a deployment date or condition. Thus, it does not generate a rush to failure by calling for deployment of an inadequately tested or ineffectual system.

The new realty is that a lot has changed since the strategic defense initiative debate was joined some 16 years ago. A lot has changed since last year, and yesterday's truths are no more. So I ask my colleagues to approach H.R. 4 with an open mind, try to consider it as a good-faith effort to establish a bipartisan consensus, and I will repeat this, a bipartisan consensus on defending America. That is what I believe it is.

Mr. Speaker, our most distinguished colleagues on the subject of missile defense, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) and the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT), two respected Members who have in the past been disagreeing on this issue, have joined together in a significant collaboration to provide us with a rare and distinct opportunity to rise above our differences and move the national missile defense debate forward on a less philosophical and less partisan basis. For the good of the country and for the good of this institution, I believe in the strongest possible terms that we should seize this opportunity, Mr. Speaker, and pass H.R. 4.

I want to thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) and I want to thank the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) for coming together to write and draft H.R. 4 and provide us with this historic opportunity.

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

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Alaska (Mr. YOUNG).

(Mr. YOUNG of Alaska asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.R. 4.

Today I rise in support of H.R. 4, ''A bill to declare it to be the policy of the United States to deploy a national missile defense.'' Let's face the fact that the ballistic missile threat is not, I repeat, is not decreasing, it's here now and growing. The deployment of a national missile defense system is necessary for protection from rogue nations such as North Korea and Iran.

Alaska is still on the front line, as it was during the cold war, but today's threat is from the increase of important military technology, including nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons and ballistic missiles. In recent years, ballistic missiles and weapons of mass destruction technologies have increased at an alarming rate. In fact, rogue states such as North Korea and Iran have arsenals which are growing by the day. Alaska is within the sites of these rogue nations.

Residents of Alaska are concerned about the fact that there is no protection from the threat of a ballistic missile attack. The Alaska state legislature recently passed a resolution calling on the President and Congress to provide for the common defense of our nation and the deployment of a national missile defense system. We not only owe it to Alaskans to protect them from the threat of a ballistic missile attack, but to the entire United States.

Today, we can deliver on a policy that will move the defense of our nation forward. I urge your support of H.R. 4.

Mr. Speaker I include for the RECORD a copy of the Alaska House Joint Resolution.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 8 IN THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF ALASKA

A resolution relating to a national ballistic missile defense system.

Be it resolved by the legislature of the State of Alaska:

Whereas the collapse of the Soviet Union has rendered obsolete the treaty constraints and diplomatic understandings that limited the development and deployment of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems during the Cold War; and

Whereas the world has consequently witnessed during this decade an unprecedented proliferation of sophisticated military technology, including nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons and ballistic missiles; and

Whereas the United States has recognized that it currently has no means of protecting all of its citizens from attack by these new threats and has initiated a program to develop and deploy a national ballistic missile defense system; and

Whereas four locations in the state are currently being considered as sites for deployment of the intercept vehicles for this system; and

Whereas each of these locations provides the unmatched military value of a strategic location from which Americans living in all 50 states can be defended as required by the United States Constitution; and

Whereas, throughout Alaska's history as a territory and a state, Alaska's citizens have been unwavering in their support of a strong national defense while warmly welcoming the men and women of our armed forces stationed here;

*Be it resolved*, That the Twenty-First Alaska State Legislature calls upon the President, as Commander In Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States, to provide for the common defense of our nation by selecting an Alaska site for the deployment of the national ballistic missile defense system.

Copies of this resolution shall be sent to the Honorable Bill Clinton, President of the United States; the Honorable Floyd D. Spence, Chair, Committee on Armed Services, U.S. House of Representatives; the Honorable John Warner, Chair, Committee on Armed Services, U.S. Senate; and to the Honorable Ted Stevens and the Honorable Frank Murkowski, U.S. Senators, and the Honorable Don Young, U.S. Representative, members of the Alaska delegation in Congress.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON), the chairman of our Subcommittee on Research and Development.

(Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished chairman for yielding, and I want to thank both him and our distinguished ranking member the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) and the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) for their leadership in working to bring a solid bipartisan resolution to the House floor.

I want to set the tone, Mr. Speaker, for the debate and why we are here, so I want to outline for my friends why we are offering this bill at this time.

It was back in 1995, Mr. Speaker, that the President of the United States vetoed our Defense Authorization bill; and in his veto message, one of the key elements that he referred to was that our intelligence community does not foresee a missile threat in the coming decade. This is President Clinton. And he went on to say that we should not force an unwarranted deployment decision then, which we had in our bill, again with a bipartisan vote, and so he vetoed the legislation.

Since that point in time, Mr. Speaker, the intelligence community, in support of the Rumsfeld Commission's findings, which were briefed to Members of Congress on the House floor today in an unprecedented 90-minute closed session, has stated the threat is here now.

In fact, the intelligence community publicly has said that North Korea, with their test of a three-stage Taepo Dong rockets on August 31 of last year demonstrated that it can put a small payload with a chemical or biological or small nuclear warhead into the heartland of the U.S., not to just Alaska or Hawaii, but to the heartland of the U.S. That is the first time we ever faced such a threat.

With the Rumsfeld Commission and intelligence community now in total agreement on the threat then, the question is, let us make a deployment decision so that we can move forward. Unfortunately, the administration has chosen not to do that. This is the statement of Defense Secretary Bill Cohen on February 1 of this year. This statement says, and I would ask my colleagues to look at this, ''If the President decides that the deployment should go forward,'' if he decides, ''next June the President would make that decision.''

This bill, make no mistake about it, is a clear and definitive difference between the administration's policy of waiting a year until June and us making that decision right now. We need to make that decision now. It does not mean we know the architecture, how long it will take. It does not mean that we should immediately abandon the ABM Treaty or have the Russians in fact think we are trying to back them into a corner. Because some who will support this bill want to keep the ABM Treaty until we can negotiate with the Russians. So the bill was written in such a way as to allow a number of Members in each party to support it.

Let me talk for a moment since we have now identified the fact that the threat has been verified by the intelligence community. Some would say, what about the cost? As I mentioned during the debate on the rule, we have today spent $9 billion on Bosnia protecting the Bosnians and the people in the Balkans.

This system the President is proposing would be less than or, at most, equal to what we will spend in the Balkans, less than what we spend each year on environmental cleanup, less than one half of one percent of our total defense acquisition budget.

The third issue that is raised is this will destabilize our relationship with the Russians. We heard that repeatedly. This past weekend, eight of us, two Democrats and six Republicans, along with Don Rumsfeld, former Defense Secretary, the former CIA Director Jim Woolsey for President Clinton, and Bill Schneider, former Deputy Secretary of State, traveled to Moscow and we briefed the Duma on why we are doing this. This is not about destabilizing our relationship.

I encourage my colleagues to support this bipartisan resolution and vote ''yes.''

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LEE).

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to H.R. 4. Simply stated, this bill is wrong. It does nothing to advance our technological capability to protect America. And even worse, it could reverse ongoing efforts to dismantle Russia's nuclear arsenal.

Today's vote would wager America's national security. Our Nation would be dependent on a nonexistent system that has failed 14 out of 18 recent tests. If this bill actually becomes law, it will lock us into automatic deployment of a national missile defense system without regard to cost to our taxpayers or the system's effectiveness or its impact on relations with our allies.

This bill is a blank check to defense contractors and a hollow promise to

Americans who are rightly concerned about our national security. However, instead of spending billions of dollars committing to deploy a system that is unlikely to work undermining our national security, we should focus on defense initiatives we know will make American families safer, conducting tougher arms control and verification measures, continuing the dismantling of Russia's nuclear weapons, engaging in a coordinated effort against terrorism, and making sure our troops have the training, equipment, and quality-of-life programs that they need and deserve.

Finally, this vote really sends the wrong message at the wrong time. Why, Mr. Speaker, are we pushing this vote just days before the Russian Prime Minister is set to arrive in Washington in the midst of U.S. efforts to negotiate modifications to the ABM Treaty and just as the Russian Duma has asked President Yeltsin to start the ratification process for START II?

We must be vigilant in our attempt to keep efforts on track to reduce nuclear weaponry. We must not allow this bill to turn back the clock on these efforts. For these reasons, I urge the House to reject H.R. 4, reject the automatic deployment of weapons derived of latter-day Star Wars mentality, and, if necessary, call on the President to veto this bill.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California (Mr. LEWIS), the chairman of the Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations.

(Mr. LEWIS of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to very much express my appreciation to our chairman, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE), and the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) for the wonderful work they have done. And congratulations to both the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) and the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) for their bipartisan effort.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 4. This morning prior to the start of this debate, every Member had the opportunity to be briefed on the growing threat to Americans from ballistic missiles. What is extremely alarming is the emerging threat posed by North Korea and Iran. As we know, both countries are of particular concern because they are actively seeking to develop medium- to long-range ballistic missiles. In fact, with regard to North Korea, the Rumsfeld Commission issued a clear warning. Their report said:

> There is evidence that North Korea is working hard on the Taepo Dong 2 (TD–2) ballistic missile . . . the TD–2 could be deployed rapidly . . . This missile could reach major cities and military bases in Alaska and the smaller, westernmost islands in the Hawaiian chain. Light-weight variations of the TD–2 could fly as far as 10,000 km, placing at risk western U.S. territory . . . from Phoenix, Arizona, to Madison, Wisconsin.

The actual launch of a three-stage Taepo Dong 1 in August 1998, just a month after that report was issued, served as unambiguous demonstration of North Korea's capability. The threat emanating from unfriendly rogue nations like North Korea is why I strongly support this legislation.

Unfortunately, opponents of this bill argue that the U.S. is not ready to deploy missile defense and that the system is not technically mature. Others will say, the system is too costly and that the bill mandates deployment and ignores important issues such as the threat environment, ABM treaty implications and START agreements. To those who oppose this legislation on these grounds, I say the language of the bill is simple. It states: "That it is the policy of the United States to deploy a national missile defense."

What is important is that it does not say that missile defense should be deployed before it is ready or technically mature. It does not say that the U.S. should deploy a missile defense system regardless of cost or that policy makers should ignore the threat environment. Perhaps most important, the bill does not say that the U.S. should abrogate the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty nor does it say the U.S. should abide by the treaty.

H.R. 4 simply says the Congress and the Administration are committed to protecting American citizens against ballistic missile attack.

The White House says that it wants to protect the American people against the emerging long-range threat and asserts that the decision to deploy National Missile Defense will be based on four factors: (1) the threat environment; (2) the cost of the system; (3) treaty implications, and; (4) the technology and operational effectiveness of the system.

If handled in an expeditious manner, it is my view that this is not an unreasonable list of considerations. In fact, as Chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense I will be very interested in the cost of the system.

Therefore, I believe this bill is an opportunity to get bipartisan agreement on a critical policy and yet it is flexible enough to allow for continued discussion on matters concerning cost, technology and treaty implications.

The time is right to secure an agreement on the policy of protecting our citizens against a potential limited ballistic missile attack. I commend Mr. WELDON for introducing this legislation and I strongly urge Members to vote for the bill.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Utah (Mr. HANSEN).

(Mr. HANSEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, there is a scripture that I believe in that goes this way: It says, "If you are prepared, you shall not fear."

As a member of the Committee on Armed Services, the Cox Commission, and a former member of the Committee on Intelligence, I find this a very interesting debate that we find ourselves in.

I remember the early 1980s we were standing here debating something called the MX missile. I noticed how many people stood up and said, this will enhance the risk and buildup and we should not do it. That did not happen. Then later on we got into something we called "nuclear freeze," and some people stood on floor and said, if we do that, the other nations will have to go along with this, as the Soviet Union. Fortunately, we did not do that one either.

Then we got into something called Krasnoyarsk, and that is where many people were saying they do not have that radar in violation of the treaty. It turned out they did. And when they came down, they even acknowledged that they did.

Now we find ourselves in a position where people are standing up and saying, Mr. Speaker, the Cold War is over. There is nothing more to worry about. Where have they been? What about Iraq, Iran, China, Korea, all of these particular areas that are still doing these things?

I think it interesting as we hear the President and other dignitaries stand up and they say there are no missiles pointed at the United States. Past Director of the CIA, Jim Woolsey, stood up at one time and made this statement. "How long would it take to reprogram those missiles?" He used this example. He said, "As long as it takes my arm to go from here to there." So big deal that they are not programmed at us. Basically, they think that we think that they are.

Does anyone in their right mind actually think Saddam Hussein if he had these weapons of mass destruction would not use them against the United States of America? What is it they need? The weapon of choice in a rogue nation happens to be a missile. They do not need big armies. They do not need big navies. They do not need a big air force. So what do they need? They need a missile. And we know they have a missile. They need a warhead. And we know that they have a warhead. And we know that they have a guidance system.

I would urge my colleagues to support the resolution and this bill.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. SHERMAN).

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Speaker, most Americans have lived their entire lives under the threat of nuclear Armageddon. At the conclusion of the Cold War, many hoped that threat would subside. But today rogue states are developing ballistic missiles and weapons of mass destruction.

China has at least 18 ICBMs capable of hitting the United States and is stealing our nuclear secrets. Russia has thousands of tactical and strategic nuclear weapons, and that society is fraying at the edges in its ability to control each military unit that possesses nuclear weapons and to control each of its scientific institutes is not assured.

Further, in addition to the risk of ICBMs, smuggling things into the United States is demonstrably easy. A nuclear weapon is smaller in many cases than a child. And one could only

imagine a Saddam Hussein holding a press conference in Los Angeles where one of his agents unveils that they have snuck into my city a dummy nuclear weapon while, God forbid, holding a press conference in Baghdad displaying a real nuclear weapon.

Missile defense can be one element of our security, and this bill is broad enough to encompass a cost-effective approach toward missile security. But it is also broad enough so that it could be interpreted as spending all of our available security resources on missile defense. We instead must devote some of those to diplomatic efforts to ensure international support of nonproliferation.

□ 1415

We must spend resources on counterintelligence. We must spend resources on domestic security so we are confident that biological poisons cannot be surrepetitiously entered into our water supply. We must spend funds on border security so that the chance that a nuclear weapon that is sought to be smuggled into America is caught in that process is at least as good as the possibility that an ICBM aimed at America would be destroyed. We must cooperate with Russia as well.

Mr. Speaker, I look forward to the adoption of this resolution and its reasonable interpretation.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. HEFLEY), chairman of the Subcommittee on Military Installations and Facilities.

Mr. HEFLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this bill and commend the leadership for bringing this issue to the floor today. I thank my colleagues on the other side of the aisle who will have the courage to vote to declare it the policy of the United States to deploy a national missile defense.

Mr. Speaker, in my district, Colorado Springs is ground zero for the missile launch warning and tracking system for the United States military. I have visited the incredible facilities at NORAD, Cheyenne Mountain, the U.S. Space Command, and Schriever Air Force Base on many occasions.

In fact, on one occasion when I visited NORAD, they put me in front of a monitor and they simulated an attack on the United States. A missile came over the polar region from the Soviet Union and they told me what that missile was, what its explosive power was, where it was going to hit, and I said, ''This is magnificent. This is state of the art. What do we do now?'' And they said, ''Nothing.'' They said we might be able to warn, give a short warning to some of the people that are going to be killed by it, but not enough warning for them to escape. We can do nothing. I do not think most of the American people realize that.

I wonder how it sits with the American people. I wonder how my colleagues who are opposed to this policy can look their constituents in the eye and say, ''We shouldn't try to build a system to protect you and your families.''

I have listened to the arguments coming from the President over the years who has opposed this and others and they make some points. We need to consider all of these points. But, Mr. Speaker, to not even try sickens me. I hope all Members will, when considering their vote on H.R. 4, think about the people that sent them here to represent them but also sent them here to protect them from things like this.

That building across the river over there that we call the Defense Department, I have always thought it curious that we called it the Defense Department but it cannot defend us against the number-one threat to America today.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. ANDREWS).

(Mr. ANDREWS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time. I want to congratulate the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) and the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) for their bipartisan and tireless effort to bring this legislation to the floor and thank our committee leadership, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE) and the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON), for giving us this opportunity.

The Constitution says that one of our foremost responsibilities is to provide for the common defense. I do not think there is a Member here who does not hold in his or her heart that responsibility very highly. But there will be those who argue that this is not the right way to provide for the common defense. I respectfully submit that they are wrong. This is the right way to provide for the common defense. Some say that the risk is not there or we are exaggerating it. I believe that our best judgment from our best intelligence compels us to conclude otherwise. Some say the technology will not work yet. They are right. But the technology for virtually every major weapons system did not work in the early stages. The technology for our space program did not work in the early stages. The technology of corporate America rarely works in the early stages. Technology never works if you do not try. This is about trying to make this technology work.

Others will say that other priorities should take precedence over this provision for the common defense. There are other important priorities. There is no priority more important than defending this country from attack. Because nothing else we do is possible if we fail to defend the country from attack. And how much are we asking to invest in this? Over the next 5 years, we will spend about $10 trillion of the taxpayers' money to develop this country on education, health care, transportation, all the other things that we do. This program will spend about one-tenth of 1 percent of that amount of money. The other 99.9 percent will be otherwise spent.

This is a wise choice. I urge my colleagues to support this bill.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), chairman of the Committee on International Relations.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished chairman of the Committee on National Security for yielding me this time and for bringing this measure to the floor at this time.

I am pleased to express my strong support for this important legislation, H.R. 4, a bill which declares our Nation's policy to be able to deploy a missile defense.

Each of us, after hearing this morning the findings of the Rumsfeld Commission, more fully understands the extensiveness and the seriousness of our national security concerns. Each of us understands that the ballistic missile threat is growing and presents not only a danger to our men and women deployed overseas but also now to our citizens here at home. Each of us understands that today our Nation does not have the capability to defend ourselves against a ballistic missile attack.

Today, we take important action to address this threat. Coupled with the vote in the Senate yesterday, we can now assure the American people that we are moving ahead with the deployment of an appropriate national missile defense shield.

Today's vote is timely for another reason. Just yesterday, a senior White House official concluded that Chinese espionage at our U.S. nuclear labs facilitated their efforts to modernize China's nuclear capability, thereby improving the ability of Chinese missiles to strike American cities.

Even more alarming is the possibility that China will pass on nuclear secrets to other nations, such as Pakistan and North Korea, as it has repeatedly done before.

Many deserve credit for this vote today, but I want to single out the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) who has tirelessly and steadfastly worked to educate all of us and the American people on the necessity to deploy a ballistic missile defense system.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 4 is a simple, straightforward, 15-word bill. But its simplicity belies the profound implications it has for our Nation. Accordingly, I urge all Members to fully support this legislation.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Illinois (Ms. SCHAKOWSKY).

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. Mr. Speaker, as a new Member of Congress and as a mother and as a grandmother, I take deadly seriously the decision to commit the United States to the deployment of a missile defense system. I see

this proposal as nothing more than the beginning of Cold War II. And for me it is not just about the money, and it is not just about whether an antimissile defense system works, although we have already spent $55 billion and we still have not developed a technology that will work, and it is not just about whether it is truly defense. The fact is that America's borders and ports are open to penetration at much less cost and much less risk. So even if we could develop a bullet that could hit a bullet, it still remains not the best and most direct route from here to security.

We should begin that journey by canceling plans to proceed with the deployment of a national missile defense system, because it is in our security interest to do so. Then we could put more emphasis on measures to reduce strategic arsenals around the world. For example, we could apply some of those billions of dollars to programs like the Nunn-Lugar program to assist the Russians in dismantling nuclear weapons. Make no mistake about it, a military buildup, which is what this is, brings us closer to war.

My granddaughter, Isabelle, celebrated her first birthday this week. For her sake, we must put our energy, our resources, our intelligence and our dollars into actively, proactively pursuing peace.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. HUNTER), chairman of the Subcommittee on Military Procurement.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I think there is one thing that housewives and our other citizens across the Nation need to know, because I have sat in focus groups and listened to them say over and over again that they thought that there was a defense. And interestingly, the mothers of this Nation seem to be the most outraged when the moderator tells them, no, there is no defense. They say, ''Well, that's outrageous. Of course our country has a defense against incoming ballistic missiles.''

Now, it has been argued over and over that we have spent $120 billion and we have not produced or built any system. Well, that is because every bill that we have put forward that has authorized expenditure of money has specifically kept that money from going toward production. We have said in every authorization bill and every appropriation bill, you can research, you can do all kinds of analysis, you can't build anything. So now the opponents of national missile defense say, well, we haven't built anything. Well, that is right, and that is why the bill of the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) is on the floor today, to move the country forward in a unified manner and build something. And for those folks like the gentlewoman who just spoke who say that they will rely on mutually assured destruction, the problem that we have now is that it appears that there are certain people on this globe like Mr. Khadafi who will take that bet. They will go along with mutually assured destruction. Mr. Khadafi has said that if he had the missiles when we backed him down in the Gulf of Sidra, he would have fired on New York City. Unfortunately, because of arms sales and the proliferation of missile technology, Mr. Khadafi may well soon have the ability to carry out what he has stated that he will do.

Now, can we hit a bullet with a bullet? Well, yes we have done that. In fact, when Adolf Hitler fired the first missiles, those slow cruise missiles that he called buzz bombs at London in World War II, within a few weeks we designed a system to hit those slow-moving bullets with other bullets, with real bullets, and shoot them down. When we had American troops shot at by those Scuds, which are ballistic missiles, we hit those bullets with bullets, albeit slow bullets, we shot them down. Can we shoot down faster bullets? Absolutely. With a computing power that is millions of times above what it was just 10 or 12 or 15 years ago, of course we have that capability. But as long as we have conditions in our authorization bills that say you can research and develop forever but don't ever build anything, of course we never will build anything.

Finally, every time a threatening system has come before this country, has faced this country, whether it was the advent of the machine gun, or the tank, or radar, or enemy aircraft, we have built defend against those systems to protect our people. If we do not build a system to defend against incoming ballistic missiles, we will have turned down that most important duty for the first time in our history.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Georgia (Ms. MCKINNEY).

Ms. MCKINNEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H.R. 4. I think we all know and I think the American people know that the issue before us is as much about politics as it is about a meaningful debate over national security policy. It appears to me that the Republican Party views missile defense as a good issue for the year 2000 elections. How else could we find ourselves in the sorry position of being asked to write a blank check to build a system that is unproven, that threatens to undermine the arms control efforts of the last six administrations, that could easily be thwarted, that could lead to a second nuclear arms race, and would divert billions of dollars from other neglected defense and nondefense programs?

This is certainly a prime example in my opinion of dumb public policy. Apart from squandering billions of dollars on a system that has not been successfully tested, this proposal poses a threat to our national security in three other ways: First, it provides a false sense of security while doing nothing to combat perhaps our most pressing security threat, which is terrorism. A rogue state or a terrorist group is far more likely to deliver a bomb or a chemical or biological attack in a suitcase, a subway train, as was done in Japan, or in a Ryder truck.

Second, it will divert resources from other neglected defense programs. Over the past several months, we have heard compelling and professional testimony from the heads of all uniformed services on many other emerging threats to our armed forces, from laser technology that can blind our pilots to sophisticated computer attacks. And every one of the service chiefs has spoken of the immediate need to provide adequate pay and benefits for our most important military asset, our people in the military service, thousands of whom still depend on food stamps to provide for their families.

□ 1430

Instead of addressing these issues today, here we are debating spending billions and billions and billions of taxpayers' dollars for the return of Star Wars.

Third, deploying a national missile defense system jeopardizes the START process.

To quote one commentator: ''The only thing this national missile defense system is ever likely to intercept is billions of taxpayer dollars.''

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. MCKEON).

Mr. MCKEON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 4, and I want to thank the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE) and the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) for their leadership in getting this bill to the floor.

As my colleagues know, I grew up at a time when we had a worldwide threat. I can remember when I was going to school and our teachers would call drop drills, and we had to dive under our desk and turn away from the windows. We lived in constant threat of nuclear attack. Lately that threat has seemed to have disappeared, and the President said in the State of the Union that we were safe, that we were not under any threat of nuclear attack, and polls say that 70 percent of the people of our country feel that we are safe from nuclear attack.

But I want to thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) for making the truth known and the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) for joining him in a bipartisan way.

Mr. Speaker, we do not live in a safe world. The defense of our Nation, which is one of our fundamental responsibilities in the Constitution, is an issue that should unite all Americans regardless of ideology. Less than 1 percent of our defense budget is spent on research to develop a national missile defense capability, yet the threat we are facing is growing. Russia and China are selling missile technologies to nations such as Iran and North Korea bringing these last two countries closer to producing their own missiles.

The threat to our national security and the security of our citizens is real. We do not have drop drills now, but perhaps we should until we get this missile defense system deployed.

H.R. 4, which was passed overwhelmingly by the House Committee on Armed Services, is an appropriate response to this threat. I urge a yes vote on H.R. 4.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WOOLSEY).

(Ms. WOOLSEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, maybe I am just too simple, but today's debate, today's argument for an extended missile defense system, takes me back to the 1950s when I was in school. At least weekly while I was in grade school every student and our teachers went under our desks to practice protection against the atom bomb. Mr. Speaker, I can assure my colleagues we have a false sense of security, and it all came from these exercises. Now I question just how safe we could be with this missile defense technology against rogue States.

Mr. Speaker, what are we really investing in? I fear what we will be investing in is a false sense of security. I would suggest that instead we invest in true security. We can spend our scarce Federal dollars on technologies to protect us from the unknown, or we can use these scarce resources to keep our country secure by investing in humanitarian relations with other nations around the world.

For example, if we want to get serious about our nation's defense, we should be investing in programs that will prepare us to confront the international challenges we actually face and keep nuclear materials out of the hands of terrorists and rogue nations. This is a more effective tool for nonproliferation than Star Wars will ever be. This is where we should be investing our scarce dollars.

There is an even greater way that we can invest and that we can ensure national security. We can invest in our children. Education is truly the cheap defense of our Nation and all nations. By investing in education of our children, we will ensure that they are prepared for a high-tech global economy, they will be prepared to work for peace, and they will know that weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles can destroy every human being on this Earth.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. THORNBERRY).

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, thanks to the work of the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON), the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from California (Mr. HUNTER), others and the Rumsfeld Commission, no one seriously questions whether we are threatened today by the spread of missiles, nor does anyone question whether that threat is going to grow in the future. No one seriously questions whether the American people want and in fact demand a defense against those missiles, which even the administration now seems to acknowledge.

Mr. Speaker, if the national security is the first responsibility of the Federal Government and if protecting the homeland of the United States and the people of the United States is the first job of national security, then I do not know of any program that ought to be higher on the priority list than this one. The question is do we in Congress and does the administration really mean what we say in this resolution? Are these words merely a way to try to deal with a political problem and the polls, or do they mean something, and are they going to be backed up with action?

Since 1983, we have heard a million excuses about how we could not do this or we should not do this. Even today we hear excuses. But we cannot give Russia or anyone else a veto over our right to defend ourselves, we cannot be afraid of test failures, and we certainly cannot be fooled by those few people who say that by weakening ourselves we are really making ourselves stronger.

Mr. Speaker, the time for excuses has ended. The time for action is now. The time to back up these words with real actions that protect the American people is today.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS).

(Mr. SANDERS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Speaker, this debate is about whether, after spending $140 billion on missile defense programs over the last 40 years, we continue to spend billions more. But this debate is about much more than that. Given the fact that there is a limited amount of funds available for our needs, let me tell my colleagues what this debate is also about. This debate is whether millions of senior citizens today who cannot afford the prescription drugs they need to ease their pain or stay alive are going to get those prescription drugs or whether we continue to spend even more on the military. That is what this debate is about.

This morning, Mr. Speaker, I attended a committee meeting with representatives of all of the veterans organizations, and they said what is absolutely true, that this Congress has been disgraceful in ignoring the needs of our veterans and our Veterans Administration hospitals, and they are begging us for a few billion dollars more to protect our veterans so that we do not turn them away from our VA hospitals. But over and over again we hear there is no money available for our veterans; but, yes, there is $150 billion more available over the next 5 years for military spending.

And we have young families all over America who look forward to sending their kids to college; no money available for Pell grants, yet more money available for Star Wars, for B–2 bombers, for every defense system that the military industrial complex wants.

Now I have heard that we are spending very little so far on defense, on understanding, on research for the missile defense program. If we have $300 billion in the defense budget now and we do not even have a Soviet Union out there to oppose us, why do we not take some of that money rather than asking us for more? The United States today spends $300 billion, NATO spends $200 billion, North Korea spends less than $3 billion.

Take what we have and spend it wisely.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Kansas (Mr. RYUN).

Mr. RYUN of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, most Americans believe the United States military has the ability to defend our country against a ballistic missile attack. However today the United States does not have the capability to shoot down one single ballistic missile.

Mr. Speaker, I ask why have we failed to develop this capability? Is it because the threat of a ballistic missile attack disappeared with the fall of the Soviet Union? Absolutely not. Since the end of the Cold War, the threat of a ballistic missile attack against the United States has become more serious and more difficult to anticipate. Through the continued proliferation of key missile technologies by China and Russia, rogue nations around the globe have acquired long-range ballistic missile technology that now puts the United States in jeopardy.

Mr. Speaker, in 1995 the current administration did not foresee a long range ballistic missile threat for at least a decade. The administration's opinion has now changed. General Lester Lyles, the Pentagon's Director of the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization, confirmed the threat to the American people by saying this, and I quote:

> We are affirming the threat, it is real today and it is growing.

Mr. Speaker, these are not reassuring words, and they are disturbing words that relay a disheartening message to the American people. Detractors of a missile defense system spread the rumors and the myths that a national missile defense system would cost too much to deploy. It has cost this administration an estimated $19 billion over 6 years to support its peacekeeping missions. Compare that to the estimated $10 billion that it will cost the United States over the next 6 years to protect American lives from a long-range ballistic missile attack.

Mr. Speaker, China, North Korea, Iran, Iraq, Libya have all acquired the

technology to deploy ballistic missiles against the United States. H.R. 4 is the first step that must be taken if the United States wishes to protect its population against an existing ballistic missile threat.

I commend the diligent work done by my colleagues, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) and the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT).

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. CRAMER).

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H.R. 4 and urge its support by my colleagues. This is a simple resolution that above all else is a statement about the reality of the world in which we live. I was pleased to join the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON), my colleague on the other side, in a very important trip to Russia this past weekend with the gentleman from Texas (Mr. TURNER), who will speak on this issue as well. We delivered a message to the Russian Duma about ballistic missile defense and the fact that we will protect the shores of this country. This is not a violation of our treaty with Russia.

The Cold War is over, but the threat is there. Listen to the words of the Rumsfeld Commission. We have invested billions of dollars in technology to try to protect the shores of this country. The only responsible thing to do is to now deploy. To vote for deployment is to begin to protect the shores of this country from missile threats from rogue nations. It is our responsibility to do so.

I thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON), I thank the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) for their leadership, and I urge Members to support H.R. 4.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. JONES).

Mr. JONES of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the Cold War is over, and yet America is less safe. Here are the facts. Iran conducted its first flight test of a medium range ballistic missile last year, an entire year earlier than the intelligence community had predicted. North Korea continues to develop and test a ballistic missile with long-range capabilities that would pose a direct threat to much of the continental United States. In 1996, a Chinese general threatened the destruction of Los Angeles, and today China has 13 of its 18 missiles pointed at United States cities.

Mr. Speaker, our national security is threatened, and to the surprise of most Americans our United States military cannot destroy one, not one incoming missile.

Americans are just now learning the frightening truth. The Clinton administration has lulled the United States citizens into a false sense of security. How can we afford to send U.S. troops to Bosnia and now Kosovo, but we cannot find the money to protect America against a missile attack? The fact is the costs to deploy a national missile defense capability will amount to less than the amount this administration has spent on peacekeeping deployments over the past 6 years.

Mr. Speaker, a vote for H.R. 4 is a vote to protect and defend the citizens of this great Nation.

□ 1445

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS).

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, one out of every five children lives in poverty. Over 40 million Americans have no health insurance. One out of every three public schools is falling apart. Spending billions of dollars on missile defense does nothing to solve these problems.

In the words of Dwight D. Eisenhower, every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed.

President Eisenhower, a Republican, had the experience and the wisdom to appreciate the cost of the military to our society. It is the price we paid during the Cold War because we had to.

Mr. Speaker, that threat is no more. There is no need for a missile defense, for spending billions of dollars on some pie in the sky boondoggle.

This May, the sequel to the film Star Wars will be released. It is called The Phantom Menace.

Mr. Speaker, today we are debating whether to build a sequel to Ronald Reagan's Star Wars system. It too should be called The Phantom Menace.

This Phantom Menace defense system will cost at least $20 billion and protect us against a threat that simply does not exist.

It is time to recognize the peace dividend, to redirect our priorities and invest in our people, not in weapons.

Make no mistake, a dollar more for missile defense is a dollar less for health care, for education and for food. This Phantom Menace missile defense system will not educate the unlearned. It will not provide hope for the hopeless, food for the hungry or medicine for the sick.

I urge my colleagues, do not choose bullets over babies, bombs over books, missiles over medicine.

Let it be the policy of our great Nation to beat our swords into plowshares, to invest not in the instruments of war but in the dividends of peace, in education and health care, in hope and opportunity, in our children, our families and our future.

Vote no on the remains of a bygone age. Vote no on this resolution.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. KNOLLENBERG).

Mr. KNOLLENBERG. Mr. Speaker, I rise in very strong support of H.R. 4. Recent showdowns with Iraq and North Korea are a stark reminder that the fall of the Soviet Union has not led to an absence of threats to our national security. Indeed we still live, and as people have said, in a very dangerous world. We must continue to make this Nation's defense our number one priority.

While the United States has conducted research on missile defense for years and possesses the technology to protect the American people from a ballistic missile attack, most Americans are outraged to discover that political foot-dragging has prevented such a defense system from being put in place.

Clearly, it is time for Congress and the President to make a commitment to deploy a national missile defense. Additional excuses and further delay will only weaken our national security and endanger American lives.

With rogue nations like Iran, Iraq and North Korea working feverishly to develop weapons of mass destruction and the missile technology to deliver them inside the United States, there is simply no justification for leaving the American people vulnerable any longer. Cast votes in favor of a strong, secure America. Vote for H.R. 4.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 11 minutes.

(Mr. SPRATT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I have followed this issue for a long time, since chairing a panel of the Committee on Armed Services in the mid-1980s on SDI for 4 years, and I want to put this whole matter in some context, explain to my friends who do not understand why I am supporting this simple bill.

In March of 1983, Ronald Reagan launched the strategic defense initiative, and with it a charged debate. The arguments over the old perennials of the Cold War, the ASATs and the B–2 and the MX, ended long ago but this one smolders on. Unlike any other weapons system I have seen in the time that I have served here, this one has become a political totem. Its advocates not only disagree with its opponents but they accuse them of leaving the country vulnerable to missile attack. They diminish the fact that deterrence worked for all of the Cold War and they act as if missile defenses were almost off the shelf, available to shield the country, the whole country, from attack, when this capability is far from proven and may never be attained.

On the other hand, opponents accuse the advocates of firing up the arms race again. They give too little credit to the advantages of defending ourselves against nuclear attack and moving away from massive retaliation, mutual destruction, complementing deterrence with defense.

Today, the House takes up that missile defense debate again, this time with a resolution that is notable for its brevity, if nothing else, that it is the

policy of the United States to deploy a national missile defense system. Of course the United States has deployed a national missile defense system.

We spent $15 billion in today's money building Sprint and Spartan and setting up Safeguard at Grand Forks, North Dakota, only to shut the system down in 1976. Even then the Pentagon did not quit spending in missile defense.

In the year Reagan made his speech and launched SDI, the Pentagon put $991 million in its budget for missile defense and that sum was budgeted to rise annually to $2.7 billion by 1988, most of it to go for protecting MX missiles in their silos.

After the eighties, the mid-eighties, the defense budget, as all of us know, barely kept up with inflation. With Ronald Reagan pushing it, SDI kept on increasing, rising so fast that within 4 or 5 years of his speech SDI was the largest item in the defense budget, a big defense budget.

At nearly $4 billion, SDI was getting almost as much as the entire research and development account of the United States Army.

Sixteen years have passed and the Defense Department has spent some $50 billion on ballistic missile defense and has yet to field a strategic defense system. Now by anybody's reckoning, that is real money.

It is hard to claim, with this much spent, that the absence of a deployed system is due to the lack of commitment. The problem is more lack of focus than a lack of commitment or lack of funding. Plus the fact, the plain hard fact, that this task is harder than Ronald Reagan ever realized.

Early on, the architects of strategic defense decided that it had to be layered; one layer would not do. The system had to thin out some missiles in the boost phase as they rose from their silos. It had to take out some reentry vehicles in the mid-course as they traveled through space, and the remainder had to be taken out as they descended in the atmosphere to their targets.

So the Pentagon developed a whole family of systems. There was the Endo-atmospheric interceptor, and Exo-atmospheric interceptor, a terminal interceptor. There was Space-Based Kinetic-Kill Vehicles which later became Brilliant Pebbles. All of those were kinetic killers, which meant they were designed to collide head on with their targets.

Since hitting a target that is moving 7 kilometers a second is a daunting task, to say the least, SDI put some money into an alternative technology: Directed energy.

At one time, the SDI program supported five different laser systems, space-spaced and ground-based. Since missile defense requires better acquisition of targets, better tracking, and a means of discriminating real targets from decoys, SDI had to put money into those systems, too. We developed a pop-up system, known as the GSTS. We developed space-based infrared sensors first known as Space and Missile Tracking System, now known as SBIRS Low and SBIRS High.

We even went into interactive discrimination with an esoteric technology called the neutral particle beam, which would have been based in space.

Now let me emphasize, not all of these pursuits took us down blind alleys. Not all of this money was wasted, not by any means. The ERIS, for example, was bypassed for a better interceptor but the projectile that the Army developed for the ERIS, the Exo-atmospheric interceptor called the LEAP, is now on the top of the Navy's upper tier system. It has been used there.

The Army has a system called the THAAD, which intercepts in the atmosphere. In the atmosphere, there is a lot of friction. That system, the THAAD, has a sapphire window aperture on it developed for the HEDI.

So we have used the technology for other systems and it has evolved forward. We have made progress with this $50 billion.

After the Gulf War, SDIO eventually evolved into BMDO, and BMDO had theater missile defense and strategic defense, a bigger plate and less money. It decided it had to put its money where it would pay off so it started taking assessment of what worked and what did not work. The first thing they did was discard lasers because lasers were too futuristic. Ground-based lasers are hard to propagate in the atmosphere without distortion. Spaced-based lasers in fixed orbits are easy to counter attack, hard to power. They were discarded.

Boost-phased interceptors are also vulnerable to attack if they are in fixed orbit in space, and given the fact that there have to be so many on target on station all the time, we need thousands of them, literally thousands launched to do the job.

Even if all of these problems could be overcome, for boost-phased interceptors they could still be outrun by missiles like the SS–24 which had a boost-phase burnout time of 180 seconds.

Why go through all of this? Because it shows the frustration of these efforts. We are not here today because we have not had the will to do it. We have spent the money. We have pursued these things. We simply have not yet been able to prove that the system can work.

Where we have ended up is with ground-based interceptors, mid-course interceptors. These have the merit of being treaty compliant. They are technically mature. They are clearly the best candidate to go first, but nobody should think that they answer Ronald Reagan's dream. The first problem they face today and 15 years ago is countermeasures in the form of decoys and chaff and RVs that are attached to and enveloped in balloons which lure the interceptors off course.

The next is a limiting condition that the SDIO acknowledged in the 1992 report. Because of the radiation and the heat and the electromagnetic effects that are generated when an RV is destroyed with a nuclear warhead inside it, SDIO decided that it could not postulate the destruction of more than 200 oncoming RVs at any given time.

If we were attacked by an adversary as sophisticated as Russia, with an arsenal as large and diverse as theirs, the first wave attack could easily exceed 200 RVs. So nobody should assume that we are anywhere close to protecting the whole American continent from ballistic missiles. We are not even close to that.

Now, H.R. 4 says it is our policy to develop a national missile defense. The mid-course interceptor is clearly the candidate for this mission. This is not a system, however, that will render nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete. If we have learned anything over the past 16 years, we have learned that a leak-proof defense is so difficult it may never be attained.

H.R. 4 calls for a national missile defense, but the committee report acknowledges that this is a system that will protect us against limited strikes. By limited strikes what we mean is up to 20 oncoming RVs.

There is a legitimate concern, I think, that Russia may react adversely to this but, in truth, Russia has nothing to be concerned about here because this system would not begin to defend us against the threat that the Russians still pose to us. That is why we should not push too hard. That is why we should not be talking about breaching the ABM Treaty, because START II and START III are still more important to us, to our security, than launching this NMD system with its limited effectiveness.

The merit of this bill to me is, as I have said, not what it says but what it does not say. It is simple. It does not say that the technology is in hand. It does not try to prescribe what we should do. It leaves that to be worked out in time. It just commits us, focuses us on a deployable system.

It does not mandate a date for deployment. It does not call for the revision of the ABM Treaty. It simply says, let us focus on getting something done. Let us see if we cannot bring to fruition a system that will at least give us limited protection against a ballistic missile attack.

Then we can, first of all, reap some return on the $50 billion we have spent. Secondly, with a treaty complaint system we can tell what its potential is, test its practical potential. That is the only way we can find out if we can overcome the countermeasures of decoys and balloons and all the other things that can lure these interceptors off track.

□ 1500

Thirdly, this technology that we are talking about is not on a continuum

with theater missile defense, and we all agree in this House that that is something we should do, having seen the consequences of it in the Gulf War.

Finally, if we do this, we will have a system, if it has proven its mettle, that may give us some protection against an accidental strike, which could happen; against a rogue attack, which could be threatened. It may give us some protection, and it will certainly give us something that we can learn from and build upon and, as I said, reap some investment.

I support this bill finally in the hope that we can put BMD on a bipartisan footing. Theater missile defense enjoys bipartisan support, we all support it. National missile defense has been a bone of contention. What we sought in this bill was something that we could all come to common ground on. I am not just advocating that we build anything. National missile defense needs to stand the test of any weapons system. It ought to be put to rigorous testing, made to prove that it can hold this country harmless against a limited missile attack. If a strategic defense can rise to this mettle, I think we should buy it and deploy it. If it cannot, there is nothing in this bill that says we should buy a dud.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. HOSTETTLER), a very valuable member of our committee.

Mr. HOSTETTLER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I just returned from Russia where I joined a bipartisan delegation of my colleagues in communicating the intent of H.R. 4 to members of the Russian Duma.

Although Russia is skeptical of America's intent to deploy a national missile defense, I can tell my colleagues that a limited national missile defense would not undermine Russia's nuclear deterrent. In fact, Russia still has a strategic nuclear arsenal of over 7,000 warheads. Even if Russia ratifies and complies with START II, they will still be able to sustain a strategic force of 3,500 warheads. If the U.S. had a national missile defense system similar to what Russia already has deployed outside of Moscow, Russia's strategic missile force could still overwhelm such a defensive U.S. system.

The fact is, we have no missile defense system to defend against any incoming ballistic missile, whether that missile is part of a limited or accidentally launched attack from a rogue nation such as North Korea or Iran, or an accidental launch from Russia or China. Russia, not the U.S., is the only country that currently maintains the world's only operational ballistic missile defense system for their country.

Even if the 1972 ABM Treaty were still legally valid, it at least allows for deployment of a limited national missile defense system at a single site in the U.S., a deployment that this administration has consistently opposed, up until recently, through and through. I find it shocking, though not really surprising, that Russia has the only real missile defense system, and that they do not really want to change the ABM Treaty, and yet the U.S. gets criticized for not cooperating with Russia.

The fact is, our bipartisan delegation to speak to the Russian Duma this past weekend was all about the U.S. Congress taking the initiative to cooperate with and give advanced notice to Russia regarding our intent to enact a national missile defense policy for the United States, a national missile defense system to protect our cities, our businesses, our families, our children, from a missile carrying a nuclear, chemical, or biological warhead that could flatten an entire metropolitan area with one strike.

Mr. Speaker, I support H.R. 4, and I thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON), the chairman of the Subcommittee on Military Research and Development, and the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE), the chairman of the full Committee on Armed Services, for advancing the goals of the Constitution: to provide for the defense of our Nation.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT).

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

The consideration of this bill is the story of an overwhelming, but rather hollow, victory, and a total policy failure. This Star Wars scheme is, first, a technological failure, failing one test after another, again and again. This system assumes the capability, as U.S. Air Force General Lester Lyles said, of ''hitting a bullet with a bullet'' in outer space. And indeed, it would be not one bullet, but many bullets, coming down over this entire 50 United States. That would be a challenge even for Superman.

Well, the system has failed to do that. It represents more political mythology than technological reality.

Star Wars is, secondly a failure for the taxpayer a failure of over $100 billion wasted on this program. And now our Republican friends tell us that for a mere $184 billion more, we can deploy this defective system. They are wrong. It is wrong to assume that if we waste enough taxpayer money, we can purchase absolute security.

For indeed, this Star Wars scheme represents a failure also for true national security. It diverts very precious resources away from other military needs and other nonmilitary needs that are at the heart of maintaining ours as the most powerful country in the world. More importantly, this scheme jeopardizes our efforts to reduce nuclear armaments and endangers those agreements we have already negotiated, such as the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

Our paramount security goal should be to reduce the nuclear threat, not to raise false promise that we will live happily ever after in the event of a nuclear attack. Forsaking that paramount goal constitutes a tragic failure by this Congress.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Jacksonville, Florida (Mrs. FOWLER).

(Mrs. FOWLER asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. FOWLER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.R. 4.

This morning, this House received a top secret briefing from the independent commission to assess the ballistic missile threat to the United States. Now, maybe my colleague who just spoke from Texas was not at that briefing and if he was not, then I recommend he go read that report, because they discussed the findings that led them to conclude unanimously that ballistic missile threats from North Korea, Iran, Iraq, China, have developed far more rapidly than predicted in recent years by our intelligence community, and pose a serious threat to the United States.

Now, while many of us in this House have long championed deployment of a national missile defense capable of defeating at least a limited or accidental attack on our Nation, this legislation represents this Congress' first concrete expression of support for such a deployment.

Mr. Speaker, there is no question the threat is real. Last August, North Korea flight-tested a 3-stage Taepo Dong I missile. Though the missile's third stage failed, the launch raised serious concerns. Our intelligence community revised its previous estimates of North Korea's capabilities, concluding that with the resolution of some tech issues, the next generation of the North Korean missile, the Taepo Dong II now under development could soon target not just Alaska and Hawaii, but could reach the rest of the United States, depending on the size of its payload. Meanwhile, North Korea has gone ahead actively pursuing nuclear weapons.

It is no small matter that the same regime that launched this missile has simultaneously allowed hundreds of thousands of its own citizens to perish from famine. That shows the regime's desperation to develop this capability and should raise concerns here about their willingness to use it. Unfortunately, today we have no capability to defeat the threat from missile threat.

Secretary Cohen has called the launch in North Korea another strong indicator that the United States in fact will face a rogue nation missile threat to our homeland against which we will have to defend the American people.

I congratulate my colleagues, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) and the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) for their efforts, and I urge my colleagues' support of this bill.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. TURNER).

Mr. TURNER. Mr. Speaker, I rise as a cosponsor of this legislation, and I want to say at the outset that I commend my chairman the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) of the Committee on Military Research and Development for his leadership in this area. I was very pleased that this legislation passed the Committee on National Security by a vote of 50-to-3.

This legislation is one that received a boost and a wakeup call this last August when North Korea launched a missile containing a third stage. We know from the reports of the intelligence community that North Korea is working on a missile that has the capability and will have the capability of reaching the continental United States. In July, the Commission to assess the ballistic missile threat to the United States, the Rumsfeld Commission, concluded that rogue nations like Iran, Iraq and North Korea are moving much faster than we had previously known in the development of intercontinental ballistic missile capability.

The risk of inaction is unacceptable. One thing that we have always done as Americans is stood strong in terms of making America the strongest nation in the world. It is unacceptable to know that within a short period of years, the Second Congressional District of Texas could be 32 minutes away from the delivery of an intercontinental ballistic missile from North Korea. The time for action is now.

The development of a missile system, a defensive missile system will take many years. The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) has wisely in this bill simply stated, ''It shall be the policy of the United States to deploy a missile defense system.'' The timing, the technology, the cost is left yet to be determined. Now is the time for action. The price of peace and security is high, but the cost of inaction and the cost of vulnerability is much higher.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE), the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT), and the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) for their leadership in this legislation.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes and 15 seconds to the gentlewoman from California (Mrs. BONO), a member of our committee.

Mrs. BONO. Mr. Speaker, today I rise in support of H.R. 4. As a cosponsor of H.R. 4, I want to give my colleagues the reasons why I support this important legislation.

First, the threat to the United States of a ballistic missile strike is real, according to the findings of the bipartisan Rumsfeld Commission, and the President's own Secretary of Defense said that the ballistic missile threat is real and growing.

Second, we are on the way to developing a technology for national ballistic missile defense. This legislation does not say what technology is to be used or implemented. Current technology relies on mature ground-based methods. All we need to do is to have the political will and courage to perfect this technology so that it be counter a limited ballistic missile strike.

Third, we can afford to do this. The current budget picture shows that for $10 billion we can implement a national ballistic missile defense which would counter a limited strike. I think this is a small price to pay to help ensure that Americans sleep better at night.

Fourth, we are no longer bound by the 1972 ABM Treaty. When this treaty was signed, it was signed with the former Soviet Union. That union no longer exists, making the agreement moot. However, let us assume for the moment that the ABM Treaty was still in effect. The treaty was signed to deter both countries from implementing a ballistic missile defense on the premise that if both countries were defenseless to a major ballistic missile attack, neither country would strike. All we are asking for in this bill is to make it the policy of the United States to counter a limited missile attack from a rogue state. We still will not have the defenses to protect us from Russia's 7,000 strong nuclear arsenal, even though I would argue that ought to be our policy. These are just some of my reasons for supporting this bill.

However, the most important reason why I am supporting this bill is because today's world is more hostile than it was 20 years ago. Twenty years ago, we knew who our enemies were and containment was possible. Today, with the end of the Cold War, former Soviet nuclear scientists market their skills to rogue nations so that they can survive. North Korea has demonstrated that they have long-range missile capability which threatens the U.S. territory, and of course Iran.

These are not safe times, and for those who would argue that a nation would be stupid or insane to launch a missile at the last remaining superpower, I say to them, do you want to make that bet on behalf of the American people?

No, Mr. Speaker, the vote we cast today sends a clear message to those rogue nations who would do our people harm. I cast this vote for the people of the 44th Congressional District, for my family, and my country.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BONIOR).

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for yielding me this time. At the outset let me say how much respect I have for the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT), the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON), and my friend the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE).

I have, in light of their support of this proposal, examined my position, which has been in opposition over this during the years that I have been in the Congress, and I have not been able to bring myself to support this, having reviewed the literature on this leading up to our debate today.

A national missile defense system, an impenetrable shield, a marginal line in the sky. Well, the simple fact is, any anti-missile shield can be overwhelmed even if it works perfectly, which we do not know that it does work perfectly. In fact, all the evidence speaks to the contrary. The latest testing that we have on this indicates the success ratio is very, very marginal. But even if it works perfectly, we design it to shoot down 10 missiles simultaneously and an enemy can render it useless by launching 20. If we design it to shoot down 100 missiles, then they will launch 200.

□ 1515

In the end, spending tens of billions of dollars to build a missile defense shield makes about as much sense to me as erecting a chain link fence to keep mosquitos out of one's backyard.

But today we are being asked to sign a blank check for a Star Wars system that could cost tens of billions of dollars according to the Congressional Budget Office. My colleagues on this side of the aisle primarily have said and argued that we need this, but, yet, we cannot afford in the budget debate that we will have in just a few days on this floor $5 billion to fix our national schools. They say we cannot afford to help seniors pay for costly prescription drugs.

They even go so far as to say that we cannot afford to buy weapons, weapon-grade plutonium from the Soviet Union to keep it from falling in the hands of terrorist or rogue states. I want to repeat that again because I think that is terribly important. In next week's supplemental appropriation that we will bring to the floor, the Republicans plan to cut funding to buy up to 50 tons of plutonium from the Russian's nuclear stockpile.

So I ask my colleagues, does it make more sense to prevent the spread of this material now while it is still on the ground rather than to wait for it to be turned into missiles and then to spend billions of dollars trying to catch it while it is hurdling through the sky? I think not.

We ought to redesign, make sure our computers work well, take care of the Y2K computer bug problem first and then deal with this in the future. I hope my colleagues will vote against this.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARMEY), the majority leader.

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, let me just say I am proud of what the Congress is doing this week. Like the balanced budget agreement, like the first tax cuts in 16 years, like the real welfare reform, like all the other elements in the contract with America, we are here once again taking the lead

on an important issue. Only this one may be the most important issue of them all.

Some happy day in the future, when we are all elderly and retired, we will find ourselves tucking a grandchild in for the night. Unlike our own generation, when we were young, that child will be going to sleep in his bed safe from any foreign attack because this Congress made the decision to deploy a national missile defense.

We are going to be able to smile and say to that child, ''we gave you a defense that defends.'' The best anyone could give us was the advice to duck and cover.

But missile defense is about more than making American children safe in their beds. I believe it will advance the cause of freedom around the world. It will do so by taking away one of the most horrible props that modern dictatorships use to intimidate their own people, the terror weapon.

Missiles today are prestige items. Any dictator that owns them can appear more powerful and enduring. If he cannot win the affection of his own people, his missiles can at least instill in them a measure of respect.

A dictator knows that, by making the world quake before his ability to attack foreign cities, his own people will look on him with fear and awe. He also knows that he and his regime can thrive in the atmosphere of international tension that he himself creates.

In this way, having a crude but invincible missile can help a dictator maintain control over his own people, even if he threatens far away American civilians.

If our goal is to transform dictatorships into democracies, we must deny them the ability to build effective terror weapons. Once they realize they cannot get respect by threatening acts of war, they may choose to win respect in the old fashioned way, through the simple dignity that any government earns when it is freely elected by its own people.

Mr. Speaker, radical rogue regimes are the greatest threat to our security today. Whether they are driven by insane ideologies or ethnic rage, they share intense anti-Americanism. Mr. Speaker, they hate us. They hate us not only for our success and our power, but even more so for our democracy. They know that our ideals of freedom and individual rights are poison to their petty little tyrannies.

These regimes are nasty enough when armed with car bombs. Imagine them armed with nuclear-tipped ICBMs.

As I said during last week's Kosovo debate, we need an entirely new policy for dealing with these pariahs. The administration's approach of containment, engagement, arms control and negotiation is not working. Like the Reagan doctrine of the 1980s, we need a policy dedicated to replacing these regimes with democratic alternatives.

Missile defense, because it takes away a prop dictators can use to survive, is part of that policy. That is one reason I support it today.

Mr. Speaker, just as that grandchild in our future should sleep soundly in the knowledge that American technology has made him safe from these evil threats, the otherwise intimidated citizens of tyrannical regimes should take heart as well. They should know that, thanks to America, the military delusions of their misguided leader are as obsolete as their political theories. From this, these oppressed people can take courage to resist and to seek their own freedom.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 30 seconds to ask the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARMEY), the distinguished majority leader, a question.

Mr. Speaker, this is the budget resolution that the Budget Committee passed out yesterday. It provides $205 billion less than the President requested. It is essentially flat from 2004 to 2009, the very period and years when this system will be purchased and deployed. How can we pay for it with a cut like that?

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SPRATT. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, I will just say that I appreciate these numbers. I studied them. While on the surface our numbers may seem smaller than the President's, I take greater confidence in our budget committee's numbers because they are real.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Mrs. TAUSCHER).

(Mrs. TAUSCHER asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. TAUSCHER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this bill.

While developing a national defense system should be a priority, we need to ensure that any potential system is dependable, reliable, and fiscally responsible. More importantly, we need to also step up our investment in nuclear nonproliferation programs.

Mr. Speaker, the best way to stop a ballistic missile attack is to stop the missiles from being developed and deployed in the first place. We need a balanced approach to protect American families. We need increased investment in nonproliferation programs like nuclear cities and IPP to prevent attack and investment in systems like national missile defense to ensure our survival if prevention programs fail.

I will vote for this legislation. But before we spend billions of dollars of American taxpayer money to deploy it, we must have proof that it is going to work.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON).

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, just on the budget issue, we really ought to deal with it. My colleague made a good point here. Let me also add, and my colleague is well aware that over the past 4 years, it was this Congress, this Republican Congress, who gave the Defense Department over $20 billion more than the President asked for because of the gross underfunding of the budget.

It is easy for a President to project a massive increase when he is no longer in office. After he has decimated defense spending for a continuing period of 6 years, it is easy for him to say, well, when I am out of office, we are going to increase the top number by a significant margin. He is not going to be here to be held accountable.

The fact is that this Congress, and I might add, in a strong bipartisan vote, Democrats were adamant in supporting our position, increase the defense budget over the past 4 years by almost $25 billion more than this administration requested.

Now that is not pie in the sky pipe dreams after the President is out of office. That is, in fact, what we did.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from South Carolina for yielding me this time.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. DEFAZIO).

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I brought with me a potential terrorist weapon of mass destruction delivery device. It might be classified. Close your eyes. Here it is. A briefcase like this was brought into a hearing by a biological weapons expert in the Rayburn Building, full of aerosol canisters, capable of deploying anthrax, killing everybody on Capitol Hill, many people in Washington, through security 2 weeks ago.

There are other probable terrorist or rogue state delivery devices. If it is a nuclear threat, it will probably be a truck coming across the Mexican border, maybe like the two tons of cocaine that come across every day in trucks. Or it might be a ratty old freighter that is registered anonymously in a Third World country like Panama under a flag of convenience that steams into New York Harbor with a stolen hydrogen bomb.

The question is: Will the future leader of the rogue state assure the annihilation of his or her people for all time by launching a single or even a dozen or two dozen missiles at the United States of America? Within 30 seconds, we know where the missile came from, and they are targeted within 3 minutes by the most massive nuclear force on earth. They will be destroyed.

That is the power of our proven defense, the ability to withstand the attack of any aggressor and respond with awesome force. It worked against the Soviet Union for 30 years with thousands of hydrogen bombs. It certainly will deter the pathetic tiny unproven arsenals of North Korea and other

rogue states. Do not waste billions on fantasy protection. Vote no.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. HAYES).

Mr. HAYES. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.R. 4, a bill that declares as our policy the deployment of a national missile defense. Without national security, there can be no Social Security or education opportunity.

I want to commend my colleagues, Democrats and Republicans alike, many of whom I serve with on the Committee on National Security, for their commitment to the strong national missile defense and for bringing it to the attention of the American people. They have pressed forward over the last 7 years and remain scorned by an administration message that preys on our Nation's false sense of security. Today my colleagues' efforts are about to pay off as we establish a policy to defend our Nation and her people from a missile attack.

I would be remiss if I did not mention the very telling vote taken on missile defense in the Senate yesterday. Ninety-seven Senators supported this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, what strikes me as odd is that this same body, no different in political composition, failed to reach cloture on missile defense legislation a mere 6 months ago. Mr. Speaker, why the sudden change? What are we to believe?

Has the threat to our national security grown so ominous in 6 months that the left and the administration believe the moment is right to embrace a policy of national missile defense? Or has the President been playing politics with the security of the American people?

Mr. Speaker, from one end of my district to the other, my constituents are concerned with our national defense, and they know there is no function in the Federal Government more important than ensuring our Nation's security.

I am pleased that the President and his allies have joined us in a policy that assures all Americans and American generations to come that they can sleep safer under a blanket of missile defense. Mr. Speaker, the administration's actions speak louder than words. Delays in the past have been irresponsible. Delays in the future are simply dishonest and unacceptable.

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. BLUMENAUER).

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I am concerned today that Congress is being asked to make a significant policy change, committing billions of dollars to unproven technology at a time when there are a legion of serious questions that have been raised about many aspects of our defense preparedness and national security.

We live in a dangerous world beset with economic, social, political, and religious unrest. We are the most powerful Nation in the world and the most technologically advanced. Yet we simply cannot do everything.

Security for Americans at home and abroad and keeping peace around the world involves making difficult choices. Rushing through this proposal, one whose costs and consequences are understood by no one, and is not integrated with all our other military and foreign policy needs, is not a policy I can support.

□ 1530

This bill hardly seems the right thing to do in terms of using our defense dollars in the most effective way possible, and I urge a ''no'' vote.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER).

(Mr. BEREUTER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, as a cosponsor, this Member rises in support of the resolution. If this Member can bring any special relevance to the debate it is probably through my focus on missile development and threats from and for Asia through my chairmanship of the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific of the Committee on International Relations, and through the background gained as a member of the Select Committee on U.S. National Security and Military/Commercial Concerns with the People's Republic of China, chaired by the gentleman from California (Mr. COX).

The latter puts limits on what I can say here today, but it surely reinforces my support for the resolution. However, I support this measure because the threats from a limited missile attack are here, now, very real, and potentially very disastrous for our citizens, who are right now undefended against this threat.

Contrary to what over 70 percent of the American people believe, we and our forces abroad do not have defense capabilities against even a single ballistic missile. Let me say it again, this U.S. does not have defense capabilities against a single ballistic missile.

Is an NMD technologically possible? Yes, it clearly will be technologically feasible. Just 3 days ago, in the skies over New Mexico, the U.S. Army successfully, in effect, hit a bullet with a bullet.

This NMD proposal is not about a rehash of former President Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defense proposal, a nation-wide ballistic missile defense system proposal that some insisted on negatively labeling as ''Star Wars.'' This defense system would offer protection against an accidental or unauthorized ICBM launch or against a limited ICBM attack by a rogue nation.

The Center for Strategic and International Studies reported that the third stage of the North Korean Taepo Dong missile launched on August 31, 1998, travelled over 3,000 miles. Prudhoe Bay, Alaska, a major source of U.S. oil, is within that range. The Washington Times reported that a newer missile under development, the Taepo Dong–2, will have a range greater than 6,000 miles and could be deployed soon after the turn of the century. Several hundred thousand of the nine million people living in Los Angeles, California SMA, for example, are within that range and would die.

Mr. Speaker, we are all well aware of the bottom line in the Rumsfeld Commission Report and recent North Korean missile tests. The possibility of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), North Korea, using an ICBM to threaten U.S. interests is real. Parts of Alaska, Hawaii, and U.S. allies in the Pacific are vulnerable, now. Today, we need to be concerned about what a North Korean ICBM, armed with just a conventional warhead, would do to Prudhoe Bay, Alaska, a major source of U.S. oil. The 48 contiguous states of the U.S. will also become vulnerable to this threat by 2002. By 2002, our concern will be about what a North Korean ICBM, armed with a weapon of mass destruction—nuclear, biological, or chemical weapon—would do to hundreds of thousands of people among, for example, the nine million people living in Los Angeles SMA. It is only a matter of time until that vulnerability exists unless we act and even if we act now and technological hurdles are handled, there will be years of unprotected vulnerability.

For those of you who still question the threat, this Member would remind you that Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen has confirmed that North Korea had demonstrated that it has achieved long-range missile delivery system capability and that it appears that North Korea is not complying with the freeze imposed on its nuclear weapons development program. He also acknowledged that Russia's aging and sporadically maintained missile systems create the nightmarish possibility of an accidental launch. Former Commander in Chief of all U.S. forces in the Pacific, Admiral Joseph Prueher, has confirmed that North Korea is developing a capability that could potentially reach the western-most reaches of the U.S. with an ICBM. Former Secretary of Defense William Perry, the President's special advisor on North Korea, states that North Korea is moving forward with its nuclear weapons program. Japan's Defense Agency believes North Korea has already deployed some of at least 30 medium-range ballistic missiles. It is only a matter of time.

Some of you will argue that a National Missile Defense (NMD) system will do nothing to deter less traceable means of delivering a weapon of mass destruction, such as a suitcase or truck bomb. While that may be true, our law enforcement agencies serve admirably as our defense against and deterrent of close-in terrorist attacks. Contrary to what over 70% of Americans believe, we do NOT have defense capabilities against even a single ballistic missile. Let me say that, again. The U.S. does NOT have defense capabilities against even a single ballistic missile. There is no secret, silver bullet in our arsenal that will stop an ICBM, and there is no alternative to NMD to effectively deal with a limited ICBM threat.

NMD, like its anthithesis—ICBMs, is less about launching than it is about basic deterrence. It removes from the negotiating table what might otherwise be a trump card that could lead to extortion, if not outright blackmail, by a rouge nation. NMD counters this eventuality. As a world leader, we owe this to our allies. To the rogues we owe nothing.

Hoping, or expecting, that a ''disarmament solution'' or ''containment'' will eliminate or protect us against the emergingly diverse missile threat just isn't realistic; it holds out a very dangerous false hope. The world and technology are not standing still, and no amount of ''hoping'' on our part will make it so. There are no indigenous ballistic missile development programs. In fact, there is substantial cooperation among developing countries, themselves. Even if all the help from the U.S., Russia, China, Europe, and Asia were ended, developing countries would still move forward toward ballistic missile capability. The West, alone, is educating nearly 100,000 foreign graduate students, most of them in technical fields. In the process, we are educating cadres of essentially all the countries of the world; some of them surely do have the increased capacity to develop ballistic missiles and weapons of mass destruction. Intelligence collecting is getting more difficult and intelligence compromises continue to occur. We must recognize that we will not be successful in plugging every hole and we cannot ignore the reality that increasingly sophisticated threat will confront us in the 21st century.

We are in an environment, potentially, of little or no warning. Meanwhile, the Administration has reluctantly begun to acknowledge the threat while simultaneously throwing down obstacles, such as the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, and changing their 3 plus 3 policy to a 3 plus 5 policy. NMD deployment might occur in 2005, even in the face of claims that the threat will extend beyond Alaska and Hawaii to the 48 contiguous United States as early as 2002 (three years before the possibility of NMD deployment).

To those that say that NMD is destabilizing, unannounced missile launches, especially those with aggressive trajectories, are even more destabilizing. Further launches will be further destabilizing, long before the Administration's current 2005 projected NMD deployment date.

This Member is not advocating blindly stepping up the time line, would that be possible. In fact, there are significant hurdles to overcome, just from a technological perspective. Hitting a missile traveling at about 15,000 miles per hour, or somewhere between three to five miles per second, is certainly am impressive challenge. However, this Member certainly believes that the technical difficulties can be overcome. Many of the impossibilities of the past have yielded to imagination and innovation. The academic critics are not entertaining practical solutions to their willing despair, not because they are unable to but, because they do not want to and because it is not being demanded of them. To those that question the technological feasibility of this effort, this Member would remind them of the following from the late President John F. Kennedy:

> We choose to go to the moon in this decade and do the other things, not only because they are easy, but because they are hard, because that goal will serve to organize and measure the best of our energies and skills, because that challenge is one that we are willing to accept, one we are unwilling to postpone, and one which we intend to win. . . .

Iran, with more than 66 million people and the proud heritage of the Persian Empire that once ruled everything from Libya to India, today is using its oil wealth to build a new center of power in the Middle East. Teheran has been boasting for two years that it already has the most powerful missile force in the Middle East.

Last July, the Rumsfeld Commission concluded that the extraordinary level of resources Iran is using to develop its own ballistic missiles poses a substantial and immediate danger to the U.S., its vital interests and its allies. The Rumsfeld Commission reported that Iran is making ''very rapid progress'' on the Shahab–3 medium-range ballistic missile. That was July 15, 1998. One week later, on July 22, 1998, Iran conducted a flight test of the Shabab–3, continuing an ambitious missile development program that was initiated and pursued during Iran's war with Iraq during the years 1980 to 1988. Not waiting for more tests, President Mohammed Khatami ordered 15 Shabab–3s to be produced by the end of March 1999. The mobile launchers are ready and Iranian soldiers have been training for months to deploy the missile, which is expected to become operational this year. Iran's next missile, the Shabab–4, which is modeled on the Russian SS–4 intermediate-range ballistic missile, is projected to have a range of 1,300 miles, reaching southern and central Europe. U.S. and Israeli officials estimate that, with continuing help from entities in Russia and China, the Shabab–4 could be in service by 2001. Work also is under way on a long-range missile that with a nuclear warhead could be a serious threat to Western Europe and the United States. The Rumsfeld Commission noted that advance warning of such a missile may be zero.

Iran has chemical weapons, is conducting research in biologicals, and is pursuing a very aggressive nuclear weapons program that is close to success. The Rumsfeld Commission reported that, because of significant gaps in our human intelligence efforts, the U.S. is unlikely to know whether Iran possesses nuclear weapons until after the fact. This is reminiscent of the surprise nuclear detonations that occurred in India and Pakistan. Iran is expected to be the next declared nuclear state.

Director of Central Intelligence, George Tenet, has warned that Russia is backsliding on commitments to the U.S. to curb the transfer of advanced missile technology to Iran. Especially over the past six months, Russia has continued to assist the Iranian missile effort in areas ranging from training to testing to components. Iran's ability to take advantage of its existing ballistic missile infrastructure to develop more sophisticated and longer-range missiles is being aided by the crucial roles being played by Russia, China, and North Korea.

Would Iran resort to extortion? This Member need only remind you of the Iranian hostage crisis of 1979–80.

While Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji scoffed at some Western reports claiming a major economic crisis is brewing in China, he acknowledged that the East Asian recession had affected China more seriously than expected. Former Commander in Chief of all U.S. forces in the Pacific, Admiral Joseph Prueher acknowledges that China, with its shaky economy, growing unemployment and burgeoning military might, has problems. Prueher views China's latest crackdowns on dissidents as symptoms of weakness rather than strength.

During the March 1996 Taiwan straits crisis, China fired short range missiles north and south of Taiwan. In late 1998, China's army conducted military exercises with simulated missile firings against Taiwan and also, for the first time, conducted mock attacks on U.S. troops in the region. With respect to the most recent overt threat to Taiwan, the Chinese protest is disingenuous on its face. The Chinese Government knows that we should no more apologize for the theoretical consideration of including Taiwan in plans for missile defense than we did for including South Korea in similar plans. Our having agreed in principle that Tawiwan might someday rejoin China does not mean that we would ever allow such a unification to be coerced.

Taiwan claims that China has deployed more than 100 additional ballistic missiles in PRC provinces close to the Straits of Taiwan. This would more than triple the number of missiles previously positioned in that area. China must understand that the use of ''coercion,'' missile rattling, to bring Taiwan and PRC together will not work. Likewise, the U.S. is sensitive to concerns that a ''shield'' might embolden Taiwan to avoid serious negotiations with the PRC. At this time, there are no firm U.S. plans to provide Taiwan with a full-scale missile defense system of its own, but we must not be intimidated from actively considering a Taiwanese inquiry or request under the threatening circumstances developing across the Taiwan Straits.

Mr. Speaker, the North Korean missile launch adds credence to allegations that China has not done everything in its power to discourage North Korean effort to develop weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missile capability. When we complain, China criticizes our concern. Nevertheless, China, more than any other country, can exert more influence over North Korea to dissuade it from further development of these weapons. China's own recent aggressiveness toward Taiwan and its apparent ineffectiveness in discouraging North Korean nuclear and missile development programs have not only raised our legitimate concerns but also sent alarms around the world. Our friends and allies recognize the reality of the threat from and for the Asia Pacific region.

Controversially, President Clinton's comments that the Administration views China as a strategic partner in the Asia Pacific region is particularly unsettling. If Chinese moves are left unchecked, the possibilities of misperceptions regarding American intentions—even by China itself—will multiply. These kinds of misperceptions can cause wars, as when, many suggest, during a January 1950 speech to the National Press Club, Secretary of State Dean Acheson unwittingly encouraged the attack that began the Korean War by failing to specify that South Korea was inside the American zone of interest. Contrary to internal issues like human rights and gray areas like assisting Pakistan, Chinese bases in the Paracels and the Spratlys are clearly matters with international implications. The United States should lose no time in examining China's expansion of its installations on

these islands and, if appropriate, questioning Chinese intentions. The Administration should keep in mind that the consequence of not confronting China expansionism today is very likely to lead to a far more dangerous world in the years to come.

China's own recent aggressiveness and its apparent ineffective efforts to discourage North Korean nuclear and missile development programs have sent alarms around the world. This Member can personally attest that, everyday, in the Taiwanese media, there is discussion of the need for ballistic missile protection. These concerns are a ground swell from the Taiwanese citizens in the streets and from the media, not generated entirely, by any means, by the Taiwanese Government. Taiwanese demands for U.S. ballistic missile defense assistance are directly attributable to China's reluctance to influence North Korea. They also trace to recent allegations about Chinese espionage successes, to Chinese military construction activity in the South China Sea, and, as reported in the New York Times, China's actions to dramatically increase the number of short-range ballistic missiles along the country's coastline near Taiwan. With respect to increased interest in ballistic missile defense systems in Japan, Taiwan, and the Republic of Korea, which the Chinese threaten, China has no one to blame but itself.

The greatest threat to peace and security in Asia is Kim Jong-Il's DPRK, North Korea. North Korea remains the country most likely to engage in bloody extortion or to involve the U.S. in a large-scale regional war over the near term. Kim Jong-il's regime's foremost concern is self preservation. He appears to have increased his reliance on the military and draconian security measures to maintain his position and control of the populace. If he is willing to do this to his own people, how can you doubt that he would not hesitate to resort to extreme measures, even against South Korean, Japanese, or U.S. citizens?

Gen. John Tilelli, Commander in Chief of the United Nations Command and of the U.S. Forces in Korea, concurs with the CIA Director's recent remarks to the Senate Armed Services Committee that ''. . . concern for North Korea can hardly be overstated and that . . . in nearly all respects, the situation there has become more volatile and unpredictable.'' In his view, the Kim regime will sacrifice everything to keep itself in power. We remain in a situation wherein Kim Jong-il could decide at any moment his prospects are so bleak that his best chance for survival is to use his military rather than risk losing that capability, forever.

The North Korean military—the fifth largest in the world—is the embodiment of North Korea's national identity. Without the military, the regime is simply not viable. Over the last four decades the leadership has specifically designed and tailored the size, organization, equipment, and combat capabilities of the military to support attainment of their reunification goal. With military expenditures at 25% of GDP, the North Korean People's Army includes an air force of over 860 combat jet aircraft, a navy of more than 800 ships, over 1 million active duty soldiers, over five million reserve troops, a huge artillery force, tremendous special operations capabilities, hundreds of theater ballistic missiles, (primarily Scuds), and weapons of mass destruction.

How does the DPRK reconcile widespread famine with ''gross'' levels of spending to support the lavish lifestyle of the DPRK leadership and defense? Its citizens don't matter, except as pawns of the leadership and the military.

The greatest threat is the possibility that the Kim regime will couple its ballistic missile program with an unchecked nuclear program. The possibility of a successful North Korea nuclear break-out strategy is too dangerous to risk. Unchecked, the Kim regime's missile program will ultimately threaten U.S. vital interests in other parts of the world as North Korea sells its only viable export to hostile nations. It is believed that Pakistan has already been a customer, purchasing missile know-how from North Korea for its medium-range Ghauri missile, which was test fired for the first time last year. The Ghauri has been described as closely resembling the North Korean Nodong missile.

We will not pay tribute to the modern-day Barbary pirates in North Korea. The Clinton Administration has fallen into the dangerous pattern of accepting the extortion demands made during the negotiations with the North Koreans. Despite the gravity of the situation, this Member is forced to conclude that the Administration's response to the military threats of the North Koreans to extort money, humanitarian aid or other concessions is a shameful, un-American violation of this country's principles. Unfortunately, North Korea has learned that irresponsible behavior and confrontation results in U.S. humanitarian aid and other benefits. That rogue country is now the largest recipient of U.S. aid in Asia.

Fueled by its own paranoia and fear, the DPRK claims that a ''passive'' NMD is a sign of U.S. movement toward a goal of ''global domination.'' This Member would say to the DPRK that, simply by virtue of being the only superpower, much of what the U.S. does ends up being perceived as dominating, even though the U.S. has no such intentions. If there are concerns about global intentions, this Member believes they should be focused on the DPRK. The DPRK Korean's People's Army gathered in late February to renew their loyalty to Kim Jong-il by declaring an oath that ''under the leadership of the supreme Commander Kim Jong-il they would . . . make the glorious Kim Jong-il era shine all over the world with arms.'' This followed an event earlier in the month where DPRK citizens were told they should defend Kim with their lives and ''prepare themselves to be heroes through human bomb attacks and soldiers ready for suicidal explosion.'' The Clinton Administration is perpetuating, if not aiding and abetting, a regime that is clearly hostile. We went down this path in the late 1930s, reaching that path's bitter end on December 7th, 1941. This Member expects that we would not be so naive, again.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion this Member supports H.R. 4 for several reasons. First, H.R. 4 signals the Department of Defense (DoD) and those involved in the ballistic missile defense program that they should pursue NMD, in earnest. It raises the relative importance of NMD among the many DoD projects, enabling higher prioritization of resources and increasing the focus on research, development, test and evaluation activity.

Another factor influencing this Member's support for NMD is that there is no higher responsibility placed upon Congress by the U.S. Constitution than providing for the defense of the United States, its territory, and its citizens. The possibility of a small-scale missile attack upon the people and territory of the United States is real, and significant. The lack of any U.S. capability to defend against such an attack is equally real, and significant. With regard to a limited intercontinental ballistic missile attack, the U.S. is defenseless! Maintaining the defenseless status quo can only lead to one place, and is not acceptable.

This legislation neither imposes deadlines, for either development or deployment, nor alters the position of the Administration. It does nothing to abrogate the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty or to alter the foundation of the U.S. policy—dissuasion, denial, deterrence, and defense—regarding proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. In fact, it leaves open the possibility to develop a complementary NMD/ABM relationship, as well as the potential to explore cooperative missile defense and non-proliferation efforts with Russia. Yet, this bill provides a clear and necessary policy and announces America's resolve, to develop its missile defense capabilities, to America's friends and foes, alike.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. HOEFFEL).

Mr. HOEFFEL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, today I will vote for H.R. 4, which declares that it is the policy of this country to deploy a national missile defense system. I am concerned that this bill is too narrow and could have been much better.

I believe, in declaring this national policy, we must also consider the following: Secretary Cohen has stated that a national missile defense deployment might require modifications in the ABM Treaty. Such a modification may upset our delicate diplomatic balance with the Russians, who have already indicated opposition to such a move.

We must be in a position to continue negotiations with Moscow to cut our nuclear arsenals, and amendment to the ABM Treaty would threaten that effort.

A national missile defense policy must also not undermine or compromise the military preparedness of our troops or the planned deployment of theater missile defense systems by redirecting much needed resources.

Mr. Speaker, this body should have had an opportunity to debate those issues. We must have sufficient defense for our borders. As North Korea and Iran expand their capabilities, we must be prepared, but we must not let the steps we take, designed to bolster the security of this country, undermine the delicate international security balance at the same time.

Mr. Speaker, I believe it should be the policy of this country to deploy a national missile defense. This bill should have gone farther to address these additional concerns. The safety and security of this country depends, in large part, on how well we are prepared to deal with decentralized military power as well as with a number of

rogue states. A policy supporting a national missile defense is a step in the right direction.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE).

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Speaker, we have no ballistic missile defense system. The administration opposed it; vetoed it.

Before World War II, many people were stuck in a similar mindset. Leaders in England and elsewhere did not want to develop advanced weaponry. One leader stood alone, though, pushing for England to develop its technology, including radar, in the cause of national defense. His efforts encountered much resistance. Many said that there could be no defense against air power. There was some outright opposition from those who favored disarmament, including Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, as a way of dealing with Germany.

Well, history has told us that the dark days England soon suffered through would have been much darker if England had not had Winston Churchill and had not developed radar. Radar, which Churchill tirelessly pushed, was critical to winning the battle of Britain.

Sometimes it is not easy exercising foresight and taking preemptive action, but I cannot think of a more pressing issue for this Congress to address than defending our Nation against the emerging threat of ballistic missiles.

I commend the authors and especially our chairman for this important resolution.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Maine (Mr. ALLEN).

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H.R. 4 because the legislation fails to acknowledge that the choice to deploy a national missile defense system is an extraordinarily complex one. It must be based on effectiveness, threat, cost and other efforts to reduce threats to this country.

Some say a national missile defense system should be deployed as soon as possible, no matter what the consequences are. There are others who say that a national missile defense should never be deployed, no matter what the threat is. All I am saying here is that the system should be deployed only if it is proven to work, if the threat truly warrants it, if the cost does not undermine our ability to train and equip our troops, and if it does not prevent further reductions in offensive nuclear weapons arsenals.

Some of the proponents today here are saying we have to decide now, and they have cited other weapon systems. But with other weapon systems we test them before we fly them. We test them before we buy them.

This is not just my view. This is the view of the our Nation's top military leaders. In speaking earlier today, I mentioned General Shelton and Secretary of Defense Cohen. Let me quote General Lester Lyles, who is the Director of the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization. He said at the time of a deployment decision we will also assess the threat, the affordability of the system, and the potential impact on treaty and strategic arms reduction negotiations.

Congress trusts the Joint Chiefs on readiness, we trust them on troop pay, so why do we not trust them on national missile defense?

H.R. 4 is only 15 words long. We can vote for these 15 words and feel good, but the promise is a hollow, empty one. Fifteen words cannot solve the immense technological challenge of hitting a bullet with a bullet. Fifteen words cannot make hit-to-kill technology hit the target more than 26 percent of the time and only 13 percent of the time in outer space.

The era of budget deficits is over, and so must be the era of avoiding tough choices. We must be honest with the public on what it will take to deploy a national missile defense. How much will it cost to test, build and operate over a period of years? Will it improve our security or lead to a dangerous new arms race? Will it work?

I had an amendment that recognized these important considerations, but it was denied by the Committee on Rules. Some Members here today have said the only thing standing between today and deployment is political will. One Member said the problem is political footdragging. I disagree. The problem is more than that. It is technology, it is physics, it is money, it is the real world.

I am under no illusion about what the outcome of this debate will be today, but I ask Members to think about this decision; think about at the end of the day whether these 15 words will do anything to solve the immense technical challenges of national missile defense. We cannot afford this bill. I urge Members to vote ''no''.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. STEARNS).

(Mr. STEARNS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. STEARNS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of establishing a national missile defense system.

We live in a new foreign policy world where uncertainty instead of order reigns. That uncertainty has been exacerbated by the mismanagement of our foreign affairs by this Administration.

The Clinton Administration has failed to develop and implement a comprehensive, long-term strategy of advancing American interests. The lack of such a policy has allowed the world's tyrants to increase their military capabilities, especially in the area of developing the ability to deliver offensive ballistic missiles against our nation, against our interests, and against our allies.

It is foolish to think our nation can stand pat on our ability to defend our nation and our interests against such threats.

Refusing to develop a missile defense for our nation would not be a mistake, it would be malfeasance of office.

We have been elected to protect our citizens and our nation. Passing H.R. 4 will begin the process of developing the proper missile defense system.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Fort Worth, Texas (Ms. GRANGER).

Ms. GRANGER. Mr. Speaker, there is an old axiom that says it is good to be forewarned and forearmed because preparation is half the battle. Today, as America stands at the threshold of a new millennium, we must prepare ourselves for a new century, new challenges, and, yes, new dangers.

Today, America stands as the world's lone superpower; victorious in two world wars, several regional conflicts and a Cold War. Yes, America is winning the battles, but the war has yet to be won; the war against terrorism, the war to keep America safe from attack in an increasingly unsafe world. It is a war we cannot afford to lose.

The single most important step we can take to ensure our national security is to make a full commitment to ballistic missile defense. So long as there is one nuclear weapon anywhere in the world, America must be prepared to defend herself.

H.R. 4 takes an important step in the struggle to keep America safe and secure. This legislation simply states that it will be the policy of the United States to develop and deploy a missile defense system as soon as possible. No more delays, no more demagogueing.

Fifteen years ago, critics told Ronald Reagan that a ballistic missile defense was not possible. Every time someone would tell President Reagan we were years away from having technology, he would say, let us get started.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON), the ranking member.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, we should update ourselves; update ourselves on the facts, update ourselves on the arguments. Conditions change. The Rumsfeld Commission report, which was a bipartisan report, tells us of the threat. We had a very thorough briefing this morning in this room.

The North Korean missile launch across Japan this last August is a fact that we need to consider. Current intelligence estimates from the intelligence community of our country tell us that we need to update our thoughts. That is why the arguments of today must be updated. We are not giving this debate in yesteryear.

According to the Congressional Budget Office, this bill will not increase missile defense costs a penny, it will not compel a national missile defense architecture that is incompatible with the ABM Treaty, it does not mandate a deployment date or condition. We must, we must, pass this bill.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. BARTLETT).

(Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, in the last 3 days I have attended two really historic events.

For the first time in our history, Members of the Congress, and I was privileged to be one of them, went to Russia to brief members of the Duma there. We briefed them on the emerging missile threat and we took with us three of the top members of the commission.

Just this morning I attended another really historic event. For only the third time in the last two decades we had a classified briefing in this chamber. Again, it was on the emerging ballistic missile threat.

For too long our citizens have been unprotected, totally unprotected. Even a single intercontinental ballistic missile could not be shot down. We cannot leave our people unprotected any longer. It is incumbent on us that we proceed with all due haste to develop a ballistic missile defense system that many of our people think we now have in place, and which, as a matter of fact, the Russians do have in place such a system, fairly robust system, that will protect about 70 percent of their people.

It is high time we get on with the task of protecting our people. I rise in strong support of this bill.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDENSON).

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, it is an interesting situation we find ourselves in. A closed rule with no opportunity for amendment, a bill that is barely several lines, and a policy that is ready to jeopardize a consistent process of containing a threat which has 6,000 to 8,000 missiles that could rain down upon the United States, jeopardizing ABM, jeopardizing START, in order to prepare for potentially a threat if the North Koreans could develop a missile that could get to our shores.

Now, I think we ought to prepare for that. Estimates vary. We have spent $77 billion, we have gone through Brilliant Pebbles, we have gone through a number of different machinations. We do not have anything that works. So rather than a policy and an honest debate, we come here today to ram through a line, giving no opportunity for amendment, with a statement, as the Russians today consider START treaties, consider reduction, not theoretical or potential weapons against the United States, but as they consider reducing the number of actual warheads pointed at the United States.

Russia today is a partner in that reduction. I do not know what happens 1 year or 2 down the line in a Russia that has been so rocked by economic calamity. Let us not forget the main issue here. Six thousand to eight thousand warheads in the former Soviet Union and Russia, and possibly, maybe, maybe in 1 year, maybe in 2 years, we will have a technology that maybe will be able to prevent it. And for that, we may jeopardize cutting a deal with the Russians.

I think this is a grave mistake. Give us a chance to amend this, to include that we stay within the guidelines of the treaties that we have signed. If the Russians were here today violating treaties they had signed, every Member would be in this well objecting.

On the other hand, we have language here today the people feel, well, the Russians will have to learn. We may learn the wrong lesson from this action.

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Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Mrs. JOHNSON).

Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, most Americans think that we have the ability to defend ourselves against incoming missiles. America has no ballistic missile defense capability. None. Today we take the right first step to address that extraordinary vulnerability.

I just want to take a minute to thank my colleagues, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON), the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE), and that band of dedicated Members who over many years now have focused on America's need for a missile defense system. It is too bad they were not heard sooner.

Now rogue nations do have intercontinental missile capability. Easy-to-have chemical warhead capability. Not hard for some to reach biological warhead capability. And soon it will be nuclear. Too bad we did not hear sooner.

I urge strong support for this legislation.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. TIERNEY).

(Mr. TIERNEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TIERNEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Let me say that exactly the point is that we do not have a capable national missile defense, one that works. We do not have that. And everybody readily admits it is not the lack of money and not for lack of will. We have spent billions and billions of dollars on research and development and testing to get to the point where we still do not have a system that works.

It is not in the best interest of the national security of this country to prematurely deploy or make a decision to deploy a system. It does not work. There is no prospect that it will work any time soon. There is no prospect that a high-speed missile at a high altitude is going to be hit by another item, or bullet, as they call it.

The fact of the matter is that to decide to deploy now, as opposed to decide to continue to research and test until we know we have something that works, sends the wrong message. We should be about nonproliferation. We should be about making sure that Russia decreases the amount of missiles that it has. We should be about bringing other people into the nonproliferation regime and making sure that we defend our country, we have no national security interest, and ignorant children, unhealthy families, or seniors having an undignified retirement.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. CHAMBLISS).

Mr. CHAMBLISS. Mr. Speaker, I wish at this time to commend the chairman, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE), the ranking member, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON), and the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) and the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) for their long-standing work on this issue.

Mr. Speaker, the threat for ballistic missiles is clear and present. The current administration has finally admitted that the United States is facing a very current, very real threat. However, waiting too long to deploy a missile defense system poses a risk to the American people that is unacceptable.

How many ballistic missiles, either with or without biological, chemical or nuclear warheads, have to be targeted at American cities or American forces overseas before we take action?

I urge my colleagues to support this bipartisan bill which commits the United States to deploying a national missile defense system. Given the demonstrated threat here and now, I do not believe that we should delay the deployment of a missile defense system any longer than necessary. We must do all we can to protect America from ballistic missile threat, and this bill puts us on the right track.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. HOLT).

(Mr. HOLT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the very distinguished gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) for yielding.

I rise to oppose H.R. 4. The national missile defense as proposed would not be effective. It would be costly to deploy and easily circumvented.

My colleagues, we do not have to read much history to be reminded of the Maginot Line, the so-called impenetrable wall that has become the symbol of misguided defense policy.

The proposed missile defense system probably would not work as designed, and wishing will not overcome physics. It could be confused with decoys. It could be bypassed with suitcase bombs and pickup trucks and sea-launched missiles. It would be billions of dollars down the drain. But it is not just a diversion of precious resources that we are told are not available for health

care, for smaller class sizes, for modern school facilities, for securing open space for taking care of America's veterans.

No, it is worse than a waste. Simple strategic analysis will tell us that provocative yet permeable defenses are destabilizing and they lead to reduced security. In fact, the more technically affected the system turned out to be, the worse the idea would be because of its increase in instability and the damage done to our efforts to reduce Russia's weapons.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. FOSSELLA).

(Mr. FOSSELLA asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FOSSELLA. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution. I also commend the chairman and the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) and others who have worked so hard to bring this to the floor.

During these and other debates in Congress, essentially what we are doing is establishing priorities. Make no mistake, the number-one priority of this Congress should be to maintain our national security and a strong defense.

Today there is an emerging ballistic missile threat to our Nation, and, in plain English, too many nations will soon have the ability to reach our shores with weapons of mass destruction.

We must stand firm and we must stand united to defend ourselves in face of this real threat. To do otherwise simply will be to ignore history, to misunderstand the nature of tyrants, to play a game and a major role I believe in weakening our national security.

Right now, America cannot defend itself against a ballistic missile attack. This resolution, while long overdue, is right for a safe and secure America. I urge its strong support.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire how much time is remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SUNUNU). The gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) has 4½ minutes remaining. The gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE) has 11½ minutes remaining.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Guam (Mr. UNDERWOOD).

(Mr. UNDERWOOD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, I emphatically support H.R. 4 as offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) and the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT).

The bill is simple in its articulation that Congress take the lead on this important issue and declare it to be the policy of the United States to deploy a national missile defense.

As a member of the Committee on Armed Services and the sole representative of the people of Guam, our fellow American citizens who are today directly threatened by missiles in East Asia, I am continually aware of the dangers faced in our uncertain global environment. The U.S. does not currently have a system in place to defeat any inbound ICBM or, for that matter, defend a strategic theater against such a threat.

We know only too well the potential for destruction these weapons hold. This last August, when North Korea sent a three-stage Taepo Dong I over the Japanese homeland, a wakeup call was heard loud and clear here in Washington. Finally, the gentleman from Alaska (Mr. YOUNG) and I introduced a resolution condemning this event. For many years, our intelligence community underplayed this event. And thanks to the work of the Rumsfeld Commission, we now have indeed confirmed some of our worst fears.

Mr. Speaker, the threat against our Nation from missiles is here today, and the people of Guam today are at risk from the wrath of rogue states and the accidental launch. This bill is sound in that it will allow our Nation to seriously confront this issue in terms of policy as well as in our laboratories.

The development of a national missile defense does not violate the ABM Treaty because the system envisioned cannot deflect against a massive strategic attack of thousands of missiles. The national missile defense is meant to protect the national homeland against accidental launch or a limited attack by a rogue nation. This is the system I support.

Mr. Speaker, I support H.R. 4 because it cuts to the core of the issue. It honestly recognizes that there is a threat facing our Nation, States, and territories today and we are finally going to do something about it. On behalf of the people of Guam, I support this bill for the safety and defense of all Americans.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. ADERHOLT).

Mr. ADERHOLT. Mr. Speaker, I come before my colleagues in support of H.R. 4 this afternoon and thank the chairman of the committee and the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) for the work they have done on this bill.

No one wants a nuclear version of the shocking surprise attack that America suffered on December 7, 1941, at Pearl Harbor. I am glad, then, that on a daily basis the administration is moving closer to support for deployment of a national missile defense system. We use the words like ''limited'' and ''rogue'' nations. However, there is no official list of so-called ''rogue'' nations.

Any deployment plan that does not protect us against all known current weapons is a roll of the dice with our national security. If we are serious about deployment, here is one litmus test. We must start testing major systems frequently, three or four times a year. Slipping into a schedule of once every 9 to 12 months is not acceptable.

Let us give our program managers the funding and political freedom to try and fail and then try again quickly. We must get serious about this. I ask my colleagues to support H.R. 4.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Idaho (Mrs. CHENOWETH).

Mrs. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman very much for yielding. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.R. 4, the National Missile Defense Act.

First of all, contrary to public opinion polls, we are completely defenseless against a missile attack in this country. It is not good news that we bring to the American people, but the American people deserve to know where the rubber really meets the road on this issue. We have absolutely no system in place, and the public must be aware of this. Now, these same polls show that that same American public believes that our first dollar should go to defend against a missile attack.

Secondly, contrary to what President Clinton said in his speech before this Congress 2 years ago, in which he wrongfully stated that no missiles were pointed at our children, our Nation is indeed in danger of ballistic missile attack.

A recent report, the executive summary of the Rumsfeld Commission, has confirmed that this threat is ''broader, more mature and evolving more rapidly than reported. . .'' and moreover that the United States would have ''little or no warning'' to counter a missile attack.

Even the President's Secretary of Defense William Cohen has publicly stated that ''the ballistic missile threat is real and is growing.''

Finally, contrary to arguments on the Floor today, a ballistic missile defense system is not a budget buster. The cost to deploy initial missile defense capability will amount to less than the amount that we have spent on peacekeeping deployments over the past six years. Moreover, considering the real risk of mass destruction and loss of life that we would eliminate, the cost for a missile defense system is small.

Mr. Speaker, in the current reality, it is unconscionable to continue without a declarative national policy calling for the deployment of a missile defense system. I urge all of my colleagues to vote in favor of this critical legislation.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. SAM JOHNSON).

(Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the President keeps vetoing missile defense systems as unwarranted. He says a missile defense system would waste billions of dollars.

It is the duty of this Congress and the President to provide protection against rogue nations who have delivery systems and nuclear weapons, and

it is not a waste of money. What most Americans do not know is that we have no defense. Right now we cannot even stop one incoming missile.

North Korea, China, Iran, Iraq are true threats today. How many more missiles need to be pointed at our cities, our homes, and our families before the administration decides the threat is real?

Mr. Speaker, every American must be protected from the threat of missile attacks. They have the right to feel safe. That is what freedom means. That is what America is all about. And it is the duty of this Congress to protect our country. That is why we must pass this legislation.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Utah (Mr. COOK).

Mr. COOK. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.R. 4, the National Missile Defense Act. In the past, our Nation relied on its oceans to protect it from threats from Europe or Asia. In the more recent past, we relied on the strategy of mutually assured destruction to prevent missile threats from the Soviet Union. Neither of these deterrent options are available today.

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Today, a number of rogue terrorist states are working to build intercontinental missiles that will be able to reach America's heartland from the farthest reaches of the earth. As more and more nations like Iraq and North Korea rush to develop the capability of launching not only nuclear but chemical and biological weapons into America's heartland, it is imperative that we develop a defense against them. We avoided nuclear war with the Soviet Union through a policy of deterrence. But the world knows that we have no deterrent today. We spent billions developing and researching a national missile defense system. It is time to stop studying the problem and begin deploying the system.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRABACHER).

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, national missile defense is essential, especially after the Communist Chinese have availed themselves of America's most deadly nuclear weapons secrets and, of course, upgraded their rockets with American technology. Yet this administration still labels the Communist Chinese as our strategic partners and continues its closely held policy, its plan, for extensive military exchanges with Communist China. Even after their espionage ring was at long last revealed, the Peoples's Liberation Army delegation is still scheduled to go to Sandia nuclear weapons laboratory. Despite the opposition of the United States Army, a Chinese military delegation will observe their training exercises of the 3rd Infantry Division and the 82nd Airborne Division.

The Communist Chinese are engaged in an unprecedented modernization of their military and a missile buildup. There are those who would leave us defenseless to the Communist Chinese and turn a blind eye to this threat. This administration cannot be trusted to protect the United States. We must act and do it here in Congress.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. TOOMEY).

Mr. TOOMEY. I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support as a proud cosponsor of H.R. 4, because the threat of a missile attack against the United States is real, it exists today, and it will grow in the future. It is crucial that we defend Americans in their homes, children in their schools, men and women at their workplaces against a ballistic missile attack.

H.R. 4 is a vital first step toward protecting our own citizens here at home, but in addition to the commitment to deploy, we need to deploy as soon as technologically possible. There is no other legitimate reason to delay deployment.

The administration and some of my colleagues have proffered only very weak objections. They cite obsolete and irrelevant treaties. They question whether there even is a threat in the face of obvious threats. Some worry that the cost of a missile defense system might crimp other programs as though we should spend money on the program of the day rather than protecting American lives.

Mr. Speaker, the threat is real, the time is now, we must commit to deployment as soon as technologically possible. I urge my colleagues to vote in favor of this bill and to continue to take the steps necessary so that we in fact deploy a system to protect Americans in our homeland.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to our Top Gun, the gentleman from California (Mr. CUNNINGHAM), someone who knows something about missiles.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, why is this important now? In 1995, they found out there was a mole in our national labs. He had been operating during Carter, during Ronald Reagan and George Bush and also Bill Clinton. In 1996, the President was told of this. Nothing has happened. The mole was just arrested last week. That is a national security threat.

Even worse, the White House, against the insistence of the National Security Agency, DOD and DOE, let China have three capabilities which are very important to this country and others as well. One was missile boost capability. North Korea and the nations that proliferate like China and Russia give this to Iran, Iraq and North Korea. They can now reach the United States. The second is MIRV. The Chinese stole small nuclear capability, and now they can put it on the tip of a missile in multiple launch. Targeting is also very deadly. They can hit the fourth apartment on 332nd Street in New York City now.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. REYES).

Mr. REYES. I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 4, cosponsored by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) and the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT). Like many of my colleagues, I support this bill both for what it says and for what it does not say. This bill does not say when a national missile defense system must be deployed nor how a national missile defense system would be deployed nor where it would be deployed. The gentleman from Pennsylvania and the gentleman from South Carolina have very intelligently left those decisions for the future.

Some critics of deploying this system argue that the technology is not proven. National missile defense will use the same hit-to-kill technology, the equivalent of hitting a bullet with a bullet which was proven on Monday as one of DOD's hit-to-kill missile defense programs, the PAC–3, successfully showed that this technology can work. The PAC–3 interceptor successfully destroyed its target over White Sands Missile Range last Monday.

I hope the President signs this bipartisan bill. We need to send a strong message to our citizens, to our troops, to our allies and especially to our enemies that we are serious about national missile defense.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. GRAHAM).

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Speaker, I think there are a lot of thank-yous to go around: The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON), the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE), the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) and all the people who forged this bipartisan bill. There is a wave of bipartisanship sweeping the Congress for our military. It is long overdue. It is something to be proud of. It is something to congratulate each other over. The President is going to sign the bill. This is what the American people want, addressing real needs and real threats. It is a real threat to this country.

Other speakers have spoken of threats in terms of terrorist activity. They are real, too. We need to do more. We have cut our military by 40 percent in personnel and equipment. We need to do more to counter those threats. But this is a real threat.

Another threat is having quality men and women manning these systems. We have done a lot to deter people from staying in the military. We can come together in pay and benefits in a bipartisan fashion to make sure that not only we have a missile defense system but we have the quality people that we need to maintain these systems in the next century. That is the challenge for

this Congress. Let us rise to the occasion. I hope there is more of this over time where we come together to make sure America is strong.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, let me quickly close by giving everyone the reasons that I support this bill. First of all, it allows us to realize a return on the investment of more than $50 billion that we have already sunk in ballistic missile defense.

Secondly, it supports ground-based interceptors, the best candidate. They are treaty compliant and they fit very easily into the infrastructure of radars that we have already got that will need to be upgraded that are basically already installed, and also into the infrastructure of space-based sensors, SBIRS Low and SBIRS High, that we are going to build, anyway, and deploy because they are a complement to theater missile defenses. They help them acquire and track their targets better.

Thirdly, it will focus our efforts on completing the one form of strategic defense that can be developed and deployed in the short run. In doing this, in making this investment, we will be making an investment on technologies that are common to theater missile defense which are also kinetic-kill interceptors like the interceptor we will be building. It will also promote the THAAD and the Navy's Upper Tier.

Finally, if it is proven capable, these ground-based interceptors will give us a defense against rogue attacks and accidental attacks. I think that is a threat that exists and is emerging and possibly expanding. It will give us also a working system that we can learn from and build upon. But I want to stress ''if proven capable.'' It has not been done yet. NMD, national missile defense, needs to be put to the test, rigorous testing, made to prove that it can hold this country harmless against a limited missile attack. If it can do that, then I think it is worth buying. If it cannot, I would emphasize there is nothing in this bill that requires us to develop and deploy a system that will not protect us.

I would say one final thing, because yesterday we marked up the budget resolution in the House Committee on the Budget. Next week it will be on the floor. This system will not come cheap. It does have the advantage of being an incremental investment on top of a huge investment we have already made, but I am really dubious that the budget resolution coming to the floor next week has enough room to accommodate the cost of this system and at the same time buy an F–22 and a Joint Strike Fighter and V–22 and the Comanche and all the other procurement items that will be coming to fruition at the same time that this bill would call for deployment of a ballistic missile defense system.

On the evening of March 23, 1983, President Reagan went on television to marshal support for his defense budget. His words would be forgotten, except for a question he popped at the end:

> What if . . . people could live secure in the knowledge that their security did not rest on the threat of instant retaliation to deter a Soviet attack, but that we could intercept and destroy strategic ballistic missiles before they reach our own soil or that of our allies?

Reagan answered that question by launching the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), and with it, a charged debate. The arguments ended over the old perennials of the cold war—the MX, ASATs, the B–2—years ago, but the argument over missile defense smolders still. Unlike any other system, missile defense has become a political totem. Its advocates not only disagree with its opponents; but thinking they can score politically, they accuse them of leaving the country vulnerable to missile attack. They diminish the fact that deterrence worked for all of the cold war, and act as if missile defenses are available to shield the whole country from attack, when this capability is far from proven and may never be attained. On the other hand, opponents accuse advocates of firing up a new arms race. They give little credit to the advantages of defending ourselves from attack and moving away from massive retaliation and mutual destruction, and complementing deterrence with defense.

Today, the House starts the missile defense debate again, this time with a resolution notable for its brevity. It consists of a single sentence stating: ''That it is the policy of the United States to deploy a national missile defense.''

The United States has deployed a national missile defense system. We spent $15 billion (in today's money) building Sprint and Spartan and setting up Safeguard at Grand Forks, ND, only to shut the system down in 1976. Even then, the Pentagon did not quit spending on missile defense. In the year Reagan launched SDI, the Pentagon put $991 million in its budget for missile defense, and that sum was budgeted to rise annually to $2.7 billion by 1988. Most of it was for terminal defenses to protect MX missile silos.

After the mid-1980's the defense budget barely kept up with inflation. But with Reagan promoting it, SDI kept on increasing, rising so fast that within 4 years of his speech, SDI was the largest item in the defense budget. At $4 billion a year, SDI got almost as much as the Army's entire account for research and development.

Sixteen years have passed, the Defense Department has spent almost $50 billion on ballistic missile defense, and it has yet to field a strategic defense system. By anybody's reckoning, this is real money. It's hard to claim, with this much spent, that the absence of any deployed system is due to a lack of commitment. The problem is more a lack of focus than funding—plus the fact that the task is tougher than Reagan ever realized.

Early on, the architects of strategic defense decided that it had to be layered. The system had to take out some missiles to the boost phase, as they rose from their launch pads; some re-entry vehicles in the mid-course, as they traveled through space; and the remainder in the atmosphere as they descended to their targets. So, the Pentagon sank money into a family of systems: the High Endo-atmospheric Defense Interceptor (HEDI); the Exo-atmospheric Re-entry Vehicle Interceptor System (ERIS); and two boost-phase interceptors, one known as the Space-Based Kinetic-Kill Vehicle (SBKKV), the next more cleverly called ''Brilliant Pebbles.'' All of these were ''kinetic killers,'' designed to collide with their targets. But since intercepting a target moving 7 kilometers per second is a challenge and subject to countermeasures, SDI supported directed energy as an alternative. In fact, SDI was at one time funding at least five different lasers, ground-based and space-based.

Missile defense demands earlier acquisition and better tracking of targets and a means of discriminating real targets from decoys. So, SDI put money in popup infra-red sensors known as the Ground-Based Surveillance and Tracking System (GSTS) and space-based infra-red sensors known as the Space and Missile Tracking System (SMTS) and now known as Space-Based Infrared Sensors (SBIRS) Low. It even tried interactive discriminators as esoteric as a neutral particle beam, based in space.

Not all of these pursuits were blind alleys, and by no means was all of the money wasted. The ERIS, for example, was by-passed for a better interceptor. But the projectile built by the Army for the ERIS was adopted by the Navy for its theater missile interceptor. By the same token, the Army's theater missile interceptor has a sapphire window, developed for the HEDI as a heat-resistant aperture to see within the atmosphere, where friction produces terrific heat.

After the gulf war, SDIO evolved into BMDO (Ballistic Missile Defense Organization), and its charter was broadened to include theater defense as well. With billions of dollars spent on research, BMDO began to assess what was feasible. Laser systems were deemed futuristic, too far over the horizon. Ground-based laser beams were hard to propagate through the atmosphere without distortion, and space-based lasers were hard to power and protect from attack. Boost-phase interceptors orbiting in space were also vulnerable to attack, technically challenging, and expensive to deploy, given the number needed for enough always to be on station. Even if all these problems were overcome, boost-phase interceptors could be outrun by missiles with fast-burn boosters, like Russia's SS–24, a mobile missile with a booster burn-out time of 180 seconds.

Emphasis shifted, therefore, to the ground-based systems. Since interdiction in the atmosphere is hard to do, the endo-atmospheric interceptor was sidetracked, and the whole mission devolved to mid-course interceptors. These have the merit of being treaty-compliant and technically mature, and are clearly the best candidate to go first. But no one should think they answer Ronald Reagan's dream. The first problem they face are counter-measures in the form of decoys, chaff, and re-entry vehicles (RV's) enveloped in balloons, which lure the interceptors off course. The next is a limiting condition SDIO acknowledged in a 1992 report. Because of the radiation, heat, and electromagnetic effects generated when RV's are destroyed and exploded, SDIO decided that it could not postulate the take-out of more than 200 re-entry vehicles by mid-course interceptors. If our country were attacked by an adversary with an arsenal as large and sophisticated as Russia's, the first wave could easily include more than 200 warheads, and even with a smaller attack, the same problem could thwart tracking with infrared sensors and radar.

H.R. 4 says that it is our policy to deploy a national missile defense. Although not identified, the mid-course interceptor is the clear candidate for this mission. This is not a system, however, that will ''render nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete,'' in the words of President Reagan. If we have learned anything over past sixteen years, we have learned that a leak-proof defense is so difficult, it may never be attained. H.R. 4 calls for a ''national missile defense,'' and the committee report makes it clear that this means system to protect us against limited strikes. By ''limited'' strikes, the committee report means that the objective system should take out up to 20 oncoming warheads. This is the near-term goal, and even it is not ready to deploy.

There is legitimate concern about how Russia may react to this push for deployment. In truth, the system this bill anticipates will not defend us against a concerted attack by a nation with an arsenal as large and diverse as Russia's, not in the near future anyway. If it can be shown to work, it should defend us against rogue or accidental strikes and some unauthorized strikes, and Russia should have no objection to that.

This level of missile defense seems to be within our reach, but it is not yet within our grasp. Secretary Cohen has just added $6.6 billion to BMD recently and put his support behind national missile defense (NMD), but he warned that the technology is ''challenging'' and ''highly risky.'' Look at our experience so far with theater missile defense (TMD) systems. They are not comparable one-to-one to NMD, but when the Army's Theater High Altitude Area Defense System (THAAD) is 0–5 in testing, and the Navy's Upper Tier is 0–4, we should be wary of just presuming that a ground-based interceptor can travel thousands of miles into the exo-atmosphere and hit an RV four feet long.

The merit to me in this one-sentence bill is not what it says but what it does not say. It recognizes that the technology of missile defense has yet to be tested and proven, and it does not presume to say what will be deployed, when it will be deployed, or where it will be deployed.

This bill does not mandate a date certain for deployment. There is no threat now that requires us to rush development and testing or to settle for a substandard system just to say we have deployed something. In 1991, the Senate imposed on us in conference a ''Missile Defense Act'' which made it a national ''goal'' to deploy a missile defense system by 1996. It is now 1999, and nothing has been deployed, which shows the folly of legislating deployment dates.

This bill also does not mention the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. Everyone knows that we are developing ground-based interceptors that are treaty-compliant. This bill does not specify the number of interceptors or where they will be deployed, and it does not need to—not yet. We will not enhance our security by pushing NMD so hard that we derail Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) II and doom START III. Unlike past bills, H.R. 4 also does not tell the Administration what it must negotiate with the Russians, and it should not. For now, compliance with the ABM Treaty is necessary to ratifying START II and negotiating START III. If we are concerned about the spread of nuclear weapons, or the risk of unauthorized or accidental attack, or the cost of maintaining our strategic forces at START I levels, both treaties are important—probably a lot more important to our near-term security than a limited missile defense system. The treaties are important also to the long-run role of the missile defense, because nuclear warheads in the United States and Russia must be lowered to a couple of thousand on each side if national missile defense is ever to become an effective complement to deterrence.

If this bill's attraction is its brevity, it's fair to ask, ''What purpose is served by passing it?'' I know some think this bill is to stiffen the resolve of the Clinton administration, but I don't think that's necessary. The Clinton administration has put a billion dollars a year into developing a ground-based system, and for the last several years, Congress has generally acquiesced in that level of spending. This year the President's budget includes funds for deploying an NMD which amount to a plus-up to $6.6 billion or a total of $10.5 billion over FY 1999–FY 2005. That sounds like a system taking shape to me, and that's one of the reasons I support deployment as our objective. At this level of effort, we should be thinking about a deployable system, and not more viewgraphs to go on the shelf.

If anything, it may be the House that needs to check its resolve. Yesterday, the House Budget Committee reported a Budget Resolution that takes $205 billion out of the President's defense budget for the years 2004–2009. This is the very time period when the system this bill supports will be ready to deploy, along with a host of others: the Army's THAAD, the Navy's Upper Tier, PAC–3, the F–22, the F–18 E & F, the Comanche, the V–22, and the JSF. You cannot load on to this full plate ballistic missile defense—ground-based interceptors, SBIRs Low and SBIRs High, radar upgrades, and BMCCC—and pay the billions it will cost with a defense budget that's flat-funded for six years, from 2004–2009.

I think there is an emerging threat and there are good reasons for developing ballistic missile defenses, but let's not fool ourselves. Like all weapon systems, missile defense will not come cheap, and when the time comes to buy it, rhetoric won't pay the bills.

In summary, here are my reasons for supporting this bill:

(1) It allows us to realize a return on the investment of nearly $50 billion made already on ballistic missile defense.

(2) It supports ground-based interceptors that are treaty-complaint and fit easily into an infrastructure of ground-based radars that are already installed and space-based sensors (SBIR's Low and High) that are already being developed for targeting theater missile interceptors defenses and tactical intelligence.

(3) It focuses BMDO on completing the one form of strategic defense that can be developed and deployed in the short-run, and further develops technologies on a continuum with theater missile defense systems, particularly THAAD and Navy Upper Tier.

(4) If proven capable, ground-based interceptors will give us some defense against rogue and accidental attacks and a working system to learn from and build upon. The best way to find if midcourse interceptors can discriminate decoys from real RV's is to build and test the actual interceptors and the target and guidance systems.

(5) Finally, I support this bill in the hope that we can put BMD on a bipartisan footing. TMD enjoys bipartisan support; NMD has been a bone of contention. Now that the technology is taking shape and showing promise, NMD needs to stand the test of any weapons system. It ought to be put to rigorous testing, and made to prove that it can hold this country harmless against a limited missile attack. If strategic defense can prove its mettle, I think we should buy it and deploy it. If it can't, nothing in this bill requires us to buy a dud.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON), coauthor of this bill who is mainly responsible for us being here today.

(Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, first of all I want to applaud the level of debate today on this issue and thank Members from both sides for their diligence in focusing on this issue. I want to applaud the integrity of the opponents of this issue. And I want to point out the difference between the opponents in this body who stood up and focused on their opposition and the opponents in the other body who twice stopped a similar bill from getting up to a vote and then had the audacity to change and vote for it on the Senate floor yesterday. So I applaud the opponents who have a logical and philosophical difference with what we have done here and I applaud them for taking the steps to oppose it, even though I disagree with them.

I do take issue with those who say that we do not care about human concerns. Mr. Speaker, I am a teacher. I spent 7 years teaching in the public schools of Pennsylvania and for 3 of those years I ran a chapter 1 program serving those children with educational and economic deprivations. I support education. I support human services and needs. But what do we tell, Mr. Speaker, the families of those 28 young Americans who came home in body bags? They were hit by a missile. Do we tell them that we are not going to pursue a defense? Do we tell them that there is some other more important priority after they volunteered to serve our Nation?

We have no choice but to pursue missile defense, Mr. Speaker, because that is the weapon of choice by rogue nations. I do take issue with those who say that we are trying to harm our strategic relationship with Russia. For the last 20 years since graduating from college with a degree in Russian studies, I have focused on Russia. I have been there 18 years and I have been focusing on ways to provide more economic stability with that nation. That is not a reason for us to deny protection for our people. We need to provide this system to protect Americans. It is time for us to vote. Not to provide cover for Members.

If Members support the President's policy of waiting a year and then deciding whether or not he should deploy,

vote against this bill. But if they feel as we do, it is time based upon the threat and based upon the changing world to move in a new direction, where instead of threatening each other with long-range missiles, we begin developing a new relationship where we defend ourselves and our people and our troops. I happen to think as a teacher and a person very concerned about human issues that that is the right thing to do as we approach the new millennium.

I ask my colleagues to oppose the motion to recommit and support this bill to provide protection for our people.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H.R. 4, the Missile Defense Bill. I think we all agree that this is a vitally important issue to the American people. That is why I am disappointed by the Republican Leadership's decision to deny any member the basic right of introducing an amendment to this bill so we may have a full and open debate.

For example, the closed rule under which we are debating this bill blocks the amendment from my good friend from Maine, Representative ALLEN. The Allen amendment proposes ideas I believe my Republican colleagues would support. The Allen amendment specifies that the United States deploy a National Missile Defense that is operationally effective and that a National Missile Defense System not jeopardize other efforts to reduce threats to the United States. If we can not agree on these points, then I fear we are farther apart then I imagined.

The future of this country depends on a strong economy and a strong military. Neither is possible without an educated populace. That means that everyday, we have to make difficult decisions about where we spend our money and that we must be wise when deciding such matters. Therefore, we must not rush to deploy any missile defense system that will not guarantee our protection.

This debate involves many complex issues. Lest some of my colleagues have forgotten, one of our potentially most significant foreign relations accomplishments over the last 30 years was our agreement with the former Soviet Union to reduce the size of our nuclear arsenals. I am talking about the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and the START II and III nuclear arms reduction proposals. And I say they are potentially significant because I worry that if we pass the current version of H.R. 4, we would be in violation of the ABM Treaty and force the Russian Duma to fail to ratify START II. Additionally, as far as Russia is concerned, do we really want to put pressure on a country trying to stabilize its fragile economy by tempting it to respond to our actions.

I agree with my colleagues who believe that a new threat to our security has emerged and that we have a responsibility to address that threat. As a member of the Intelligence Committee, I know as well as anyone that the potential for a rogue state to strike our shores may exist in the near future. However, it would be irresponsible for us to rush to meet that potential threat by spending money on something that one, is not even technologically possible and two, even if it were possible, would not end the threat.

Mr. Speaker, we do not need a missile defense. If we need anything, we need a strong non-proliferation policy. If my colleagues only want a missile defense, then they will have the chance to vote for that today. However, if they truly want to protect the American people, then they will only settle for something that also attempts to stop other, more realistic, threats to our safety, such as cruise missiles or smuggled bombs. The missile defense systems being considered do not adequately address these possibilities. The remarks of Secretary Cohen are very poignant here. The Secretary acknowledged that the Joint Chiefs of Staff worry more about a suitcase bomb going off in one of our cities and that very few countries would launch an Intercontinental Ballistic Missile aimed at the United States, knowing that they would face virtual elimination.

I urge my colleagues to vote no on H.R. 4.

Mr. CALVERT. Mr. Speaker, I support of H.R. 4 and would like to discuss one of the most important issues currently facing our nation. Many rogue states have already proven their ability to attack the United States via long-range missile capability or nuclear-weapons program and others are known to be close to obtaining this capability.

The United States cannot fully prevent other nations from obtaining missile technology, allowing them the capability to launch missiles that may reach our borders. During their recent dispute with Taiwan, China threatened to bomb Los Angeles; North Korea recently launched a three-stage rocket over Japan; and a published CIA report determined that they will soon have the technology to reach the west coast of the United States. Knowing that the Chinese have the capability to attack my district in California, and that the North Koreans are not far behind, compounded by the fact that we have nothing to protect us from attack, strikes fear into the hearts of my constituents and me.

For the Clinton Administration to have delayed making a National Missile Defense System a top priority is a tragic mistake. To rely on the ABM Treaty, an archaic, outdated agreement with a country that does not even exist any longer, shows that our nation's security needs are a low priority for this Administration.

Our federal government is responsible for the general defense of our nation. The post-Cold War world is littered with dangerous, rogue nations that either possess or are pushing toward development of nuclear weapons. North Korea and China have already illustrated the capability to threaten the U.S., but they will not be the last. If we have one Saddam or bin Laden with nuclear missile capability, they could kill millions of American citizens under our current defense security posture.

Right now, Mr. Chairman, we can insure that this nightmare never becomes reality. I hope that my colleagues on both sides of the aisle will support this important bill and make it a priority to deploy a national missile defense system. It is my personal belief that such a system should play to our technological strengths and should include a sea-based element. Sea-based anti-missile systems would provide flexibility to protect our forces around the world as well as the 50 states.

Further, we must have the courage to modify, or even scrap, the ABM Treaty when it is in our supreme national interest to do so. Mr. Chairman, defense is never provocative and weakness is never wise. We must pursue a national missile defense immediately.

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, the resolution before us today is very simple and straightforward. H.R. 4 states that it is the policy of the United States to deploy a national missile defense system. Most Americans would be puzzled by this, because it is a widely held misconception that we have an anti-ballistic missile defense system in place to protect the United States from any incoming missile; either an accidental launch from Russia, or an intended launch from China or any number of rogue nations.

Yes, we spent $40 billion in the 1980's for research and development of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). However, liberal naysayers and the media criticized the program for being a threat to the former Soviet Union, while trivializing and demonizing the program as ''Star Wars.'' Once the Berlin Wall fell and the Soviet Union collapsed, the collective wisdom of liberal policy makers convinced the public that such a missile defense system was no longer needed; the program was allowed to fade into a meager research effort.

Unfortunately, here we are today still facing a formidable nuclear weapons arsenal of more than 7,000 warheads in the former Soviet Union. Moreover, the development of a ballistic missile capability in China, coupled by the intent of North Korea, Iran and Pakistan to briskly pursue advanced ICBM programs places the United States and the world at great risk. In addition, rogue states led by Iraq, Libya and Syria are pursuing ambitious ballistic weapons programs of their own. These sobering realities were again presented to each of us this morning by the threat analysis of the Rumsfeld Commission.

However, President Clinton is opposed to this bill. According to the Statement of Administration policy, the Clinton Administration opposed this resolution for two reasons; they oppose the commitment to deploy a missile defense system and they are concerned about violating the Anti Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. I cannot understand this Administration's reluctance to fully defend the American people, nor their concerns about complying with a treaty that we made with a country that no longer exists.

Mr. Speaker, it's high time that the policy of the United States is to fully defend our nation from all threats, including incoming ballistic missiles. We are very close to achieving the technological challenge and capability of a ''hitting a bullet with a bullet.'' We must not allow the Administration's reluctance to get in the way of protecting Americans; let's support this legislation.

Mr. PITTS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to speak to American families. Tonight, as you sleep, we cannot adequately protect you and your children from a ballistic missile attack from rogue nations, let alone Russia or China.

We simply must protect American families. It is our duty—that is why we are here today. Deploying a national missile defense to protect American families simply makes sense.

The Administration's current arms control strategy has failed miserably, while rogue nations progress in developing long-ranges missiles capable of carrying nuclear, chemical, or biological warheads.

In addition to the established nuclear powers of China and Russia, the Administration

has tried, and failed, to prevent Russia from aiding Iran's progress in missile technology and guideane systems. The Administration has failed, too, in Iraq and North Korea. India and Pakistan have established themselves as members of the nuclear club, and Cuba is now being helped by Russia with its own reactor.

According to the Rumsfeld Commission, rogue nation like North Korea and Iran will be able to inflict major destruction on the U.S. within about five years of a decision to acquire such a capability. Further, rogues can import technology from Russia and China and greatly decrease acquisition times and increase secrecy.

Today, rogue nations don't need to develop weapons of mass destruction, the merely need to purchase it.

Despite the overwhelming evidence of the rogue nation threat, the Administration continues to downplay the threat, delay funding and deployment of a national missile defense, and risk the life of every American. This is unacceptable.

It is time for the Administration and Congress to make preserving our security and our freedom a priority. It makes no sense at all to grant Russia or China a say in our policy to defend ourselves.

We have the technology, designs, and intelligence. All we need is the straight forward policy, and we can begin to deliver on our constitutional duty to adequately defend American families.

We can no longer afford to follow the Administration's policy of mutual assured destruction. Rather, we must have a policy of defending American families.

Vote for H.R. 4 today, and support a policy that will provide for deployment of a national missile defense.

Mr. PACKARD. Mr. Speaker, today we are discussing a matter of national security and national protection. H.R. 4, calls for the prompt deployment of a national missile defense system. This legislation is long overdue.

According to a congressional advisory panel report from July of 1998, missile threats are widely and drastically underestimated. Our enemies are working aggressively to develop ballistic missile systems capable of carrying weapons of mass destruction. Iran, North Korea, China, and others are all developing missile systems for one purpose: to target the United States. We cannot afford to let this threat go unchecked.

Mr. Speaker, nothing is worth more than the safety of our citizens. Yet our critics claim that development of a national missile defense system is too costly. Nothing could be further from the truth. The cost to deploy an initial National Missile Defense capability will amount to less than the amount the United States has spent on peacekeeping deployments over the past 6 years.

In 1995, President Clinton vetoed legislation similar to that which we are debating today. In his veto message, the President called the deployment of a national missile defense ''unwarranted.'' Today, the President has indicated that he will sign our legislation. I am relieved that the President has finally agreed with my Republican colleagues and I on this issue.

Mr. Speaker, this is an issue which should need little debate. I urge my colleagues to support a national missile defense and vote in favor of H.R. 4.

Mr. HORN. Mr. Speaker, when John F. Kennedy committed our Nation to sending a man to the moon by the end of the 1960s, he was not ambiguous and he did not hedge. He committed this Nation to a hard-to-reach goal with the knowledge that American ingenuity and hard work could get the job done. He was right then and we are right now to set this goal before us.

The spread of ballistic missile technology—combined with the spread of chemical, biological, and potentially nuclear technology—to nations openly hostile to the United States and our allies has introduced a new threat and new dimension to American security.

The spread of this threatening technology has occurred at a rate faster than was predicted just recently by our intelligence community. This fact requires an immediate response to protect our Nation sooner rather than later.

The technology underpinning a national missile defense system is unproven today. Much work remains to be done before a working system can be deployed. However, unless we treat this threat and our response seriously and proceed with a firm commitment to deployment, we will leave ourselves vulnerable to our most dangerous and unpredictable enemies.

Protection from this threat must be treated with the highest degree of seriousness. National missile defense must be undertaken in conjunction with other defense needs. Failure to commit to the deployment of this protection for our Nation will mean that it is undertaken with too little funding and too little attention to deploy a missile defense system in time to respond to existing and emerging threats.

Our first priority must be to ensure the protection of our Nation and our armed forces defending American interests abroad. Some have said that this system might not stop all attacks. Should our response be to provide no protection? Of course not. I do not agree with that response and neither should you. Vote for H.R. 4 and protect our citizens from the actions of irresponsible nations.

Ms. BROWN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I believe that we should wholeheartedly support House Concurrent Resolution 42, a resolution to support the sense of Congress that the President is authorized to deploy U.S. troops as a part of a NATO peacekeeping operation to implement a peace agreement in Kosovo.

I am very disappointed in Congress' reluctance to commit an American contingent of 4,000 troops to serve as peacekeepers in an attempt to stabilize the region. At the same time members of Congress are debating the U.S. position, American negotiators are in France struggling to negotiate a settlement palatable to both sides. Although I do believe that an open debate about troop deployment in Kosovo before the American public is necessary, now is not the appropriate time to carry on such debate, given the extreme fragility of the peace process.

Indisputably, peace in the region is in the best interests of the United States. Noncompliance with our obligation to the organization and lack of support for our European allies, may in turn lead them to forgo the peace process as well, a move that will negatively affect our relationship with Europe, as well as future joint military endeavors.

Although NATO was originally established for the purpose of deterring Soviet aggression in Europe, the Alliance is still a necessary vehicle to neutralize aggressors on the continent. This is especially true in the context of leaders such as Slobodan Milosevic, whose political ambitions have the potential to disrupt regional political, social, and economic harmony. Indeed, even though political changes brought about by the end of the cold war have altered NATO's original purpose, the organization still plays a meaningful role in the region by promoting political, social, and economic ties among European nations. Certainly, the United States, as a major participant in the organization, has a strategic and humanitarian interest in preventing the conflict from spinning out of control.

Undeniably, there is ample evidence to demonstrate that if the situation is left untended, the conflict in Kosovo will draw in Albanians from four surrounding regions—Macedonia, Montenegro, northern Greece and Albania—further destabilizing the region, increasing the number of refugees, infecting Greek-Turkish relations, and souring relations between member countries of NATO. One cannot profess concern about the future of NATO and the stability of Southern Europe, while standing idly by, declining to react to this alarming state of affairs.

If members of the KLA eventually accept the terms laid out by European and American negotiators, I believe without reserve that America should participate by contributing peacekeeping troops. Since the deal calls for the Europeans to commit 25,000 troops, and the U.S. only 4,000, it is they who are assuming the majority of the responsibility, which, in and of itself, is in the best interests of our country. The U.S. is, and must remain, an influential player in Europe, and therefore cannot remain entirely aloof from taking on a major role in the brokering of a deal between the warring parties. Unquestionably, the contribution of 4,000 troops is within the means and the interests of the United States.

Mr. VENTO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to this legislation that will push the United States down a slippery slope and lock us into an automatic deployment of a national missile defense system. This system is a highly speculative policy with regards to cost and effectiveness. The best defense is a smart defense. The U.S. needs not just smart weapons, but smart soldiers. This decision contributes to neither. H.R. 4 will siphon off important resources that should focus on ensuring that our troops have the equipment and the training they need to maintain our security. The advocates for ''Star Wars'' or strategic defense initiatives can change the names, but not the facts! What kind of message are we relaying to our constituents back home? Congress should not be in the business of writing a blank check for yet another version of ''Star Wars.'' A pipe dream which commits to spending over $100 billion without any assurance of success and evidence that such action will erode effective disarmament and weapons agreements such as the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM). Today, their is a long agenda of real needs. Too many schools are crumbling down and overcrowded, much environmental cleanup is needed, veterans are in need of adequate health care and the future of the Social Security and Medicare Insurance are crying for attention. Investments in our people today must surely take priority over such questionable spending policies that is intended by this

version of the national missile defense measure.

Why rush to give blanket authority for deployment of a national missile defense at an unspecified cost? The United States has already spent over $120 billion on missile defense research and development, including $67 billion since President Ronald Reagan's ''Star Wars'' initiative. Recent systems tests have failed 14 out of 18 times and Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman General John Shelton recently stated that the United States does not yet have the technology to field a national missile defense. In addition, the Clinton Administration recently proposed spending $10.5 billion over the next five years to step-up research of a workable system. Furthermore, many scientists inside and outside of the government testify that any system, no matter the sophistication, would be relatively easy for an enemy to circumvent at far less cost. And worse yet, this initiative would lead to a renewed qualitative arms race to defeat such a national missile defense system.

Nonetheless, H.R. 4, a 15-word measure, would give blanket endorsement by the House, mandating automatic missile defense deployment without regard to taxpayers, regardless of its impact on global stability and regardless of whether or not it actually would be effective. This bill will provide a false sense and illusion of security and waste important tax dollars that could better serve people programs or even real defense needs.

Clearly, this 15-word bill would fundamentally undermine international arms control and disarmament agreements which have effectively preserved and advanced U.S. and global security over the past three decades. Furthermore, this bill sends the wrong message to Russia and other nations at a crucial time. It would seriously damage relations with Russia, violate the ABM, jeopardize the ratification of the START II Treaty by the Russian Duma and undermine decades of efforts to advance national and international security through arms control and disarmament agreements. This could stimulate an escalating nuclear arms race with China which would view such a deployment as a threat to its current limited nuclear deterrent. An end to Russian nuclear disarmament, the decommissioning and disassembly of nuclear weapons and a nuclear arms race with China and others would undermine U.S. security far more than the alleged threat from rogue nations such as North Korea or Iran. H.R. 4 will reverse the ongoing successful arms reductions initiatives and in fact reverse U.S. policy that has been in place for 4 decades.

Mr. Chairman, during this debate I've heard many, too many different explanations of what these 15 words mean, I guess that they mean whatever an individual may claim, but I've no doubt that this action will be interpreted as the green light to spend hundreds of billions of dollars to in fact move forward beyond the $10 billion that is already planned by the Clinton administration. This is not a benign matter, it is the renewal of a path to policy well traveled. An engraved invite to develop, spend and undercut existing treaty agreements. The wrong policy path.

The recent threats we face from North Korea and other rogue nations do not require the deployment of a national missile defense system. The United States has faced the threat from long-range missiles for 40 years. We should continue to do what we can to control the spread of this technology and to gain agreements, such as the nuclear power accords achieved with North Korea in the last 4 years. But, it is much easier for a terrorist group or rogue nation to smuggle nuclear devices or biological weapons across our borders than to develop huge ballistic missiles under the watchful eye of our satellite systems. Locking-in deployment does nothing about the real threats we face today. A missile defense looks up at the sky for missiles when we should be looking on the ground for terrorists in a panel truck.

Technology for a national defense system is actually more sophisticated, not less than some other forms, because of the shortened timeframe, low trajectory, and limited ability to detect such weapons deployment and activation.

This total initiative seems to cast Congress and this issue into a political ploy more designed for emotion than rational decision making. Frankly, the spread of knowledge of weapons of mass destruction is in fact the real world that we must live with. The United States of America has, in many instances, been the source of that knowledge. Isn't it time to stop or at least slow down the merry-go-round? Maybe it is time to review the film, ''Dr. Strangelove.'' As many of you know, this film addresses the consequences and results of actions such as this. The basic problem is changing mindsets and attitudes to realize that we share vulnerability, not to pretend and falsely promise what cannot be achieved. We live in a interdependent world. The path to more security is found in addressing the problems, not pretending that we can build a wall around the United States and be isolated and impervious to events and developments in other nations.

I urge all members to vote no on H.R. 4.

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, the development of a national missile defense is vital and I support this resolution. The bottom line is that this is a natural evolution for our defense.

Once upon a time, our ancestors built walls of stone to defend themselves from swords and arrows. As military weapons have evolved, so must our defenses. While some in this chamber raise legal, treaty-oriented objections to this bill, we know that the reality of our age is that a missile attack on U.S. soil by some rogue nations may soon be technically achievable and perhaps politically desirable.

We don't have to go far back in time to understand this. We all know that the single bloodiest moment for American servicemen and women in the Gulf War was the moment an Iraqi Scud landed on the barracks occupied by our forces.

If anyone doubts that a despotic leader would take an opportunistic chance to launch a missile attack at American soil—even as merely a demonstration strike or as a symbolic strike, consider the SCUD missile attacks on Israel. While there was clearly no military advantage to be gained through that action, Sadam Hussein launched those attacks to prove that he could, and to see if it would rouse support from other nations.

Given those circumstances, we have no choice but to embrace the policy declared in this bill and move forward with the development of a national missile defense system.

This is not a threat that will pass. The Rumsfield Commission has opened our eyes to the reality that this is not a situation we can postpone. The responsible action at this moment in history is to rally the political support necessary to make a national missile defensive system available to protect the American people as soon as possible.

Ms. BALDWIN. Mr. Speaker, in May, George Lucas will release the next Star Wars sequel. I can hardly wait to see it. Apparently I am not alone, since today we'll vote on our own sequel to Star Wars. Unlike Mr. Lucas an 20th Century Fox who can be confident it will be a hit and a money maker, all we know is that our Star Wars sequel will cost a lot of money—$50 billion and counting. As for whether it will be a hit, hit-to-kill technology is nowhere near feasible.

Now when 20th Century Fox makes a big, expensive movie they usually go with a proven formula for success. When they gamble, they may end up with Waterworld or Ishtar. The United States cannot afford an expensive flop.

When 20th Century Fox isn't sure they have a hit, they bring in focus groups and maybe edit or reshoot some footage. It usually won't cost too much. We won't have that option.

I rise today in opposition to H.R. 4, a bill that would make it the policy of the United States to deploy a national missile defense system. I do not know if it should be the policy of the United States to deploy such a system. I think few of us do. Because we have not had a national debate yet.

We don't know what it will cost.

We don't know what the impact will be on our future nuclear arms reduction negotiations with the Russians.

We don't know the impact on Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty.

And we don't know if it will work.

We need a national debate on a national missile defense. A couple of hours today will not engage the American people in this important debate.

I wish the majority had allowed a genuine floor debate ion the Allen Amendment to establish the criteria for deployment. If the House is going to establish this policy, we need to have clear deployment criteria. We should not take this step until National Missile Defense:

(1) has been demonstrated to be operationally effective against the most significant threat identified at the time of such deployment (and for a reasonable period of time thereafter);

(2) does not diminish the overall national security of the United States by jeopardizing other efforts to reduce threats to the United States, including negotiated reductions in Russian nuclear forces; and

(3) is affordable and does not compromise the ability of the uniformed service chiefs and the commanders of the regional unified commands to meet their requirements for operational readiness, quality of life of the troops, programmed modernization of weapons systems, and the deployment of planned theater missile defenses.

We are doing the American people no favor by rushing this bill through the Congress so that we can say we're addressing the perceived threat. Let's take our time, get it right, and use our constituents' tax money wisely.

That will make our Star Wars the kind of blockbuster that every American will want to see.

Mr. RODRIGUEZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express support for H.R. 4, and I will vote

in favor of this legislation. We certainly should not fail to explore the possibilities of protecting the United States from missile attack from enemies across the globe.

But, we must also make a realistic assessment of the threats we face and consider how we can best use our resources. While the threat of a hostile missile attack exists, the far greater threat comes from terrorism, whether domestic or international, and whether sponsored by rogue individuals, organizations or states. The weapons of mass destruction I most fear are not intercontinental ballistic missiles traveling through the stratosphere, but those coming across our land and sea ports and delivered by an aerosol can, suitcase or panel truck.

To protect against such asymmetrical threats we must devote appropriate resources to Customs, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and even the Coast Guard. These agencies are our nation's first line of defense along our borders and major ports of entry. More personnel and better technology are needed if we want to defend against terrorists trying to smuggle into the United States weapons of mass destruction. We want more commerce with our neighbors and international trading partners, yet we do not provide adequate resources to the very agencies tasked with managing the trade.

Just this week federal authorities, including the INS, arrested 15 people on charges of operating an immigration fraud ring that helped members of an alleged Iranian terrorist group enter the United States illegally. Several years ago, a cargo ship owned by a Chinese shipping company and destined for the United States was boarded off the California coast and a cache of firearms was discovered. With current resources and technology are we able to stop an illegal weapons or known dangerous persons from entering the United States?

The administration has included in its budget $10.5 billion for fiscal years 1999 through 2005 for national missile defense. I say in addition to this money we devote more resources to those dedicated individuals on our nation's borders and ports of entry who manage our international trade and face potential threats everyday.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Mr. Speaker, each day, Members of this House debate how to save Social Security and Medicaid. How to cut taxes. How to stay within mandated spending caps. All to make sure that we only spend tax money on things we need—and things that work.

Now comes the missile defense bill. Before casting this vote, let's review what we know—and what we don't know—about this proposal.

We do know that we already have a national missile defense—the threat of swift and disproportionate retaliation with our own nuclear weapons.

We don't know if an anti-ballistic system will work—which is why almost no-one will attest to its reliability. Even the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs has said that ''we do not yet have the technology to field a national missile defense.''

We do know that an anti-ballistic system cannot defend against the most probable form of attack. The likeliest 21st-century enemies will use cheap, hard-to-trace methods to kill Americans, like gassing subways or poisoning reservoirs.

We do know it would be expensive. We've already spent $120 billion, and estimates now approach $200 billion more.

But we don't know where this money will come from. Do we sacrifice veterans' benefits, or home health care? Education or environmental protection?

We do know that this bill undermines years of progress with the one country whose missiles actually pose a threat—Russia. For decades, we've negotiated to reduce Russia's nuclear arsenal. The Russian parliament is considering deeper cuts. But Russia sees an American missile defense as a direct threat to its own deterrent and a reason to abandon nuclear arms reductions.

We don't know if Russia can even maintain its current force level without an accident—Besides setting back years of diplomacy, this bill could actually increase the risk of an accidental launch as Russia tries to manage a missile force with its crumbling infrastructure.

We do know that this bill could begin a new arms race. Other nations may feel so threatened that they will seek to develop weapons to counteract our missile defense.

In short, we are asked today to authorize enormous sums of public money to nullify years of arms control. To risk re-igniting the arms race. All for a defense system that may not work. To protect us from a threat that may not materialize.

It doesn't take New England frugality to recognize that we can do better, and I urge my colleagues to join me in voting ''no.''

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I will vote against H.R. 4, a bill committing the United States to deploy a national missile defense system as a matter of national policy.

I will not repeat the arguments against passing the bill, since such arguments have little impact on most Members. Frankly, leaders on both sides are supporting the bill largely because they think that it is a good political strategy or that failure to do so may be used against them in the next election. These are not ignoble motives. In fact, concern for our national defense is a very noble motive, and I deeply respect those of my colleagues who express this concern.

However, during the 1960's and 1970's when similar arguments were made to deploy an ABM system, or to escalate the Vietnam war, Presidents and their advisors made the same supportive arguments aware that they could not be justified. They reversed themselves, recanting their former words only when the American people came to understand the unwinnability of a ground war in Asia in a situation where no vital U.S. interests were at stake and the futility of a missile arms race, either offensive or defensive, against the U.S.S.R. In the face of great odds both the United States and the U.S.S.R. moved toward arms control and reduction and toward cooperation in a growing number of economic and political areas.

I am confident that the leaders of the nations of the world have passed the era of even considering nuclear war as a viable option. For a rogue nation or a terrorist group to deliver a nuclear device by means of a ballistic missile, whose launch point can be precisely detected, amounts to national suicide, even if it were to evade the proposed U.S. missile defense system.

Our efforts today should be focused on eliminating the causes of war, of which the largest is economic inequality and endemic poverty around the world. A small fraction of the cost of the missile defense system would give us a good start on such a program.

Ms. DEGETTE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to H.R. 4, and urge my colleagues to vote in favor of the motion to recommit. H.R. 4 is a bill whose time has not come. It is a bill whose time, arguably, may never come. As General Hugh Shelton, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said in February of this year, ''The simple fact is that we do not yet have the technology to field a national missile defense. We have, in fact, put some $40 billion into the program over the last 10 years. But today we do not technologically have a bullet that can hit a bullet.'' General Shelton, testifying only 44 days ago before the House Armed Services about this issue, continues: ''The technology to hit a bullet with a bullet remains elusive.''

Yet today the House is considering legislation that presumes this technology does exist, when it in fact does not. H.R. 4 presumes this missile defense system can be developed and deployed, when in fact after tens of billion dollars in research, in General Shelton's words, it ''remains elusive.'' If General Shelton's summation is not simple enough, I offer an analogy which easily explains my opposition to H.R. 4: the cart should not be put before the horse. The decision to deploy a National Missile Defense system should not be made until there is a clear capability to address a potential national security threat.

How many times has a defense technology been rushed to the field in a spectacular shower of funding from Congress, only to be declared obsolete on the day when the last bolt is tightened or just as a system is declared ''fully operational''? With all the good intentions of this Congress to take steps to preserve national security, there are too many questions regarding the readiness of this technology to consider beginning deployment of a National Missile Defense.

Let our research scientists, engineers and military commanders finish their job, first. If there is a national security threat that can be addressed with a proven national missile defense technology, bring that evidence before Congress, and then let's decide whether or not it makes sense to deploy such a system. But until then, I urge my colleagues to not get ahead of the horse.

Equally as troubling to me is the fact that H.R. 4 in its brevity fails to recognize the arms control gains we have made under the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. The deployment of a system as prematurely proposed by this bill may in fact put us in noncompliance with this treaty, a treaty that has slowed arms development for nearly 30 years. I worry that this bill could send the wrong message to Russia and China, who might likely see it as a signal to start the arms race again. It might also be viewed by other nations as an invitation to join in.

As H.R. 4 is silent on these issues, it provides an oversimplistic policy for an extremely complex, interdependent group of concerns. The 15-word, one sentence policy statement in H.R. 4 grossly trivializes the importance of this issue of national defense. Without serious consideration of the full ramifications of this policy, and without the opportunity to amend this bill to do justice to this national security issue, I cannot support this bill.

Mr. DICKS. I rise in support of H.R. 4 the Weldon-Spratt National Missile Defense bill. I am a cosponsor of the bill and urge my colleagues to support it. At the same time, I strongly support the amendment offered by TOM ALLEN, which was not allowed on the floor, which clarifies that we will not deploy a system unless we know that it works. The Allen amendment also makes clear that the readiness and Theater Missile Defense (TMD) of our troops is our top priority. We may have an opportunity to vote for this sensible alternative as a motion to recommit, and I urge my colleagues to support it.

Even as we pass this bill we need to come clean with the American people. We have not been able to make National Missile Defense work, and at this time, we don't have a system to deploy. We are developing this system as fast as we can, in fact, we may be pushing the technology too hard. But significant challenges remain. We have experienced a series of failures with our medium-range THAAD system. If we can't even do THAAD, how are we going to do National Missile Defense, where the targets are much faster and much more sophisticated? The Army successful tested the shorter range PAC–3 missile defense system this week. And we all hope that THAAD will bet back on track with a successful test next month. But we shouldn't kid ourselves here. We have a long way to go to get a National Missile Defense system. Fortunately we have good people working on the problem.

We should also be honest with the American people on what we are talking about deploying. This will not be the leak proof missile defense shield that Ronald Reagan dreamed of when he founded the Strategic Defense Initiative. We are no closer to achieving a leak proof defense against Russian missiles today than we were in 1983. Instead, we are developing a system designed to deal with the limited and relatively unsophisticated threats presented by countries like Iran and North Korea. I believe developing a defense against these threats is necessary and appropriate. And by voting for H.R. 4, Congress will signal its intent to deploy such a system if it works.

But it will not change the fact that Russia, the old Soviet Union, maintains thousands of nuclear weapons, which they can launch against the United States at will. And for this reason, I cannot support those who advocate abandoning the ABM treaty which has been the cornerstone of strategic arms reduction. Deploying a National Missile Defense system will improve our national security, but nothing can compare to the importance of implementing START II, and negotiating a START III agreement with Russia. We should not abandon the ABM treaty in our haste to protect against the North Koreans of the world.

Missile defense has proved to be a tough nut to crack. We have been trying to deploy a workable national missile defense system since the 1960's and have spent tens of billions of dollars, without success. This bill today signals that Congress is deadly serious about solving this problem. But it will not change the fact that national missile defense is difficult. And it should not push us to abandon arms reduction with the Russians.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to support H.R. 4, the National Missile Defense Act, and to thank my colleagues CURT WELDON, JOHN SPRATT, and Chairman FLOYD SPENCE for their leadership on this issue. It is important that the House consider this bill today in an effort to educate America as to why this issue is so important to our future.

Mr. Speaker, I have long believed that the security of the American people is the primary and most important responsibility of the Federal Government. In recent years we have learned that one of the biggest threats facing that security is the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and more importantly the dissemination of sensitive missile technology into the hands of our potential advisories.

Recent polls indicate that many Americans think our military forces can currently shoot down any missile fired at the United States. Well, Mr. Chairman, as the debate has pointed out here today, this is not the case. The United States does not have a missile defense system today and we won't have a missile defense system tomorrow unless this Congress acts responsibility to direct our military to develop one. H.R. 4 is the first step towards beginning this process.

If there is one thing I have learned since being elected to Congress is that many nations, large and small, are developing their own weapons of mass destruction and are moving ahead with potential use. Just last year, two new countries entered the nuclear arms race. Pakistan and India. And, many more nations much less friendly towards the United States continue to pursue the ability to launch weapons of mass destruction.

As this technology spreads throughout the world, the need for a national missile defense is increased. The United States can not sit by and wait for the next country or terrorist organization to threaten the United States. We must be proactive and develop our own system to combat that threat.

According to the bipartisan Rumsfeld Commission the ballistic missile threat to the United States ''is broader, more mature and evolving more rapidly than reported in estimates and reports of the intelligence community.'' Even more alarming is that the simple fact that the United States may have ''little or no warning'' before a ballistic missile threat materializes. To quote Secretary Cohen, ''the ballistic missile threat is real and is growing.''

As a member of the National Security Appropriations Committee, I have learned first hand that we must act now. The cost to deploy an initial National Missile Defense should not deter us from our responsibility. It has been estimated that, in reality, this initial step will amount to less than the amount the United States has spent on peacekeeping deployments over the past six years. A national missile defense is an investment worth making. If we can spend over $11 billion on a ''peacekeeping'' mission in Bosnia over the past four years, we can surely establish a proper missile defense.

In closing Mr. Speaker, the ballistic missile threat to the United States is real. It is not 5 years away. Congress needs to move forward and deploy a National Missile Defense system to provide the fundamental security that Americans deserve. H.R. 4 provides that framework and I urge all my colleagues to support this important bill.

Mr. LARSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution. From the end of World War II to the end of the cold war and the fall of the Berlin Wall, our generation has been witness to some of the greatest social changes and upheavals in history. We no longer face a world fenced off by two superpower nations. Today we are a global community facing a new and real threat from small rogue nations and their ability to launch an attack directly on American soil.

I support this proposal because I want to protect my three young children. However, my support comes with certain reservations. If we can stand together to support this proposal to protect our children, we must also stand together and enact legislation to provide our children with access to technology in the classrooms, as well as the training and education in our public schools to ensure they remain competitive in the new digital economy. As the 21st Century approaches we are facing the uncharted territory of the information age. We must do all we can for this next generation of Americans.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SUNUNU). All time for debate has expired.

The bill is considered read for amendment.

Pursuant to House Resolution 120, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT OFFERED BY MR. ALLEN

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes, I am, Mr. Speaker, in its present form.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. ALLEN moves to recommit the bill H.R. 4 to the Committee on Armed Services with instructions to report the same back to the House forthwith with the following amendment:

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

That it is the policy of the United States to deploy a ground-based national missile defense, with funding subject to the annual authorization of appropriations and the annual appropriation of funds for National Missile Defense, that—

(1) has been demonstrated to be operationally effective against the threat as defined as of the time of such deployment and as projected for a reasonable period of time thereafter;

(2) does not diminish the overall national security of the United States by jeopardizing other efforts to reduce threats to the United States, including negotiated reductions in Russian nuclear forces; and

(3) is affordable and does not compromise the ability of the uniformed service chiefs and the commanders of the regional unified commands to meet their requirements for operational readiness, quality of life of the troops, programmed modernization of weapons systems, and the deployment of planned theater missile defenses.

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The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SUNUNU). The gentleman from Maine (Mr. ALLEN) is recognized for 5 minutes in support of his motion to recommit.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, I want to begin by commending both the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr.

WELDON) and the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) for the work they have done on this issue. This is a case where there are some of us who respect and admire their expertise in this area but do disagree on the substance of the policy, that it is the right one for this country. It is certainly true that the threat that has evolved with rogue nations is different from what it was perceived to be a number of years ago, and it is appropriate to consider the responses to that. But I would point out that couple of facts.

One is that even the system that is being proposed today is a very limited defense system that would only deal, as a practical matter, with the threat from rogue nations and not provide the broader security that perhaps some believe.

But the objection that I have primarily is this:

This system has not been tested. We do not know whether or not it will work, and I believe that the decision to deploy should follow and not proceed; the testing, that would show whether or not we have a viable system here.

The motion to recommit has three parts. The motion provides that it is the policy of the United States to deploy a ground-based national missile defense that, number one, has been demonstrated to be operationally effective against the threat as perceived at the time we come to a decision on deployment. The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) said the President's policy, and he is correct, is to deploy some time next year after we have had some tests. Let me first mention a couple of things:

We need to know we should not commit to deploying a national missile defense until we know it works. This is extraordinarily difficult technology, hitting a bullet with a bullet. The first intercept test will be held in the summer of 1999, this year, but the first fully integrated test of the entire system will not be held until the winter of 2001. That is a long time off, and a lot can happen during that time. Missile defense has been a program where we have run the risk of rushing to rush ahead with the system before it is fully tested. There are new tests that have been added which are appropriate, but we still, I think, need to wait and to see how the test works before we move ahead with the decision to deploy.

The second part of the motion provides that the motion to the committee would provide that the system would not be deployed if it would diminish the overall national security of the United States by jeopardizing other efforts to reduce threats to the United States including negotiated reductions in Russian nuclear forces. We really need to make sure that we handle this matter appropriately so that the great threat of all of the nuclear weapons still available in Russia are managed and controlled and that we do not do anything to jeopardize our ability to deal with that task.

The third part of the motion is that the system must be affordable and not compromise readiness quality of life, weapons modernization, and exceedingly importantly, theater missile defenses needed to protect our troops and our war ships that are forward deployed. The costs are, as my colleagues know, subject to great debate, but last year in June the GAO estimated the cost of 18 to 28 billion to develop, produce, deploy and operate a national missile defense system through 2006. The truth is we really do not know how big a cost we have, but it is in the amount of billions and billions of dollars.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I would say it is my hope that colleagues will want more detail, want more testing, want more understanding, that they will support the motion to recommit.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. FARR).

Mr. FARR of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise to support the motion to recommit, and I would just like to remind our colleagues that our Nation must maintain a defensive posture, but not at any cost.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff have pleaded for increased funding for spare parts, training, troop and quality of life initiatives . . . not deployment of a national missile defense.

And if we look at the requests from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, those requests are that this Congress funds spare parts, training of troops and quality of life initiatives.

As my colleagues know, this Congress has not yet supported the bailout funds for the disaster in Central America, and I was just there a week ago, and I want to remind this Congress that 21 nations responded to that, including ours, but we have not sent one dime of assistance, Mr. Speaker. No missile defense system will ever protect this country from a nation in poverty.

We have not yet saved social security, we have not reduced class size, we have not provided for health care for all Americans, Mr. Speaker. In our zeal to protect our democracy we were actually jeopardizing our democracy by failing to protect our domestic tranquility.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support the motion to recommit.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the motion to recommit.

Mr. Speaker, I began my remarks today by pointing out the frustrations I have in trying to protect our people, the frustrations of having to fight our own people to protect our own people. That frustration has carried over today on the floor of this House. We have people who resist the temptation to protect our own people. We are trying to drag people, screaming and yelling, to that point where they will have to protect our own people.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON).

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, let me just respond to my friend, the gentleman from California (Mr. FARR). What he does not tell our colleagues is that we have spent $19 billion in contingency funds out of our defense budget for deployments that were never budgeted for over the past 6 years. Nineteen billion dollars, all over the world, $9 billion in Bosnia; all of that money came out of a defense budget that was already shrinking. So, we have made a commitment.

We should oppose the Allen motion to recommit. H.R. 4 is a simple, straightforward bill with bipartisan support; the Allen motion is not. It is complicated, it is hard to understand. H.R. 4 does not mandate a system architecture which is why the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) and I worked together. His amendment would, in fact, say we must have a ground-based system. It precludes a system that perhaps one day could use our AEGIS technology. H.R. 4 addresses the serious threats we face today, not unknown threats that may emerge down the road. We cannot predict what they will be. Operational effectiveness should be key in determining. The Allen motion mandates operational effectiveness prior to establishing a policy. Mr. Speaker, that is ridiculous. If we had done that, we would not have the Poseidon program, we would not have Trident, we would not have the AIM–9 side winder, we would not have AMRAAM, we would not have the Hawk. What a ridiculous way to try to fund defense needs by saying we are going to have the operational effectiveness prior to establishing a policy.

The Allen motion also could give Russia a veto over our own NMD policy. No foreign Nation should have the ability to have a veto over us. If an arms control agreement gets in the way, then we have got to renegotiate that treaty or we have got to do what is best for our people, not allow another Nation to hold us hostage.

H.R. 4 establishes and indeed is a high priority, it is got bipartisan support, and it is time for us to vote on this issue, to cut through the rhetoric; yes, if my colleagues are in favor, no, if they are not. I urge my colleagues to oppose the Allen substitute and to vote in favor of H.R. 4.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the motion to recommit.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion to recommit.

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

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

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 152, nays 269, answered ''present'' 1, not voting 11, as follows:

[Roll No. 58]

YEAS—152

Ackerman
Allen
Baird
Baldacci
Baldwin
Barrett (WI)
Becerra
Bentsen
Berkley
Berman
Berry
Blagojevich
Blumenauer
Bonior
Borski
Brown (CA)
Brown (FL)
Brown (OH)
Capps
Capuano
Cardin
Carson
Clay
Clayton
Conyers
Cooksey
Costello
Coyne
Crowley
Cummings
Danner
Davis (IL)
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
Dicks
Dingell
Dixon
Doggett
Dooley
Edwards
Engel
Eshoo
Evans
Farr
Fattah
Filner
Ford
Frank (MA)
Frost
Gejdenson
Gephardt
Gonzalez
Gutierrez
Hall (OH)
Hastings (FL)
Hill (IN)
Hilliard
Hinchey
Hinojosa
Hoeffel
Holt
Hooley
Inslee
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee (TX)
Jefferson
Johnson, E. B.
Jones (OH)
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Kennedy
Kildee
Kilpatrick
Kind (WI)
Kleczka
Klink
LaFalce
Lampson
Lantos
Levin
Lewis (GA)
Lofgren
Lowey
Luther
Maloney (NY)
Markey
Martinez
Matsui
McCarthy (NY)
McDermott
McGovern
McKinney
McNulty
Meehan
Meek (FL)
Meeks (NY)
Menendez
Millender-McDonald
Miller, George
Minge
Mink
Moakley
Morella
Nadler
Napolitano
Neal
Oberstar
Obey
Olver
Owens
Pallone
Pastor
Payne
Pelosi
Pomeroy
Price (NC)
Rahall
Rangel
Rivers
Rodriguez
Rothman
Roybal-Allard
Rush
Sabo
Sanchez
Sandlin
Sawyer
Schakowsky
Serrano
Sherman
Skelton
Stabenow
Strickland
Thompson (CA)
Thompson (MS)
Thurman
Tierney
Towns
Udall (CO)
Udall (NM)
Velazquez
Vento
Waters
Watt (NC)
Waxman
Weiner
Weygand
Woolsey
Wu
Wynn

NAYS—269

Abercrombie
Aderholt
Andrews
Archer
Armey
Bachus
Baker
Ballenger
Barcia
Barr
Barrett (NE)
Bartlett
Barton
Bass
Bateman
Bereuter
Biggert
Bilbray
Bilirakis
Bishop
Bliley
Blunt
Boehlert
Bonilla
Bono
Boswell
Boucher
Boyd
Brady (PA)
Brady (TX)
Bryant
Burr
Callahan
Calvert
Camp
Campbell
Canady
Cannon
Castle
Chabot
Chambliss
Chenoweth
Clement
Coble
Collins
Combest
Condit
Cook
Cox
Cramer
Crane
Cubin
Cunningham
Davis (FL)
Davis (VA)
Deal
DeLay
DeMint
Deutsch
Diaz-Balart
Dickey
Doyle
Dreier
Duncan
Dunn
Ehlers
Ehrlich
Emerson
English
Etheridge
Everett
Ewing
Fletcher
Foley
Forbes
Fossella
Fowler
Franks (NJ)
Frelinghuysen
Gallegly
Ganske
Gekas
Gibbons
Gilchrest
Gillmor
Gilman
Goode
Goodlatte
Goodling
Gordon
Goss
Graham
Granger
Green (TX)
Green (WI)
Greenwood
Gutknecht
Hall (TX)
Hansen
Hastings (WA)
Hayes
Hayworth
Hefley
Herger
Hill (MT)
Hilleary
Hobson
Hoekstra
Holden
Horn
Hostettler
Houghton
Hoyer
Hulshof
Hunter
Hutchinson
Hyde
Isakson
Istook
Jenkins
John
Johnson (CT)
Johnson, Sam
Jones (NC)
Kasich
Kelly
King (NY)
Kingston
Knollenberg
Kolbe
Kucinich
Kuykendall
LaHood
Largent
Larson
Latham
LaTourette
Lazio
Leach
Lee
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (KY)
Linder
Lipinski
LoBiondo
Lucas (KY)
Lucas (OK)
Maloney (CT)
Manzullo
Mascara
McCollum
McCrery
McHugh
McInnis
McIntosh
McIntyre
Metcalf
Mica
Miller (FL)
Miller, Gary
Mollohan
Moore
Moran (KS)
Moran (VA)
Murtha
Nethercutt
Ney
Northup
Norwood
Nussle
Ortiz
Ose
Oxley
Packard
Pascrell
Paul
Pease
Peterson (MN)
Peterson (PA)
Petri
Phelps
Pickering
Pickett
Pitts
Pombo
Porter
Portman
Pryce (OH)
Quinn
Radanovich
Ramstad
Regula
Reyes
Reynolds
Riley
Roemer
Rogan
Rogers
Rohrabacher
Ros-Lehtinen
Roukema
Royce
Ryan (WI)
Ryun (KS)
Salmon
Sanders
Sanford
Saxton
Scarborough
Schaffer
Scott
Sensenbrenner
Sessions
Shadegg
Shaw
Shays
Sherwood
Shimkus
Shows
Shuster
Simpson
Sisisky
Skeen
Slaughter
Smith (MI)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Smith (WA)
Snyder
Souder
Spence
Stearns
Stenholm
Stump
Sununu
Sweeney
Talent
Tancredo
Tanner
Tauscher
Tauzin
Taylor (MS)
Taylor (NC)
Terry
Thomas
Thornberry
Thune
Tiahrt
Toomey
Traficant
Turner
Upton
Visclosky
Walden
Walsh
Wamp
Watkins
Watts (OK)
Weldon (FL)
Weldon (PA)
Weller
Wexler
Whitfield
Wicker
Wilson
Wise
Wolf
Young (AK)
Young (FL)

ANSWERED ''PRESENT''—1

Spratt

NOT VOTING—11

Boehner
Burton
Buyer
Clyburn
Coburn
Doolittle
McCarthy (MO)
McKeon
Myrick
Stark
Stupak

□ 1642

Messrs. BISHOP, TAUZIN, CONDIT, EHLERS and Ms. LEE changed their vote from ''yea'' to ''nay.''

Messrs. PALLONE, KIND, RAHALL, OWENS AND MS. KILPATRICK AND MS. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas changed their vote from ''nay'' to ''yea.''

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Stated for:

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 58 on the Allen motion to recommit with instructions, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted ''yea.''

Stated against:

Mr. McKEON. Mr. Speaker, due to District Business, I missed rollcall No. 58. Had I been present, I would have voted ''no.''

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Sununu). The question is on passage of the bill.

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

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

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 317, nays 105, not voting 12, as follows:

[Roll No. 59]

YEAS—317

Abercrombie
Aderholt
Andrews
Archer
Armey
Bachus
Baker
Ballenger
Barcia
Barr
Barrett (NE)
Bartlett
Barton
Bass
Bateman
Bentsen
Bereuter
Berkley
Berman
Berry
Biggert
Bilbray
Bilirakis
Bishop
Blagojevich
Bliley
Blunt
Boehlert
Bonilla
Bono
Borski
Boswell
Boucher
Boyd
Brady (TX)
Brown (FL)
Bryant
Burr
Callahan
Calvert
Camp
Campbell
Canady
Cannon
Capps
Cardin
Castle
Chabot
Chambliss
Chenoweth
Clement
Coble
Collins
Combest
Condit
Cook
Cooksey
Cox
Cramer
Crane
Cubin
Cunningham
Danner
Davis (FL)
Davis (VA)
Deal
DeLay
DeMint
Deutsch
Diaz-Balart
Dickey
Dicks
Dixon
Dooley
Doolittle
Doyle
Dreier
Duncan
Dunn
Edwards
Ehrlich
Emerson
English
Etheridge
Everett
Ewing
Fletcher
Foley
Forbes
Ford
Fossella
Fowler
Franks (NJ)
Frelinghuysen
Frost
Gallegly
Ganske
Gekas
Gibbons
Gilchrest
Gillmor
Gilman
Gonzalez
Goode
Goodlatte
Goodling
Gordon
Goss
Graham
Granger
Green (TX)
Green (WI)
Greenwood
Gutknecht
Hall (OH)
Hall (TX)
Hansen
Hastert
Hastings (FL)
Hastings (WA)
Hayes
Hayworth
Hefley
Herger
Hill (IN)
Hill (MT)
Hilleary
Hinojosa
Hobson
Hoeffel
Hoekstra
Holden
Horn
Hostettler
Houghton
Hoyer
Hulshof
Hunter
Hutchinson
Hyde
Inslee
Isakson
Istook
Jackson-Lee (TX)
Jefferson
Jenkins
John
Johnson (CT)
Johnson, Sam
Jones (NC)
Kanjorski
Kasich
Kelly
Kennedy
Kildee
King (NY)
Kingston
Kleczka
Klink
Knollenberg
Kolbe
Kuykendall
LaFalce
LaHood
Lampson
Largent
Larson
Latham
LaTourette
Lazio
Leach
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (KY)
Linder
Lipinski
LoBiondo
Lucas (KY)
Lucas (OK)
Maloney (CT)
Maloney (NY)
Manzullo
Martinez
Mascara
Matsui
McCarthy (NY)
McCollum
McCrery
McHugh
McInnis
McIntosh
McIntyre
Menendez
Metcalf
Mica
Millender-McDonald
Miller (FL)
Miller, Gary
Mollohan
Moore
Moran (KS)
Moran (VA)
Murtha
Nethercutt
Ney
Northup
Norwood
Nussle
Ose
Oxley
Packard
Pallone
Pascrell
Paul
Pease
Peterson (MN)
Peterson (PA)
Petri
Pickering
Pickett
Pitts
Pombo
Pomeroy
Porter
Portman
Price (NC)
Pryce (OH)
Quinn
Radanovich
Ramstad
Regula
Reyes
Reynolds
Riley
Rodriguez
Roemer
Rogan
Rogers
Rohrabacher
Ros-Lehtinen
Rothman
Roukema
Royce
Ryan (WI)
Ryun (KS)
Salmon
Sanchez
Sandlin
Sanford
Saxton
Scarborough
Schaffer
Scott
Sensenbrenner
Sessions
Shadegg
Shaw
Shays
Sherman
Sherwood
Shimkus
Shows
Shuster
Simpson
Sisisky
Skeen
Skelton
Smith (MI)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Smith (WA)
Snyder
Souder
Spence
Spratt

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Stabenow | Thompson (CA) | Watts (OK) |
| Stearns | Thompson (MS) | Weldon (FL) |
| Stenholm | Thornberry | Weldon (PA) |
| Stump | Thune | Weller |
| Sununu | Thurman | Wexler |
| Sweeney | Tiahrt | Weygand |
| Talent | Toomey | Whitfield |
| Tancredo | Traficant | Wicker |
| Tanner | Turner | Wilson |
| Tauscher | Upton | Wise |
| Tauzin | Visclosky | Wolf |
| Taylor (MS) | Walden | Young (AK) |
| Taylor (NC) | Walsh | Young (FL) |
| Terry | Wamp | |
| Thomas | Watkins | |

NAYS—105

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ackerman | Frank (MA) | Napolitano |
| Allen | Gejdenson | Neal |
| Baird | Gephardt | Oberstar |
| Baldacci | Gutierrez | Obey |
| Baldwin | Hilliard | Olver |
| Barrett (WI) | Hinchey | Owens |
| Becerra | Holt | Pastor |
| Blumenauer | Hooley | Payne |
| Bonior | Jackson (IL) | Pelosi |
| Brady (PA) | Johnson, E. B. | Phelps |
| Brown (CA) | Jones (OH) | Rahall |
| Brown (OH) | Kaptur | Rangel |
| Capuano | Kilpatrick | Rivers |
| Carson | Kind (WI) | Roybal-Allard |
| Clay | Kucinich | Rush |
| Clayton | Lantos | Sabo |
| Conyers | Lee | Sanders |
| Costello | Levin | Sawyer |
| Coyne | Lewis (GA) | Schakowsky |
| Crowley | Lofgren | Serrano |
| Cummings | Lowey | Slaughter |
| Davis (IL) | Luther | Strickland |
| DeFazio | Markey | Tierney |
| DeGette | McDermott | Towns |
| Delahunt | McGovern | Udall (CO) |
| DeLauro | McKinney | Udall (NM) |
| Dingell | McNulty | Velazquez |
| Doggett | Meek (FL) | Vento |
| Ehlers | Meeks (NY) | Waters |
| Engel | Miller, George | Watt (NC) |
| Eshoo | Minge | Waxman |
| Evans | Mink | Weiner |
| Farr | Moakley | Woolsey |
| Fattah | Morella | Wu |
| Filner | Nadler | Wynn |

NOT VOTING—12

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Boehner | Coburn | Myrick |
| Burton | McCarthy (MO) | Ortiz |
| Buyer | McKeon | Stark |
| Clyburn | Meehan | Stupak |

□ 1701

So the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Stated for:

Mr. MCKEON. Mr. Speaker, due to district business, I missed rollcall No. 59. Had I been present, I would have voted ''yea.''

Stated against:

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 59 on H.R. 4, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted ''no.''

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, during rollcall votes No. 58 and No. 59, on H.R. 4, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been here I would have voted ''nay'' on rollcall vote No. 58, a motion to recommit with instructions. Had I been here, I would have voted ''aye'' on rollcall vote No. 59, final passage of H.R. 4.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Ms. MCCARTHY of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, during rollcall votes 58 and 59 on March 18, 1999, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted as follows: on rollcall vote 58, ''yea'' and on rollcall vote 59 ''yea.''

## GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on H.R. 4, the bill just passed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SUNUNU). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

## ANNOUNCEMENT BY COMMITTEE ON RULES REGARDING AMENDMENTS TO H.R. 472, LOCAL CENSUS QUALITY CHECK ACT

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to inform the House of the Committee on Rules' plans in regard to H.R. 472, the Local Census Quality Check Act.

H.R. 472 was favorably reported by the Committee on Government Reform on Wednesday, March 17.

The Committee on Rules may meet next Tuesday to grant a rule which may require that the amendments be preprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. In this case, amendments to be preprinted would need to be signed by the Member and submitted to the Speaker's table by the close of legislative business next Tuesday, March 23. Amendments should be drafted to the bill as ordered reported by the Committee on Government Reform, a copy of which may be obtained from the Subcommittee on the Census.

Members should use the Office of Legislative Counsel to ensure that their amendments are properly drafted and should check with the Office of Parliamentarian to be certain that their amendments comply with the rules to the House. It is not necessary to submit amendments to the Rules Committee or to testify as long as the amendments comply with House rules.

A ''Dear Colleague'' letter announcing this potential amendment process was mailed to all Member offices today.

## LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

(Mr. PALLONE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to inquire about next week's schedule, and I yield to the gentleman from New York (Mr. LAZIO).

Mr. LAZIO. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to announce that we have concluded legislative business for the week. There will be no votes tomorrow, Friday, March 19.

On Monday, March 22, the House will meet at 2 p.m. for a pro forma session. Of course there will be no legislative business and no votes that day.

On Tuesday, March 23, the House will meet at 9:30 a.m. for the morning hour and 11 a.m. for legislative business. Votes are expected after noon on Tuesday, March 23.

On Tuesday, we will consider a number of bills under suspension of the rules, a list of which will be distributed to Members' offices.

Also on Tuesday, March 23, the House will take up H. Res. 101. It is a privileged resolution on committee funding.

On Wednesday, March 24, and the balance of the week, the House will meet at 10 a.m. to consider the following legislative business: H.R. 1141, a bill making emergency supplemental appropriations; H.R. 472, the Local Census Quality Check Act; and the budget resolution.

Mr. Speaker, we expect to conclude legislative business by 2 p.m. next week on Friday, March 26.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE), my friend, for yielding to me.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from New York. If I could just ask in terms of a little more specifics, will we definitely be in next Friday, or is it possible we would conclude the business earlier than that?

Mr. LAZIO. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, I would say that, right now, it appears that we will be in on Friday, particularly because we are taking up the budget resolution this week, and it looks like that will be taken up on Thursday. Right now it looks like the votes very probably are going to be on Friday, but we should be out by 2 p.m. on Friday.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman. Let me ask in terms of the legislative business, the supplemental, the census, the budget bill. Does the gentleman have any more specifics in terms of when he would expect each of those to be considered on Wednesday, Thursday, or Friday, or the order?

Mr. LAZIO. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, we will have the committee funding resolution up on Tuesday. We expect on Wednesday we will have H.R. 1141, the supplemental will be up on the floor, and we expect that to be voted on Wednesday.

On Thursday, we expect the budget resolution to be up and possibly the census legislation, the Local Census Quality Check Act. We expect right now, again, to conclude business by 2 p.m. on Friday with votes probably on the budget on Friday.

Mr. PALLONE. On Friday. Mr. Speaker, one more thing. In terms of any late nights, is the gentleman from New York expecting any late nights?

Mr. LAZIO. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, right now it is very difficult to tell. I think, if there are any late nights, it probably will be Thursday evening because of the budget resolution and the possibility of the census.

So Thursday, right now, it looks like it is the only late evening. But of

course it depends on the pace that we keep and our ability to move our legislative work during this week.

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

Mr. DeFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PALLONE. I yield to the gentleman from Oregon.

Mr. DeFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to direct a question to the gentleman from New York (Mr. LAZIO). Last week, I observed the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BONIOR) rise and ask the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARMEY) if it would be possible to delay votes on Tuesday to accommodate West Coast members.

If I leave my district at 6:00 in the morning, I can barely make it here by 5:00 in the evening. That is common to many people who live on the West Coast. I realize the gentleman can walk to his district in that time period. This is a problem. It is a real problem.

So I scheduled to come in on Monday afternoon. My plane was canceled. So I took the first plane out on Tuesday morning. I find, when I get here at 4:30 that the House concluded business at 2:30 in the afternoon, and I missed the votes, as did some other people from the West Coast. I saw the gentlewoman from Wyoming (Mrs. CUBIN) from not even quite the west coat on the plane on Tuesday also.

I would hope that the majority will consider this schedule in the future. I would further note, and no one should take offense at this, because even though my name is DEFAZIO, my mother is an O'Shea, and I come from the O'Sheas and Crowleys, I note that, on Wednesday, the House of Representatives delayed all votes until after 3 o'clock this afternoon because there was a Saint Patrick's Day parade in New York.

Now for some reason, we can delay all the proceedings of the House of Representatives until after 3 o'clock in the afternoon for a joyous occasion, a parade, but for regular business and accommodating the schedules of West Coast Members, who constitute a significant minority of this body, they apparently can do nothing.

Mr. Speaker, I would just ask the gentleman if there is any consideration going to be given on that side to putting those votes, the two or three votes that were done by 2:30 in the afternoon later in the day on Tuesday?

Mr. LAZIO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE) yield?

Mr. PALLONE. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. LAZIO. Mr. Speaker, I would say, first of all, I am very sympathetic to the gentleman's plight. I am lucky enough to live in New York and be able to shuttle down here. There is difficulty. The majority and the minority have been working with Members to try to increase the predictability of the schedule. There has been more sensitivity.

This week in particular, there will be no votes on Monday. We will not come in until 12 o'clock, or we expect no votes until 12 o'clock on Tuesday. We will be out by 2 p.m. on Friday. Of course, 2 weeks thereafter we will be in recess. So we have a difficult week in terms of trying to ensure that a budget resolution and some other legislation is done in a 4-day period.

I can only tell the gentleman that we are trying to be sensitive to those colleagues who are on the West Coast. There has been some significant modification of the schedule to reflect that sensitivity over the last several weeks. I think that we are going to continue to try and work on it.

But, again, this week in particular, we have a 4-day week. We are not in at all on Monday, and we have the 2 weeks of recess thereafter. It is important that we get our work done. We will do the best that we can.

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from New Jersey yield further?

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Oregon.

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, I am pretty sure of next week before a recess. But, again, just pointing to this week, votes were done by 2:30 on Tuesday. Clearly, the House could have gone in at 4 o'clock in the afternoon and been done by 6:30 on Tuesday and accommodated Members from the West Coast.

Then on Wednesday, we reversed the entire schedule and did not vote until after 3:00 because of a parade for people on the East Coast. I mean, some of us might have liked to go to Saint Patrick's Day parades on the West Coast, but the gentleman would have had to give us 2 days to do it. In any case, I do not see great sensitivity in last week's schedule. I hope, after we come back from the recess, they can do a little better by West Coast Members.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. LAZIO). Hopefully we can look into that after that recess.

Mr. LAZIO. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, I will be happy to, and we will continue to try and show sensitivity for this issue.

The other point, of course, in all of this is to make sure that the committees have Members here on both sides of the aisle. There has been concern expressed by the committee chairmen, so that Members are here, they attend to their business, we get our work done, it is on the legislative floor here. We will try to work to ensure that there is better predictability and good communication on both sides of the aisle.

## ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY, MARCH 22, 1999

Mr. LAZIO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet at 2 p.m. on Monday next.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

## DISPENSING WITH CALENDAR WEDNESDAY BUSINESS ON WEDNESDAY NEXT

Mr. LAZIO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order under the Calendar Wednesday rule be dispensed with on Wednesday next.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

## APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS TO JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, and pursuant to the provisions of 15 U.S.C. 1024(a), the Chair announces the Speaker's appointment of the following Members of the House to the Joint Economic Committee:

Mr. SANFORD of South Carolina,
Mr. DOOLITTLE of California,
Mr. CAMPBELL of California,
Mr. PITTS of Pennsylvania, and
Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin.

There was no objection.

## APPOINTMENT OF MEMBER TO BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF JOHN F. KENNEDY CENTER FOR THE PERFORMING ARTS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, and pursuant to section 2(a) of the National Cultural Center Act (20 U.S.C. 76h(a)), the Chair announces the Speaker's appointment of the following Member of the House to the Board of Trustees of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts:

Mr. GEPHARDT of Missouri.

There was no objection.

## COMMUNICATION FROM HON. RICHARD A. GEPHARDT, DEMOCRATIC LEADER

The Speaker pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from RICHARD A. GEPHARDT, Democratic Leader:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
OFFICE OF THE DEMOCRATIC LEADER,
*Washington, DC, March 17, 1999.*

Hon. J. DENNIS HASTERT,
*Speaker of the House, Washington, DC.*

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to section 801(b)(6) and (8) of Public Law 100–696, I hereby appoint the following individual to the United States Capitol Preservation Commission: Mr. Pastor, AZ.

Yours Very Truly,
RICHARD A. GEPHARDT.

□ 1715

## REPORT OF CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MILLER of Florida) laid before the House

the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, without objection, referred to the Committee on Commerce.

*To the Congress of the United States:*

As required by section 19(3) of the Public Telecommunications Act of 1992 (Public Law 102–356), I transmit herewith a report of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. This report outlines, first, the Corporation's efforts to facilitate the continued development of superior, diverse, and innovative programming and, second, the Corporation's efforts to solicit the views of the public on current programming initiatives.

This report summarizes 1997 programming decisions and outlines how Corporation funds were distributed—$47.9 million for television program development, $18.8 million for radio programming development, and $15.6 million for general system support. The report also reviews the Corporation's Open to the Public campaign, which allows the public to submit comments via mail, a 24-hour toll-free telephone line, or the Corporation's Internet website.

I am confident this year's report will meet with your approval and commend, as always, the Corporation's efforts to deliver consistently high quality programming that brings together American families and enriches all our lives.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 18, 1999.*

## ANNUAL REPORT OF NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY, 1998—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, without objection, referred to the Committee on International Relations:

*To the Congress of the United States:*

As required by the provisions of section 504(h) of Public Law 98–164, as amended (22 U.S.C. 4413(i)), I transmit herewith the 15th Annual Report of the National Endowment for Democracy, which covers fiscal year 1998.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 18, 1999.*

## PRAISE TO STUDENTS FROM COVENANT CHRISTIAN AND CLINTON HIGH SCHOOLS FOLLOWING AFTERMATH OF AMTRAK TRAIN CRASH

(Mr. SHOWS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SHOWS. Mr. Speaker, today I stand before the American people and my colleagues to comment on the fatal Amtrak train crash that occurred earlier this week. I am saddened this terrible tragedy took place. In their slumber, over late night snacks and conversations, fellow Americans aboard Amtrak's City of New Orleans were jolted into a reality of death and injury.

Today we mourn with our fellow Americans. In particular, I pause to offer condolences to fellow Mississippians who suffered losses in this crash. We pause to give thanks for life while seeking to understand why bad things happen. The American family stands with all those who have suffered.

Out of the tragedy came several stories of heroism. We can find the strength and endurance of the American spirit in many of the passengers who worked to protect and save the lives of others during this crash. I want to tell my colleagues about students from Mississippi who were on this train.

Young Mississippians from Covenant Christian School and Clinton High School were returning from a spring break trip. Out of the chaos and heartbreak, these Mississippi teenagers went to work securing the safety and well-being of fellow passengers. These students were courageous, caring, heroic, and brave.

I want all Americans to know about these teenagers from Clinton High School and Covenant Christian School. Why? Because we can all stand a little taller and feel a little better about our Nation and our future.

Mr. Speaker, I provide the names of these students for inclusion in the RECORD.

*List of Students:* Danielle Bell, Drew Bilbo, Chris Carter, Suzanne Cole, Emily Diffenderfer, Tim Farrar, Michael Freeman, Anna Fulgham, Stephanie Ly, Jeff Sartor, Shadia Slaieh, Jessica Switzer, Anshika Singh, Caleb McNair, Melissa Watson, and Christina Bomgaars.

*Chaperones:* Delores Bell, John Farrar, and Phyllis Hurley.

## SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, and under a previous order of the House, the following Members will be recognized for 5 minutes each.

## INTRODUCING LEGISLATION TO BRING FEDERAL GOVERNMENT UP-TO-DATE ON WATER RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. BLUMENAUER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Speaker, one of the characteristics of a livable community is the desire to promote the safety, health, and economic security of our families.

Today, in the newspapers around the country, people read of the expected flooding that is about to occur this spring. I, obviously, come from an area of the Pacific Northwest that will be particularly hard hit, although we are often under water even in the best of times, and it may be less of a wrenching experience for some of us than around the country.

We are going to watch for an unusually harsh spring in the Pacific Northwest, in the Southwest, in the East, and it is an item that the Federal Government has been concerned about for a number of years. The Federal Government has been a partner working to protect against flood damage since 1960. Over $40 billion Federal dollars have been invested in this effort.

Ironically, the losses from flood damage today, adjusted for inflation, are three times greater than before we started in 1960 and spent the $40 billion. Why? In part, because we have not been as wise as we should have been in the expenditure of these funds. We have taken rivers across the country, we have narrowed and channelized them, we have encouraged people to live up to the river's edge with a false sense of security, we have paved over half our Nation's wetlands and, consequently, in many of these areas, there is simply no place for the water to go.

The result of our Federal disaster policy has been massive damage to a number of the same properties at a great cost to the taxpayer. One home in Houston that is appraised at less than $115,000 has received over $800,000 in federal flood insurance in less than 20 years.

There is, in fact, a smarter way to promote community livability. I have introduced legislation today, with the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. GILCHREST), H.R. 1186, to bring the Federal Government up-to-date on water resource management.

The current system simply does not work well. The Corps of Engineers does cost-benefit analysis that simply does not recognize the benefit of flood damage avoided by moving communities out of harm's way and it, consequently, produces a flawed analysis.

Likewise, Federal financial assistance has a current cost-share formula that penalizes communities that make special efforts to develop and implement hazard mitigation and floodplain management.

Lastly, we do not give communities enough flexibility to fine-tune the projects that we have previously authorized.

As a result, on the books we have projects that are often expensive and do not adequately address the threat in today's needs, and communities are not allowed to be involved in this process directly.

Our legislation, H.R. 1186, would correct all of these items. It changes the cost-benefit ratio to fully reflect the benefits including avoided costs of moving people out of harm's way. It will provide the same financial incentives for the low-cost, innovative, less intrusive approaches to floodplain management as if people are going to use traditional dams, dikes and levies.

Finally, it will allow the private and public local partners, who are working

with the Corps of Engineers and the Federal Government, to provide cost-effective solutions and to be able to refine and fine-tune those plans without having to go back through the reauthorization process.

We talk a lot on the floor of this House about reducing Federal redtape. This is a simple item that we, by legislation, can permit our communities to avoid the costs and consequences of trying to crawl back through the legislative process or, worse, build simply a project that we know will fail.

As we watch the flooding that is about to occur this spring across the country, I hope that we will think about how the Federal Government needs to be a more constructive partner for livable communities. I strongly urge my colleagues to join the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. GILCHREST) and me in the sponsorship of H.R. 1186.

## VACATION OF SPECIAL ORDER AND GRANTING OF SPECIAL ORDER

Mr. FOSSELLA. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to claim the time of the gentleman from California (Mr. CALVERT).

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

## ENVIRONMENTAL INJUSTICE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. FOSSELLA) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FOSSELLA. Mr. Speaker, I rise tonight to bring to the attention of the American people what I think is a great injustice that is occurring in our country. It is injustice that seeks to pit community against community, color against color and the American people against one another. It is an injustice that we are witnessing in my district in Staten Island, but it is injustice that I have little doubt we will be battling throughout the Nation before long.

The controversy centers around the seemingly innocuous-sounding policy advanced by the Environmental Protection Agency known as ''environmental justice''. In theory, this legal doctrine is supposed to reflect the notion that all communities, regardless of race or ethnicity, should share equally in the burdens and risks of environmental protection policies. It sounds reasonable, except, of course, until the theory is applied.

Over the years, the policy has been twisted like a pretzel, so that today, lawyers and activists now believe that different people deserve different treatment or, more precisely, that some people are more equal than others.

Earlier this month, for example, top Federal officials from the Environmental Protection Agency, Department of Transportation, Housing and Urban Development, and even the White House Council on Environmental Quality came to New York for a day-long tour of waste transfer stations in the South Bronx. They came to see for themselves and to hear the residents who claim that these facilities pose an environmental injustice on their community.

Let me add that I have no problem with them going to the South Bronx.

The morning after the tour, the EPA and the White House Council on Environmental Quality organized an unprecedented 8-hour public hearing in which residents had the opportunity to voice their outrage over the existence of the transfer stations. At the conclusion of the event, and at a speed in which I have never seen the Federal Government act, the White House Council on Environmental Quality announced that it would undertake an environmental justice investigation in the South Bronx.

This is, quite possibly, the most clear-cut hypocrisy on the part of the EPA that I have ever witnessed. At its core, the doctrine of environmental justice defies the most fundamental American principles of equality and justice. Why? Because while the White House Council on Environmental Quality mobilized its top officials for a tour of the South Bronx, granted a predominantly minority community, it never considered traveling just a few miles to Staten Island, which just happens to be a predominantly white community, to see one of the most horrific examples and nightmares of the 20th century known as the Fresh Kills Landfill.

To me, Mr. Speaker, it was an insult to every resident of Staten Island and a slap in the face to the hard working people of my district, who have been burdened for 50 years by this 3,000 acre, 150-foot-high illegal garbage dump, the largest in the country. This facility is not only the largest in our country, but one of, so legend has, one of only two man-made structures visible from outer space.

Recognizing the absurdity of any investigation on waste disposal in New York without a full and comprehensive discussion of Fresh Kills, I filed my own complaint with the EPA for an environmental justice review on Staten Island. In the days since, the silence from the EPA and the White House Council on Environmental Quality has been deafening.

It should also not be forgotten that for the South Bronx and every other borough in New York City, waste would be continually moving through transfer stations en route to a destination out of state, whereas at the Fresh Kills Landfill the trash literally sits and rots in our community forever.

The EPA and the White House Council on Environmental Quality failed to see the hypocrisy of fighting tooth and nail against a waste transfer station or transfer stations in the South Bronx because it would be located in a minority community but, at the same time, requiring a community like Staten Island to accept nearly 10 billion pounds of garbage every year.

Let there be no mistake. If the EPA or a State or local agency finds a particular facility poses a health risk to a community, the agency should mitigate or eliminate that risk, regardless, regardless, of the race or ethnicity of the residents of the neighborhood. But a governmental policy that takes skin color into account does not do justice, environmental or otherwise, to Americans, nor should it be funded with our tax dollars.

The fact is that 234 billion, I say billion, pounds of raw garbage is no less offensive because it sits rotting in a community that is predominantly white. I believe this country stands for equality for all. If something adversely affects someone, it does not matter if they are black, Hispanic or white. If it is bad for one, it is bad for all.

It may come as a surprise to advocates of environmental justice, but thousands of Staten Islanders of all races and ethnicities live within one mile of the Fresh Kills Landfill. Much like me, they do not see color when looking at garbage, they just see trash, and they know hypocrisy when they smell it.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Ms. JACKSON LEE of Texas addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

## EXCHANGE OF SPECIAL ORDER TIME

Mr. SCHAFFER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to claim the time of the gentleman from Florida (Mr. GOSS).

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

## MY COMMITMENT TO CROP INSURANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. SCHAFFER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SCHAFFER. Mr. Speaker, low commodity prices, disease and weather-related problems, coupled with declining export opportunities and weak demand, have taken a devastating toll on Colorado's agriculture industry. Farm income has fallen dramatically over the past 2 years, and it is difficult to predict how soon it might rebound. While Congress recently helped stave off disaster in rural America, with an emergency assistance package, it is evident gaping holes exist in federal crop insurance as a viable safety net.

In 1996, Congress passed the Freedom to Farm Act, allowing producers the

flexibility to adjust crop acreage in response to both economic and agronomic factors, while providing farms a safety net through market transition payments, loan rates, and crop insurance.

Recently, some have suggested Congress return to the old system of deficiency payments and production quotas, and take action to increase loan rates and extended loan maturities in order to improve low commodity prices.

□ 1730

But because the international marketplace has grown so rapidly and because American exports of any particular commodity represent such a small percentage of world production, reducing acreage in the United States no longer has much effect on world market prices.

U.S. wheat exports, for example, only account for approximately 5 percent of global production. The future of Colorado's farm profits does lie outside U.S. borders. I will continue my work in Congress to guarantee fair and abundant trading opportunities overseas for our producers and their commodities.

As this progresses, however, we must also ensure a viable safety net exists for farmers and ranchers in countering the effects of unexpected market disruptions and natural disasters. I am working alongside the chairman and other Members of the House Committee on Agriculture to develop a better, more comprehensive risk management program which will provide incentives for farmers to participate while protecting against losses and low market prices.

This plan will allow the market to work without artificially raising consumer prices, without pricing us out of the export market, without acreage or production controls, and while adhering to Federal budget constraints. Furthermore, this crop insurance program must allow producers to recover their cost production in the case of natural disasters but also encourage and reward the production of the harvesting of crops.

Reforming the current risk management system will take a lot of hard work and the interaction between Colorado producers, the Congress, and the President. But in order for farmers and ranchers to survive and thrive in market-driven systems, an adequate safety net must exist to account for unforeseen and uncontrollable losses. I will continue my work in Congress to ensure Colorado farmers and ranchers have this necessary option.

## GIVE AMERICAN SAMOA ITS COMMEMORATIVE POSTAGE STAMP

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MILLER of Florida). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from American Samoa (Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Mr. Speaker, I rise today and I will continue to do so in the coming weeks to express my utter dismay and disappointment with the United States Postal Service.

On April 17, 1900, the traditional chiefs of the South Pacific Islands of Tutuila and Aunu'u agreed to become a part of the United States and the United States flag was raised on what is now known as the U.S. Territory of American Samoa. Since that time, the residents of American Samoa have been proud of their affiliation with this great Nation and have demonstrated their loyalty and patriotism in countless way.

Mr. Speaker, April 17 is known as Flag Day in American Samoa and it is the biggest holiday in the territory. Flag Day celebrations are not limited to American Samoa. Flag Day is celebrated throughout the United States wherever there is a sizeable Samoan community. American Samoans in Hawaii, California, Nevada, Utah, Alaska, Washington, and other parts of the United States pause each year on this important date to celebrate this monumental occasion in its history.

Unbeknownst to many Americans, Mr. Speaker, April 17 of next year will mark the 100th year in which this South Pacific territory, U.S. territory, has had a political relationship with the United States. And the local government leaders have been preparing for this centennial celebration for the last 3 years.

Three years ago, American Samoa's governor and myself began the process of requesting that a U.S. postage stamp be issued to commemorate the centennial of American Samoa joining the part of the American political family. The Postal Service responded to our 1996 request for a stamp by saying we were too early to apply for consideration. We again asked last year, and we were told we applied too late. We have also been told that the Postal Service just does not recognize territorial events.

Having researched the issue, which expected America Samoa to be treated like any other American jurisdiction in this regard. States which have had centennials of their statehood commemorated recently on postage stamps include the States of Wisconsin, Tennessee, Iowa, Utah, Florida, and Texas.

The Postal Service also issues stamps to commemorate such territorial acquisitions as the Louisiana Purchase, and the acquisitions of the territories of Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

America Samoa, Mr. Speaker, is the only U.S. territory left which voluntarily joined the United States. We have waited 100 years for a commemorative stamp, and the Postal Service is still making excuses. Mr. Speaker, how much longer do we have to wait?

Mr. Speaker, this is absurd. I ask my fellow Americans to write and to e-mail the U.S. Postal Service to give American Samoa its centennial postage stamp.

Mr. Speaker, the Postal Service's conduct in handling this matter is clearly inconsistent with past Postal Service practices. The Postal Service has issued commemorative stamps for flowers like roses, comic strips, horses, and even a foreign country like Australia. Yet here, when the request is one for recognition of a celebration of a political union with the United States territory, the first of such stamp for an American territory, the Postal Service saw fit to reject the request on grounds that it would not add to its so-called balanced stamp program.

Many Americans do not realize this, Mr. Speaker, but American Samoa was a major staging area for some 40,000 soldiers and Marines in World War II. Thousands of Samoa's sons and daughters served proudly in the military service.

Mr. Speaker, this is absolutely ridiculous, and I appeal to my fellow Americans to write to the Postal Service, tell them why we should have a postage stamp. We need a postage stamp, and I think we could ask for no less.

The per capita rate of enlistment in the U.S. military services is as high as any state or territory; for decades American Samoa served as a Naval coaling station for our ships in the Pacific; during World War II, American Samoa was the staging point for 30,000 U.S. marines involved in the Pacific theater; the territory was the first land some astronauts came to during the Apollo missions, including the now famous Apollo 13 mission; and American Samoa produces more NFL player per capita than any jurisdiction in the U.S. with approximately 15 Samoans currently playing professional ball.

In the 1990's, stamps were issued in recognition of the Federated States of Micronesia (1990), the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (1993), the Republic of the Marshall Islands (1990), and the Republic of Palau (1995), all of which were territories in recent memory.

Mr. Speaker, with this history of recognizing centennials of statehood, acquisitions of territories and other important events in the political history of every other territory, I ask the U.S. Postal Service why not American Samoa?

Mr. Speaker, I am here today to tell you that there is no balance. There is no logic. There is no equality in treatment. The Postal Service is acting in a manner that is totally inconsistent with its past practices and decisions. How else can you explain the inconsistent actions the Postal Service has taken regarding treatment of U.S. territories.

Perhaps American Samoa stands a better chance of convincing the Postal Service to issue a commemorative stamp if it reframed the current request as one asking for a stamp to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the special relationship between the Samoan Fruit Bat and the United States. The Postal Service has seen fit to issue stamps for a variety of issues and causes, including birds, and perhaps this change in approach will bolster our chances for success.

To achieve balance in representation, Mr. Speaker, is a very difficult task. Reasonable persons with reasonable expectations will disagree about what reasonably balanced means. However, this is not the situation here.

The Postal Service is being totally unreasonable on these facts.

I understand that decisions about which stamp requests to approve and which stamp requests to reject are difficult decisions to make and that in the end there will always be a person or group who will not be happy with such decisions. I respect the fact that the postal service cannot please everyone. I have no qualms with these aspects of the stamp-approval process. I do, however, have serious concerns and reservations when decision-making processes yield results that do not logically follow based on established precedent.

Mr. Speaker, it is inequitable and unreasonable to deny American Samoa what the Postal Service has routinely granted other U.S. territories and states.

I will not stand by idly, Mr. Speaker, when my constituents, the people of American Samoa—people who are deeply patriotic and appreciative of the relationship American Samoa shares with our Republic—are unequitably treated by a semi-independent agency of our Federal Government. Neither will my colleagues in the House and Senate. Numerous Members of Congress have written to the Postal Service urging the Postal Service to treat American Samoa's request in the same manner it has treated similar requests by the other territories. Despite these efforts to persuade, using precedent and reason, the Postal Service to this day refuses to issue a commemorative stamp honoring the 100th anniversary of the union between the U.S. and American Samoa.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to do what is right, what is just, what is fair, and what is reasonable on these facts. Nothing more. I ask that you join the people of American Samoa in urging the Postal Service to reconsider its position and to grant American Samoa's request for a postal stamp commemorating the 100th anniversary of its political union with the United States.

## COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET REVISIONS TO AGGREGATE SPENDING LEVELS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. KASICH, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. KASICH. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to Sec. 314 of the Congressional Budget Act, I hereby submit for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD revisions to the aggregate spending levels set by the interim allocations and aggregates printed in the RECORD on February 3, 1999, pursuant to H. Res. 5 for fiscal year 1999 and a revised allocation for the House Committee on Appropriations to reflect $1,030,000,000 in additional new budget authority and $430,000,000 in additional outlays for defense and non-defense emergency spending. This will increase the allocation to the Appropriations Committee to $573,828,000,000 in budget authority and $576,909,000,000 in outlays for fiscal year 1999.

The House Committee on Appropriations submitted the report on H.R. 1141, the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations and Rescissions for Fiscal Year 1999 which includes $1,030,000,000 in budget authority and $430,000,000 in outlays for defense and non-defense emergency spending.

These adjustments shall apply while the legislation is under consideration and shall take effect upon final enactment of the legislation.

Questions may be directed to Art Sauer or Jim Bates at x6–7270.

## FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY IN WASHINGTON, D.C., AND SECURITY FOR ALL AMERICANS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. FLETCHER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. Speaker, I want to talk to my colleagues tonight about our work to secure America's freedom.

First, I am pleased to be part of the Committee on Budget that has finally delivered what the American people want, fiscal responsibility in Washington and security for all Americans. It is a budget that achieves one of the most important goals, one of my most important goals: Assuring that no one will be left behind as we enter the 21st century.

Our priorities are very simple, yet they are very important: Preserving Social Security, paying down the debt, establishing farm security, increasing funding for education and defense, and providing tax relief for American families. These are issues that are important to the folks back home in Kentucky, as well as to the folks across America.

Last light we passed a budget out of committee that locks away 100 percent of the Social Security surplus, including every penny of the Social Security tax as well as the interest, to preserve and protect Social Security and Medicare. For the first time in over a generation, Social Security will be used for one thing and one thing only, our Nation's retirees.

The President's plan would have only saved 62 percent while spending the rest on more Government programs. The difference, he would have locked up $1.3 trillion, but we are locking up $1.8 trillion and still providing $800 billion in tax cuts for all Americans.

My health care amendment was also included in this budget. It addresses two key issues critical to central Kentucky and to America: The availability of home health care for Medicare recipients and addressing the need to provide accessible and affordable health care. I would encourage the President and my colleagues to work together for this important reform.

The President has already blocked Medicare reform and proposed $9 billion in Medicare cuts. Let us put people ahead of politics and provide the highest quality of health care for all Americans.

We also focused on the needs of farm families in Kentucky. This budget includes $6 billion to address the critical issue of crop insurance. We are upholding our commitment by securing these important funds, while the President did not secure a dime of increases for our family farms and our tobacco farmers in Kentucky.

Most importantly, we have achieved all of these important priorities and goals while living within the balanced budget agreement and paying down the national debt.

Ultimately, this budget is about making sure the American dream is not gambled away here in Washington. I hope we can pass this historic budget next week in this House with bipartisan support. I will look forward to supporting the budget when it is considered in the full House. It is a budget that is about truth, priorities, fiscal restraint, and hope.

Additionally, we moved to secure America's freedom. Economic, social, and educational security are all very important. However, what is a balanced budget, a strong economy, tax relief, or anything else for that matter without an adequate national defense?

Unfortunately, missile attacks could threaten every security that we work so hard to protect and the freedom that we all have taken for granted. We need to be concerned about this and focused on the growing number of rogue nations who are working to acquire capabilities to strike at our cherished freedoms.

We all know that, for the most part, times are good. That is why it is important and this is a perfect time to address this concern. I am pleased we have taken this important step today. It is a step toward establishing a national missile defense system for this great Nation. Most importantly, it is a step toward providing each and every American with a sense of security, a strong national defense, the best educational system possible, economic, health and retirement security. These are the securities that matter each and every day to this great country.

Let us stay on course and deliver on each of these important issues. Our parents, children, and grandchildren deserve nothing less.

## EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL SPENDING BILL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. KAPTUR) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, last week the Committee on Appropriations passed the Emergency Supplemental Spending Bill that will provide desperately needed aid to defend America's farmers against depression-level prices, as well as to provide desperately needed assistance to the disaster struck nations in Central America.

This Congress now needs to move quickly to meet our obligations to our family farmers and to the devastated nations south of our border. I am also pleased to see this spirit of compassion alive in my hometown of Toledo, Ohio.

This past Monday, a delegation of 45 Toledo volunteers, including our Mayor Carlton Finkbeiner, traveled to Honduras to help the victims of Hurricane Mitch. Volunteers versed in housing

construction are working with care to build 600 homes in Marcovia. At the same time, volunteers with health care training are joining with the International Medical Corps and Catholic Relief Services to provide victims with basic health care in Catacamas, Choluteca, and Marcovia.

These goodwill ambassadors from Ohio's Ninth District deserve recognition in this well of the House today. I commend them for their wonderful efforts to bring aid to a devastated region and assistance to our fellow citizens in this hemisphere. I echo their call for action by this Congress on the Emergency Supplemental Bill to help the devastated people of Honduras and Central America but also our farmers here at home.

Let this Congress be as humanitarian as the people of Toledo, Ohio.

## AMERICA'S FUTURE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. DEMINT) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DEMINT. Mr. Speaker, in the next 5 minutes, I want to ask my House colleagues and the people watching at home to help me write a new chapter in the American story. Over the next years, we will be the authors of this new chapter. Tomorrow our children will live this story.

As a father of four, nothing could make me feel more secure than knowing that this story includes my children pursuing their dreams and living a life free from dependency on government. Surely, all of us want our children and grandchildren to live in a place where freedom's lamp shines brightly for all people.

This is how the American story is read for nearly three centuries. This story began with a band of freedom-loving people who escaped oppression to form a new land of liberty. It is a story of exploration and new beginnings, a story of faith, enterprise, tragedy, and success. Its pages are filled with the names of heroic men and women like Patrick Henry, Frederick Douglas, Susan B. Anthony, and others. It is also filled with lesser known names but no less special: The mothers, fathers, grandparents, teachers, coaches, doctors.

We, in every line, in every chapter, the American story is filled with a Nation defined by its people, governed by its citizens, and preserved by those who love freedom. But too many are still uneasy about our future.

□ 1745

We lie awake at night worrying about tomorrow. Will our paychecks be enough to cover the bills? Will Social Security be around when we retire? Will we be able to provide the health care our elderly parents need and deserve? Will our children get the education they need to succeed in the next century?

We have the ability to give every American more security. But we will have no security, no hope, no opportunity if we trade away our liberty to achieve that security. I believe the gravest threat to our country is from those who promise security in return for our freedom. They promise security in exchange for more of our money and more control of our lives. Some of those in government even act as if they were elected to manage our lives. I believe we were elected to provide a framework of freedom so Americans can manage their own lives. We were also elected to provide a safety net for those in need when families, communities and States are unable to help. But the need for this safety net does not require the confiscation of our freedoms. We must remember that in America, we are most secure when we are most free, when we are in control of our lives.

Many believe that the debates in Congress are about which party is for Social Security, Medicare, education and the environment. The fact is we are all for these things. Every Member of the House wants to provide a strong and bright future for our country. The real debate in this Congress day in and day out is about who is going to control your life, you or the government.

Many of us here who call ourselves the GOP believe in a government of the people. This means, as it has for three centuries, that the government is controlled by you and your family, not the other way around. We believe in the GOP that we can secure the future for every child when we have an education system that is controlled by parents, teachers and local communities. And we will secure the future for every senior when we guarantee their Social Security benefits today and move towards giving their grandkids a choice to own and control their own Social Security accounts. We believe that we will secure the future for every older American when they have even greater access to quality health care and can choose their own doctors and make their own health care decisions. We will secure the future for our Nation when we rebuild our national defense and can control our borders and live free of the fear of missile attacks. And we will secure the future for every working American when we let them keep more of what they earn, a lot more.

Now is the time for us to write our chapter about America, an America that is free and secure and controlled by its people. Let no one edit the American story in a way that makes us dependent on the government or politicians. Let us write about a people that can overcome every challenge, education, jobs, health care, retirement, whatever we face. May our families live freer today than they did yesterday, and may we sustain a Nation that is dependent only upon God and the blessings of freedom.

Mr. Speaker, that is my prayer for this Congress and that is my prayer for this Nation.

## THE FARMERS' PLIGHT

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MILLER of Florida). Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from North Carolina (Mrs. CLAYTON) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, at the Farm Resource Center, a national crisis line for farmers, those seeking help cannot get through. The line is busy.

Small farmers and ranchers are struggling to survive in America. In fact, small farmers and ranchers are a dying breed. And because they are a dying breed, quality and affordable food and fiber for all of us is at risk.

Passage of the 1996 farm bill sounded the death knell for many of our Nation's farmers and ranchers. Farmers and ranchers, able to eke out a living from the land in past years, now find it almost impossible to break even. Most are losing money and fighting to stay in the farming business.

And the crisis line is busy.

We are all aware of the problems tobacco is having, particularly in my State, North Carolina. But, in North Carolina, according to a recent news report, the State top farm commodity, hogs, have experienced a 50 percent drop in prices since 1996. Wheat is down 42 percent. Soybeans are down 36 percent. Corn, 31 percent; peanuts, 28 percent. Turkey and cotton prices are down 23 percent since 1996. In fact, Mr. Speaker, there is no commodity in North Carolina that makes money for farmers.

And the crisis line is busy.

In 1862, the year that the Department of Agriculture was created, 90 percent of the population farmed for a living. Today, American producers represent less than 3 percent of the population. By 1992, there were only 1.1 million farms left in the United States, a 45 percent decline from 1959. North Carolina only had 39,000 farms left in 1992, a 23 percent decline. In 1920, there were over 6 million farms in the United States, and close to a sixth, 926,000, were operated by African Americans. In 1992, the landscape was very, very different. Only 1 percent of the farms in the United States were operated by African Americans, 1 percent, 18,816, a paltry sum when African Americans comprise more than 13 percent of the population.

In my home State of North Carolina, there has been a 64 percent decline in minority farmers just over the last 15 years, from 6,996 farms in 1978 to 2,498 farms in 1992. All farmers are suffering under this severe economic downturn.

Very recently while in my district I spoke with a farmer who was working off the farm, not to earn extra money but to earn enough money to save his family farm. He makes no money from his farm for himself. He loses money from his farm. Taking a job off the

farm was the only thing he could do, he said, to save his farm and pass it on to his children. He makes no money from his farm, other than to save his farm. This man is 70 years of age.

And the crisis line us busy.

Farmers and farm families deserve a chance, a chance for the dwindling number of farmers and ranchers who feed us, provide us clothes and fiber. We should also make sure they have an opportunity to make a living.

Before the Freedom to Farm bill of 1996, the farm price safety net was a shield against the uncertainty and the fluctuation of commodity prices. When the farm bill was passed, we referred to it as Freedom to Fail. I am sad to report that our admonitions have been far too accurate. We must now correct that error. We must indeed not only provide emergency funds but policies must be changed so we can meet those vulnerabilities.

If we do nothing about the real problems facing these hardworking citizens, they may not be there for us. That in turn will hurt all of us if there are no farmers to feed us and to clothe us.

## EXCHANGE OF SPECIAL ORDER TIME

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to claim the time of the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. SCHAFFER) who I understand properly claimed my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

## HAITI: BRING OUR TROOPS HOME

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. GOSS) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, over the weekend it was reported that the commander of U.S. troops in Latin America has recommended that troops stationed in Haiti be brought home. For most Americans, it will probably come as a surprise to learn that we still actually have troops in Haiti. Indeed, there has been little public discussion of Haiti in the years since U.S. troops helped end a coup and return President Aristide to office down there. In the years since this dramatic operation, the situation in Haiti has gotten worse and what was once touted as the crown jewel of the Clinton administration's foreign policy is now an utter failure. Haiti has been without an effective government for almost 2 years, the judiciary is weak and the legislative branch has been effectively shut down and boarded up. The Haitian executive branch has taken a number of actions outside the constitution and caused concern to those working to consolidate democracy for our island neighbor. The political situation has grown even more tense in recent weeks following the gruesome political murder of Haitian Senator Toussaint, the attack on Senator Chery and the attack on a leading rights advocate. These ongoing attacks are the culmination of a long-standing campaign of intimidation and violence against Haitian and American individuals who are working hard in support of the rule of law, free and fair elections and economic improvement in that impoverished country.

In the midst of these troubling developments, there have been two U.S. actions of note: First, the refusal of the Clinton administration to certify Haiti as meeting its obligations in the war on drugs, in other words, they cannot do their job on that. And, second, the recommendation by General Wilhelm that we terminate the U.S. troop presence in Haiti. General Wilhelm had this to say and I quote: ''As our continuous military presence in Haiti moves into its fifth year, we see little progress toward creation of a permanently stable internal security environment. In fact, with the recent expiration of parliament and imposition of rule by presidential decree, we have seen some backsliding. Though our military mission in Haiti was accomplished in 1994, we have sustained a presence that on any given day during 1998 averaged about 496 military personnel.''

General Wilhelm goes on to say that he would ''categorize our presence as being a benevolent one. Through a variety of humanitarian assistance and other local outreach programs, our troops have undertaken infrastructure development projects and provided urgently needed medical and dental care for the impoverished Haitian population. These contributions have been made at a cost to the Department of Defense. By our calculations, our military presence in Haiti carried a price tag of $20,085,000 for 1998.''

The General concludes: ''However, at this point I am more concerned about force protection than cash outlays. The unrest generated by political instability requires us to constantly reassess the safety and security environment in which our troops are living and working. I have recommended that we terminate our permanent military presence in Haiti.''

General Wilhelm's recommendation was bolstered by General Hugh Shelton, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Shelton has testified before Congress that he was ''looking very hard at the Haiti operation and drawing that 350 down to a much lesser number'' given the troop commitments around the world and the proposal to deploy U.S. troops to Kosovo.

While Generals Wilhelm and Shelton limited their comments to their area of responsibility, overseeing the deployment and readiness of the U.S. military, it is clear that this issue has far broader implications. Respected columnist David Broder reached the following conclusion: ''The lesson is not that we should never be peacekeepers; rather, that there has to be a peace to keep. Sending in the military to impose a peace on people who have not settled ancient quarrels has to be the last resort, not the standard way of doing business.''

Mr. Speaker, many respected individuals are calling on the Clinton administration to get our troops out of Haiti and begin rethinking its efforts to use our soldiers to impose peace on those who do not want it. This is not a good policy. It does not work. I believe the administration would do itself and America credit to heed the advice of these people who I think have made better suggestions that far outpace the Clinton foreign policy.

## MAKING RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT TAX CREDIT PERMANENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Mr. SHERMAN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Speaker, this week a number of my colleagues in the New Democratic Coalition have come before the House to talk about a very important tax issue, and that is the need to make the R&D tax credit a permanent part of our tax law.

I would like to join with them in urging all of our colleagues to support taking a credit that has been a consistent part of our tax law but is always designed to be eliminated and then at the last minute is extended, to instead make that a permanent part of our tax law.

I have three major points, the first of which is the importance of research and development for all Americans. I think Americans are acutely aware that we live a life that is more wealthy, that we are in better financial position than 90 percent of the world. And most Americans, if asked what is the single greatest reason why Americans live so much better than those in Bangladesh or Honduras would say that it is because of our high levels of education and technology. We must do everything possible to advance our technology further and to advance the education of our workforce.

□ 1800

Perhaps the best example of the importance of research technology and science is illustrated by this chart which focuses on just one industry, an industry that barely existed a decade ago, that did not have a name 2 years ago, and that is the information technology industry. As this chart illustrates, over a third of all of the economic growth in this country came in that one industry, and we now sit at the beginning of a new century, a new century that will be, I think, marked as the Information Age, yet even before we begin this new century over a third of our economic growth is dependent upon an information technology industry that exists in large part because of the research and development conducted by American corporations.

The second point I wish to make is that not everything that is good and desirable is necessarily worthy of a tax credit, but tax credits are particularly appropriate where an activity engaged in by one company or individual provides benefits not only for those who are footing the bill, but benefits to society at large. A company that does research and development benefits not only itself, but our entire society and the world as a whole. Yes, a portion of the benefits of that technology will be reaped by the company that conducts it for they will seek a patent to defend their intellectual property. But many advances in technology achieved by our research projects are not patentable, and even those that are will become owned by the people of the world as a whole when the patent expires.

Furthermore, research project not only leads to a particular patent or a particular technology, it increases the general level of scientific education of those engaged in the project and increases the level of science in our society as a whole. Most economists would agree that where an activity provides such major external benefits, beneficial externalities to use the economics term, it is deserving of societal help, encouragement and, in this case, a tax credit.

Finally, there is the issue of whether we should continue to renew the credit on a yearly or several-years-at-a-time basis or make it a permanent part of our Tax Code. Keep in mind that the purpose of this tax credit is to encourage companies to do more research than they would otherwise. As a CPA and a tax lawyer in private practice for many years, I was witness to the strange process by which a provision in our tax law leads to a change in corporate behavior. Some day sociologists and anthropologists will study this process. It is a process in which a tax expert has to explain to the others in the company what the tax law provision provides and what benefits would be reaped on the tax return from engaging in a particular project, in this case a research project.

There are two types of research and development that are eligible for the credit. The first is the kind of research project that would be done any way. Often research is done and the company is not even aware of the R&D tax credit until the next March or April 15th when they complete their tax return. The other type of research is that research that is conducted because the company is counting on getting the credit. It is that second area where the R&D tax credit actually achieves its purpose.

Yet I repeat my words. The company is counting on getting the credit. How can a company count on getting a tax credit for a multiyear large research and development project if by its very terms the R&D credit is supposed to expire at the end of this year or the end of next year? The R&D tax credit can achieve its purpose, and that purpose is to expand the amount of research done in our country only if companies can count on it.

Now no provision of our tax law is guaranteed to be there forever. But certainly a provision which by its own terms is going to expire in a year or two is particularly ephemeral. If instead we make the R&D tax credit a permanent part of our laws, then companies will rely upon it, their R&D budgets will reflect not only the possibility that the credit might be there in the many years that the R&D project continues, but the extreme likelihood that it will continue to be there since it is a permanent part of our tax law.

Mr. Speaker, I look forward especially in this year when we are enjoying for the first time the fruits of the fiscal discipline that this Congress has exercised, I look forward in this year of surplus to take this step of making the R&D tax credit a permanent part of our law.

## REDUCING THE NUMBER OF INFANT DEATHS IN ONONDAGA COUNTY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. WALSH) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, the topic that I would like to discuss tonight is an issue of great importance in my home community of Onondaga County in which the city of Syracuse resides and I have represented now for 10 years in the Congress. When I first came to Washington back in 1988, we had the unfortunate distinction of having one of the highest infant mortality rates in the country. In 1987, 87 newborns died before they reached their first birthday. Over the 1987 to 1989 period, an average of 68 infants in the county, or 10 out of every thousand died, again before they reached their first birthday.

These are horrifying statistics, and what makes it even worse, Mr. Speaker, is that the proportion of these deaths fell most heavily upon the minority community.

Last year we through now 10 years of concerted work and effort and coordination and caring, we have some excellent news to report. While even one death is unacceptable, we have succeeded in reducing our infant mortality rate in Onondaga County by over 50 percent. This remarkable change did not happen without a concerted effort. A number of devoted people and organizations contributed. I have always felt that the best government will sponsor a partnership between local, state and Federal governments, and special initiatives undertaken by local communities and the private sector, and in central New York we proved this to be the case. The efforts which have been successful in reducing the number of infant deaths in Onondaga County began in the early 1990's.

As a member of the Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families, I encouraged and was successful in bringing a former colleague of mine from New York, Mack McHugh, and others to hold a field hearing for that committee in Syracuse back in 1990. We had witness testimony from public health officials, physicians, nurses and parents about strategies for insuring healthy babies in upstate New York. As a result of these hearings, a number of projects were undertaken in the county with the goal of reducing infant death and increasing birth weight at the time of birth.

Since that time, a number of these projects have proved to be very effective in dealing with infant mortality. Dr. Jim Miller and his successors, including Dr. Lloyd Novick, Commissioner of Health in Onondaga County, should be credited for the innovative efforts to address this issue by creating initiatives to reduce the instance of infant mortality and low birth weight babies. One of these programs is called Healthy Start. It works to reduce both infant mortality and adolescent pregnancy. Adolescent pregnancy and infant mortality are interrelated, births to young women who are not physically or psychologically prepared to give birth or to adequately raise the child. Adolescents often cannot provide the care necessary to ensure the health of infants and often get into the system too late. Healthy Start realizes that by addressing the issue of teen pregnancy the instance of infant mortality can be dramatically reduced. Low birth weight, as we know, is a key factor in the health of newborns, and all efforts were targeted toward healthy pregnancies and early intervention.

Healthy Start is dependent on the work of many partners in the local community: hospital staff, university health professionals, case workers, local schools, task forces. All can provide health education and care to adolescents and their parents and must include State, county and Federal health agencies and officials.

Doctor Sandy Lane is the Syracuse Healthy Start project director. She and her staff are to be commended for the committed efforts that they have made. She has been very modest about her program's ability to create the success. She credits involvement of local groups, partner agencies and the help of the Health Department programs and strongly praises the important Federal program, WIC, Women, Infant, Children, the feeding program to provide nutrition for both women and those children.

Syracuse Healthy Start funding is a combination of Federal, State and local funding. Over 4 and a half million dollars of Federal money have come in to the program through the Department of Health and Human Services, the Health Resources and Service Administration. Healthy Start also looks to Blue Cross and Blue Shield and to New York State Department of Health

to obtain supplemental funds. The program has been largely successful because of these efforts.

Another such program is the Adolescent Risk Reduction Initiative. This seeks to address the issues of adolescent pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases. It seeks to promote responsibility in sexual reproductive decision-making and parenting. The presumption is that responsible parents are better able to provide for the health of their children. Ways in which adolescent risk reduction initiative works provides for pure leadership, training youths to be responsible for themselves and to teach their peers to be responsible. Education on health issues. Parent workshops to get the parents involved.

Mr. Speaker, having not concluded my remarks, I ask that the remainder be included in the RECORD, and I end by saying that any community in America that is struggling with this terrible condition should have hope. You can do it, too. Healthy babies are worth the effort. It just requires commitment, coordination and a lot of caring.

## EXCHANGE OF SPECIAL ORDER TIME

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to claim the time of the gentleman from New York (Mr. FOSSELLA).

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MILLER of Florida). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

## DEFENDING OUR NATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Speaker, today on this House floor we passed House Resolution 4 which states that the U.S. must deploy and not just develop a national missile defense system, and we must deploy now and not leisurely aim to deploy at some point in the future, and the reason for that is because our country is so vulnerable. The resolution that we debated here today hopefully will spur the development because, as we noted here today, we are now defenseless against a single missile coming into the United States. Defending our Nation against attack is so fundamental a responsibility of ours and the stakes that we are talking about are so high that I think it is important that we understand how our country with its great military has gotten into our predicament of being defenseless.

The American people need to know. The answer is that since President Reagan introduced the idea of missile defense over 15 years ago, every reason in the world has been found to delay. For one, we have heard that the threat itself, we have heard the threat being discounted. In 1995 the administration predicted that no ballistic missile threat would emerge for 15 years. This past August the administration again assured Congress that the intelligence community could provide the necessary warning of a rogue state's development and deployment of a ballistic missile threat to the United States. Then that same month, that same month North Korea test fired its Taepo Dong missile. The sophistication of this missile unfortunately caught the intelligence community by surprise. North Korea, impoverished, an unstable North Korea, a regime about which the director of Central Intelligence recently said that he could hardly overstate his concern about it and which in nearly all respects, according to him, has become more volatile and unpredictable, may soon be able to strike Alaska and Hawaii, not to mention our allies and U.S. troops in Korea.

□ 1815

Ominously, North Korea is continuing its work on missile development, and this is the very threat that was supposed to be 15 years away.

Even before this rosy assessment, last July Iran tested a medium range ballistic missile. Iran is receiving aid from Russia.

Not surprisingly the bipartisan Rumsfeld Commission recently concluded that the threat posed by nations seeking to acquire ballistic missiles and weapons of mass destruction, and I quote from the report, is broader, more mature and evolving more rapidly than has been reported in estimates and reports by the intelligence community, unquote.

The fact is that we live in a world where even the most impoverished nations can develop ballistic missiles and warheads, especially with Russia's aid, and then there is an expanding and ever-more sophisticated Chinese missile force.

This, in no way, is said to disparage our intelligence efforts. Instead, we just need to appreciate that these threats are difficult to detect and that we need to react. Pearl Harbor caught us by complete surprise. We have no excuse with today's missile threat.

The second excuse that we have heard for delay is the ABM Treaty. Faced with the very real threats that we have heard about, I am at a complete loss as to why our country would let an outdated treaty keep us from developing a national missile defense system.

Essentially, the administration has allowed Russia to veto our missile defense efforts. This is the same country, Russia, that is continuing to proliferate missiles by working with Iran.

Fortunately, Secretary of Defense Cohen has suggested in January that we would not be wedded to the ABM Treaty. He said that this treaty would not preclude our deployment of a defensive system, but this is only a step toward the deployment we need.

Others in the administration persist in calling the ABM Treaty the cornerstone of strategic stability. The ABM Treaty has an escape clause, and I believe we need to get beyond a treaty that keeps us from defending our territory in the face of a very real threat, a treaty, I might add, that the Soviets secretly violated. Renegotiating this treaty in a way that still precludes us from deploying the best missile defense system we can, allowing for a dumbed-down system, which is what the administration is suggesting, is simply not acceptable.

The fact is that the Russians have nothing to fear from us. The United States doesn't start wars. To forgo defending our territory because we're afraid of what the Russians may say about our defensive actions is indefensible.

Third, we hear that a national missile defense system is too costly. Yes, we have made an investment in missile defense since Ronald Reagan launched his initiative, though a small fraction (some $40 billion) of what American industry invest in research each year. But let's be honest here, defense is not free. And there have been some failures. But since when does success come without failure. Entering the twentieth century, the United States is the wealthiest, most technologically advanced country in the history of the world. There is no reason beyond the ideology of arms control, complacency or worse not to deploy a national missile defense now.

## LOOKING AT DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA WITH FRESH EYES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, it has been my habit to come to the floor occasionally in order to report to this body concerning your Nation's capital. There is a special responsibility that the House and the Senate have for the Nation's capital and it is not possible to get a real sense of what is happening in this city, even when in it, to see it in perspective, without the kind of information that I try to give periodically to this body, as we go off to Hershey, Pennsylvania, for our second bipartisan retreat.

Therefore, I want to discuss this evening an issue and a place about which I am sure there is agreement that bipartisanship should always be the order of the day. It is, after all, the seat of our government, the home of more than a half million people, the place where all of us want to do all we can to make it the proudest seat of government we can.

What I would ask of this body, what I think the district has a right to ask of this body, what I think the people of the District of Columbia, the mayor and the city council have a right to ask of this body, is that it look at the District with fresh eyes for, Mr. Speaker, there is a new city, if ever there was

one, before your eyes. It is a city where there is a new mayor. It is a city where there is a new city council and where there is a new control board.

I am most appreciative that as the 106th Congress convened, the Speaker, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HASTERT), received the new mayor, Anthony Williams, and me, and we had a very good and encouraging discussion. The same was true of the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Florida (Chairman YOUNG); and the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ISTOOK). The gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ISTOOK) has gone into the District over the last few weeks to see for himself the city that now comes under his appropriations subcommittee jurisdiction. I have gone as well, and the mayor, to visit the chair of the Senate District appropriations subcommittee, and the mayor has met with the chairman of the Oversight Committee for the District, Mayor GEORGE VOINOVICH, himself a former mayor, the mayor of Cleveland.

May I say that I continue to work, and in the bipartisan manner that he and I have long ago established, with the chairman of the Subcommittee on the District of Columbia, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DAVIS), and that has been a most fruitful partnership and we think it is a model for what we should be trying to achieve in the way of bipartisan cooperation when we meet beginning tomorrow in Hershey.

I should indicate to Members that the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DAVIS) has agreed to sponsor, with me, a reception for Mayor Anthony Williams here in the House on April 13, in room 2226 Rayburn. We are doing that simply because we think Members would want to meet the new mayor of the District of Columbia, about which I am sure we have read a great deal and heard a great deal.

It is seldom that a city experiences the kind of change your capital has experienced over the last few months. The city has had a control board because, like Cleveland and New York and Philadelphia, it had financial problems, although I must say that the financial problems that the District had were almost inevitable because it was carrying State functions and no city in the United States carries State functions.

May I say how appreciative I am, the elected officials are and the residents are, that in its wisdom Congress removed at least some of those State functions, the most costly ones, the ones that no city could carry, medicaid or at least part of medicaid; courts; removed pension liability that was built up when the Congress was in charge of the District, enabling the District to breathe and to get control of its finances. We are most grateful for the understanding that that was a necessary obligation of the Federal Government.

What we have got in place essentially is an entirely new team. The control board is new. Except for one member, the vice chair, Constance Neumann, who served so well on the last control board, all the other members are new, appointed by the President.

There is, as I have said, a new mayor and there is a revitalized city council. Even the new mayor brings something very different from what mayors usually bring to the office. This mayor served as chief financial officer and, thus, is himself partly responsible for the rise of the District once again to economic strength. He, in effect, served an apprenticeship for becoming mayor doing what it is that mayors most have to do, and that is balancing a budget and getting control of your finances.

The city council has some of the same members. They are members who have proven themselves to want to exercise oversight and they are joined by others who were elected precisely because the city now demands oversight and accountability, a check on the executive from its city council.

So I ask this body to regard this as morning for the District. It is morning again. It is like it is outdoors today; it is spring; it is a new season with a whole new set of actors in place. All I ask of this body is it leave behind any sense of the District as it was and give these new players a chance to show what they can do.

I believe that they not only will do so, I think if one reads your morning papers in the District each day one will see that they are doing so. I invite everyone to flip through the Metropolitan Section every once in awhile to see that I am, I believe, right on this.

The District is clearly realigning itself, first for its own residents and then, of course, because it wants the Congress to understand that it is a new city.

What I am asking of the Congress is that the Congress realign itself so that it is ready to meet a new city. I want to say a word about what I mean by a new city because I am not this evening speaking rhetorically.

The city not only has a new administration, it has a new administration because it has a new political culture. The reason it has a new mayor, a new city council, is because there was a voter driven reaction to the state in which the city found itself. It was not driven by Congress. It was not driven by any outside force. It was driven by the circumstances that District residents found for themselves. Essentially, it was driven by a loud and virtually unanimous cry of enough from residents. That is why I say there is a change in the political culture, the kind of change that I think is permanent precisely because it has been driven from the bottom, precisely because of its reaction to what voters and residents felt on a daily basis about their city and they wanted it to be better. They wanted it to be better not because this body insisted so but because they had to live with it every day and because these people who were in charge were people they could either keep in charge or take from their posts, and they have selected among them, and I believe selected wisely.

I am very pleased that all of the signals from Congress have been that this body, Senate and House, does understand that this is a new city and should be treated accordingly. I am very pleased with the bipartisan approach to the city's issues that we have seen thus far, and there is evidence that I will allude to shortly.

I come to report today in a different spirit than I have come to the floor sometimes on the District. I do not come in complaint. I do not come to say, let the District be the District, let democracy reign in the Nation's capital the way it does every place else. I come to say that I am grateful for the way in which Congress is stepping back and letting the District do what I believe it is doing very well already.

I certainly hope, and I must say based on our conversations with the leadership I do believe, that I will not experience an appropriation this year that is anything like the appropriation I experienced last year where I stood for 10 hours on this floor. Even though there was before this body a consensus budget and almost no changes were made in the budget itself, I stood on this floor for 10 hours while Members pasted one or another anti-democratic attachment on the D.C. appropriation, an appropriation that comes here with only money raised from the taxpayers of the District of Columbia and, by right, should not be here at all.

□ 1830

I had to stand here and fight back, for the most part unsuccessfully, amendments that Members might have wished to put on to their own district, but certainly had no right to put undemocratically on to mine. This occurred even though everybody could see that the District was on the mend. The former mayor had said he was not going to run again, the budget was in order, and yet the budget became a vehicle for Members' desires having nothing to do with the wishes of the residents of the District of Columbia. I am hoping that the new cast of characters, if nothing else, will get the respect of this body so that our budget comes through, budget with our own money, without attachments, and I have no reason to believe that that will not be the case this year.

I raise it because there is no reason, as I have said to the Speaker, and as I have said to our appropriators, why the District should not be the first, rather than the last, budget that comes from this House where, after all, it is not the money of the Federal Government, it is the money of District residents.

The City was closed down for a week during the government shutdown. In the middle of its own financial crisis, one can imagine the bitterness that was left with District residents when, as far as they were concerned, it was

their money and it should not have been up here at all. The delays in our budget cost us in interest, when we have to borrow, because of the uncertainty the market believes is there when what our council and our mayor have done has to go to yet another legislative body and one not as familiar with the City because it is not their particular budget.

Some of my colleagues were not here, so I raise it so that they know what has happened in the past, and so that we can make what I hope will be a clean break with that kind of past.

I believe that there is signal evidence that that kind of break has already been made. As the session opened, I introduced the first of a series of bills. The series is called Democracy Now, and the first bill was called D.C. Democracy 2000. It seeks to sunset the control board, the board that was necessary when we got into financial trouble early, because we are no longer in financial trouble, and it sought to return some powers that were taken from the mayor and the city council to the mayor and the city council.

While the second part of the bill was not ripe because the new administration had no track record, the part that would sunset the control board, that is; I believe that the first part was ripe, and that there was no reason why the take-charge new mayor of the District should not have what it takes to rebuild the City. To his credit and with much appreciation from me, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DAVIS), the chairman of the subcommittee, took the first part of my bill and brought it through subcommittee and then the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BURTON) and the gentleman from California (Mr. WAXMAN), through full committee, and then on to this floor where it easily passed in the House as well; and I am pleased to report this evening that my bill, or the first part of my bill, which, in fact, became a Davis-Norton bill, has become PL106–1. That ''dash 1'' means it is the first bill of the 106th Congress to be signed by the President of the United States.

How appropriate that the first bill that a Democratic mayor signed was a bill that the Republican House and Senate passed to return democracy to the mayor, to the mayor and the city council. We are most appreciative. We think it bodes well for the Congress and for the District, and it is what I mean when I say the District has to realign itself and the Congress has to realign itself, and I believe that that shows that both bodies are, in good faith, trying to do exactly that.

Now, I did not and have not yet pushed for the second half of D.C. Democracy 2000, as I have indicated, because I think it is only fair to ask even a new mayor who has the confidence of the House to get his own track record before our sunset or seek to have the control board to sunset a year early. My, how I would wish, however, that as the year 2000 dawns, the District of Columbia can be free of any oversight, except this Congress. That would mean that the control board would go a year early.

Mr. Speaker, let me indicate why I think that should happen. It is not simply because we have a new mayor in which I believe everybody, residents of the District of Columbia and Congress alike have confidence, it is because the evidence is already on the table. The Congress, through the control board statute, indicated that the District could be rid of the control board if, at the end of four years, the City had a balanced budget.

Let me tell my colleagues what the record is. The District has already had not one balanced budget, and that was three years ahead of time, but three balanced budgets plus surpluses in each of those three years. Mr. Speaker, a $185 million surplus in 1997; a $444.8 million surplus in fiscal year 1998, and the City projects a $158 million surplus for fiscal year 1999. As if that were not enough in the way of surpassing the expectations of the Congress, we had put into the revitalization package that this body passed taking over State functions in 1997 a provision that would allow the District to borrow in the fourth year if it had a balanced budget on the one hand, but we had not quite been able to get rid of, an operating deficit that it has been carrying now for years. But the District of Columbia is going to be able to eliminate its $322 million operating deficit from its own revenues without any borrowing.

This is strong evidence that the District has not only met, but surpassed, congressional expectations and is no longer in an emergency or crisis status, and when one is no longer in an emergency status, one no longer needs a control board. A control board is an emergency mechanism; it is not a security blanket. No city gets it, or must have it, unless it is in an emergency.

The District has pulled itself out of a financial crisis in a way no one would dare to have predicted a couple of years ago. Nevertheless, I can understand that to pass the second half of Democracy 2000, the burden is going to be on me, it always is, and therefore, I have not requested of the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DAVIS) even hearings, yet, on the second half of that bill that would sunset the control board. Rather, with a new administration that took office only in January, it is only fair to let the mayor get his steam up, show what he can do, and then have hearings and see whether or not this bill can pass the House and the Senate.

Is the evidence on the table that this new mayor is in charge of the City and does not need any oversight from anyone except the voters of the District of Columbia? I think the evidence is very clear already. I think we need to see it continue for a few more months, but it is very clear already. Members have come up to me, came up to me after this first big snow the other day and told me that they noted the very quick and efficient way in which the streets were cleaned, and that it was in contrast to some other experiences that they had had.

Let me cite the way in which the new administration gets hold of problems, because he cannot promise us that there are not huge numbers of problems left over. The real question is, is he in charge of them? Does he gain control of them? Do we have an administration that knows how to get rid of problems? Because the fact of problems are going to be there for some time.

An example is an article in the Washington Post, a series, exposing problems in homes for retarded people. The District did a very good thing in taking retarded people and other disabled people out of a huge monstrosity of an institution, taking them out of institutionalized care and spreading these disabled people in homes around the City. Well, The Washington Post did what they were supposed to do. They went around and looked at these homes and these homes have been in existence now for 3 or 4 years and they are private homes all around the City run by contractors, and it found evidence that some of them are not treating retarded people very well, and that is itself, I will not say criminal, but it is pretty close to it when we consider that we are talking about people that are pretty close to helpless. There was a time when there would be exposure of problems like that and then we would wait to hear word that something had happened.

Well, the articles ran a couple of days ago. This morning's paper said that the mayor has moved in already to debar two of the contractors in two of the homes, and to move the people out.

That is what I mean by ''take charge.'' That is what the Congress cannot do, what the control board cannot do; that is what only a fully empowered mayor can do and what, with his powers fully intact, he is now doing.

Mr. Speaker, there are many, many examples of management progress in the City. Let me just take two, the first being perhaps the institution most exposed to the public and about which the public most cares because they affect their lives so directly: Schools. This may be the institution in the District where the Congress has had the greatest concern, the public schools. To say they have done very poorly is to speak far too lightly of schools that deserve nothing but contempt for what they had done to our children.

What has happened in the District now is that a new, bold, energetic, collegial superintendent named Arlene Ackerman has come to the superintendency and things began to happen immediately. Her Summer Stars program will probably be a model for the country where she took children and said, in order to eliminate social promotion, they were to go to summer school and that if one wanted

to get ahead, one could also go to summer school so that the children were not stigmatized, and that there would be a ratio of 15 children to every teacher, a very low ratio. Here is the kind of summer school that no one has ever seen much of. It was over-subscribed, and in the morning, children were put to very intensive reading and math instructions, and in the evening, or afternoons, she was able to get funding from private sources to take these youngsters all around the region to cultural and fun activities that would otherwise have been unavailable to them.

Even before she began with the Summer Stars program, she had so changed the regime in the schools with respect to how teachers were to confront their job that the scores in every grade had risen significantly. It can be done if we have the right people in charge.

Arlene Ackerman is so good that I am sure some Members would like to steal her, and we will not let that happen. Because that kind of progress from a school system that was in the gutter, it was so bad, to so quickly see it come up in the hands of somebody who knows what she is doing is precisely what this City has needed.

□ 1845

Let me take another agency that of course is of great, great concern; the police department. The District went out and did a nationwide search and got itself a first-class police chief. They got him from a much larger city, Chicago.

They got a police chief whose reputation has been made in community policing. No approach is more popular in this body than community policing where we put the police on the ground. They get to know people. They get to deal with problems at the ground level, and we get rid of crime.

Chief Ramsey has brought his community policing and his management style from Chicago to the District, and we are already seeing the kind of control and innovation that had been absent for too long.

For example, the Chief, instead of having what we used to in most cities, which is the command sitting in headquarters, has moved the command into the field so that one can hold cops accountable, because the command is not somewhere downtown. The command is right there in the neighborhood.

This man means it when he says community policing. That does not mean just a cop on the street. It means everybody is involved in community policing.

Troubled police department. Slow to take down crime. It is finally going down significantly in the District, and it was before even this police chief came. But here is a man who knows how to keep that progress going, with a real live management style that trucks no excuses.

An example, he found a police department that, according to, again, a series of articles, had excessive shootings. Again, the Washington Post, just as it did a series on how retarded people were treated in group homes, earlier did a series that showed that the police department, albeit before Chief Ramsey, came to the city a few months ago, had one of the highest excessive shooting rates in the country. High crime rate, and our cops were apparently using their guns and firing them more than they should. This flowed from a whole set of problems, including too little training.

What the Chief did seems to me is an example for all of us who are public officials. He believed that, if his internal affairs unit took this evidence that was in the paper, of shootings that had occurred, allegedly, excessively over the years; and if he did his own investigation, that the public would not have the greatest confidence in a police department investigating itself concerning these accusations.

So he went to the Justice Department, and he asked the Attorney General if she would assign some objective investigators to look at the problem of excessive shootings. One, had they occurred? Had they been excessive? What should be done about them?

Here, you have the opposite of what people have come to expect in many cities, no cover-up, but rather a police chief pulling the covers off and saying investigate us and tell us what should be done. If that does not inspire confidence in the police department, nothing will.

But, Mr. Speaker, there is wholesale confidence in the various sectors in this city. There is great and new business confidence. The First Lady was, just a few days ago, at an event in the District, attended by the great corporations and small businesses of this region, that was about efforts that they had made over the past year on their own to raise money for a real private/public partnership with the District. It was very encouraging to see how private business in the city and in the region were responding to the new District of Columbia of which I speak.

One such response I must bring to your attention, Don Graham, the publisher of the Washington Post, and business leaders in the region and in the city came to see the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DAVIS) and me about an idea that they were themselves going to match.

They noted that we have only one small public open admissions university in the District. So if one does not fit that university, one has no other public university in the District the way they would if they lived in Virginia or Maryland or New York or California.

They proposed that a youngster in D.C. be able to go to public universities elsewhere, such as Virginia, with the Federal Government paying the difference between in State tuition and the out-of-State cost.

So that would mean, for example, at the University of Virginia where it costs $16,000 if one lives out of State, but only about $5,000 if one lives in the State, that a youngster from D.C. could go for the $5,000. Boy has this been greeted with hallelujah in the District of Columbia.

There are many sacrifices that people make to live in the District of Columbia. One is that, when one's kids get to be college age, there is no public university except an open admission one, and a very important open admission one, but it certainly does not fit every student. Students have flocked to this idea.

In order to make clear that this proposal was meant to take nothing from the need to build our own open admissions city university, I have achieved an agreement with the chairman that our open admissions city university would itself get a grant that would be an annual grant so that it can assist the university in its own rebuilding.

So there is going to be a win-win situation here. For youngsters who remain in the District, and many of them who graduated from our schools will have to remain here and will want to remain here, there will be a University of the District of Columbia which has some added money on an annual basis.

For youngsters who want to go out of the District of Columbia, the District of Columbia College Access Act, cosponsored by me, introduced by the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DAVIS), will provide a subsidy so that the parents, the families will have to pay only the in-State tuition cost.

Meanwhile, these business leaders have not just come to us and said come up with some Federal money. They have already raised $15 million themselves to supplement youngsters who, indeed, go to college anywhere in the United States, including in the District of Columbia, whether or not they take advantage of this in State tuition subsidy.

So that means that if one, for example, wants to go to the University of Virginia, somehow one's family gets the $5,000, that is, the in-State tuition rate, one still has a lot to come up with if one is going to live outside the District. This private fund will be functionally necessary for many to even take advantage of the Davis-Norton bill that would subsidize in-State tuition.

The name of our act is the D.C. College Access Act. The name of the private program is the D.C. College Access Program. So they are a kind of coherent approach with a subsidy for tuition from the Federal Government and a subsidy for living expenses and for expenses that prepare these youngsters for college that makes sure that they remain there once they get there. So it is just the kind of synergy that the Congress likes to encourage.

But this time, the notion of the in-State tuition, Federally subsidized, and the notion of the private subsidy have come from the business community. That is what I mean when I say there

is confidence in this city. It is coming from every sector. It came first from the voters who elected a whole new set of actors or at least the many of whom were new. It comes from the Congress, which has already passed a bill to return powers to the mayor and the city council. We see that it comes also from the business community.

The question of new money for the District is still on the table, because, while the Federal Government has taken over the most costly State functions, the District has lost population. Like most big cities, the difference is, if one loses population from Chicago or Baltimore, if one loses population from Atlanta or New York, there is a State to back one up. We have nobody but ourselves. We are orphans.

Therefore, we do not pretend that we are permanently in the best shape. We know we are now with the good economy. We also know that we are going to have to find other revenue sources.

But the mayor agrees with me that the first thing that the new mayor should do is, not come to the Congress and say give me some money; that if I believe the mayor needs to have a track record in order for the Control Board to sunset early, I also believe the mayor has to have a track record and has to devise an approach before he can come here and say he needs more money.

He was the first to agree with this. He had no intention of coming to ask for more money. Even though, in order to get the State functions taken back by the Federal Government, we had to turn in our Federal payment. So we do not get any Federal payment, which means that the 25 million visitors who come to the District of Columbia every year have the services paid for essentially out of the pockets of the people I represent. They are in a city with a declining population.

At some point, we have got to design an approach to make sure that the District is able to handle this as it is handling it now. The importance of the revitalization package which took the State functions cannot be underestimated.

The mayor is not asking for more money at this time. I am sure that we will have conversations over the next few years with how to increase revenue in the District.

Meanwhile, look at what the mayor has just done this week. He has come forward with a very bold budget that is itself a policy document that is a paradigm for what a budget ought to be. Whether one agrees with this budget or not, the fact is it is a budget unlike budgets the District of Columbia has seen for a long time, because it points to new directions and does not simply indicate where money will be spent. If that is all a budget document is, it simply plugs in dollar signs for what is already there, that is not what the District needed.

Some parts of it are already very controversial, like the proposal to sell the existing campus of the University of the District of Columbia, Northwest, and move that campus to Southeast, use the money as an endowment for the University of the District of Columbia and put it beside a new technology high school and Department of Employment Service office.

All of that looks like it is an interesting idea. There is great concern in the university about moving them to a part of the city which has had some crime and other problems. There is also a problem because the land is not owned by the District of Columbia. So I am not sure if this is feasible.

I am sure of this, it is the counterproposal that the District of Columbia ought to be debating. It is proposals that are bold that it ought to be debating, even if it decides that is not what they ought to do.

What we do not need is simply to put forward budgets like we have put forward in the last 10 years, budgets that one year look like they did before and the year before. We have got to wake up and smell the coffee and say, yeah, now that I have seen that, I like it or I do not like it.

In the democratic exchange between the counsel, the mayor, and the public, this matter will be settled, and there and only there must it be settled. This body, I am sure, does not want to have anything to do with a proposal that is as complicated as that. It is not for us to say I have no idea where I stand on it.

Do my colleagues know what I am waiting for, I am waiting for the hearings in the city council so I can find out whether it is feasible, whether it does make sense, in the same way that I wait for hearings in this body before I know where I stand on important breakaway issues.

The mayor's budget is full of such breakaway proposals. He wants D.C. agencies to compete with private sector for city contracts. He knows he must work with city unions and city workers in order for that to work.

I am sure I do not need to tell him that no one can support it unless he brings the workers in because he is an expert in management and bringing management and policy together.

I am sure that the two will come together because this kind of composition, where it has worked in other cities, and, very often, if not most often, indeed, the public workers who know the job have in fact won the contract. So there is nothing to fear but fear itself if we have a level playing field and if everybody gets around the table and designs the process together.

The mayor has put a priority on increasing funding for D.C. public schools and youth programs. I love the part of the mayor's program that says he wants to increase after-school programs.

□ 1900

I cannot think of anything the mayor could do that could be more important. There we get youngsters and we capture them so they do their homework, we capture them so that they are not latchkey kids, we capture them so that they are in a safe and productive place between the hours of 3 and 6, or whatever they turn out to be, and those are the hours when youngsters get into trouble or commit crimes. So it takes care of so many things at one time, and he has put a priority there.

He has a bold proposal to provide health insurance for almost 40,000 poor uninsured residents so that they do not cost the city money by going to emergency rooms, and so that, in fact, they get health care early rather than later, at much greater expense to the city.

He wants to restructure the city's debt using the savings to cut taxes on small businesses. To do that, of course, would begin to reinvigorate our small business sector.

The mayor has one budget request that, thus far, I believe, is being received well. I do not have a specific indication from the appropriators yet, because I am sure they want to study it, but somehow we got into our appropriation a requirement that the District have two reserve funds. Now, the District does not mind having one, but having two is a bit much.

There is a provision that the District have a reserve fund of up to $250 million. A lot of money, but I think it is right to do so, so that we carry that reserve fund so that we can use it on a rainy day. Then there is something else that, probably, Congress did not mean to be in there. The two never, it seems to me, never came together. And that is a reserve fund for $150 million put away for each year. So that would just build up. The District would have $350 million the second year and so forth.

I do not think the Congress really meant to have the District build up that kind of reserve. I think it meant to have the District do what every other city does, and that is to have a healthy reserve fund, the way the reserve fund of up to $250 million would be. So the mayor is saying that he would like to be relieved of the second $150 and do the first $250.

I strongly support that. Because if the mayor is not able to produce something in investment to the city, if he is not able to say, I am giving some of this back to a city that has sacrificed so much during the hard fiscal crisis years, he is not going to be able to do the hard job of continuing to streamline the city and to make it a more efficient city.

I do not think anybody meant to have the District simply build up reserves that grow and grow and grow while no investment or little investment is made in the city itself. And given the mayor's own proven track record for fiscal prudence, I hope that this proposal will be given every consideration.

As it is now, because the mayor does not know and because of his own careful and honest budgeting, he has one

budget with the $150 million in it and one budget without the $150 million. We are going to ask the Congress to relieve us of this complication; take the $150 million out, be satisfied with the $250 million, and let the mayor do his job.

Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a D.C. Budget Autonomy Act and a D.C. Legislative Autonomy Act that goes along with the mayor's budget, and I introduced it precisely because the mayor's budget came forward this week. It is a take-charge budget that I thought made the case for the District of Columbia Budget Autonomy Act.

The legislation simply says that, particularly because there is no Federal payment any longer, when the District passes its balanced budget, especially now with the control board in place, that should be it. It should not have to come here to an appropriation committee and to the Senate to an appropriation committee, which has no appropriation for the District of Columbia.

Remember, the District clause would still allow the Congress to intervene into the budgetary process in any way it saw fit. So it could still come to the floor and say, I want to change this or that, or I want to do whatever about it without the budget coming over here. Meanwhile, the District budget could go into effect when it was passed and would not hinge upon when we pass our appropriations.

This would save the District money; save it an inestimable amounts of time, and I have put that in today because I believe the mayor, in good faith, has come forward with the kind of prudent, exciting budgeting that the Congress wanted to see, and I believe the Congress ought to respond in kind by saying, it is his budget, we believe in devolution, we are going to show it by letting him do his budget his way without our intervention. Remember, we are talking about a city that has run a surplus for 3 years, when this body expected to have a balance only after 4 years.

The second bill is a Legislative Autonomy Bill, because I am sure most of the Congress is unaware that after a piece of legislation is passed it has to come here and sit for 30 or 60 days, depending on the kind of legislation it is. The problem with that is that these 30 or 60 days have to be legislative days, so that the District legislation cannot become final often for months, because the Congress does not sit in blocks of 30 legislative days at one time.

It creates havoc in the District government. It has to go through a Byzantine process just to get its laws to go into effect when passed, and then they are not truly in effect. Unnecessary all together since, again, Congress could, whenever it wanted to, simply come to the floor, introduce a bill to overturn a piece of legislation. Republican and Democratic Congresses alike, out of over 2,000 bills only 3 have been overturned in 25 years of Home Rule.

The Congress has the power. It can always use it. Congress does not need the hold in order to effectively do so. The hold creates havoc in the District. It means that the District is streamlining its process, we are not streamlining our relationship to the District. We ought to respond to what the District is doing by letting the District's bills stay with the District, letting the District's budget stay with the District, unless we decide that we want to intervene, in which case the District clause of the Constitution gives this body every opportunity to come forward. That is all we ought to need. The congressional power is still intact.

I want to thank the leadership on both sides for the way in which the District, the new District, if I may be so bold, has been received. I know I speak for Mayor Anthony Williams and City Council Chair Linda Cropp when I say there is a great feeling of hope and very good feeling toward the Congress in the District. There is the very same, as we have already seen, here in the Congress, because the Congress has already passed very important legislation to return powers to the District.

I would hope that Members would come for just a few minutes on April 13 to the reception that I am having for the mayor. The chairman of our subcommittee, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DAVIS), is joining me in sponsoring that reception. He is as pleased as I am with the way in which the city is proceeding, I think I can say without fear of contradiction. The reception will be held in Room 2226 Rayburn, and Members will be receiving an invitation.

Expect me to come back, sometimes in 5 minutes, occasionally for a full hour, to give my colleagues some real sense of what the city, where my colleagues all meet, is doing to meet its own expectations and, by doing so, to meet my colleagues' expectations.

## THE 2000 CENSUS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to address an issue of great importance to this country, and that is the upcoming 2000 census.

In 12 months we will be having forms in the mail to everybody in this great country to complete for the decennial census, something that has been conducted since Thomas Jefferson conducted the first census in 1790. The census is critical to the Democratic system that we have in this country. It is the DNA of our democracy. And we need to do everything we can to have the most accurate and trusted census that can be done.

In 1990, we missed 1.6 percent of the American people in that count, and we need to try to do better. A problem in the past has been something called a differential undercount, where some segments of the population do not get counted as high a percentage as other segments. For example, American Indians are hard to count, and we need to put special efforts to go out and count the American Indian. And for all the other segments of our population that are hard to count, whether it is immigrants, or inner-city minorities.

It is the right thing to do for this country, because it is the right thing that everybody should count, and we need to put all the resources into making the year 2000 census the best ever.

When Thomas Jefferson conducted the first census back in 1790, they did not have a mail system that would deliver the census forms. It was done by horseback going out and finding people. They obviously missed people in 1790, and they have missed people ever since then. But every year we should try to do as good as we can.

The Clinton administration came up with a new plan this time around. They proposed to use sampling. The original plan was that they were going to count 90 percent of the population and use sampling and guesstimating for the other 10 percent. A very risky plan; very dangerous plan, in my opinion. It was destined to fail because it would not be trusted by the American people. We not only have to have the most accurate census possible but we must have it trusted by the American people.

To go out and use polling techniques to estimate the population just will not work in this country. It is too important of an issue. And it was illegal. The Constitution is very clear; it calls for an actual enumeration. We, the Republican majority, told the administration it was illegal. And in an agreement in October-November of 1997, it was agreed to proceed to court, to let the court decide whether it was legal. This past January the Supreme Court ruled that it is an illegal plan, for purposes of apportionment, the 90 percent population count.

And so, thank goodness, the court decided before the Clinton administration had proceeded all the way to conduct an illegal census. We had been telling them for years it was illegal; it was wrong. But it finally took the Supreme Court to tell them it was illegal.

Now the Clinton administration has decided, well, it is only illegal for apportionment. We will do a second sample for purposes of redistricting, which is drawing the lines within a State.

Apportionment is concerned with the number of representatives each State will have. So that has been resolved. That has been decided, and the administration has agreed to go ahead and do a full enumeration for that. But redistricting and apportionment go together. We cannot separate them. But what they want to do now is have a second set of numbers.

Now, just imagine what this will be like. Two numbers. A two-number census. Never been done in history. The

Census Bureau has been saying for years we cannot do a two-number census. It is wrong. I agree with the Bureau. But political pressure was brought to bear on the Census Bureau, sadly. The Census Bureau should not be influenced by politics, but they are very much being influenced this year. And that is very sad for the Census Bureau today and certainly for years to come that they have allowed political pressure to let them make bad public policy decisions.

This is bad public policy. Just think, my home of Bradenton, Florida, is going to have two numbers, one set of numbers will be for approval by the Supreme Court and another set of numbers will be the Clinton numbers. Because what the President wants to do is do the full enumeration, that will be the full count, and then adjust those numbers to say these are the other set of numbers. Two sets of numbers for the same date. And the census date is April 1 of 2000.

How confusing can it get? It is going to be so controversial and so tied up in the courts that it is going to mess up redistricting throughout the country. Not just for Congress but, as I said, this is the DNA of our democracy, because most elected officials in America are having districts drawn based on the census. So every State representative, every State Senator, school board member, county commissioner, city council person who represents a district, where they have to divide up by population, are going to have those districts tied up in courts for years to come.

□ 1915

It will be an absolute disaster. So it is terrible policy that this administration is proceeding along the lines of something that is illegal. It is illegal, and we have been telling them for years it has been illegal. I do not know what legal advice they are getting. Because reapportionment and redistricting are in effect the same thing.

What is going to make it even more illegal is that the results of these adjusted numbers are less accurate. The statistics are not valid. Because when they go to redistricting, what they do is they work with census blocks. They do not work with the city population numbers. They work with blocks. And a block may have 20 homes. It may have 50 homes.

Now, in the big city it may have an apartment high-rise and they could have a thousand or so people in it or more of course. But most of them are smaller. There are millions of census blocks in this country. And so what they are going to do is use a sample of 300,000 units to adjust all the millions of census blocks in the country. It makes no sense.

Even the Academy of Sciences, would has been politically used in this case sadly, a very distinguished, reputable organization that has been politically manipulated, they have even said that a sample size of 300,000 for redistricting purposes is marginally acceptable at statewide populations if you take the total State population of Arizona or Florida, but when we get down to within the State, it will lead to considerable variability.

This is snake oil that has been peddled by the Democratic party that this is going to solve all their problems. It is not going to solve any problems because the courts are going to throw it out. It is illegal. So how they use it if it is going to be thrown out in the courts?

So it is a sad situation that efforts we are making to try to improve the census are being opposed because all they want to do is sample, sample, sample. They have this one-track mind. And all I can tell them is it is illegal, unconstitutional, and it is wrong. And it is bad statistics.

I used to teach statistics for years in college. I know something about statistics. They can use statistics and they can manipulate them. My first lecture in statistics, when I was teaching at Georgia State University in Atlanta for years, was how to lie with statistics and it was on different channels and methods of how to do that.

When you use a measurement of central tendency, which is the mean, medium, and mode, they are different numbers; and we can say, which is better to describe it, the medium number or the mean number or the modal number? And it is used all the time.

Davis-Bacon, by the way, they use the modal number and it gets a higher dollar amount. It is interesting what number they choose to manipulate. So we have some serious problems with the administration, the dangers we are going to have with a failed census.

We introduced the ACT program, I have introduced, which are 10 measures to improve the census and I am going to go over those in a few minutes because it is going to I think help improve the census. And we had a big markup yesterday.

But my colleague the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. HAYWORTH) has joined me on floor. We had two field hearings this past few months, one in Miami in December, and we were out in January in Arizona. And as I said earlier, the most undercounted population we are dealing with are the American Indians. And one of the concerns we had is how do we improve the count on American Indians.

I am from a beautiful Gulf Coast area on the Gulf Coast of Mexico, a very different area from the large district that the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. HAYWORTH) represents. But by going to the area and having a field hearing in Arizona and listening to tribal leaders, it was very enlightening to understand and see their concerns. So we really appreciate the effort my colleague made to make it possible for the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY), the ranking member of the committee, and myself to be there.

Mr. Speaker, I am glad to have my colleague the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. HAYWORTH) with me today, and I yield to him.

Mr. HAYWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER) for yielding. And I would likewise thank the chairman for his willingness to come to the youngest of the 48 contiguous States, the great State of Arizona, which did not enter this Union until Valentine's Day of 1912 in the administration of one William Howard Taft.

I might also point out that the Sixth Congressional District, which I am honored to represent, is an area in square mileage almost the size of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, from the hamlet of Franklin in the south just there alongside the New Mexico border in southern Greenlee County, from Franklin north to Four Corners, the only point geographically common to four States in our Union, west of Flagstaff and south again to Florence, a district that continues to grow with a sizable portion of metropolitan Maricopa County.

And indeed, according to the latest studies of population there, last year Maricopa County, Arizona, welcomed 86,000 new residents, second only to Los Angeles County, California. So it is a growing area, experiencing much the same growth that my friend from Florida can attest for his sunshine State.

But in the Grand Canyon State and indeed throughout the United States of America, Mr. Speaker, there are grave concerns. I certainly yield to my colleague from Florida in terms of his knowledge of statistics and his background as a man of science and an educator in talking about statistics. And I am reminded, I believe the line was from Mark Twain, ''statistics do not lie but liars occasionally use statistics.''

I would echo the observation of my friend from Florida that is seriously disturbing. It has been frustrating enough to see the lack of personal responsibility on the part of this administration, certainly personal conduct of the President of the United States, the misguided, if not arrogant, admonition of the Vice President of the United States when discussions of his own misconduct came up when he said, ''my legal counsel informs me there is no controlling legal authority,'' not only an absurdity but close indeed, Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, to an obscenity in terms of its arrogance. And moving past that, recent revelations involving the unlawful transfer of technology to the People's Republic of China, resulting today in a vote by this House to at long last approve a missile defense.

The committees of this Congress must continue their vigilance and their oversight of serious matters involving the lack of propriety in terms of soliciting campaign donations from the

People's Republic of China and subsequently action taken to transfer technology to that nation's military, putting Americans at risk.

But now my colleague from Florida has pointed out the latest outrage. My colleagues, we all take an oath to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States; and when we raise our right hands and take that oath, that oath means something. It means that we all recognize the Constitution and the wonderful tools our Founders gave us to make us a Nation of laws and not of men, sadly, events of this past year which seem to indicate the opposite, that we are a Nation of one man's whims and not of law.

I would refer us to article 1, section 2, quoting now the actual enumeration. ''Shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States and within every subsequent term of 10 years in such manner as they shall by law direct,'' speaking of this legislative prerogative.

We should also point out with our constitutional republic, our system of three separate and coequal branches of government, there is an arbiter, an interpreter. The judiciary branch. And the ultimate authority is, of course, the Supreme Court of the United States.

And as my colleague from Florida pointed out earlier, and as we must continue to reiterate, the Supreme Court of the United States, in January of this year, banned sampling, banned this hocus-pocus, indeed in a phrase that General Eisenhower used for a lot of scientific ledger domain, he called it sophisticated nonsense, the Supreme Court banned this type of inventive counting or projections or sophisticated nonsense and said to all of us, whether the President of the United States, Mr. Speaker, or a Member of Congress, or any citizen in this country, and most specifically, he who is directed to in fact be the director of the census, that, no, there will not be sampling. Instead, there will be an actual enumeration, as the Constitution calls for.

And yet the arrogance and, by any fair measure, dare I say the lawlessness, is so rampant that they would have a director of our census essentially thumb his nose at the Supreme Court of the United States, at the Congress of the United States, and then say to the American people, well, the Constitution may call for an actual enumeration but, gee, that is just not good enough. Because to fit our partisan designs, and let us speak plainly, Mr. Speaker, in a town enshrouded, as I have said before, with almost a perspective borrowed from that Hans Christian Anderson fairy tale dealing with the emperor's new clothes, when people fail to understand realty or fail to square up to it, let us understand this: Sadly this administration, it would seem, can only measure its so-called legacy, to use the term of the punditocracy, its so-called legacy in political terms and somewhere along the line something has gone terribly, terribly wrong. Because, in our constitutional republic, honest convictions deeply held articulated in this chamber with free debate are held amongst political adversaries or opponents.

But somehow, sadly, some folks in this town have changed that to start to think of the majority in Congress as their sworn enemy. How else are we to interpret the provocative action of the director of the census, who says to the Supreme Court, well, you may have told us that the Constitution says sampling is banned based on your opinion, but we are going to double count.

Mr. Speaker, if the double-talk were not enough from this bunch at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, now we are treated to a double count. And what they are saying, in an arrogant and dangerously partisan fashion, is that an actual enumeration of citizens mandated by the document to which we all swear our allegiance when we take our oath of office and validated, amplified again by the findings of the Supreme Court of this Nation in January, somehow that is not good enough. And they, in their arrogance and in their desire to shape a legacy born of any means necessary politically, will invent people, will invent numbers, will supplement their double-talk with a double count. It is tragic that we have reached such a stage.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, it is so frustrating dealing with this administration to have a Clinton set of numbers and a Supreme Court approved set of numbers. We have been telling them for years it is illegal. I do not know where they get their legal advice, but their lawyers are telling them bad information.

We had an agreement with them, it was signed into law back in October-November of 1997, to be prepared for a full enumeration. And they would not even do that. They were not getting prepared. And they were so arrogant as saying, our lawyers are right and we are going to win this or the Supreme Court will rule after the census is done and then we will win it that way.

I kind of feel sorry for the professionals over at the Census Bureau today because there are some good professionals there and they are being driven by political pressure from the White House to do things that are bad public policy, bad science and statistics, and it is illegal. And it is an embarrassment for the real professionals that are over there that the politics weigh so heavy on them. Because ultimately it is going to be declared illegal.

What they are saying is apportionment is illegal but then they are going to do redistricting with a separate set of numbers, and the courts are going to rule there the same thing.

Mr. HAYWORTH. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman would further yield, I would like to take advantage of his expertise and his study of this issue and his leadership as the chairman the subcommittee most accountable for the census and in terms of Congressional oversight and execution of such account.

We have established the sad realty that, for a variety of reasons, starting and in fact ending at the top, that is at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, with our chief executive and his already well-established lack of regard for the statutes and the laws of the land, that this is going to continue apace.

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I was wondering if my friend from Florida in laymen's terms could explain the deficiencies of sampling. It has been described to me as almost inventing people, or projecting numbers based on a count and then to actually cease a count and start an extrapolation.

Could he put it in laymen's terms so those of us who join these proceedings and our citizenry from coast to coast could understand this a little better?

Mr. MILLER of Florida. We are talking about using sampling. Sampling, we all use it for polling. We read the polls in the newspapers all the time. Politicians use them all the time. Marketing companies will use polling. Polling and sampling is used when you do not have enough time or money to take a full census, which is a full count. But the Constitution requires a full count every 10 years. In between, we will use sampling. It has got an appropriate role because you cannot go out and count everybody every year. The plan that has now been proposed the way it would work is, they would do the full count as best they could. Then they would take a sample of 300,000 units, housing units, and use those numbers to then adjust the 270 million people in this country.

You have population numbers for the State of Florida, the State of Arizona, you will have it for the city of Phoenix, the county of Maricopa County, the county of Manatee County or Sarasota County. But then it gets down to the numbers that you use for redistricting are small units, the smallest units. And if you look at how they draw them on a computer map, these are census blocks. How do you go and adjust a census block with 20 housing units in it based on a sample of 300,000 nationwide?

What is going to happen is in your area of Phoenix, they are going to take population estimates from Utah and New Mexico, probably California and Nevada, lump them together and then they are going to come back and adjust your census block where you live in Arizona.

Mr. HAYWORTH. Let me see if this analogy works, because from time to time, the attorneys might say, there is a preponderance of physical evidence that I battle with my physique, the

scale. This almost sounds like in lieu of weighing myself on a calibrated scale, that I take my two youngest children, aged 8 and 5, because, after all, they possess DNA, which is a part of me, and they have my hereditary characteristics and to achieve a desired weight, I would put them on the scales and then extrapolate based on statistical samples such as the ideal height and weight charts, the actuarial tables we see from different life insurance companies, and rather than take an actual number from the scale, through statistical legerdemain, we would project a desired outcome. Is that an apt analogy?

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Yes. The idea is, they are going to do something called adjustment this time around. It is a little different from the original sampling plan. They are going to do adjustment. The real set of numbers, so your scale shows you have a weight of 190 pounds, and I am being very generous.

Mr. HAYWORTH. That is the desired weight. Thanks very much.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. That is your desired, your goal. But then they will come back, they are going to adjust a number. They say, well, your scale shows 193, but we think because your shoes are heavy and your tie weighs so much, we are going to jump that up to 247. That is how they are going to adjust. They are doing it a little different than the sample originally proposed.

Mr. HAYWORTH. So it is as if we had the scales and the thumb rather than, well, perhaps the heavy hand of government is going to rest on that scale to produce the desired outcome based on political pressure from the White House and the marching orders that the Director of the Census has been given to maximize numbers in such a way, devoid of actual enumeration, to produce a desired outcome.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. That is a good description.

Mr. HAYWORTH. In fact, since we are dealing with a crowd, of course, who give us different definitions for the word ''is'' and the meaning of the word ''alone,'' who tell us that China should be our strategic partner although we know now in the fullness of time that strategic partnership dealt with a particular presidential campaign, this Clinton-Gore team's reelection effort in 1996, now we have a new definition of counting and a new definition of what the census should be. So we are getting all of this double talk and followed by a double count from this crowd down at the Census Bureau.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. That is very sad, because we need to have the census to be successful and the most accurate numbers possible, but it has got to be trusted by the American people. As I say, every city councilperson in this country, county commissioner, State representative, State senator, Member of the House of Representatives, their districts are going to be drawn based on these numbers. If they do not trust those numbers, they are not going to trust the system. Our democracy really is fundamentally at stake in this issue.

The gentleman actually said the Clinton administration is not high on the trust scale, whether it is in the foreign policy area with China, how you take a deposition, it raises a question, can you trust these numbers? If you have a set of numbers that are approved by the Supreme Court and a set of numbers that Clinton has manipulated to get to, which ones are you going to take? It is logical you are going to take the Supreme Court set of numbers, but they are going to try to force cities and counties and State legislatures to use these manipulated numbers. That is wrong.

Mr. HAYWORTH. If the gentleman will yield on that point, I should make the point, Mr. Speaker, that just yesterday I was contacted by members of the Arizona legislature concerned about this. Indeed, in recent weeks, officials of county government nationwide and from the various cities have visited Washington. All of the mayors and the county executives and the State legislators with whom I have spoken have expressed grave concerns about the machinations of this administration and its apparent willingness once again, quite frankly, to disobey the law of the land.

So, Mr. Speaker, again in our constitutional republic, given the magnificent ability to freely express ideas, and mindful of this free flow of information from coast to coast and to Alaska and Hawaii, once again, Mr. Speaker, we have to call the American people to action.

There are those when I first came here, Mr. Speaker, who spoke of some sort of revolution. Our Vice President, the same Vice President who claimed just last week he was the father of the Internet and he has cleared all sorts of new ground with a double ax in his farming days, that selfsame Vice President speaks of a reinvention of government.

Mr. Speaker, I believe quite frankly both of those labels miss the mark. I believe what we should be about in this Congress, whether conservative or liberal, Republican or Democrat, what we should be about is a restoration, not a revolution, not a reinvention but a restoration, and that is to say that we should take quite literally what our Founders said to be the law of the land. We stand here at the outset of every congressional session, those of us who have been honored with election, and we take an oath to uphold the Constitution. It calls for enumeration, counting of citizens. The Supreme Court has upheld it, and yet this crowd on the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue wants to ignore it. I think my colleague from Florida is correct to point out the concerns of the cities, the counties and State governments in this regard, and, Mr. Speaker, I would call on the great grassroots of America to let their thoughts be known.

There is one other question I have for my colleague from Florida. I have heard talk, again from what I call the punditocracy, all the folks who show up on television to offer their opinions of the day and offer them in a variety of columns on the opinion-editorial pages of papers around the country, I have heard that again this political mission is so important to our current President that he may be willing to shut down the government over this issue. Is there some veracity to that possibility?

Mr. MILLER of Florida. It was reported in the New York Times recently that, last fall, in order to get Democratic support for that omnibus appropriation bill, the President sent a letter to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GEPHARDT), the minority leader, saying that he will veto any legislation that keeps them from doing sampling. That means the upcoming appropriation bills that fund the census, but it not only funds the census, that particular bill will fund the FBI, the State Department, the embassies around the world, the Drug Enforcement Agency, the Border Patrol, the Weather Bureau. He has said he will veto anything that keeps him from being able to do sampling, which is illegal.

Mr. HAYWORTH. I just have a thought, if my friend from Florida would yield. We hear so much talk in this city about civility, and, of course, we should recognize that the first rule of civility is telling the truth. But apart from that, we also hear how there should be bipartisanship. Indeed today on this floor at long last, despite the best efforts of liberals in this Chamber to drag their feet and delay and oppose a strategic missile defense system, at long last this Congress had a bipartisan vote saying it will be the mission of this country to act in its own self-defense for a strategic missile system. Perhaps, Mr. Speaker, it would be good for our friends on the other side of the aisle to join us in true bipartisanship.

Now, of course, Washington, and sadly members of the press corps here have a very interesting definition of what is bipartisan. In this town, to hear the liberal community speak, whether from the printed page or from the political rhetoric of the other side, bipartisanship means the majority abandoning the goals for which it was elected to be made malleable and reshaped by the whim of the minority. I do not believe that definition of bipartisanship, as prevalent as it may be in some Georgetown parlors and down the street at the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee, is really an operative definition of bipartisanship. Far better that our friends who seek civility opt for the truth and join us in an intellectually rigorous, honorable and honest count, enumeration for the census as called for in our Constitution and as reaffirmed this past January by the Supreme Court. I think that would be a step toward true

civility. That would be a step toward true bipartisanship. I would say tonight that we reach out and extend our hand to say, let us preserve the Constitution. Here is another chance to stand up for the rule of law, here is another chance to act like statesmen. Join us in following the edicts of the Constitution and the decisions of the Supreme Court.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. We talk about truth and working together. Yesterday we marked up seven bills in the Committee on Government Reform to improve the census. We mentioned one that involves trust and local officials that we have talked about, the mayors and commissioners that we have been hearing about from our district. That is something called post-census local review. It was used in 1990. What it is, is after the census is started, the local communities get a chance to verify the housing units in their area. They have a final check on the numbers before they become published numbers, to catch mistakes. Because mistakes are made. We had a hearing on this. The gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. PETRI) was talking about up in his district, a whole ward, a mistake was made and it was left out. The idea is let the local communities have one last chance to look at the numbers and verify the housing units in their community, their city, their county, whatever the jurisdictional area we are talking about. It makes sense. It is a trust factor.

They are opposed to it. The President sent a letter, he will veto us. It was done in 1990. It cost $7 million in 1990. We are not talking about a huge sum of money. But it gives a trust, a chance for the local cities. The National League of Cities is supporting this, the National Association of Towns and Townships is supporting this, all kinds of mayors. They have gotten to the big city mayors. Mayor Archer of Detroit added 45,000 people in 1990. Wow, that is a lot of people. Now he is opposed to it. But it is an optional thing. You do not have to participate. Detroit got 45,000 people going through the program the last time. If Mayor Archer does not want to participate, let him not participate. As a matter of fact, we may even put in the legislation that Mayor Archer and the city of Detroit cannot participate, I do not know. But it is amazing. They have sold snake oil to the Democratic big city mayors because they have said, ''We're going to get sampling, it will solve all our problems, it will add all these extra people to your cities if you will let us use sampling, so you need to oppose post-census local review.''

They do not trust their local officials? I know it is a pain. They would have to deal with all the mayors, the city managers, the county commissioners. But they are opposing it and Clinton is going to veto the bill. It will probably be on the floor of the House maybe this coming week and we will be able to debate it.

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I am anxious again for the Democrats to explain: Oh, we do not trust the mayors, we do not trust these city managers to look at our numbers of housing units.

I am in a growing area, the gentleman from Oklahoma has all this growth. New developments are going in all the time, new streets, new houses. Who knows best where they are? You know who knows best? They know over at the Census Bureau in Washington. We do not know back home.

Mr. HAYWORTH. And moreover, my colleague from Florida made mention of the fact that I am also honored to represent more Native Americans than any other Member of Congress in the United States; indeed almost one quarter of the population of the Sixth Congressional District of Arizona is American Indian; and, as was pointed out in the hearings held in Phoenix, many of those Native Americans live in remote areas, areas where they are known, for example, on the great and sovereign Navajo Nation, in areas with a lack of population density; but those in the chapter houses, in the local units of government, tribal government at its most basic, know where the people live, you see, because it is where they grew up.

But what a metaphor for the two different attitudes that exist now in the final days of the 20th century in Washington, D.C. You have the new majority, which believes that one size does not fit all, that our policies should not be Washington bureaucrat driven, that we should not check common sense or the power of observation at a department level door or a cubicle in Washington, D.C., that instead we should turn to local experts, to those who are living their daily lives in their locales, in their communities, with special challenges who acknowledge that Phoenix, Arizona, is a different place from Phoenix City, Alabama.

And then on the other hand, we have our friends on the left who continue to embrace this outmoded notion that only Washington knows best, that somehow inside this Beltway, within the parameters made possible by the Potomac, that only those who sit here and work at a desk in a cubicle for the Federal Government have the answer, and how dare mayors, and city councilmen, and county executives, and State legislators and those closer to the situation and the true meaning of federalism, how dare they, as duly elected officials, weigh in knowing traffic patterns, knowing housing patterns, knowing their cities, towns, boroughs and counties, how dare they step up when instead we can have people in Washington who can guess and guess through statistical legerdemain of the very clever way to produce a desired political outcome.

Indeed, as our good friend and colleague, the gentleman from Ohio and chairman of the Committee on the Budget (Mr. KASICH) says, this common sense majority is all about transferring money, power and influence out of the hands of Washington bureaucrats and back home to people who live their daily lives and now again in a most reckless transparently political and lawless fashion the crowd on the left wants to say: Washington knows best, we are going to continue the double-talk, have a double count and twist and shape the equations and numbers for our own desired ends.

It is sick, it is cynical, and, Mr. Speaker, I reflect on a term that was coined when I was growing up in describing another liberal administration in this town in its conduct of foreign policy and a variety of other issues. In the late 1960's there was talk of a credibility gap. Mr. Speaker, how sad it is that in the case of this crowd we have a credibility canyon. Indeed rhetorically it rivals the splendor of the Grand Canyon within the boundaries of my great State. In Washington, D.C. there is this credibility canyon whether in terms of personal responsibility, or boastful claims or arrogant assertions that someone is above the law or, in another fashion, there is no controlling legal authority.

Now again we are confronted with the incredible swath and distance, the gulf between the objective truth and the sick, cynical, political manipulation of victimhood and arrogance that says: We are above the law. We are not going to listen to the Supreme Court. We are not going to listen to the American people. But in a most cynical fashion we will twist the numbers and come up with account that achieves its desired ends, and that is basically the debate in full flower we are seeing.

The question is one of trust. As my colleague from Florida says: Who do you trust? At long last, Mr. Speaker, who can you trust? Good people can disagree. This is not about the merits of disagreement. This is about the designs of a sick, cynical scheme and a bald face grab for power.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. As I mentioned, we in the committee yesterday marked up bills to improve the census, and you would think they would want to have the ideas of Congress, like the post-census local review. Give those local officials like they had in 1990 a chance to have a quality check.

Another issue: They are opposing, and let me tell my colleagues this. They are opposing making the census form available in numerous languages and Braille. They said we are going to put it in five languages besides English, and if you know of another language, tough. You have to call an 800 number, and hopefully you will find somebody who can translate. And if you are blind, you know, tough. I mean what do you do?

That is so sad. They are opposed to it. It is not that difficult to make available forms for those that request it to get these forms.

I was in Miami. We had a hearing back in December. The gentlewoman

from Florida (Mrs. MEEK) has about 150,000 Haitians in her district. Now a lot of them have not learned English yet, and how do they fill out a form?

Our colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. HORN) from Long Beach, he has about 50,000 Cambodians in his district. Now how do they fill out a form if an elderly person? Now somebody would say, oh, they should not be counted, but everybody living in this country gets counted. It is required by our United States Constitution. And here is amazing; this is the Democratic party that wants to reach out to everybody, and they are refusing to publish the seven questions, only seven questions, in these languages, and one of our bills is to put it out in 33 languages plus Braille rather than the five languages. Their argument is, well, our five languages, we get 99 percent of the people. Well, 1 percent of the American people is 2.7 million people, and we only missed 1.6 percent of the population last time.

Why are they afraid to do that? I mean it is the Republicans are out there trying to make it more accessible, to have everybody fill out the form, and so I mean it is so frustrating that they say we are perfect, we do not make mistakes, and we are all professionals and, you know, do not micromanage. Well, do not micromanage? They are the ones that spent a billion dollars over the past 7 years on a illegal plan, and it was not until January that they, you know, we got hit in the head. They realized, yes, it was illegal, and they said that is the reason we are going to go to two numbers.

I mean it is an amazing organization to deal with, and these other ideas we are proposing. It was another one they are opposed to is, and this has support from General Accounting Office and at one time the Academy of Sciences supported it. We get one form in the mail, and, you know, hopefully everybody returns it, we get as many as we can returned. But if you send the second form as a reminder, it will increase response rates by 6 or 7 percent.

They tried that out when they did what is called a dress rehearsal last year in Sacramento and Columbia, South Carolina. They will get a 6 or 7 percent improvement on response rate. That is about 19 million people. That many fewer forms have to be filled out. And they are opposed to it. They are going to fight it, and the President is going to veto it. He is going to veto those 33 languages. He is going to veto post-census review.

I do not understand their logic. It is so frustrating.

I mean even we had one program we debated for probably 45 minutes yesterday in committee. It is something called Census In The School program. It is a good program, and I hope when it becomes available that you can go to your schools and promote it, especially when you go to the Indian schools which we visited when we were in your district. It was really kind of neat to see the Indian schools there because what the Census In School form is is going to be a form that is going to be sent out to the teachers of elementary schools, in elementary schools, and selected teachers in middle and secondary schools that teach geography, I think government, math, I think three different categories, and the idea is they will get a request. If they want to participate in the program, send back a card, and they will get maps and materials, and it is a good way to teach a civics lesson, and, you know, they can teach mathematics, they can teach geography. There are lots of things kids can learn about the census and the Constitution on it, if the teachers want to. So we are going to make it available.

The Census Bureau was only going to make it available to 20 percent of the schools, and we think it is a good program. So we commend them and say we think it should be made available to everybody, all the schools. They are contracting it out, so it is not like extra work for them.

There is a group called Scholastic, Inc., that has got the contract, and it is just a matter of sending the letter to all these teachers, and if they like it, send back a card. And they fought us, and fought us, and fought us yesterday over that issue, and they finally agreed to let it go by voice vote.

And I understand. I said, ''Are you opposed to 60 percent of the teachers receiving this? Why are you opposed to the possibility of helping kids?'' We can get Members of Congress to go to schools in their district to help promote it. It is something that is good civics, it is good public policy, and you know they finally gave in and voice voted. It was amazing.

Mr. HAYWORTH. If the gentleman from Florida will yield for a second, this is very interesting because once again we see the gulf between rhetoric and reality because our President and liberal Members of this House come to this floor, and indeed the President of the United States stood at this rostrum a couple of months ago and told us how important education was and how we should put our children first. And of course now we find that our children, as they go to sleep at night, are within the target range of Chinese missiles, and, moreover, that the liberal minority in this House actually does not want to utilize a great civics lesson and participation in understanding the role constitutionally of the decennial census, that as its name implies, comes but once every 10 years, and to miss this historic opportunity when the claims constantly are of concern for the children and wanting to improve education. And again, it is yet another sad piece of evidence in this credibility canyon which is come to exist in Washington D.C., certainly not as splendid as our Grand Canyon, but one that we will have a long time trying to reconcile.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. One of the other ones that was interesting in the debate yesterday, and this came out of our hearing out in Phoenix and in Miami, and one of the things that the tribal leaders, for example, and representatives of communities in Miami like the Haitian community and such is they want to say we want to help, we want to give, you know, and their best and most knowledgeable about whether it is their tribe or their community in Miami or Detroit or wherever, but we need some help. What can, you know, the Census Bureau do for us? What can the government do for them?

One idea we came up with is a partnership program, it is a grant program, matching grant program for $26 million. It is not a huge amount of money, you know, for the entire country, but it is a one-shot deal so that if the tribes and we need some help within our tribe to go out and, you know, get the people to fill out the forms, or if the Haitian community wants to get, you know it can be nonprofit groups, it can be governmental groups. They can request a grant, and they say all these excuses. Census Bureau, we are not into the grant making business. Okay. Well, let the Commerce Department do it, Commerce Department which oversees, of course, the Census Bureau. They give grants all the time, let them do it. What is wrong with it? What is the harm of it? This is what we find out in field hearings in Phoenix and in Florida, and they fought us on it and fought us on it, and they finally reluctantly said it is not even worth the trouble.

Mr. HAYWORTH. Well, my friend from Florida has cleared up one mystery. There are many citizens around this country that really wondered about the function of the Commerce Department to begin with. So at least now we know that the Commerce Department is the Cabinet level agency that has authority over the census.

So, that is important to know, that there is that very important and vital function, but my colleague from Florida is quite right. I can recall in our hearing in Phoenix and in our visit to the Gila River Indian community and meeting with the school kids and the citizens of the health clinic and those who are involved in the tribal council that here are people who appreciate the notion of self government and sovereignty who are willing to count and willing to meet those challenges and eager to do so. And then you have the situation like just occurred in the committee where actually one has to pull teeth with the minority side to move to reasonable, rational positions to bring about the desired goal of a full count or at least what should be the desired goal of a full count.

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Mr. MILLER of Florida. There is one bill that the minority did support and this is one that the gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs. MEEK) was pushing and I was supportive of, and this is something that came out in the hearings in

Phoenix also with the tribal leaders, is to be able to hire the people go out and do the knocking on doors and helping count those who do not fill out their forms and get them back in. We need to get local people to do that work.

Who better than to get the native Indian to go out on their reservation and do their counting and knock on doors? They are the ones who are going to trust their friends and neighbors. In some cases these people may be on some type of welfare-type benefit, a medicaid program or something like that and these are temporary jobs, only going to be around for a few months and so to get them to be able to work those jobs temporarily without losing those benefits would be very desirable.

So the gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs. MEEK) introduced legislation which, of course, I cosponsored and we passed yesterday, and I have to give credit to the gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs. MEEK) for pushing this legislation, the Democrats.

There are a lot of people who have concerns about this because as the gentleman who is on the Committee on Ways and Means knows, welfare reform which was passed in 1996 gave the States the power. So the real problem we are having with this is, and the people are challenging us on it the most is, we are taking away power from the States. Let them decide. The States, I would assume, are willing to do it.

The question is, do we mandate it out of Washington? The fact is, the gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs. MEEK) did this, and I went along with it, we pushed it and luckily we got it and hopefully we can get it passed by the House. If not, we can get a sense of Congress to push it along and get the States to do it because it is good public policy and we should all agree that we want the local native Indians on their reservation. They do not want to go to the next reservation necessarily, and they are not going from their reservations to the Haitian community in Miami either. That is one good thing we hopefully will get out of this.

Mr. HAYWORTH. As we discovered in working with Native American groups and other concerned constituencies in the field hearings in Phoenix, we have many Indian communities. While some enjoy an economic boom and take advantage of new economic opportunities, I was meeting earlier today with a group of high school students who came to see me from the Close-up Foundation, from the Navajo Nation and understand, Mr. Speaker, that unemployment on the sovereign Navajo nation, an area in geographic size almost the size of the State of West Virginia, transcending the boundaries of four of our sovereign states, unemployment on the reservations can top and exceed 50 percent in some cases. So jobs, be they temporary, are welcome and indeed there would be a lot of people.

This is one of the topics we addressed today, what happens for economic empowerment because as we all know and as I remarked to the Navajo Tribal Council when I was honored to address that assembly in Window Rock, Arizona, the Navajo Nation capital, the greatest social program in the world is a job.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Right.

Mr. HAYWORTH. To have this opportunity, I salute the gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs. MEEK) and while there may be some questions of jurisdiction and some details to iron out with the Nation's governors and the respective States and the whole notion of TATNF, Temporary Assistance to Needy Families, and what we are doing here, if we can vet those concerns and make a workable proposition come out, well, then this is to be welcomed. Let us seize on this aspect. Salute our colleague, the gentlewoman from Florida, from the other side of the aisle and say that example should be followed because it is inevitable that we may not agree on every jot and tittle of policy but that is the example of true bipartisanship, to work together to try to solve a problem, not to try a maneuver for political advantage or to say we are going to ignore the rulings of the Supreme Court and the Constitution somehow does not count. So my friend is right to give credit where credit is due and that should be an example of true bipartisanship and civility.

I look forward to working with the gentleman to try to iron out some of these problems of jurisdiction.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. I appreciate that. Our visit to Arizona was very enlightening because every area is different in this country. The gentleman's district is very different from the district of the gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs. MEEK), and again the gentleman's district is going to be very different from my district in southwest Florida where we have lots of retirees and beautiful beaches along the Gulf of Mexico and a different environment.

The gentleman has desert. We have beautiful beaches and mangroves and some swamps in our area, too. We have to be able to understand the diversity of our great country, and that applies to the census. I learned a lot, such as every Indian on the reservation does not have a mailbox. They do not have a street. The streets are not even named, as explained, in some areas. It is just dirt paths off into these reservations, but everybody needs to be counted.

There is no excuse for people not to be counted. People do not trust the Federal Government, as we well know. So we have got to build up trust in the system. Each of us, as leaders, we have to be part of that process but, of course, the administration in their procedures they are going through now are breaking down that trust factor.

We do share a common goal that we want everybody to be counted. There is the problem of the differential undercount and we should do everything we can, and that is the reason we have introduced legislation. I do not know why they would oppose making it available in languages for people that are undercounted. Why do they not want to let people that are blind and need braille make it available in braille? They say, no, it is too much trouble.

This is a huge effort. This is going to be $6 billion or so total being spent. It is a giant undertaking, and the bottom goal that we should all share, and I think we all do share, is get the best count possible. Every person living in this great country counts and we need to put the resources into it. This Republican Congress, for the past couple of years, has put more money and resources in the census than the President has asked. We are willing to put those resources in there because we want it done right, and that is so fundamental. The administration is just playing games.

Mr. HAYWORTH. It is interesting because it evokes another visit to the political dictionary and the lexicon of terms that we find in vogue in our Nation's capital. We hear a lot of talk about compassion. When we stop and think about it, Mr. Speaker, how best can we define compassion? We hear a lot of rhetoric on the left about it.

I think a lot of us would view compassion with two words; an attitude rather than a definition. True compassion means everybody counts. So if everybody counts, why not count everybody? Why not live up to the standards of our constitution in Article I Section 2? Why not follow the decision of our Supreme Court? Why not employ true compassion and make sure everybody counts by counting everybody?

Mr. MILLER of Florida. I completely agree. That is a great way, as we conclude this discussion this evening, to explain what we are really trying to accomplish, is just count everyone because everyone counts in this great country.

There is no excuse for somebody not being counted. We need to build trust with all segments of our population and commit the resources it takes to do that, because that magical date of April 1 of 2000 is when we need to get everybody counted, about 270 million people in this great country, a huge undertaking.

They say it is the largest nonmilitary undertaking and mobilization in American history that will be taking place next year and we need to put all the resources we can into it. I am looking forward to the complete count.

I appreciate the gentleman joining me here this evening to have a chance to discuss this critical issue.

## SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Ms. NORTON) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. BLUMENAUER, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. FOSSELLA) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. ROYCE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. FLETCHER, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. DEMINT, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. FOSSELLA, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. WALSH, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. KASICH, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. SCHAFFER, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at their own request) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mrs. CLAYTON, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. SHERMAN, for 5 minutes, today.

## BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. THOMAS, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on the following date present to the President, for his approval, a bill of the House of the following title:

On March 17, 1999:

H.R. 540. To amend title XIX of the Social Security Act to prohibit transfers or discharges of residents of nursing facilities as a result of a voluntary withdrawal from participation in the Medicaid Program.

## ADJOURNMENT

Mr. HAYWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 8 o'clock and 8 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, March 22, 1999, at 2 p.m.

## EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 8 of rule XII, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1102. A letter from the Secretary of Defense, transmitting the 1999 Department of Defense Annual Report to the President and the Congress, pursuant to 10 U.S.C. 113 (c) and (e); to the Committee on Armed Services.

1103. A letter from the Secretary of Defense, transmitting Notification of intent to obligate funds for test projects for inclusion in the Fiscal Year 1999 Foreign Comparative Testing (FCT) Program, pursuant to 10 U.S.C. 2350a(g); to the Committee on Armed Services.

1104. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Housing and Urban Development, transmitting the Department's final rule—Uniform Financial Reporting Standards for HUD Housing Programs; Technical Amendment [Docket No. FR–4321–F–05] (RIN: 2501–AC49) received February 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services.

1105. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Housing and Urban Development, transmitting the Department's final rule—Home Equity Conversion Mortgages; Consumer Protection Measures Against Excessive Fees [Docket No. FR–4306–F–02] (RIN: 2502–AH10) received February 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services.

1106. A letter from the Assistant to the Board, Federal Reserve Board of Govenors, transmitting the Board's final rule—Risk-Based Capital Standards: Construction Loans on Presold Residential Properties; Junior Liens on 1- to 4-Family Residential Properties; and Investments in Mutual Funds [Regulation Y; Docket No. R–0948] received February 25, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services.

1107. A letter from the Assistant to the Board, Federal Reserve Board of Governors, transmitting the Board's final rule—Risk-Based Capital Standards: Construction Loans on Presold Residential Properties; Junior Liens on 1- to 4-Family Residential Properties; and Investments in Mutual Funds. Leverage Capital Standards; Tier 1 Leverage Ratio (RIN: 3064–AB 96) received February 26, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services.

1108. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Vehicle Certification; Contents of Certification Labels for Multipurpose Passenger Vehicles and Light Duty Trucks [Docket No. NHTSA–99–5047] (RIN: 2127–AG65) received February 8, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

1109. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Approval and Promulgation of Air Quality Implementation Plans; State of Delaware—Transportation Conformity Regulation [DE036–1018a; FRL–6303–4] received February 22, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

1110. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Amendment to National Standards of Performance for Steel Plants: Electric Arc Furnaces Constructed After October 21, 1974, and On or Before August 17, 1983, and Electric Arc Furnaces Constructed After August 17, 1983 [AD–FRL–6234–8] (RIN: 2060–AH95) received February 22, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

1111. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Approval and Promulgation of Air Quality Implementation Plans; Delaware; Definitions of VOCs and Exempt Compounds [DE041–1019a; FRL–6238–7] received March 3, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

1112. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Approval and Promulgation of Air Quality Implementation Plans; State of Colorado; Greeley Carbon Monoxide Redesignation to Attainment, Designation of Areas for Air Quality Planning Purposes, and Approval of a Related Revision [CO–001–0029a; FRL–6236–7] received March 3, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

1113. A letter from the Director, Office of Congressional Affairs, Nuclear Regulatory Commission, transmitting the Commission's final rule—NRC Inspection Manual—received February 22, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

1114. A letter from the Secretary of Energy, transmitting the Strategic Petroleum Reserve Plan Amendment No. 5, which allows the Department of Energy to use all the authorities under the Act to acquire oil for the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, including federal royalty oil; to the Committee on Commerce.

1115. A letter from the Secretary, Securities and Exchange Commission, transmitting the Commission's final rule—Frequently Asked Questions About the Statement of the Commission Regarding Disclosure of Year 2000 Issues and Consequences to Public Companies—received March 1, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

1116. A letter from the Secretary, Securities and Exchange Commission, transmitting the Commission's final rule—Exemption of the Securities of the Kingdom of Belgium under the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 for Purposes of Trading Futures Contracts on Those Securities [Release No. 34–41116, International Series Release No. 1186, File No. S7–15–98] (RIN: 3235–AH46) received March 1, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

1117. A letter from the Director, Office of Congressional Affairs, U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, transmitting the Commission's final rule—Changes To Quality Assurance Programs (RIN: 3150–AG–20) received February 26, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

1118. A letter from the Director, Defense Security Cooperation Agency, transmitting a copy of Transmittal No. 99–0A, which relates to the Department of the Army's proposed enhancements or upgrades from the level of sensitivity of technology or capability of defense article(s) previously sold to Singapore, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(b)(5); to the Committee on International Relations.

1119. A letter from the Assistant Legal Adviser for Treaty Affairs, Department of State, transmitting Copies of international agreements, other than treaties, entered into by the United States, pursuant to 1 U.S.C. 112b(a); to the Committee on International Relations.

1120. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting the Department's final rule—Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs; Prohibition on Assistance to Drug Traffickers [Public Notice 2840] received February 22, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on International Relations.

1121. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting the FY 1998 Annual Report on U.S. Government Assistance to and Cooperative Activities with the New Independent States of the Former Soviet Union; to the Committee on International Relations.

1122. A letter from the Executive Director, Committee For Purchase From People Who Are Blind or Severely Disabled, transmitting the Committee's final rule—Additions and Deletions—received February 22, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Government Reform.

1123. A letter from the Director, Office of Personnel Management, transmitting the Office's final rule—Prevailing Rate Systems; Abolishment of the Marion, Indiana, Nonappropriated Fund Wage Area (RIN: 3206–AH60) received March 3, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Government Reform.

1124. A letter from the Director, Office of Personnel Management, transmitting the Office's final rule—Prevailing Rate Systems;

Abolishment of the Marion, Indiana, Nonappropriated Fund Wage Area (RIN: 3206–AH60) received March 3, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Government Reform.

1125. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting notification of the opening in the position of Special Trustee for American Indians; to the Committee on Government Reform.

1126. A letter from the Deputy Associate Director for Royalty Management, Department of the Interior, transmitting notification of proposed refunds of offshore lease revenues where a refund or recoupment is appropriate, pursuant to 43 U.S.C. 1339(b); to the Committee on Resources.

1127. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife Parks, Department of the Interior, transmitting the Department's final rule—Migratory bird hunting; Regulations to increase harvest of Mid-continent light geese (RIN: 1018–AF25) received February 22, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

1128. A letter from the Director, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, transmitting the Administration's final rule—Taking of Marine Mammals Incidental to Commercial Fishing Operations; Pacific Offshore Cetacean Take Reduction Plan Regulations [Docket No. 9901040001–9001–01; I.D. 111398D] (RIN: 0648–AM05) received February 22, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

1129. A letter from the Director, Office of Sustainable Fisheries, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, transmitting the Administration's final rule—Fisheries of the Caribbean, Gulf of Mexico, and South Atlantic; Coastal Migratory Pelagic Resources of the Gulf of Mexico and South Atlantic; Trip Limit Reduction [Docket No. 961204340–7087–02; I.D. 020999F] received February 22, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

1130. A letter from the Director, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, transmitting the Administration's final rule—Taking of Marine Mammals Incidental to Commercial Fishing Operations; Pacific Offshore Cetacean Take Reduction Plan Regulations; Technical Amendment [Docket No. 970129015–8123–06; I.D. 042798B] (RIN: 0648–AI84) received February 26, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

1131. A letter from the Director, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, transmitting a report on the Apportionment of Regional Fishery Management Council (RFMC) Membership in 1998 prepared by the National Marine Fisheries Service, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Department of Commerce; to the Committee on Resources.

1132. A letter from the Rules Administrator, Department of Justice, transmitting the Department's final rule—Classification and Program Review: Team Meetings [BOP–1068–F] (RIN: 1120–AA64) received March 4, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1133. A letter from the Rules Administrator, Department of Justice, transmitting the Department's final rule—Birth Control, Pregnancy, Child Placement and Abortion [BOP–1030–F] (RIN: 1120–AA31) received March 4, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1134. A letter from the Director, Policy Directives and Instructions Branch, Immigration and Naturalization Service, transmitting the Service's final rule—Interim Designation of Acceptable Receipts for Employment Eligibility Verification [INS No. 1947–98] (RIN: 1115–AE94) received February 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1135. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Regulations for Federal and Federally Assisted Programs [FHWA Docket No. FHWA–98–3379] (RIN: 2125–AE34) received February 8, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1136. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century; Implementation Guidance for the Interstate Highway Reconstruction/Rehabilitation Pilot Program; Solicitation for Candidate Proposals—received February 8, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1137. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Airworthiness Directives; Textron Lycoming Model O–540–F1B5 Reciprocating Engines [Docket No. 98–ANE–73–AD; Amendment 39–11019; AD 99–03–05] (RIN: 2120–AA64) received February 8, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1138. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Airworthiness Directives; Bombardier Model DHC–7 Series Airplanes [Docket No. 98–NM–295–AD; Amendment 39–11021; AD 99–03–07] (RIN: 2120–AA64) received February 8, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1139. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Airworthiness Directives; Short Brothers Model SD3–60 SHERPA Series Airplanes [Docket No. 98–NM–289–AD; Amendment 39–11020; AD 99–03–06] (RIN: 2120–AA64) received February 8, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1140. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Airworthiness Directives; Raytheon Aircraft Company Beech Model 60 Airplanes [Docket No. 98–CE–126–AD; Amendment 39–11024; AD 99–03–11] (RIN: 2120–AA64) received February 8, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1141. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Airworthiness Directives; Boeing Model 737–600, –700, –700IGW, and –800 Series Airplanes [Docket No. 98–NM–362–AD; Amendment 39–11022; AD 99–03–08] (RIN: 2120–AA64) received February 8, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1142. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Airworthiness Directives; Allison Engine Company, Inc. AE 2100A, AE 2100C, and AE 2100D3 Series Turboprop Engines [Docket No. 98–ANE–83–AD; Amendment 39–11023; AD 99–03–09] (RIN: 2120–AA64) received February 8, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1143. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Standard Instrument Approach Procedures; Miscellaneous Amendments [Docket No. 29454; Amdt. No. 1911] received February 8, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1144. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Standard Instrument Approach Procedures; Miscellaneous Amendments [Docket No. 29455; Amdt. No. 1912] received February 8, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1145. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Amendment to Class E Airspace; Linden, NJ [Airspace Docket No. 98–AEA–46] received February 8, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1146. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Establishment of Class E Airspace; Oroville, CA [Airspace Docket No. 98–AWP–10] received February 8, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1147. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Establishment of Class E Airspace; Metropolitan Oakland International Airport, California; Correction [Airspace Docket No. 98–AWP–22] received February 8, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1148. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Revision of Class D Airspace; Anchorage, Elmendorf Air Force Base (AFB) Airport, AK Establishment of Class E Airspace; Anchorage, Elmendorf AFB Airport, AK [Airspace Docket No. 98–AAL–23] received February 8, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1149. A letter from the Chief, Office of Regulations and Administrative Law, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Conformance of the Western Rivers Marking System with the United States Aids to Navigation System [USCG–1999–5036] (RIN: 2115–AF14) received March 2, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1150. A letter from the Chief, Office of Regulations and Administrative Law, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Drawbridge Operating Regulation; Bayou Chico, FL [CGD08–99–006] (RIN: 2115–AE47) received March 2, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1151. A letter from the Chairman, Federal Maritime Commission, transmitting the Commission's final rule—Miscellaneous Amedments To Rules Of Practice and Procedure [Docket No. 98–21] received February 22, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1152. A letter from the Chief, Regulations Unit, Internal Revenue Service, transmitting the Service's final rule—Differential Earnings Rate for Mutual Life Insurance Companies [Notice 99–13] received February 22, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1153. A letter from the Director, Defense Security Assistance Agency, transmitting a report on deliveries under Section 540 of P.L. 104–107 to the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, pursuant to Public Law 104–107 section 540(c); jointly to the Committees on International Relations and Appropriations.

## REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. STUMP: Committee on Veterans' Affairs. H.R. 70. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to enact into law eligibility requirements for burial in Arlington National Cemetery, and for other purposes (Rept. 106–70). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

## PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Mr. LANTOS (for himself, Mr. GILMAN, Mr. GEJDENSON, Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Mr. ACKERMAN, Ms. BERKLEY, Mr. BERMAN, Mr. BLUNT, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Mrs. CAPPS, Mr. CARDIN, Mr. CROWLEY, Mr. DEUTSCH, Mr. DIAZ-BALART, Mr. DIXON, Mr. DREIER, Mr. ENGEL, Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA, Mr. FOLEY, Mr. FORBES, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. FRANKS of New Jersey, Mr. FROST, Ms. GRANGER, Mr. GREEN of Texas, Mr. HASTINGS of Florida, Mr. HAYWORTH, Mr. HOEFFEL, Mr. HOLDEN, Mr. HORN, Mr. HOYER, Mrs. KELLY, Ms. KILPATRICK, Mr. LAZIO, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. LEWIS of California, Mr. LOBIONDO, Mrs. LOWEY, Mrs. MALONEY of New York, Mr. MASCARA, Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. MCNULTY, Mr. MEEHAN, Mrs. MEEK of Florida, Mr. MENENDEZ, Mr. MOORE, Mrs. MORELLA, Mr. NADLER, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. PITTS, Mr. PORTER, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. RODRIGUEZ, Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN, Mr. SALMON, Mr. SAXTON, Mr. SESSIONS, Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. SHOWS, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. STUMP, Mr. SWEENEY, Mr. TALENT, Mr. TANCREDO, Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. WEINER, Mr. WEXLER, Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania, Mr. BENTSEN, Mr. BRYANT, Mr. HINCHEY, and Mr. ROTHMAN):

H.R. 1175. A bill to locate and secure the return of Zachary Baumel, an American citizen, and other Israeli soldiers missing in action; to the Committee on International Relations.

By Mr. WELLER (for himself, Mr. BENTSEN, and Mr. NEY):

H.R. 1176. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to require pension plans to provide adequate notice to individuals whose future benefit accruals are being significantly reduced, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means, and in addition to the Committee on Education and the Workforce, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. CHABOT (for himself, Mr. RILEY, Mr. PAUL, Mr. COBURN, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, and Mr. BURTON of Indiana):

H.R. 1177. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to allow health insurance premiums to be fully deductible, whether or not a taxpayer itemizes deductions; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. COBURN:

H.R. 1178. A bill to amend section 922 of chapter 44 of title 18, United States Code, to protect the rights of citizens under the Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary, and in addition to the Committee on Ways and Means, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. PAUL:

H.R. 1179. A bill to restore the second amendment rights of all Americans; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LAZIO (for himself, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. BLILEY, Mr. DINGELL, Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut, Mr. MATSUI, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. RAMSTAD, Mr. CARDIN, Mr. GREENWOOD, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. CAMP, Mr. STARK, Mr. PICKERING, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. FOLEY, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. BILBRAY, Mr. TANNER, Mrs. MORELLA, Mr. DOGGETT, Mr. HORN, Mr. MURTHA, Mr. UPTON, Mr. STRICKLAND, Mrs. KELLY, Mr. HOEFFEL, Mr. BOEHLERT, Mr. BOUCHER, Mr. KOLBE, Ms. MCCARTHY of Missouri, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin, Mr. GORDON, Mr. RUSH, Mr. WYNN, Mr. MEEHAN, Mr. DELAHUNT, Mr. BARCIA, Mr. GREEN of Texas, Mr. KLINK, and Mr. JEFFERSON):

H.R. 1180. A bill to amend the Social Security Act to expand the availability of health care coverage for working individuals with disabilities, to establish a Ticket to Work and Self-Sufficiency Program in the Social Security Administration to provide such individuals with meaningful opportunities to work, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means, and in addition to the Committee on Commerce, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. PAUL:

H.R. 1181. A bill to lift the trade embargo on Cuba, and for other purposes; to the Committee on International Relations, and in addition to the Committees on Ways and Means, Commerce, and Government Reform, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. STUMP (for himself, Mr. SPENCE, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. QUINN, Mr. EVERETT, Mr. HAYWORTH, Mrs. CHENOWETH, Mr. LAHOOD, Mr. HANSEN, Mr. MCKEON, Mr. GIBBONS, Mr. TALENT, and Mr. BILIRAKIS):

H.R. 1182. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to expand and improve the Montgomery GI Bill by creating an enhanced educational assistance program for enlistments or reenlistments of four years active duty service, and by eliminating the reduction in pay for basic educational benefits; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, and in addition to the Committee on Armed Services, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. SENSENBRENNER (for himself, Mr. BROWN of California, Mrs. MORELLA, Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin, Mr. COOK, Mrs. BIGGERT, and Mr. KUYKENDALL):

H.R. 1183. A bill to amend the Fastener Quality Act to strengthen the protection against the sale of mismarked, misrepresented, and counterfeit fasteners and eliminate unnecessary requirements, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Science, and in addition to the Committee on Commerce, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. SMITH of Michigan (for himself and Mrs. MORELLA):

H.R. 1184. A bill to authorize appropriations for carrying out the Earthquake Hazards Reduction Act of 1977 for fiscal years 2000 and 2001, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Science, and in addition to the Committee on Resources, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. DEFAZIO:

H.R. 1185. A bill to modify the requirements for paying Federal timber sale receipts; to the Committee on Agriculture, and in addition to the Committee on Resources, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. BLUMENAUER (for himself and Mr. GILCHREST):

H.R. 1186. A bill to direct the Secretary of the Army to include primary flood damages avoided as benefits for cost-benefit analyses for Federal nonstructural flood damage reduction projects, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

By Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut (for herself, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. UPTON, Mrs. THURMAN, Mr. SERRANO, Mr. MCCRERY, Mr. KLECZKA, Ms. DUNN, Mr. COYNE, Mr. ENGLISH, Mr. MATSUI, Mr. FOLEY, Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts, Mr. NUSSLE, Mr. TANNER, Mr. PORTMAN, Mr. MCNULTY, Mr. TAUZIN, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. LAZIO, Mr. TOWNS, Mr. PICKERING, Ms. ESHOO, Mr. BOUCHER, Ms. DEGETTE, Mr. GREEN of Texas, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. SAWYER, Mr. STRICKLAND, Ms. PRYCE of Ohio, Mr. FROST, Mr. SESSIONS, Mr. HALL of Ohio, Ms. SLAUGHTER, Mr. ACKERMAN, Mr. ALLEN, Mr. BAIRD, Mr. BAKER, Mr. BALDACCI, Mr. BARCIA, Mr. BENTSEN, Ms. BERKLEY, Mr. BISHOP, Mr. BOEHLERT, Mr. BONIOR, Mr. BORSKI, Ms. BROWN of Florida, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. CANADY of Florida, Mr. CLAY, Ms. DANNER, Mr. DEFAZIO, Mr. DELAHUNT, Ms. DELAURO, Mr. EHLERS, Mr. FARR of California, Mr. FILNER, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. GEJDENSON, Mr. GIBBONS, Mr. GILLMOR, Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. GRAHAM, Mr. GUTIERREZ, Mr. HILLEARY, Mr. HILLIARD, Mr. HINCHEY, Mr. HOEFFEL, Mr. ISTOOK, Mr. JENKINS, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Ms. KAPTUR, Mrs. KELLY, Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island, Mr. KIND, Mr. KING, Mr. KUCINICH, Mr. LAFALCE, Mr. LAMPSON, Mr. LARSON, Mr. LEACH, Mr. LUCAS of Oklahoma, Mr. LUCAS of Kentucky, Mrs. MALONEY of New York, Mr. MALONEY of Connecticut, Mr. MASCARA, Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California, Mrs. MORELLA, Mr. NADLER, Mr. NEY, Mr. OBERSTAR, Mr. OLVER, Mr. ORTIZ, Mr. PAUL, Mr. PAYNE, Mr. PETERSON of Pennsylvania, Mr. POMEROY, Mr. PRICE of North Carolina, Ms. RIVERS, Mr. RODRIGUEZ, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Mr. SABO, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. SANDLIN, Mr. SCHAFFER, Mr. SHAYS, Mr. SHOWS, Mr. SIMPSON, Ms. STABENOW, Mrs. TAUSCHER, Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina, Mr. THUNE, Mr. VENTO, Mr. WALSH, Mr. WAMP,

Mr. WATKINS, Mr. WATT of North Carolina, Mr. WEYGAND, Mr. WISE, and Mr. CAMP):

H.R. 1187. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide for coverage under part B of the Medicare Program of medical nutrition therapy services furnished by registered dietitions and nutrition professionals; to the Committee on Commerce, and in addition to the Committee on Ways and Means, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. ACKERMAN (for himself, Ms. BROWN of Florida, Mrs. CLAYTON, Mr. COSTELLO, Mr. CROWLEY, Mr. GREEN of Texas, Mr. HINCHEY, Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, Mr. LANTOS, Ms. NORTON, Mr. PAUL, Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN, Mr. SANDLIN, Mr. TOWNS, Mr. TRAFICANT, and Mr. WEINER):

H.R. 1188. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to allow a deduction for the payment of tuition and related expenses for postsecondary education; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. COBLE (for himself and Mr. BERMAN):

H.R. 1189. A bill to make technical corrections in title 17, United States Code, and other laws; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GREENWOOD (for himself, Mr. KLINK, Mr. UPTON, Mr. DINGELL, Mr. GILLMOR, Mr. STUPAK, Mr. PETERSON of Pennsylvania, Mr. SAWYER, Mr. SHERWOOD, Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin, Mr. BUYER, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. WOLF, Mr. VISCLOSKY, Mr. BONIOR, Mr. GILCHREST, Mr. MINGE, Mr. SOUDER, Mr. BARCIA, Mr. GOODLING, Mr. PICKETT, Mr. KANJORSKI, Mr. HOLDEN, Mr. HOEFFEL, Mr. DOYLE, Mr. TRAFICANT, Mr. KILDEE, Mr. KLECZKA, Mr. LEACH, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Mr. RUSH, Mr. TAYLOR of Mississippi, Mr. BORSKI, Ms. RIVERS, Mr. MASCARA, Mr. COYNE, Mr. PASTOR, Mr. STRICKLAND, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. HOSTETTLER, Ms. STABENOW, Mr. PEASE, Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. GREEN of Texas, Mr. PITTS, Mr. KUCINICH, Ms. KILPATRICK, and Mr. MARKEY):

H.R. 1190. A bill to impose certain limitations on the receipt of out-of-State municipal solid waste, to authorize State and local controls over the flow of municipal solid waste, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. DAVIS of Illinois:

H.R. 1191. A bill to designate certain facilities of the United States Postal Service in Chicago, Illinois; to the Committee on Government Reform.

By Mr. HEFLEY (for himself, Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina, Mr. SKEEN, Mr. NORWOOD, Mr. BONILLA, Mr. PAUL, Mr. CANADY of Florida, Mr. ISTOOK, Mr. SCHAFFER, Mr. GRAHAM, Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. HANSEN, and Mr. NETHERCUTT):

H.R. 1192. A bill to amend the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970; to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

By Mr. WALSH (for himself, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. DEAL of Georgia, Mr. COBURN, Mr. UPTON, Mr. ACKERMAN, Ms. KILPATRICK, Mrs. KELLY, Mr. SHOWS, Mrs. MORELLA, Mr. MCHUGH, Mr. DUNCAN, Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. MCNULTY, Mr. FROST, Mrs. MALONEY of New York, Mr. BALDACCI, Mr. BERMAN, Mr. WEYGAND, Mr. QUINN, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, Mr. KLECZKA, Mr. OLVER, Mr. FOSSELLA, Ms. DELAURO, Mr. GEJDENSON, Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, Mr. YOUNG of Alaska, Mr. PASTOR, Mr. DIXON, Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut, Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA, Mr. POMEROY, Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN, Mr. ENGLISH, Mr. FARR of California, Mr. STRICKLAND, Mr. PAYNE, Mr. DOYLE, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Mr. WEXLER, Mr. ROTHMAN, Ms. SLAUGHTER, Mrs. CAPPS, and Mr. FOLEY):

H.R. 1193. A bill to establish programs regarding early detection, diagnosis, and interventions for newborns and infants with hearing loss; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. LEWIS of Kentucky (for himself, Mr. NUSSLE, Ms. PRYCE of Ohio, Mr. TERRY, Mrs. MINK of Hawaii, Mr. SHOWS, Mr. HAYWORTH, Mr. BEREUTER, Mr. BOUCHER, Mrs. MYRICK, Mr. RAMSTAD, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Mr. MCCRERY, Mr. HEFLEY, Mr. MARTINEZ, Mr. SCHAFFER, Mr. PAYNE, Mr. DELAY, Mrs. NORTHUP, Mrs. CAPPS, Mr. MCINNIS, and Mr. BLILEY):

H.R. 1194. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide that the exclusion from gross income for foster care payments shall also apply to payments by qualified placement agencies, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MCCRERY (for himself, Mr. TANNER, Mr. FOLEY, Mr. FARR of California, Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Mr. TALENT, Mr. RAMSTAD, and Ms. DUNN):

H.R. 1195. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to increase the deduction for meal and entertainment expenses of small businesses; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California (for himself, Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut, Mr. MATSUI, and Mr. ENGLISH):

H.R. 1196. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to repeal the 60-month limitation on the amount of education loan interest which is allowable as a deduction; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Ms. NORTON:

H.R. 1197. A bill to amend the District of Columbia Home Rule Act to provide the District of Columbia with autonomy over its budgets; to the Committee on Government Reform.

H.R. 1198. A bill to amend the District of Columbia Home Rule Act to eliminate Congressional review of newly-passed District laws; to the Committee on Government Reform, and in addition to the Committee on Rules, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. POMBO:

H.R. 1199. A bill to prohibit the expenditure of funds from the Land and Water Conservation Fund for the creation of new National Wildlife Refuges without specific authorization from Congress pursuant to a recommendation from the United States Fish and Wildlife Service to create the refuge; to the Committee on Resources.

By Mr. MCDERMOTT (for himself, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. NADLER, Mr. HINCHEY, Mr. SERRANO, Mr. FATTAH, Mr. OLVER, and Mr. COYNE):

H.R. 1200. A bill to provide for health care for every American and to control the cost and enhance the quality of the health care system; to the Committee on Commerce, and in addition to the Committees on Ways and Means, Government Reform, and Armed Services, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. REGULA:

H.R. 1201. A bill to provide for a private right of action in the case of injury from the importation of certain dumped and subsidized merchandise; to the Committee on Ways and Means, and in addition to the Committee on the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. BROWN of California (for himself, Mr. GOSS, Mr. BLAGOJEVICH, Ms. PELOSI, Mr. CAMPBELL, Mr. FARR of California, Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California, Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts, Mr. BERMAN, Mrs. MORELLA, Mr. HALL of Ohio, Ms. HOOLEY of Oregon, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. LANTOS, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Mr. WYNN, Mr. MORAN of Virginia, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. FILNER, Mr. LEACH, Mr. DEUTSCH, Mr. PORTER, Mr. WEXLER, Mr. WAXMAN, Ms. KILPATRICK, Mr. GEJDENSON, Mr. STARK, Mr. DEFAZIO, Mr. PASCRELL, Mr. DIXON, Mr. BENTSEN, Mrs. MALONEY of New York, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Mr. DELAHUNT, Mr. SHAYS, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. TIERNEY, Mr. CASTLE, Mr. LAZIO, Mr. BEREUTER, Ms. RIVERS, Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin, Mr. BONIOR, Ms. WOOLSEY, Mr. FRANKS of New Jersey, Mr. OLVER, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. MCGOVERN, and Mr. GILMAN):

H.R. 1202. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to prohibit interstate-connected conduct relating to exotic animals; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SAXTON:

H.R. 1203. A bill to encourage the International Monetary Fund to fully implement transparency and efficiency policies; to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services.

By Mr. STENHOLM (for himself and Mr. WATKINS):

H.R. 1204. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to impose a tax on the importation of crude oil and petroleum products; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. STUPAK (for himself, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. QUINN, Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin, Mr. KUCINICH, Mrs. THURMAN, Mr. BONIOR, Ms. KILPATRICK, Ms. STABENOW, Ms. RIVERS, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. HOLDEN, Mr. LUTHER, and Mr. KIND):

H.R. 1205. A bill to prohibit oil and gas drilling in the Great Lakes; to the Committee on Resources.

By Mr. TERRY (for himself and Mr. LUCAS of Oklahoma):

H.R. 1206. A bill to transfer the impact aid program to the Department of the Treasury and to provide for the procurement of services by nongovernmental personnel for the performance of the functions of the impact aid program; to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

By Mr. VENTO (for himself, Mr. RAHALL, Mr. HINCHEY, Mr. FARR of California, and Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California):

H.R. 1207. A bill to prohibit the United States Government from entering into certain agreements or arrangements related to public lands without the express prior approval of Congress; to the Committee on Resources.

H.R. 1208. A bill to amend title 31, United States Code, to require the provision of a written prompt payment policy to each subcontractor under a Federal contract and to require a clause in each subcontract under a Federal contract that outlines the provisions

of the prompt payment statute and other related information; to the Committee on Government Reform.

H.R. 1209. A bill to amend the Small Business Act to provide a penalty for the failure by a Federal contractor to subcontract with small businesses as described in its subcontracting plan, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Small Business.

H.R. 1210. A bill to provide for continued compensation for Federal employees when funds are not otherwise available due to a lapse in appropriations; to the Committee on Government Reform, and in addition to the Committee on Appropriations, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. DINGELL (for himself, Mr. GEPHARDT, Mr. DELAY, Mr. BONIOR, Mr. HYDE, Mr. FROST, Mr. COSTELLO, Mr. EVANS, Mr. SHOWS, Mr. MOORE, Mr. HILL of Indiana, Mr. MALONEY of Connecticut, Mr. JENKINS, Mr. ROMERO-BARCELO, Mr. MCKEON, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. BERMAN, Mr. ENGEL, Mr. ENGLISH, Mr. TALENT, Mr. MCCRERY, Mr. FILNER, Mr. KILDEE, Mr. SPRATT, Mr. BAIRD, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. TRAFICANT, Mr. BOUCHER, Mr. BLAGOJEVICH, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. JOHN, Ms. KILPATRICK, Mr. FARR of California, Mr. CROWLEY, Ms. LOFGREN, Mr. DICKEY, Mr. FOSSELLA, Mr. BATEMAN, Mr. BUYER, Mr. RAHALL, Mr. COYNE, Mr. BALDACCI, Mr. GREEN of Texas, Mrs. CAPPS, Mr. NEY, Mr. CLYBURN, and Mr. LUTHER):

H. Con. Res. 60. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that a series of commemorative postage stamps should be issued honoring veterans service organizations across the United States; to the Committee on Government Reform.

By Mr. CAMPBELL:

H. Con. Res. 61. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that all Chinese people, including the people of Taiwan, deserve to be represented in international institutions; to the Committee on International Relations.

By Mrs. CUBIN:

H. Con. Res. 62. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress regarding the guaranteed coverage of chiropractic services under the MedicareChoice program; to the Committee on Commerce, and in addition to the Committee on Ways and Means, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. HASTINGS of Washington (for himself, Mr. NETHERCUTT, Mr. WALDEN of Oregon, Mrs. CHENOWETH, Mr. SIMPSON, Mr. YOUNG of Alaska, Mr. HANSEN, Mr. POMBO, Mr. RADANOVICH, Mr. SKEEN, and Mr. DOOLITTLE):

H. Con. Res. 63. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress opposing removal of dams on the Columbia and Snake Rivers for fishery restoration purposes; to the Committee on Resources, and in addition to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD (for herself, Mr. LAZIO, Mr. COBURN, Mr. BLILEY, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Mr. DINGELL, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin, Mr. GREEN of Texas, Mrs. CAPPS, Mr. WYNN, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. WAXMAN, Ms. DEGETTE, Ms. ESHOO, Mr. NORWOOD, Mr. UPTON, Mr. PICKERING, Mr. GREENWOOD, Mrs. MALONEY of New York, Mrs. KELLY, Ms. GRANGER, Ms. KILPATRICK, Mr. FILNER, Mrs. MINK of Hawaii, Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, Mr. GUTIERREZ, Mr. FROST, Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. SMITH of Washington, Mr. MEEHAN, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. SPRATT, Mr. HORN, Ms. DELAURO, Mr. CLEMENT, Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Ms. PELOSI, Ms. LEE, Mr. BALDACCI, Ms. STABENOW, Mrs. CHRISTENSEN, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. SHOWS, Mr. JEFFERSON, Mr. BENTSEN, Mrs. MORELLA, Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California, Mr. KUYKENDALL, Mr. FOLEY, Mr. HINCHEY, Mr. BORSKI, Mr. LAMPSON, Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. BOSWELL, Mr. SERRANO, Mr. CROWLEY, Mr. WELDON of Florida, Mr. WEYGAND, Mr. WATKINS, Mr. RILEY, Mr. ROMERO-BARCELO, Mr. CONDIT, Ms. RIVERS, Mr. MCNULTY, Mr. TRAFICANT, Mr. SPENCE, Ms. CARSON, Mr. RYUN of Kansas, Ms. NORTON, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, Mr. RODRIGUEZ, Mr. MCHUGH, Mr. NEY, Mr. YOUNG of Alaska, Mr. NADLER, Mr. BACHUS, Ms. LOFGREN, Mrs. MYRICK, Mrs. LOWEY, Mrs. CLAYTON, Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. LARGENT, Mrs. MEEK of Florida, Ms. WOOLSEY, Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York, Mr. LANTOS, Mrs. ROUKEMA, Mr. MATSUI, Mr. THOMPSON of California, Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Mr. FORD, Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA, Mrs. BIGGERT, Mr. BONIOR, Mr. SANDLIN, Mr. CUMMINGS, Mr. CALVERT, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. SHADEGG, and Mr. BOEHLERT):

H. Con. Res. 64. Concurrent resolution recognizing the severity of the issue of cervical health, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. RODRIGUEZ (for himself and Mr. ORTIZ):

H. Con. Res. 65. Concurrent resolution encouraging the people of the United States to reflect upon and celebrate Tejano music and other forms of Latin music, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

By Mr. WELDON of Florida (for himself, Mr. ADERHOLT, Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska, Mr. BOYD, Mr. LAMPSON, Mr. KUCINICH, Mr. TALENT, and Mr. WEXLER):

H. Con. Res. 66. Concurrent resolution expressing a declaration of space leadership; to the Committee on Science, and in addition to the Committee on Armed Services, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. TURNER (for himself, Mr. STENHOLM, Mr. BAIRD, Mr. BERRY, Mr. SHOWS, Mr. BOYD, Mr. THOMPSON of California, Mr. TANNER, Mrs. MALONEY of New York, Mrs. TAUSCHER, Mr. HOLDEN, Ms. DANNER, Mr. MOORE, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. UDALL of New Mexico, Mr. UDALL of Colorado, Mr. WU, and Ms. BERKLEY):

H. Res. 122. A resolution providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 417) to amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to reform the financing of campaigns for elections for Federal office, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. CALLAHAN:

H. Res. 123. A resolution recognizing and honoring the crewmembers of the U.S.S. ALABAMA (BB–60) and the U.S.S. ALABAMA Crewmen's Association; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. DAVIS of Illinois (for himself, Mr. MEEKS of New York, Mr. GEPHARDT, Mr. PAYNE, Mr. FATTAH, Mrs. CLAYTON, Ms. KILPATRICK, Mr. HILLIARD, Mr. OWENS, Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, Mr. HASTINGS of Washington, Mr. FORD, Mr. CLAY, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. JEFFERSON, Ms. CARSON, Mr. JACKSON of Illinois, Mr. CLYBURN, Ms. WATERS, Mr. CONYERS, Mrs. MEEK of Florida, Ms. BROWN of Florida, Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi, Mr. CUMMINGS, Mr. HINCHEY, Ms. NORTON, Ms. LEE, Ms. MCKINNEY, Mr. WYNN, Mrs. CHRISTENSEN, Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD, Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California, Mr. TOWNS, Mr. MCDERMOTT, Mr. DIXON, Mr. WATT of North Carolina, Mr. BONIOR, Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, Mrs. MINK of Hawaii, Mr. SCOTT, Ms. DEGETTE, Mr. RUSH, Mr. WAXMAN, and Mr. RANGEL):

H. Res. 124. A resolution condemning acts of police brutality and use of excessive force throughout the country; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 7 of rule XII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 8: Mr. CANADY of Florida, Mr. POMBO, Mr. ROGERS, Mr. WELDON of Florida, Mr. BAIRD, Mr. ANDREWS, Mr. ISAKSON, Mr. GRAHAM, Mr. RYUN of Kansas, Mr. MORAN of Kansas, and Mrs. FOWLER.

H.R. 14: Mr. MCKEON, Mrs. EMERSON, Mr. TERRY, Mr. PACKARD, Mr. SHAYS, and Mr. TANCREDO.

H.R. 25: Mr. LAFALCE, Mr. GILMAN, Mrs. MALONEY of New York, Mr. MEEHAN, and Mr. MARTINEZ.

H.R. 53: Mr. GREEN of Texas.

H.R. 70: Mr. GALLEGLY and Mr. SIMPSON.

H.R. 72: Mr. HANSEN.

H.R. 82: Mr. RAHALL, Mr. GOODE, and Mr. BONIOR.

H.R. 116: Mr. GORDON and Mr. WATT of North Carolina.

H.R. 142: Mr. SOUDER, Mr. CANADY of Florida, Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin, and Mr. SHADEGG.

H.R. 166: Mr. KNOLLENBERG.

H.R. 170: Mr. GEJDENSON, Mr. BOUCHER, Mr. KING, Mr. BLILEY, Mr. EHRLICH, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. ROTHMAN, Mr. FORD, Mr. SCARBOROUGH, Mr. BRYANT, Mr. HOLT, and Ms. BERKLEY.

H.R. 175: Mr. WICKER, Mr. HILLEARY, Mr. EVERETT, Mrs. KELLY, Mr. QUINN, Mr. CALVERT, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Mr. FORD, Mr. BONILLA, Mr. JONES of North Carolina, Mr. HINCHEY, Mr. HINOJOSA, Ms. STABENOW, Mr. SISISKY, Mr. LEWIS of Kentucky, Mr. PICKETT, Mr. WATT of North Carolina, Mr. DICKEY, Mr. LUCAS of Kentucky, Mr. LUTHER, Mr. GARY MILLER of California, Mrs. MALONEY of New York, Mr. MALONEY of Connecticut, Ms. WOOLSEY, and Ms. BERKLEY.

H.R. 179: Ms. BERKLEY.

H.R. 198: Mrs. NORTHRUP and Mr. MCKEON.

H.R. 218: Mr. POMBO and Mr. COBLE.

H.R. 228: Mr. WISE.

H.R. 275: Mr. WOLF.

H.R. 289: Mrs. ROS-LEHTINEN.

H.R. 315: Ms. BROWN of Florida.

H.R. 351: Mr. TERRY, Mr. BOEHLERT, Mr. REYNOLDS, Mr. CALLAHAN, and Mr. GREEN of Texas.

H.R. 355: Mrs. NAPOLITANO, Mr. HYDE, Mr. GALLEGLY, Ms. BROWN of Florida, and Mr. DIAZ-BALART.

H.R. 357: Mr. KLECZKA, Mr. MARTINEZ and Ms. BERKLEY.

H.R. 390: Mr. ACKERMAN, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. DEUTSCH, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. MALONEY of Connecticut, and Mr. VENTO.

H.R. 405: Mr. PHELPS and Mr. RUSH.

H.R. 412: Mr. ROGERS.

H.R. 417: Mr. SANDERS, Ms. BERKLEY, and Mr. CAMPBELL.

H.R. 430: Ms. LOFGREN, Mr. REYES, and Mr. EWING.

H.R. 483: Ms. BERKLEY.

H.R. 531: Mr. OBERSTAR, Mr. LEWIS of Kentucky, Mr. DEMINT, Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina, and Mr. FOLEY.

H.R. 541: Mr. KLECZKA, Ms. BERKLEY, and Mr. CAPUANO.

H.R. 555: Mr. FROST, Mr. MCDERMOTT, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Mrs. JONES of Ohio, and Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin.

H.R. 557: Mr. HUTCHINSON.

H.R. 568: Mr. EVANS.

H.R. 570: Mr. HOSTETTLER and Mr. PAUL.

H.R. 571: Mr. PICKERING.

H.R. 573: Ms. BERKLEY, Mrs. ROUKEMA, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, Mrs. CAPPS, Mr. UDALL of Colorado, Mr. UDALL of New Mexico, Mr. TURNER, Mr. CARDIN, Mr. THOMPSON of California, Mr. HALL of Texas, Mr. TANNER, Mrs. WILSON, Mr. FRANKS of New Jersey, Mr. BERMAN, Mr. SESSIONS, Mr. BLUNT, Ms. VELAZQUEZ, Ms. PRYCE of Ohio, Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN, Mr. WATKINS, Mr. ARCHER, Mr. ORTIZ, Mr. LAZIO, Mr. HOLT, and Mr. METCALF.

H.R. 582: Mrs. MINK of Hawaii.

H.R. 583: Mr. BRYANT and Mrs. MORELLA.

H.R. 597: Mr. HOEFFEL, Mr. BECERRA, Mr. BILIRAKIS, and Ms. BERKLEY.

H.R. 601: Mr. GALLEGLY and Mr. DIAZ-BALART.

H.R. 608: Mr. SWEENEY.

H.R. 614: Mr. PHELPS and Mr. PETERSON of Minnesota.

H.R. 621: Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin and Mr. THORNBERRY.

H.R. 639: Mr. WELDON of Florida.

H.R. 640: Mr. FILNER.

H.R. 654: Mr. UPTON.

H.R. 664: Mr. WEINER, Mr. DEFAZIO, Mr. BROWN of California, Ms. BROWN of Florida, Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania, Mr. SISISKY, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, and Ms. BERKLEY.

H.R. 688: Mrs. MYRICK, Mr. EVERETT, Mr. LINDER, Mr. ADERHOLT, and Mr. NETHERCUTT.

H.R. 728: Mr. DEAL of Georgia and Mr. SHOWS.

H.R. 735: Mr. CALVERT.

H.R. 742: Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. FILNER, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. FROST, Mr. HINCHEY, Mrs. MINK of Hawaii, Mr. TURNER, and Mr. UNDERWOOD.

H.R. 749: Mr. BURTON of Indiana and Mr. COX.

H.R. 750: Ms. DEGETTE.

H.R. 756: Mr. PETRI and Mr. GRAHAM.

H.R. 771: Mr. HASTINGS of Florida and Mr. GIBBONS.

H.R. 773: Mr. DAVIS of Florida, Mr. CUMMINGS, and Mrs. THURMAN.

H.R. 777: Mr. CLYBURN.

H.R. 785: Mr. LATOURETTE, Mrs. MORELLA, Mr. FOLEY, Mr. NETHERCUTT, and Mr. SHOWS.

H.R. 789: Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island and Mr. BLILEY.

H.R. 804: Mrs. KELLY, Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska, and Mr. FOLEY.

H.R. 809: Ms. GRANGER, Mr. UNDERWOOD, Ms. NORTON, and Mr. FROST.

H.R. 833: Mr. BARR of Georgia, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. KLECZKA, Mrs. NORTHUP, and Mr. PASTOR.

H.R. 835: Mr. POMBO, Mr. MOORE, Ms. SANCHEZ, Mr. HOEFFEL, and Mr. GILLMOR.

H.R. 838: Mr. KIND, Mr. PAUL, Mr. WEYGAND, Mr. THORNBERRY, Mr. UNDERWOOD, Mr. DOOLEY of California, Mr. SNYDER, Ms. VELÁZQUEZ, Mr. BLAGOJEVICH, Mr. GREEN of Texas, and Mr. FORD.

H.R. 842: Mr. RADANOVICH and Mr. HAYES.

H.R. 845: Mr. BONIOR, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. GREEN of Texas, and Mr. SANDLIN.

H.R. 852: Mr. LEWIS of Kentucky, Mr. HOSTETTLER, Mr. ADERHOLT, Mr. HINCHEY, Mr. ENGLISH, Mr. WYNN, Mr. HASTINGS of Washington, Mr. EWING, Mr. BEREUTER, Mr. QUINN, Mr. BROWN of California, and Mr. CHAMBLISS.

H.R. 860: Mr. WATT of North Carolina.

H.R. 864: Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island, Mr. HILLEARY, Mr. ROTHMAN, Mr. SKEEN, Mr. EVERETT, Mr. HINCHEY, Mr. MCKEON, Mr. BISHOP, Mr. BONIOR, Mr. SABO, Mr. POMEROY, Ms. DEGETTE, Mr. JONES of North Carolina Mr. LEWIS of Kentucky, Mr. SISISKY, Mr. MOAKLEY, and Mr. HINOJOSA.

H.R. 870: Mr. TANCREDO, Mr. SHOWS, Mr. CALLAHAN, and Mr. PAUL.

H.R. 876: Mr. TERRY, Mr. TIAHRT, and Mr. PAUL.

H.R. 883: Mr. HAYES, Mr. DREIER, Mr. SHERWOOD, Mrs. NORTHUP, Mr. UPTON, Mr. BUYER, and Mr. BATEMAN.

H.R. 886: Mr. WATT of North Carolina.

H.R. 888: Mr. QUINN, Mr. FRANKS of New Jersey, Mr. INSLEE, Mr. OBERSTAR, Mr. MCGOVERN, and Mr. VENTO.

H.R. 948: Mr. BLUNT.

H.R. 950: Mr. BONIOR and Ms. RIVERS.

H.R. 961: Ms. DANNER, Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California, Mr. FILNER, Mr. SANDLIN, Mr. ROMERO-BARCELO, Mr. MCNULTY, Mr. FROST, and Mr. CROWLEY

H.R. 963: Mr. KILDEE, Mr. JACKSON of Illinois, Mr. UNDERWOOD, Mr. NETHERCUTT, Mr. INSLEE, and Mr. KIND.

H.R. 980: Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. COOKSEY, Mr. BENTSEN, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. HILLIARD, Ms. KAPTUR, Mr. TERRY, Mr. SENSENBRENNER, Mr. SOUDER, Mr. CROWLEY, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, and Ms. BERKLEY.

H.R. 1006: Mr. WATKINS.

H.R. 1008: Mr. BAKER and Mr. ACKERMAN.

H.R. 1043: Mr. VENTO.

H.R. 1046: Mr. TERRY, Mr. LOBIONDO, Mr. FROST, and Mr. KLECZKA.

H.R. 1050: Ms. WOOLSEY.

H.R. 1053: Ms. KILPATRICK.

H.R. 1070: Mr. WEXLER, Mr. ALLEN, Mr. GREEN of Texas, Mr. CUMMINGS, and Mrs. THURMAN.

H.R. 1074: Mr. TAUZIN, Mr. UPTON, Mr. TERRY, and Mr. TALENT.

H.R. 1075: Mr. DEUTSCH, Mr. SANDLIN, and Mr. BLUMENAUER.

H.R. 1076: Mr. SANDLIN, Mr. GONZALEZ, and Mr. BLUMENAUER.

H.R. 1082: Mr. PASTOR, Mr. EVANS, Ms. RIVERS, and Mr. LAMPSON.

H.R. 1083: Mr. PRICE of North Carolina, Mr. HASTINGS of Washington, and Mr. MALONEY of Connecticut.

H.R. 1091: Mr. THOMAS, Mr. CRANE, Mr. MCCRERY, Mr. ENGLISH, Mr. HAYWORTH, Mr. SHOWS, and Mr. POMBO.

H.R. 1092: Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. GARY MILLER of California, Mr. FARR of California, Mr. GALLEGLY, Mrs. THURMAN, Mr. MCKEON, and Mr. GONZALEZ.

H.R. 1093: Mrs. KELLY, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. MENENDEZ, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. HINCHEY, Mrs. MALONEY of New York, Ms. PELOSI, Mr. DIXON, Mr. MATSUI, Mr. CUMMINGS, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. MEEHAN, Mr. JEFFERSON, Mr. INSLEE, Mr. HASTINGS of Florida, Mr. TERRY, Mr. MCHUGH, Mr. BILBRAY, Mr. MINGE, Mr. MCNULTY, Mr. LUCAS of Kentucky, Mr. WISE, Mr. BENTSEN, Mr. ANDREWS, Mr. RODRIGUEZ, Ms. MCKINNEY, Mr. WHITFIELD, Mr. BISHOP, Mr. HOLT, Mr. HUNTER, Ms. HOOLEY of Oregon, Mr. LEWIS of Kentucky, Mr. LEACH, Mr. PHELPS, and Mr. SMITH of Washington.

H.R. 1096: Mrs. CAPPS and Mr. MALONEY of Connecticut.

H.R. 1102: Mr. FROST.

H.R. 1106: Mr. BISHOP.

H.R. 1111: Mr. BLUNT, Mr. LAHOOD, Mr. GILMAN, Mr. HOBSON, Mrs. BIGGERT, and Mr. SESSIONS.

H.R. 1116: Mr. YOUNG of Alaska, Mr. BARCIA, Mr. MCCRERY, Ms. GRANGER, Mr. HILL of Montana, Mr. PETERSON of Pennsylvania and Mr. SHOWS.

H.R. 1130: Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania

H.R. 1139: Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mrs. JONES of Ohio, Mr. KIND, Mr. MARTINEZ, Mr. PASTOR, Mr. REYES, Mr. SABO, Mr. SNYDER, Mr. STARK, Mr. TOWNS, and Ms. WATERS.

H.R. 1159: Mr. GREEN of Texas.

H.R. 1168: Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Ms. HOOLEY of Oregon, Ms. MCCARTHY of Missouri, Mr. COSTELLO, Mr. MALONEY of Connecticut, Mr. BLAGOJEVICH, and Mr. PASTOR.

H.J. Res. 25: Mr. TIAHRT, Mr. STUMP, Mr. NORWOOD, and Mr. CROWLEY.

H.J. Res. 33: Mr. SCARBOROUGH, Mr. LUTHER, Mr. HILLIARD, Ms. BERKLEY, and Mr. ISAKSON.

H. Con. Res. 8: Mr. WOLF.

H. Con. Res. 22: Mr. EHRLICH, Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. DOOLITTLE, and Mr. WEXLER.

H. Con. Res. 31: Mr. MARKEY, Mr. OWENS, and Mr. WEYGAND.

H. Con. Res. 39: Mr. ISTOOK, Mr. BONILLA, and Mr. COMBEST.

H. Con. Res. 43: Mr. CALVERT.

H. Con. Res. 51: Mr. SNYDER, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, and Mr. LUTHER.

H. Res. 20: Mr. GARY MILLER of California.

H. Res. 35: Mr. LOBIONDO, Mr. DAVIS of Florida, Mr. VENTO, Mr. PAYNE, Ms. RIVERS, Mr. GREEN of Texas, and Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas.

H. Res. 41: Mr. BRYANT, Mr. CROWLEY, and Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts.

H. Res. 59: Mr. WISE and Mrs. ROUKEMA.

H. Res. 60: Mrs. CLAYTON, Mr. DIXON, Mrs. THURMAN, Mr. JACKSON of Illinois, Mrs. JONES of Ohio, and Mr. FROST.

H. Res. 93: Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas and Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA.

H. Res. 97: Mr. RUSH and Ms. NORTON.