

rethink and reform the Mining Law of 1872. To that end, in the near future I will again introduce comprehensive mining law reform legislation.

MILITARY MYTHS

HON. BARNEY FRANK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 15, 2001

Mr. FRANK. Mr. Speaker, one of the most thoughtful analysts of the appropriate level for American military spending is Lawrence Korb, a former high ranking Defense Department official in the administration of President Reagan. Unlike many others who served in the Reagan administration and subsequently, Lawrence Korb does not believe that conservatives ought to suspend their skepticism about public spending simply because the requests come from the Pentagon. He has consistently applied his experience with defense matters, his keen intelligence and his knowledge of government to point out that we could fully defend our legitimate interests with a military budget smaller than the current one. Along with Dr. Korb, I am pleased that President Bush is refusing to be pressured into asking for billions of dollars in increased military spending before he and his staff have a chance to study the important issues that are raised by Dr. Korb and others. But I also agree with Dr. Korb that an accurate analysis of the defense budget requires discarding some of the points which President Bush himself made during the campaign.

In a recent article, Lawrence Korb set forward some of the principles that ought to guide such an investigation of our true defense spending needs. Mr. Speaker, I disagree with Mr. Korb's first point, to some extent substantively, and also in the way in which he has phrased it. The fact that most military people aren't on food stamps does not mean that it is acceptable for even a small number of them to be in that situation. We owe the men and women who volunteer to face danger on our behalf better than this, and I am very supportive of proposals to raise the pay levels. Given the disruption of their lives and the danger they face, I do believe that our military personnel are underpaid.

But while I disagree with Dr. Korb's first point, I am an enthusiastic believer in the rest of his essay. I was particularly pleased when he noted the absurdity of trying to fix the relevant amount to spend on defense simply by looking at the percentage which a defense budget represents of the gross domestic product. According to this, if we have significant economic progress, we are required to increase military spending even if the threats against which we deploy our military have decreased. Mindlessness has never been on more graphic display.

Lawrence Korb's clear thinking is a very welcome antidote to the efforts being made by some to panic us into busting the budget on behalf of unnecessary military spending. I ask that his thoughtful article be reprinted here.

[From the Los Angeles Times, Mar. 11, 2001]  
BUSH'S FIRST BATTLE: HIS OWN MILITARY MYTHS

(By Lawrence J. Korb)

NEW YORK.—His campaign rhetoric notwithstanding, President George W. Bush has taken a good first step by not increasing the defense budget he inherited from President Bill Clinton until he completes a top-down review of strategy. Such a review will come to naught, however, if the new president does not reject the six oversimplifications about the state of our armed forces that he embraced repeatedly during the campaign.

Military people are not overworked and underpaid and, despite campaign rhetoric, most aren't on food stamps. During the 1990s, an average of 40,000 military people were deployed in various "operations other than war." This represents less than 3% of the active force and less than 2% of the total force, counting reserves. A greater percentage of the active force was stationed in the United States than during the 1980s. Certain units like Army civil affairs battalions, which help restore order in foreign countries torn apart by civil wars, or Air Force search and rescue units were over-utilized. But that is a management problem, not a revenue problem. As for pay, most men and women in the armed services make more than 75% of their civilian counterparts. And, if the compensation levels of military people were adjusted to reflect the fair market value of their housing allowances, fewer than 1% would be eligible for food stamps.

The problem is that the military still uses an anachronistic "one size fits all" pay system that rewards longevity rather than performance. Also, the military employs a deferred-benefit retirement system that costs twice as much as a deferred-contribution plan, while providing the wrong incentives for retaining the right people for the appropriate length of time. For example, to justify the training investment, pilots need to be retained for 13 years, but infantrymen only five. Yet, no military person is vested in retirement until he or she serves 20 years.

The military does not need to be rebuilt; it needs to be transformed. In the 1990s, the Pentagon invested more than \$1 trillion in developing and procuring new weapons. But much of it was wasted on Cold War relics—\$200-million fighter planes, \$6-billion aircraft carriers, \$2-billion submarines, \$400-million artillery pieces—that will be of little use in the conflicts of the 21st century.

The military is more than prepared to fight two wars. In fact, it is becoming more prepared each day as the military power of the likely opponents in these two conflicts, Iraq and North Korea, dwindles. Yet, while the capability of these states declines, the Pentagon has been increasing its estimates of the forces necessary to defeat these enemies. Moreover, the necessity of maintaining the capability to fight two wars simultaneously defies logic and history. During the Korea, Vietnam and Persian Gulf conflicts, no other nation took advantage of the situation by threatening U.S. interests elsewhere.

Calculating the size of the defense budget by measuring it against the gross domestic product is nonsensical. Yes, the U.S. spends a smaller portion of GDP on defense than it did during the Cold War, but the U.S. economy has grown substantially since the collapse of the Soviet Union while spending by adversaries has markedly declined. Even counting inflation, the \$325-billion defense budget—which includes the military portion of the Energy Department budget—that Bush inherits from Clinton is about 95% of

what this nation spent on average to win the Cold War. In fact, the last Clinton defense budget is higher than the budget that Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld prepared for the outgoing Ford administration 25 years ago, at the height of the Cold War.

Carrying out peacekeeping missions, like Bosnia and Kosovo, is not undermining readiness. During the 1990s, peacekeeping operations accounted for less than 2% of Pentagon spending, and readiness spending per capita was more than 10% higher in the 1990s than in the 1980s.

In order to meet their recruiting goals, the armed forces have not lowered their quality standards below those of the Reagan years. The force that Bush inherits from Clinton has a higher percentage of quality recruits—that is, high school graduates and individuals scoring average or above on the armed forces' qualification test—than at any time during the Reagan years. Most of the retention problems that the services are having are self-inflicted. For example, 80% of the pilot shortage in the Navy and Air Force is caused by the fact that, in the early 1990s, the military made a serious mistake by reducing the number of pilots it trained. Likewise, the shortage of people on Navy ships is because the people are not in the right place.

If Bush and his national security team abandon these myths, they will have a much better chance of developing a coherent defense program—and may even be able to cut defense spending to an appropriate level.

WE NEED TO KEEP RULES TO PROTECT FOREST ROADLESS AREAS

HON. MARK UDALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 15, 2001

Mr. UDALL of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, the new Administration is reviewing a number of new rules and regulations proposed or adopted by the Clinton-Gore Administration last year.

I understand why a new Administration would want to undertake such a review. And there may be some areas where a change of course might be appropriate.

But there is definitely one set of new rules that should be retained as they stand—the new rules to protect the remaining roadless areas of our national forests.

Those rules make good sense as a way to protect natural resources, provide more diverse recreational opportunities, and preserve some of the undisturbed landscapes that make Colorado and other western States such special places to live and visit.

That is why the Mayor of Boulder, Colorado, has written to President Bush urging retention of the roadless-area rules. It is why the Boulder City Council has adopted a resolution supporting those rules. And it is why I have written Secretary of Agriculture Anne M. Veneman, urging that the rules be kept in place.

For the information of our colleagues, I am including in the RECORD at this point my letter to the Secretary, the letter to the President from Mayor R. Toor, and the resolution of the Boulder City Council.