

communications (notably the "bomb plot", "winds", "pilot", and "fourteen-part" messages) which provided crucial—

Now, this is the Dorn report— which provided crucial confirmation of the imminence of war. Read together and with the leisure, focus, and clarity of hindsight, these messages point strongly towards an attack on Pearl Harbor at dawn on the 7th.

That is the Dorn Report:

The immediacy of an attack on Pearl Harbor at dawn on the 7th.

The evidence of the handling of these messages in Washington reveals some ineptitude, some unwarranted assumptions and misstatements, limited coordination, ambiguous language and lack of clarification and followup at higher levels.

I could go on.

A careful reading of the proceedings and reports of those panels suggests clear recognition of the faults at all levels. Yet these two gentlemen were singled out and were not given advance to their wartime rating.

I think it was inequitable. I think it was not fair, and it seems to me the greatness of this country is that we can go back and make changes where warranted.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I have just located, I think, a document that interests me a great deal. It is entitled, "Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack: Report of the Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack," pursuant to a resolution of Congress, S. Res. 27. And it was reported on July 5, 1946.

Just listen to those Senators who were on this commission: Alben Barkley, you remember him. What an extraordinary man; Walter George, George was considered one of the great, great internationalists; Scott Lucas of Illinois, one of the most senior Senators from the State of Illinois, the Presiding Officer's State; Owen Brewster from Maine; Homer Ferguson from Michigan.

I say to my good friend, those names still reverberate with absolute distinction and credibility in this Chamber today. They made the findings which left history intact. And we here, just the two of us, really, on the floor tonight, are to urge our colleagues tomorrow to reverse that history?

With all due respect, there is not the foundation, in my judgment, for the Senate to so act and overrule the findings of these men.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, as the Senator knows, I have the greatest respect for his soundness of judgment, for his honesty and integrity. I have the same for the Senators named. But the fact remains, honorable men and women often disagree. Here we do disagree.

I am just trying to join my colleagues—there are 23 of us—in seeking to correct what we think was unfair treatment to two individuals who devoted a lifetime of service to this country. Yes, there are differences of opinion on this matter, but nothing seems to me more important than to try to correct a record which I think, on the basis of the studies I have seen, results in unfairness. We are trying to correct that.

I understand you disagree with the basis of our proposal, but I think both of us want the same thing, and that is fairness.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, there is no one in this body for whom I have greater respect than my dear friend and colleague, Senator ROTH. He has put a lot of work, together with his able staff, into this case. But it seems to me that we stand in a momentous hour in the history of this country. We are asking our colleagues to trust in our own judgments and our findings as to whether or not one of the most remarkable and tragic chapters in the history of this Nation, in effect, should have this significant reversal these many years hence, based on no new evidence, based on the fervent plea of my colleagues, Senator ROTH and Senator THURMOND.

I shall take the floor tomorrow and most vigorously oppose this. I think for the night we have pretty well concluded this debate. I have to tell the Senator, it is an interesting one for me and not altogether without some implications in my own life, thinking back in that period of history. I will never forget Pearl Harbor.

If I could just reminisce for a moment, it is hard to believe that shortly thereafter this city, the Nation's Capital, endured periods of blackout. I remember it very well, as a small—well, I wasn't so small. I remember my father was a physician and he was able to drive at night only with a slit on the headlights to get to the hospital. I remember very well our home was equipped with blackout curtains. All the streetlights went out. We were fearful of an attack here in Washington, DC, and, indeed, other east coast cities. There were Nazi submarines patrolling off the east coast of the United States, sinking ships.

How well I recall on the beaches of Virginia there was washed up debris from sunken ships. The people on the west coast lived in constant fear that there would be an invasion. These were serious and strenuous times, calling on the men and women of the Armed Forces for a duty and a commitment and an assumption of risk without parallel, because this Nation in many respects was unprepared. How well we recall the pictures of the Army practicing maneuvers with broomsticks rather than rifles.

When I think of the tragic death, loss of life and property, indeed, if we were to follow your logic—President Roosevelt had that intelligence—we could go back and judge the record of many others. It seems to me that what is before the Senate tonight is clear facts that men and women of clear conscience, with the ability to assess fresh information, have painstakingly gone through it, reached their conclusion year after year, and then a President, Harry Truman, is my recollection, am I correct, made the decision that he did with respect to these two officers.

I just do not believe that the Senate at this time should reverse that history.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now proceed to a period of morning business with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business Friday, May 21, 1999, the federal debt stood at \$5,596,857,521,196.34 (Five trillion, five hundred ninety-six billion, eight hundred fifty-seven million, five hundred twenty-one thousand, one hundred ninety-six dollars and thirty-four cents).

One year ago, May 21, 1998, the federal debt stood at \$5,503,780,000,000 (Five trillion, five hundred three billion, seven hundred eighty million).

Fifteen years ago, May 21, 1984, the federal debt stood at \$1,485,189,000,000 (One trillion, four hundred eighty-five billion, one hundred eighty-nine million).

Twenty-five years ago, May 21, 1974, the federal debt stood at \$470,357,000,000 (Four hundred seventy billion, three hundred fifty-seven million) which reflects a debt increase of more than \$5 trillion—\$5,126,500,521,196.34 (Five trillion, one hundred twenty-six billion, five hundred million, five hundred twenty-one thousand, one hundred ninety-six dollars and thirty-four cents) during the past 25 years.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Williams, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting a withdrawal and sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

REPORT OF PROPOSED LEGISLATION "EDUCATIONAL EXCELLENCE FOR ALL CHILDREN ACT OF 1999"—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED DURING ADJOURNMENT—PM 30

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 6, 1999, the Secretary of the Senate on May 21, 1999, during the adjournment of the Senate, received the following message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report;