

CRITICAL DEFENSE SHORTFALLS

• Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, the Senate Armed Services Committee held a hearing yesterday that resulted in a bipartisan call to address the readiness crisis in our armed forces. Senators charged the Joint Chiefs with warming over the critical defense shortfalls in a previous hearing last February in order to defend the President's Budget.

Many of us in Congress have been expressing to the Administration for years our concerns regarding the deep cuts in personnel, equipment, and training. Senator MCCAIN offered these warnings in a report he commissioned entitled "Going Hollow" as far back as 1993. I have written repeatedly on the subject of military readiness. In fact, last May I wrote that "the hollow state of readiness so many have warned about has arrived."

I am pleased the President and the Joint Chiefs have finally decided to abandon the shell game and address the serious weaknesses in our defense force structure. At this stage, placing blame is far less important than solving the problem. The more candid responses from the Joint Chiefs in yesterday's hearing are the first step in that process. Mr. President, I ask that two columns I have written on the subject of military readiness be printed in the RECORD.

The material follows:

UNACCEPTABLE RISK TO AMERICAN LIVES

(By U.S. Senator Bill Frist)

"Unacceptable risk," is the blunt assessment by Army four-star General David A. Bramlett describing his troops' ability to accomplish its mission.

In a disturbing memo to the Army's Chief-of-Staff, General Bramlett methodically describes the nearly insurmountable challenges facing Forces Command, for which he is responsible. "Funding has fallen below a survival level in FY99. The commanders are concerned that they can not meet the daily challenges of the three imperatives of readiness: training, quality of life and infrastructure."

General Bramlett's warning is only the latest evidence the Clinton Administration has failed to lead and maintain a ready fighting force. Consider a few other shocking examples of the damage caused by the Administration's extreme defense cuts:

In Cecil Naval Air Station, Florida, a commander reports having 43 aircraft assigned to him but only 20 operational. One new aircraft had its landing gear damaged in a botched landing. Three years later, that F/A18, after only 10 hours use, still sits idle because of the lack of spare parts.

Admiral Clemins, the Commander of the Pacific Fleet, reports that the Navy is 18,000 sailors short and is forced to send warships out of port inadequately manned.

Then Major General Marvin Esmond testified that his command, the Air Warfare Center at Nellis Air Force Base in Nevada, has experienced a six-month delay in skill improvement for airmen due to delays in specialized training. This shortage of properly trained personnel has forced other airmen to routinely work 70-hour weeks of 12-hour shifts.

Our forces are some 45 percent smaller than in 1989. We have traditionally maintained the ability to execute at least two major regional conflicts, each approximately

the size of the Gulf War. Today, most analysts agree we would have difficulty executing even one Gulf War-sized conflict.

This weakness may well explain the Clinton Administration's recent efforts to avoid confrontation with Iraq over weapons inspections.

Our lack of vigilance has serious consequences for our troops, our nation and even for our enemies. Only eight years ago our nation went to war in the Persian Gulf with the most ready force we have ever enjoyed. In short order we won a clear and decisive victory against one of the largest standing armies in the world.

For an armed conflict of this magnitude, there was an amazingly small loss of life for allied troops—and even for the Iraqis. Most surrendered rather than face our overwhelming forces and certain defeat. Today, America's military continues to do their duty and more, but politicians have a duty as well. We must meet our responsibility to equip and train our military so that they can not only survive, but win on the battlefield.

The Clinton Administration's platitudes about "leaner and meaner" betray this responsibility. The typical Marine, for example, is no less courageous today than he was in 1989. But he is less well trained, and there are far fewer Marines to back him up and ensure he can accomplish his mission.

As the President prepares a defense budget for the millennium, it's time to stop the erosion of our defenses. Our enemies of today are less predictable and more likely to attempt to attack at the first sign of any weakness.

Tennesseans are justly famous as volunteers in the defense of our nation. For their sake, and for the sake of all American volunteers in military service, Washington must do its duty to ensure our fighting men and women are better trained and better equipped than they are today. The price of an ill-prepared force is measured in blood, not in dollars.

OUR HOLLOW MILITARY

(By U.S. Senator Bill Frist)

Nearly six years of neglect and foreign-policy overreach have taken their toll in the Department of Defense. Make no mistake: The hollow state of readiness so many have warned about has already arrived. The Commander-in-Chief has allowed America's military preparedness to sink to the disgraceful levels of the Carter era. This administration is more concerned about the social engineering of the military's culture than the training, modernization, and maintenance that will keep our troops alive on the battlefield.

Inattention to readiness issues is reaching crisis proportions. A visiting pilot at Luke Air Force Base recently counted nearly forty F-16 fighters parked near the runway without engines. These aircraft were literally "hollow." In a recent interview, even secretary of Defense Bill Cohen acknowledged that "it does trouble us." Yet, this administration has plunged ahead with more overseas military commitments, not fewer, stretching our defenses ever thinner.

From 1993 to the present, the Clinton Pentagon has spent an average of \$2 billion every year on "Operations Other Than War" like those in Bosnia, Haiti and Somalia. Indeed Congress just passed "emergency" funding to cover more than \$1.8 billion for the Iraq mobilization and continued Bosnia "peacekeeping" operations this year. Yet, our armed forces have been in Bosnia almost three years. Without this injection of money, the ongoing expense of these operations would endanger our ability to respond to a national crisis.

Today our forces are more than 40 percent smaller than at the end of the Cold War, yet

deployments have increased by 300 to 400 percent. The Pentagon counties to play a shell game with defense dollars earmarked for the modernization and training that will keep troops alive in future conflicts. Meanwhile, the administration's feel-good foreign policies attempt to turn our servicemen and women into global caretakers.

The most important measure of military efficiency is the number of American lives lost to attain a military objective. This dangerous foreign policy reduces America's ability to defend her interests and endangers the most valuable piece of our foreign policy—our men and women in uniform. As a nation, we cannot afford to continue paying lip service to abstractions like "readiness" and "modernization" without backing them up.

Recent incidents show how closely peacetime training is linked to life and death in times of war. Last October, Defense News reported that a Russian submarine shadowed the nuclear submarine USS Coronado for several days without being detected. A year earlier, a Chilean submarine moved undetected for several days within the perimeter of a U.S. battle group during a training exercise. In both cases, the foreign submarines could have fired upon our ships at any time. Fortunately for those American crews, we aren't at war. But as one senior Navy official observed, "it is only in training that a diminished capability is evident."

More recently, I toured our operations in Bosnia. While deployments to hot spots like Bosnia have clearly been made with noble intentions, too often they have been undertaken with questionable rationales and undefined mission goals. Unrealistic deadlines have been substituted for exit strategies. In Bosnia, for instance, our entanglement is now well into its third year. This would not be so troubling except for the administration's original promises that all mission objectives were achievable in one year. When Secretary Cohen pushes for further cuts in military installations as a cost saving measure, it's worth reminding him that the Bosnia operation alone is a moneypit that has cost the American taxpayer close to \$7 billion.

Shifting goals are questionable to begin with. But to pay for them with dollars intended to maintain the nation's military readiness is simply inexcusable. These "Operations Other Than War" distract the military from its primary mission: to fight and win wars where real American interests are at stake. The more our forces stray from that mission, the less they'll be able to accomplish it, especially with minimal loss of life.

As we're asking a small military to do more with less, Washington must be disciplined in our use of shrinking defense resources. In this era of balanced budgets and relative peace, we neglect national defense at our own peril—and the peril of those Americans who put their lives on the line to protect the national interest. •

ENERGY SAVING PERFORMANCE CONTRACTS

• Mr. KOHL. Mr. President, I rise today to encourage my colleagues to continue our efforts toward promoting energy efficiency and renewable energy technology. The Administration has placed a high priority on energy efficiency for the coming year and we must follow their lead. The problems of air and water pollution as well as the dangers of climate change only reinforce the need for an increased effort.

Improved energy efficiency can buy us the time needed to develop an improved national energy policy based on renewable energy which will be the foundation of the 21st century.

Human activities, particularly the burning of fossil fuels has increased atmospheric CO₂, methane and nitrous oxide, all of which contribute to global warming. In fact, U.S. fossil energy currently produces about one-fourth of the world's CO₂ emissions. The U.S. accounts for 25% of world oil use, two-thirds of which is consumed by the transportation sector. Economically, U.S. oil imports accounts for 50% of national oil use, which amounts to \$60 billion, or 36% of our trade deficit. Mr. President not only is this dangerous for our environment, but it also poses a great threat to our economic security.

From FY1948–FY1997 total energy R & D spending reached \$108 billion. Of this figure \$66 billion or 61% has been spent on nuclear technology, \$26 billion or 24% for fossil fuels, while only \$11 billion or 10% has been spent on renewables and \$7 billion or 7% for energy efficiency. In contrast, the DOE's 1995 Energy Conservation Trends report found that energy conservation activities from 1973 to 1991 curbed energy use by about 27%. In 1992 this savings equaled \$283 billion or about half of the nation's \$538 billion annual energy spending. These figures show the benefits energy efficiency can bring to the U.S. if managed properly. We must work to reverse this discrepancy and increase funding for renewable energy and energy efficiency programs.

One program which I believe shows great promise for the future is Federal use of Energy Savings Performance Contracts (ESPC's). Administered under DOE's Federal Energy Management Program (FEMP), ESPC's are a technique which reduces energy costs and consumption by the Federal government without increasing budgetary outlays. ESPC's are awarded to private firms who then install and maintain energy efficiency improvements in Federal facilities while guaranteeing savings.

However, the FEMP program has repeatedly gone under funded. It is for this reason I introduced the Federal Energy Bank Act of 1997 (S. 1375) which sought an alternative means of providing the critical needed funding for Federal energy management. I'd like to take this time now to thank my colleagues, Senators FEINGOLD, BUMPERS, JOHNSON, BINGAMAN, JEFFORDS and CAMPBELL in supporting my bill and efforts.

Mr. President, President Clinton has recently directed all Federal agencies to maximize their use of ESPC's before the authority to use ESPC's expires in the year 2000. I call on all my colleagues to support a reauthorization and expansion of the ESPC authority before this valuable program expires. We should continue to work with DOE and the Administration to see this important partnership between the pri-

vate and public sectors is extended well into the future.

Mr. President, if anyone is skeptical as to the benefits of the program I'd like to give two examples of successful ESPC's involving a Wisconsin company, Johnson Controls. Under one of the largest ESPC's in the country Johnson Controls has agreed to replace the outdated 50-year-old steam system at DOE's Hanford complex in Washington. The Hanford complex, which includes research labs, fuel fabrication facilities, industrial sites as well as numerous administrative buildings are undergoing a transition from a nuclear weapons production site to an energy research and development facility. This 25-year contract will save the taxpayers a guaranteed \$108 million while reducing harmful emissions.

Johnson also has recently signed onto another ESPC with the U.S. Department of Transportation to make improvements to the Volpe National Transportation Center in Massachusetts. Johnson will make and maintain improvements to lighting, heating, ventilation, air conditioning as well as other energy management systems. This 10-year contract will reduce energy expenses by \$200,000 each year for the life of the contract, and limit carbon dioxide emissions.

Mr. President, this is an important partnership which benefits many parts of society. It's good for the government, the private sector as well as the environment and should be continued. Again, I'd like to thank my colleagues for their past support. I encourage them to support reauthorizing this program for the future and support additional funding for energy efficient and renewable energy technology. Thank you Mr. President.●

BOY SCOUT HEROES

● Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, I rise to share with the Senate a story about some fine young Idahoans who saved a family stranded in the wilderness.

While hiking in the Idaho wilderness, Boy Scouts from Troops 44 and 74 saved a family of seven who had become lost, were severely dehydrated, and disoriented. With the skills that they developed through their Boy Scout training, they successfully guided the family to a point where they were met by rescue workers. In order to reach the family, the Scouts were forced to descend treacherous canyon walls, shale slides, boulder falls, and cliff areas. During the climb out of the canyon, the Scouts used ropes to physically support the exhausted family members.

The performance of these fine young men goes far beyond commendable. Their flawless performance saved the lives of this family. In a day and age when we are bombarded by reports of how troubled and misguided today's youth are, it is truly refreshing to hear the story of these young men who have done something so outstanding. One can't help but respect their unselfish

display of courage and resourcefulness. Perhaps their act, and the acts of other outstanding youths like them across the nation, will help us to restore our faith in them and in their future. It is my personal hope that by recognizing young men such as these, we can begin to refocus the lens through which we view society, in order to see, more clearly, the typical American youth—not as a delinquent or a burden, but a contributing member of society deserving our respect and our praise.

It is my pleasure to recognize Kody Haney, Brian Wanstrom, Alan Wanstrom, Kyle Hestag, Eric Williams, Dustin Moss, Brandon Moss, Alex Davies, Darian King, Cayd Brunson, Dustin Hymas, Chris Mendenhall, and leaders Darrell Wheeler, Jeremiah Burnett, and Marie Burnett. On behalf of the State of Idaho and the United States Senate, allow me to thank you—for your courage, unselfishness, determination, and most important for being shining representatives of American youth.●

DODGE DEVELOPMENT CENTER

● Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, on April 2, 1998, in a statement I made on the Senate floor, I attributed the creation of the Dodge Development Center and Veterans Assistance Office in Rutland, Vermont to Chapter One of the Vietnam Veterans Association, also located in Rutland. I need to clarify for the record that, although some of the early members of VVA Chapter One were part of the very early stages of the idea, VVA, Chapter One was not responsible for the development, founding, or creation of the center.

Years of hard work went into organizing community involvement, volunteer labor and donations, fundraising, remodeling, and furnishing that has resulted in the establishment of the only homeless shelter just for veterans in Vermont—the Dodge Development Center. I want to congratulate the people primarily responsible for this accomplishment. They are: Robert Rummel, Paul Albro, Cynthia Turrell-Burns, Peggy Gibbud, Jeff Hatch, Clark Howland, Gene Miner, Tom Neary, Lance Warner, and Tim Beebe. There were also dozens of volunteers and community members who helped them make this dream come true.

I thank them for their persistence. They have worked through many funding and permitting hurdles over the years. On Veteran's Day this year, they will dedicate the center and open the doors of the shelter to homeless veterans. Again, I want to congratulate them and thank them for their determination.●

NORTH AMERICAN WETLANDS CONSERVATION ACT

● Mr. KEMPTHORNE. Mr. President, the North American Wetlands Conservation Act [NAWCA] has been very