

never necessary to violate somebody's liberty, but let us say there is a sincere belief that it is necessary to impose a draft.

There is no such thing as a fair draft. This is why the sixties were in such turmoil in this country, because the elite frequently evaded the draft. If they are smart enough to get a deferment, they got off. Who suffers from the draft? The poor and the less educated, the inner city teenagers. They end up getting the draft, and they do not get the deferments. They cannot avoid it.

It is very important that we consider not only this vote on fiscal reasons and where we are taking the money. Quite frankly, I would much rather see this money stay in the programs where, as a fiscal conservative, I would not have otherwise voted for those funds nay. But any funding of that sort is so much better on principle than voting to perpetuate a system that has no purpose other than to conscript.

Conscription is not part of the American dream. It is not part of the American philosophy. It is not part of liberty. It is a totalitarian notion. Congress has the authority to raise an army, but it does not have the constitutional authority to enslave a certain group to bear the brunt of the fighting. A society that cherishes liberty will easily find its volunteer defenders if it is attacked. A free society that cannot find those willing to defend itself without coercion cannot survive, and probably does not deserve to.

A free society that depends on the vicious totalitarian principle of conscription is, by its very nature, no longer free.

We gradually lost our love for individual liberty throughout the 20th century as the people and the Congresses capitulated to the notion of the military draft. The vote on the Selective Service System funding will determine whether or not we are willing to take a very welcome, positive step in the direction of more liberty by rejecting the appropriations for the Selective Service System.

There is no other vote that a Member of Congress can cast that defines one's belief and understanding regarding the principle of personal liberty than a vote supporting or rejecting the draft. This vote gives us a rare opportunity to reverse the trend toward bigger and more oppressive government.

Yes, preserving liberty is worth fighting and even dying for, but conscription is incompatible with that goal. We cannot make men free by first enslaving them and forcing them to sacrifice their lives and liberty for the policies conceived by misdirected politicians and international warmongers.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska). The gentleman from California (Mr. CUNNINGHAM) is recognized for 7 minutes.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, again I thank the gentleman from New

York (Chairman WALSH). I know what a difficult time he has had. We happen to disagree on this issue; not only myself, but take a look at the supporters we have on this particular amendment.

The chairman of the Joint Chiefs disagreed with the last speaker. The Secretary of Defense disagrees strongly with the last speaker, as does the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE), chairman of the defense authorization committee, and the gentleman from California (Mr. LEWIS), chairman of the Subcommittee on Defense of the Committee on Appropriations. The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MURTHA), ranking member on the Subcommittee on Defense, opposes it.

The gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG), the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, opposes, which is very difficult, opposes his subcommittee chairman on this particular issue; not the bill, but on this particular issue.

Also, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BUYER), chairman of the Subcommittee on Military Personnel; the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. MORAN), the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ORTIZ), and the gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs. MEEK) opposes, and I could go right on down the line with the bipartisan support.

This is a controversial issue. This is the first time this has been debated. My colleague, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL) has a full right to believe like he does. The independent view, however, is not the view, and the gentleman votes 99 percent against everything on the House floor. I expected no less. I would almost let him speak more because I think he makes our case.

This is a time-proven event. If we have a chemical or biological weapons attack on the United States, with the selective service the President designates those health care workers, and then the Selective Service System would go in and select those people that are necessary to protect American citizens. Any delay in that would be foolhardy and would be very, very dangerous. The GAO said if we cut this program it would take up to an entire year to establish a system.

I would tell my friend, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL), I hope we never have to go to a subscription program. I hope that that emergency and the conflict against the United States never happens to that point. I do not think it will. It could in the future. If that is necessary, then we have to provide that backup. Think of the consequences if we do not. Millions of people, American citizens, their lives would be lost.

This is a better insurance policy than we can have in almost any bill that we vote on. It is very important. It is the third tier to our active duty and our reservists.

Peace and freedom is elusive. It is very fragile. In the history of the

United States, in the history of the world, there has been conflict. Is there any Member here in this body that says that we will not be in another conflict in the next year? And with the threats out there that we have, we dare not not support this particular amendment.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding to me.

The gentleman has called attention to my voting record. I would say that if I could show the gentleman that I voted 100 percent for the Constitution, would the gentleman still complain about my voting record being 90 percent, 99 percent in opposition? Being for liberty is not a negative position.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I reclaim the balance of my time. I said the gentleman has the right to do so very much. I respect that. I just happen to disagree with the gentleman on this particular amendment. Mr. Chairman, to seek compliance in this, we are trying to let the potential registrars know what their requirement is so they do not break the law.

President Carter in 1980 asked Congress if we would allow women to register. The Supreme Court found that Congress could restrict that because at that time we did not have women in combat.

This issue has been debated five times, Mr. Chairman. Each time we have restored the Selective Service. We will restore it today, I am sure. I would also tell my colleagues who are opposed to this that in conference we will be happy to work off the different dollars in funding out of the different areas.

I am not hard and fast on any of the offsets. The more important factor to us is the reselection and readministration of the Selective Service System.

Mr. UDALL of New Mexico. Mr. Chairman, as a former local draft board member, I rise in strong support of the amendment offered by my colleague from California. The most important decision Congress and the President can make is to send our young men and women to war. An all-volunteer military sometimes makes it easier for the President to use the military forces liberally. The draft and Selective Service ensure that we should only go to war when it is of vital concern to our national security.

At a time when our military services are failing to meet recruiting and retention goals, it is foolhardy and risky to eliminate the Selective Service System—a proven means of providing personnel to the Armed Forces during times of emergency. The men and women of our all-volunteer armed forces have performed superbly since its inception. The all-volunteer force is a strong force, but it is also a fragile force. It relies on recruiting and retaining quality people. Our armed forces have been reduced to the point where the military struggles to meet all the commitments we place on it. It should be noted that during the recent air war in Kosovo, the Air Force announced a "stop