

Mr. McCAIN. Mr. President, may I ask what the parliamentary situation is at this time?

CONCLUSION OF MORNING
BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION
APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2003

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now resume consideration of H.R. 5011, which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 5011) making appropriations for military construction, family housing, and base realignment and closure for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2002, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona controls 5 minutes of debate on this pending measure.

Mr. McCAIN. Mr. President, I ask to be recognized for my 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized.

Mr. McCAIN. Mr. President, I regret that the managers are not in the Chamber, but I will proceed with my statement.

Regretfully, I rise yet again to address the Senate on the subject of military construction projects added to an appropriations bill that were not requested by the Department of Defense and are strongly opposed by the Office of Management and Budget.

This bill contains over \$1 billion in unrequested military construction projects and includes hundreds of millions of dollars for Army and Air Force infrastructure projects relating to Interim Brigade Combat Teams, IBCTs, and C-17 Globemaster aircraft bed-down military construction projects that the Senate Armed Services Committee has neither approved nor authorized for this purpose.

There are 29 members of the Appropriations Committee. Only one committee member has not added projects to this appropriations bill. Those numbers, needless to say, go well beyond the realm of mere coincidence. Of 116 projects added to this bill, 91 projects, representing 80 percent of all projects, are in the States represented by the Senators on the Appropriation Committees, totaling over \$728.1 million.

Every year, I come to the Senate floor to highlight programs and projects added to spending bills for primarily parochial reasons. While I recognize that many of the projects added to this bill may be worthwhile, the process by which they were selected is not.

By adding over \$1 billion above the President's request, the Appropriations Committee is further draining away funds desperately needed for transformation. But such short-sightedness

is pretty much the norm for Congress. Common-sense reforms—closing military bases, consolidating and privatizing depot maintenance, ending "Buy American" restrictions, and ending pork-barrel spending—that I have long supported would free up nearly \$20 billion per year which could be used to begin our long-needed military transformation.

But all too often Congress fights these reforms because of home-State politics. As a result, the Defense Department looks elsewhere to find the resources. For example, according to a Baltimore Sun article, "Pentagon To Consider Large-Scale Troop Cuts," the Department is considering cutting nearly 100,000 troops "to free up money" for transformation. I would oppose this and we will debate this another day, but I certainly understand the pressure that Secretary Rumsfeld and the Joint Chiefs are under because of Congress' continuing parochialism as evidenced once again by the military construction bill before us.

Included in the Senate Appropriations Committee's report are the words: "The Committee strongly supports the authorization-appropriation process." That is news to many of my colleagues. If that statement is true why would over \$550 million in military construction projects be added without prior Senate Armed Services Committee authorization. It could be that many of these projects would be acceptable after going through the normal, merit-based prioritization process. But the Appropriations Committee decided to do otherwise.

Two rather large additions—totaling \$200 million—for large military construction projects for Interim Brigade Combat Teams, IBCTs, facilities and the C-17 Air Mobility Modernization Program are examples of the committee's disregard for the authorization process. The committee report justifies these add-ons on the grounds that "the war on terror has placed new demands on all elements of the military" and "military construction timetables developed prior to September 11 are no longer sufficient." War profiting is what it is all about. Because of this, the report continues, "the committee believes that it is imperative to accelerate the Army and Air Force transformation programs." There is no mention of Navy and Marine Corps transformation programs. The committee report leads one to ask how the Navy and Marine Corps got it right and the Army and Air Force missed the boat.

The committee's justification for adding \$200 million for the IBCTs facilities and new hangars for C-17s, C-5s and C-130s under the Air Force Air Mobility Modernization program is at odds with the facts. The President's budget was sent to the House and the Senate in February—a full 5 months after September 11. Since September 11, the President and his Secretary of Defense have officially forwarded to Congress the Fiscal Year 2002 Supple-

mental Appropriations bill—which we have not passed—and recently a formal description of how the Defense Department will spend the \$10 billion war reserve fund set-aside in the Defense Emergency Response Fund that the President requested for the war on terrorism. Let me ask: did anyone on the Appropriations Committee inform the President that his budget proposal was not "sufficient"? I know the answer is no.

Let me share some critical facts that were left out of the committee report related to the \$200 million in additional funding added for these key programs. It is common knowledge that nearly all the IBCTs will initially be stationed in Alaska and Hawaii and will require a significant increase of infrastructure. General Shinseki has supported testing the IBCT concept in Alaska and Hawaii and then expanding the concept elsewhere. However, in putting together the Army budget, the Chief of Staff of the Army, the Secretary of the Army, and the Secretary of Defense weighed all the other Army priorities and decided that their were more critical funding issues than to accelerate an already robust IBCT program and adding \$100 million more for facilities construction.

Likewise, other facts left out of the Appropriations report related to the \$100 million in accelerated funding for the Air Force Air Mobility program should be known:

The Air Force did not request this funding;

The requirement for accelerating funding is not on the Air Force Chief of Staff's "Unfunded Requirements List";

Nor does it appear in the Secretary of Defense's Wartime Fiscal Year 2002 Emergency Supplemental Appropriations request;

Nor does the requirement to accelerate funding for C-17 hangars show up on the war reserve fund set-aside in the Defense Emergency Response Fund (DERF) that the President recently submitted to Congress as an Fiscal Year 2003 budget amendment for the Department of Defense for expenses relating to the war against terrorism; and

Moreover, over 80 percent of the total \$1.6 billion military construction projects under the Air Force C-17 Air Mobility Modernization program will be built in just 4 states: surprise, surprise California, West Virginia, Alaska, and Hawaii—how surprising.

Funding \$200 million for IBCTs and C-17, C-5 and C-130 hangars—as part of a larger 4-5 billion dollar program—was simply not authorized by the Armed Services Committee in its recently passed bill. I attended more than 10 hearings on Armed Services this year, and I cannot remember a single instance in which an argument was made in support of accelerating this funding.

Separately, I am at a loss as to the rationale for including in this bill certain site-specific earmarks and directive language. For example, in time-