

of. It includes straightforward procrastination, but also decisions protracted by internal disagreement. It includes, in addition, the inability of individual human beings to rise to the occasion until they are sure it is the occasion, which is usually too late.

"The results, at Pearl Harbor, were sudden, concentrated, and dramatic. The failure, however, was cumulative, widespread, and rather drearily familiar. This is why surprise, when it happens, is everything involved in a government's failure to anticipate effectively."

Does that sound familiar?

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Our Commission's unanimous recommendation was that U.S. analyses, practices and policies that depend on expectations of extended warning of deployment of ballistic missile threats be reviewed and, as appropriate, revised to reflect the reality of an environment in which there may be little or no warning. Specifically, we believe the Department of State should review its policies and priorities, including sanctions and non-proliferation activities, as well as our alliance activities; the intelligence community should review U.S. collection capabilities, given their changing and increasingly complex task; and, last, that the defense establishment should review both U.S. offensive and defensive capabilities as well as strategies, plans, and procedures that are based on an assumption of extended warning.

In short, we are in a new circumstance and the policies and approaches that were appropriate when we could rely on extended warning no longer apply.

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Recently I have been asked about the reception our report has received. I would say it has been surprisingly good.

First, the press. The reaction was superb from Bill Safire, but across the country it has been modest. But then there has been a lot of unusual news competition here in Washington, D.C., to say nothing of the news of:

Russia's economic problems and protests and the last Soviet intelligence chief, Mr. Primakov, being named Prime Minister.

The Asian financial crisis.

The Chicago Cubs' Sammy Sosa's brilliant chase for the home run title, to say nothing of Mr. McGwire's accomplishment.

And, if you can believe it, Quaddafi, of all people, holding a 5-nation summit.

As to the Department of State and the National Security Council, I am not aware of any public reaction.

The only reaction from the Department of Defense I am aware of was to reiterate their belief that the U.S. will have ample warning of "indigenous" ballistic missile development programs, with which we, of course, would readily agree, if, in fact, any "indigenous" ballistic missile programs actually existed—which they don't. As General Lee Butler said at one of our Commission's Congressional hearings, "If you are determined to do it, there is no body of evidence that cannot be ignored."

In the Intelligence Community we see positive changes already. I think it is reasonably certain that the next National Intelligence Estimate will look quite different from the last one. The initial press report on the release of the Commission's findings quoted an "anonymous CIA source" as contending that our report was a "worst case." But that was before the North Korean three-stage TD-1 launch in August. We have not seen that phrase used again since. Indeed, our report could prove to have been a "best case," if and when North Korea and/or Iran announce and demonstrate still greater ballistic missile and weapons of mass destruction capabilities, as they most surely will in the months ahead.

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We are in a relaxed post-Cold War environment, with increased exchanges of scientists and students, relaxed export controls, leaks of classified information appearing in the press almost daily, espionage continuing apace, an explosion of "demarches," which provide vital information that eventually is used to our disadvantage, and increased international trade of sophisticated dual-use technology.

It is increasingly clear that anti-proliferation efforts, coupled with the inevitable imposition of still more sanctions—which already cover a large majority of the people on earth—are not stopping other nations from acquiring increasingly sophisticated weapons of mass destruction and missile technologies.

There are two schools of thought as to how to deal with this obvious failure:

One is to try still harder and impose still more sanctions.

The second approach is to seriously work to prevent the availability of the most important technologies, try to delay the availability of the next tier of information, but to recognize that we live in a world where those who don't wish us well will inevitably gain sophisticated weapons, and that, therefore, the answer is to invest as necessary in the offensive and defense capabilities and the intelligence assets that will enable us to live with these increasingly dangerous threats.

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We hear a lot about the defense budget and the top line pressure—that we can't afford more. Look, our country may not be wealthy enough to do everything in the world that everyone in the world may wish, but the first responsibility of government is to provide for the national security. And, let there be no doubt, our country is more than wealthy enough to do everything important that we need to do. Defense expenditures at 3% of GNP are the lowest in my adult lifetime. We need to stop the mindless defense cuts, rearrange our national defense to fit the post-Cold War world, and invest as necessary to assure our nation's ability to contribute to peace and stability in our still dangerous and increasingly untidy world.

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I am optimistic that we will find our way. We are not a nation with but one leader. Our strength is that we have multiple centers of leadership.

Our central purpose remains as compelling as ever. Quite simply, it is to guard the ramparts of freedom and to expand freedom at home and light its way in the world. This means encouraging freedom abroad and enriching it here at home. It requires purposeful diplomacy underpinned by strong, flexible military power and persuasive moral leadership.

As Theodore Roosevelt once said, "Aggressive fighting for the right is the noblest sport that the world affords." To those gathered here this evening, who do that each day, you have my thanks and appreciation. Thank you very much.●

THE SECRET SERVICE'S BERNARDINO STABILE—OUTSTANDING AMERICAN

● Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to Bernardino R. Stabile on his retirement from the Secret Service. A military veteran and dedicated civil servant, Mr. Stabile has completed 53 outstanding years in service to the government.

Mr. Stabile has served with great distinction for the past 25 years as an Operations Support Technician in the Boston Field Office of the Secret Service, working in support of the agency's protective and investigative missions.

Earlier, Mr. Stabile had served for 27 years in the United States Marine Corps. He served in the South Pacific in World War II, including the Marshall Islands, Saipan, and Iwo Jima. He also served in the Korean War in the 1950's, was part of the Dominican Republic operation in 1965, and had two tours of duty in Vietnam in the 1960's.

In the course of this extraordinary career, he became a highly decorated Sergeant Major and received numerous commendations, including the Bronze Star, the Navy Commendation Medal, the Presidential Unit Citation, and the Navy Unit Citation. Some say, once a "boot," always a "boot." But Sergeant Major Stabile took many "boots" over the years and developed them into effective leaders.

Throughout his brilliant career, Bernardino Stabile has served his country with commitment, dedication, bravery, integrity, honor, and patriotism of the highest order. He deserves the gratitude of the Senate and the nation, and I am proud to take this opportunity to praise his outstanding service.●

THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

● Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Tuesday, October 13, 1998, the federal debt stood at \$5,537,720,928,486.41 (Five trillion, five hundred thirty-seven billion, seven hundred twenty million, nine hundred twenty-eight thousand, four hundred eighty-six dollars and forty-one cents).

Five years ago, October 13, 1993, the federal debt stood at \$4,403,485,000,000 (Four trillion, four hundred three billion, four hundred eighty-five million).

Ten years ago, October 13, 1988, the federal debt stood at \$2,616,702,000,000 (Two trillion, six hundred sixteen billion, seven hundred two million).

Fifteen years ago, October 13, 1983, the federal debt stood at \$1,383,620,000,000 (One trillion, three hundred eighty-three billion, six hundred twenty million) which reflects a debt increase of more than \$4 trillion—\$4,154,100,928,486.41 (Four trillion, one hundred fifty-four billion, one hundred million, nine hundred twenty-eight thousand, four hundred eighty-six dollars and forty-one cents) during the past 25 years.●

IN MEMORY AND HONOR OF LOUIS L. REDDING

● Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I rise today to honor one of Delaware's, indeed this nation's, legal legends.

Louis L. Redding was the first African-American admitted to the Delaware Bar in 1929. As one of the pre-eminent civil rights advocates in the country, Redding was sought after to