

the Senate substitute legislation to H.R. 3433. I look forward to passage of this legislation.

ADDRESSING READINESS ISSUES

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I rise in opposition to proposed increases in military spending contained in the supplemental appropriations provisions for FY 1999, and to comment on even larger anticipated proposals for increases in the military budget for fiscal year 2000 and beyond that will be the subject of ongoing debate in Washington in the coming months.

I have always been a strong supporter of our men and women in uniform, and I believe we must provide the best possible training, equipment, and preparation for our military forces, so they can effectively carry out whatever peacekeeping, humanitarian, war-fighting, or other missions they are given. But certain Republican proponents of increased defense spending here in Washington are trying to use an alleged "readiness crisis" to get \$1 billion or more additional funding included in the omnibus appropriations bill to be considered before adjournment. And this is just the first step. Some Pentagon officials, and Republican defense hawks here in Congress, are reportedly already pressing the Administration to increase next year's budget request by up to \$15 billion, and by an estimated \$50-75 billion over the next five years. These numbers are in addition to the grossly wasteful and unnecessary military spending of recent years, much of which was over and above what the Pentagon itself had requested from Congress to complete its mission.

These large increases are unjustified. Yes, I recognize that to a certain extent there are problems with readiness. There are shortages of spare parts in some areas, for example. It is reportedly difficult to retain pilots and other key personnel; certain of our armed forces, especially enlisted personnel, are suffering a declining quality of life. But if we look carefully at the military budget we can see that these readiness problems are not caused by inadequate military budgets, but rather by a wasteful and irresponsible, often politically-motivated misallocation of existing defense dollars to military programs and projects in states of key members of Congress. This is the crux of the matter. There is more than sufficient funding in the current budget to fix these problems if priorities are reassessed and money is redirected from wasteful and obsolete weapons programs to crucial readiness measures.

We continue to pour billions into Cold War era weapons programs that are essentially massive pork projects for the states and districts of various members of Congress. Congress has also contributed to the readiness problems by refusing to close military bases which the Pentagon acknowledges are unneeded and obsolete, and

has pressed to have closed. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, and his colleagues on the Joint Staff, testified to this recently before the Armed Services Committee—they effectively said if you want us to fix these problems, then stop ramming down our throats weapons systems, ships and planes that we don't need, don't want, and haven't requested—and start closing down antiquated or outdated military bases that we can no longer afford to maintain, for which there is no reasonable purpose.

Mr. President, as I've said, I believe in maintaining a strong national defense. We face a number of credible threats in the world today, including terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. But let's make sure we carefully identify the threats we face and tailor our defense spending to meet them. Let's not continue to maintain military spending based on the needs of the Cold War.

Mr. President, we do not need to spend more on the military. We only need to spend what we have already allocated more intelligently and more honestly. We do not need to give more money to an already bloated Pentagon for wasteful pork projects when we have so many urgent problems in this country that need attention. We need to focus on adequate funding for the hundreds of domestic programs that protect the vulnerable; protect our lakes and streams; provide health care for the vulnerable elderly; and create expanded opportunities for the broad middle class, such as student loans and job retraining.

The real "readiness" crisis, Mr. President, is not in the military budget but in the readiness of the Congress to give up its attachment to wasteful pork projects, and in the readiness of Pentagon officials to make the hard choices about what programs are really necessary for the restructured military force we need to face the challenges of the 21st century. I expect that an omnibus bill will pass, and that some additional defense spending will be included in it for Bosnia and other needs. But I hope my colleagues will keep these concerns in mind as the defense spending debate moves forward next year.

I intend to press forward my efforts here in the Senate to make sure we more responsibly balance our defense and domestic priorities, by scaling back wasteful defense spending, and re-allocating existing military funds to address our readiness problems, so that we can invest more in the skills and intellect and character of our children; in basic health care for all; in decent education, affordable housing and jobs that can sustain families.

RETIREMENT OF SENATOR DALE BUMPERS

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, in these last few days of the 105th Congress, when I come to the floor, I often

look wistfully to the aisle just to my left here, where DALE BUMPERS has trod up and down yanking the microphone cord and dispensing wisdom for just about twenty-four years now. The other day he gave his last speech here, and it was brilliant—an eloquent and moving reminder of the best purposes of politics. But now I want to look back and pay tribute to my friend DALE BUMPERS for what he has done and what he has been for me, for the Senate, for his beloved Arkansas and for our country.

DALE BUMPERS was born in Charleston, Arkansas in 1925, and it's from that little town he first drew the values he has eloquently proclaimed on this floor for two and a half decades. In a small town in western Arkansas during the Depression, young DALE BUMPERS learned about human suffering and deprivation, learned to believe that it could be defeated and came to understand, on his father's knee, that the government could be a force for good in that struggle. He saw typhoid in his hometown and saw a New Deal program put an end to it. He saw rural electrification light the countryside, projects that made the water cleaner, the roads safer, he saw the WPA and he saw the tenacity, and the ingenuity and the sense of community of the American people. One day as a boy he went to the nearby town of Booneville and saw Franklin Roosevelt himself, and he heard his father tell him that politics is an honorable profession—he took all that to heart and we are all the richer for it. He sometimes says, as his father did, "When we die, we're going to Franklin Roosevelt."

In 1943, DALE BUMPERS joined the Marines. He shipped out to the Pacific and he expected to be a part of the invasion force that would hit the beaches of Japan. He did not expect to survive it. The invasion never came, but that experience made a profound impression on him. When I hear him speak about the Constitution, our Founding Fathers and the flag on this floor it is plain how that wartime experience helped him comprehend the true stakes of the constitutional debate, how it informed his notions of patriotism and his sense of what America means. When he returned from the service he got a first-rate education at the University of Arkansas and Northwestern University Law School, all paid for, he is quick to point out, by Uncle Sam under the GI bill. He has been returning the favor to the American people ever since.

DALE BUMPERS started his career as a country lawyer in Charleston, a very successful one by all reports, and he got a reputation around Arkansas, even if he was, as he says, "the entire membership of the South Franklin County Bar Association." As time went by, his practice grew, he took over his father's hardware store, he taught Sunday School and sang in the church choir and he and his wonderful wife Betty started a family. But he wasn't feeling complacent.