

we would bring the budget to balance in 7 years, and today we plan to deliver on that promise.

While balancing the budget in itself is an admirable and worthwhile goal, our bill does much more. These provisions, taken as a whole, mark a clear shift in power from Federal bureaucrats to families, States, and communities, who know what works best for them. I had the opportunity myself to vote in Committee on many of the provisions included in the bill, and I commend my colleagues for their fine work in constructing the other reforms included in this bill.

I would like to outline some of the major items included in our bill.

As many already know, the Medicare trustees reported last April that unless Congress takes "prompt, effective and decisive action," Medicare will go bankrupt in 2002. Consequently, House Republicans have passed the Medicare Preservation Act of 1995, which has been included in this bill. This legislation will bring Medicare back onto solid financial ground by infusing it with the innovation and efficiency found in many private health plans. By giving seniors a wide choice of options, while maintaining traditional Medicare as one option, and by cracking down on waste, fraud, and abuse, we can ensure a strong Medicare Program well into the future.

Another major highlight of this legislation is the \$245 billion tax cut for American families. As included in the Contract With America, our bill includes a \$500 per-child tax credit, a reduction in the capital gains tax, and a repeal of President Clinton's 1993 tax on Social Security benefits. While President Clinton promised tax relief for the middle-class, and subsequently delivered the largest tax increase in American history, our bill delivers on our promise of needed tax cuts.

This package also incorporates the Personal Responsibility Act of 1995, as passed by the House earlier this year. Simply stated, welfare has become a way of life for far too many recipients. By making it easier to collect a handout than to work, the current system has destroyed individual initiative and actually perpetuated poverty. A Contract With America priority, this pro-work, pro-family bill will reform our welfare system by providing a helping hand, not a handout, to the millions of Americans caught in this dead-end trap.

As some may know, the cost of Medicaid has been growing at the uncontrollable rate of nearly 10 percent a year, and eating up one-fifth of State budgets. Our bill includes Medicaid reform that will provide more money, fewer bureaucrats, and greater protections against fraud and abuse. With the help of our Nation's Governors, Republicans have developed a plan to block grant Medicaid funds to States in the form of new MediGrants. Given this new flexibility States will be able to design innovative, cost-effective programs targeted toward their specific needs and populations.

In our continuing effort to make Government both smaller and more efficient our bill includes language, which I personally shepherded through the Commerce Committee, to abolish the Department of Commerce. While our bill will maintain the Department's legitimate functions, such as the census and statistical recordkeeping functions, we eliminate the unnecessary and duplicative functions for an estimated \$7 billion in savings.

Another issue that I was personally involved with was the spectrum auction. Our bill will ex-

pand the auction to raise an additional \$15.3 billion over 7 years. Having been an early proponent of the spectrum auction, I am pleased that revenue raised by auctioning radio spectrum, which was previously given away for free, will now be used to balance the budget.

Other meaningful reforms included in our bill include: The creation of tax deductible personal medical savings accounts, the closing of corporate tax loopholes, public housing reforms to eliminate duplicative programs, terminating the overly bureaucratic and costly Direct Student Loan Program, and the adoption of a taxpayers' bill of rights.

I believe that it is time for these reforms, because the American people deserve more than higher taxes and a bigger, more bureaucratic Federal Government. This bill represents much more than your average yearly spending reconciliation plan, it represents a blueprint for the future. Under our plan Americans will have more in the family budget, greater control over the workings of their Government, and the peace of mind that their children and grandchildren will live in a debt-free America full of opportunity.

#### THE 7 YEAR BALANCED BUDGET RECONCILIATION ACT OF 1995

SPEECH OF

HON. MICHAEL F. DOYLE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1995

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 2491) to provide for reconciliation pursuant to section 105 of the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 1996:

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I rise today in opposition to H.R. 2425, and to speak on behalf of our communities, hospitals, and the health of today's and tomorrow's senior citizens. If we are to bring about Medicare reform which will prove to be truly beneficial, we must first reach a consensus that reforms must achieve specified goals without creating new, more difficult problems.

In the Pittsburgh area alone, there are seven hospitals which would face almost certain shut-down as a result of these proposed cuts. This situation is certainly exacerbated by the elimination of disproportionate share payments to these hospitals. It is neither prudent nor logical to make devastating cuts to Medicare in such an arbitrary fashion. The sound thinking, hard-working people of western Pennsylvania and across this country will tell you that putting the cart before the horse will get Medicare nowhere fast.

It has been documented that both proposals we are considering today, H.R. 2425 and the Democratic alternative, will result in the Medicare trust fund being put on sound financial footing through the year 2006. However, the Democratic alternative saves \$90 billion, all of which is put back into the Medicare system, while H.R. 2425 cuts \$270 billion, far more than is necessary, simply to help pay for huge tax cuts we cannot afford.

A recent national poll shows that 72 percent of those polled oppose Medicare cuts being made to pay for tax breaks. One has to question how making major cuts to Medicare in a

quick fix effort to fund tax breaks could be construed by anyone as fiscally conservative.

I urge my colleagues to oppose the ill-conceived and reckless cuts called for in this bill which will not only shake the current foundation, but will cause irreparable damage to the health of American senior citizens in the future.

#### NO WELCOME MAT FOR MILOSEVIC

HON. CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 30, 1995

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, instead of rolling out the red carpet this week for Slobodan Milosevic, the Clinton administration should hand over the Serbian President to international investigators for his alleged role in war crimes perpetrated in the former Yugoslavia. Having ignited the firestorm of extreme Serb nationalism which has consumed most of Bosnia and part of Croatia, Milosevic is now being enlisted as a member of the Clinton administration's fire brigade assembled to douse the smoldering ashes in its aftermath.

Milosevic, who has earned the title "Butcher of the Balkans," has reincarnated himself, in the eyes of the Clinton administration, as a peacemaker despite the fact that he was named a suspected war criminal by Secretary of State Eagleberger during the final days of the Bush administration, and that he heads a government being sued for genocide before the International Court of Justice. The Clinton administration views the Serbian leader as the one who can deliver the Bosnian Serbs in support of a United States-brokered peace plan which will effectively divide Bosnian-Herzegovian along ethnic lines.

Is he really a new peacemaker or is he after something else? I fear the latter is true. Reeling under the devastating impact of economic sanctions imposed in 1992 by the U.N. on Serbia for its role in the wars in neighboring Croatia and Bosnia, Milosevic is keen to cut a deal which will pave the way for the sanctions to be lifted. I am not convinced he has given up on his dream of creating a "Greater Serbia."

The Clinton administration has embraced Milosevic as part of its full-court press to conclude a Bosnian peace accord, at almost any cost, as the presidential campaign season nears. Mr. Speaker, I welcome the fact that the President has finally begun to focus on the crisis in Bosnia. At the same time, I have reservations about the conduct of the current negotiations and am vehemently opposed to allowing Mr. Milosevic into the United States.

Despite the hype and new spins, one fact is abundantly clear—Milosevic was the mastermind behind extreme Serb nationalism which spawned mayhem in Bosnia and Croatia and ultimately has led to the murder of tens of thousands of innocent civilians in these countries. Warren Zimmerman, the last United States Ambassador to Yugoslavia has observed "nobody in Belgrade doubts that the war in Bosnia is being masterminded by Milosevic in collusion with his Bosnian Serb henchman, Radovan Karadzic." Zimmerman has characterized the Serbian President as a liar "almost totally dominated by his dark

side." The genocidal campaign unleashed by Milosevic has included the rape of tens of thousands of women, the destruction of thousands of mosques and Catholic churches, and the forcible expulsion of hundreds of thousands.

Mr. Speaker, the Bosnian Serb political and military leaders, Karadzic and Mladic, wouldn't dare step foot on United States soil following their indictment as war criminals by the U.N. War Crimes Tribunal in the Hague, earlier this year. There is a cruel irony in the fact that, with his lieutenants largely out of the picture, Milosevic has returned to center stage as the perceived linchpin to peace in the Balkans following a 4-year war of armed aggression and genocide which he, himself, set in motion.

In a speech launching a week-long commemoration at the University of Connecticut of the 50th anniversary of the Nuremberg trials, President Clinton solemnly declared "there must be peace of justice to prevail, but there must be justice when peace prevails." Apparently, the Clinton administration is prepared to put justice aside in their quest for peace in Bosnia which it believes hinges on Milosevic.

Mr. Speaker, I would submit that peace and justice can and should be pursued simultaneously. I agreed with President Clinton when he said, "By successfully prosecuting war criminals in the former Yugoslavia \* \* \* we send a strong signal for those who would use the cover of war to commit terrible atrocities, that they cannot escape the consequences of such actions." But what signal is the Clinton administration sending by welcoming Milosevic to the United States?

Even those who accept Milosevic's participation in the current peace talks—for whatever reason—must acknowledge that the Serbian leader will garner a degree of credibility and prestige by being allowed to enter the United States. Furthermore, Mr. Speaker, by willingly admitting Milosevic, the Clinton administration calls into question its determination to see all war criminals, regardless of rank, brought to justice.

Mr. Speaker, the arrival of Slobodan Milosevic in the United States is repugnant to American principles and is an affront to the memory of the tens of thousands of innocent victims of the Balkan war.

For the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, I wish also to include a disturbing article which was published in the Christian Science Monitor on October 24, 1995.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Oct. 24, 1995]

#### SERBIA HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR MASSACRE OF BOSNIANS

(By David Rohde)

Officers from Serbia participated in the attack on the UN-declared "safe area" of Srebrenica, according to credible eyewitness accounts obtained by the Monitor. And senior Western diplomats and UN officials say Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic is responsible for the attack and the subsequent executions of thousands of Muslim civilians.

Muslim witnesses say that an officer from Serbia was directing the roundup of Muslim prisoners in the village of Konjevic Polje, and that a Serb officer captured by Muslim forces was following orders issued from the Serbian capital, Belgrade.

"The Serb officer said they were under orders from Belgrade not to allow any men to escape from Srebrenica," says Bosnian soldier Dzamal Malvic.

"All Muslim men were to be captured or killed," said Mr. Malovic, one of three

Bosnian soldiers who say they spoke to and looked at identify papers of the captured Serbian captain.

In a separate interview, a Muslim officer confirmed that the Serbian officer had been captured. The Serbian officer's whereabouts are unknown, and he may have been killed later by Muslim forces.

Western diplomats have long suspected that the Bosnian Serb attack on Srebrenica in mid-July was approved by Belgrade, but the government of President Slobodan Milosevic has vehemently denied it.

Mr. Milosevic's involvement would be an embarrassment for the Clinton administration, eager to portray Milosevic—who will be attending peace talks in Ohio next week—as a peacemaker in the Balkans, not a war criminal.

"Whether by commission or omission, [Milosevic] is responsible, no question," says a senior UN military official based in Zagreb, Croatia. "He had plenty of sources on the ground there. He had to know what was happening, and either approved of it or did nothing to stop it."

A senior Western diplomat in Zagreb also says Milosevic is responsible for what is quickly emerging as one of the darkest hours of Bosnia's 3½ year conflict.

"I have no doubt he directly approved or tacitly approved of the taking of Srebrenica," the diplomat says. "Whether Milosenic knew [about the executions] or not, he knows what kind of man [Bosnian Serb Army commander Gen. Ratko] Mladic is and how he operates."

#### REPORTS OF MASS EXECUTIONS

Over 2,000 Muslim men were executed by Bosnian Serb forces following the fall of Srebrenica, according to nine survivors interviewed by the Monitor last month.

War-crimes investigators now have evidence that as many as 3,000 to 4,000 men were executed by the Bosnian Serbs, according to a senior UN official close to the investigation. "Wait until everything comes out," he says. "Then, people will understand how big this is."

The UN official close to the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague said mass graves ring the area around Srebrenica, and confirmed the existence of a new set of United States spy photos showing a new group of apparent mass graves near the village of Karakaj, as reported by the Boston Globe on Oct. 3.

The photos confirm the accounts of five men interviewed by the Monitor who say over 2,000 Muslim prisoners were executed near the town of Karakaj on July 18. The photos may be the basis for new indictments against General Mladic expected to be issued by the Tribunal.

Bosnian Serb officials have said that mass graves in the village of Nova Kasaba captured in US spy photos and visited by the Monitor in August contain the bodies of Muslim soldiers who were killed in combat and not executed.

But the Karakaj site is too far from the route that Muslim men would have followed to escape from Srebrenica, according to the UN official.

Mevludin Oric, a survivor of the Karakaj execution, said in an interview that one of the officers directing the roundup of prisoners in Konjevic Polje was a 40- to 45-year-old officer from Serbia. Mr. Oric is considered by war-crimes investigators to be one of their most credible witnesses. The Serbian officer was not present at the later execution, Oric added.

Who gave the order to execute thousands of prisoners remains unknown.

But evidence of Milosevic's involvement in Srebrenica has been mounting for months,

and it is not known if Mladic would execute such a large number of men without at least the tacit approval of Serbian leaders in Belgrade.

Mladic, who eyewitnesses interviewed by the Monitor said was at Karakaj and three other executions sites during or just before executions began, had been visiting Belgrade regularly for weeks prior to the attack.

Dutch peacekeepers reported seeing members of paramilitary groups from Serbia, and Muslims say they saw Belgrade-based paramilitary leader Zeljko "Arkan" Raznjatovic in Srebrenica.

The Washington Post reported seeing Muslim soldiers driving a jeep with Yugoslav Army license plates on July 17. The Muslims said they had captured the jeep from forces involved in the attack on Srebrenica.

New York Newsday reported on Aug. 12 that Western intelligence officials captured radio intercepts of Yugoslav Army chief Gen. Momcilo Perisic, directing Mladic on how to attack Srebrenica during the offensive.

#### SERB DENIALS

Yugoslav officials have strenuously denied the accounts, but the Yugoslav Army and Arkan are believed to be tightly controlled by Milosevic, who holds an iron grip over Serbia's military.

Despite the growing evidence, Srebrenica survivors remain skeptical that Milosevic—whom the Clinton administration is depending on to force the Bosnian Serbs to agree to a peace deal—will be tied to or punished for Europe's worst massacre since World War II.

"It all depends on the politicians," Malovic says. "They could punish them, or reward them, for doing this."

#### THE 7-YEAR BALANCED BUDGET RECONCILIATION ACT OF 1995

SPEECH OF

HON. FRANK R. WOLF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1995

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 2491) to provide for reconciliation pursuant to section 105 of the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 1996:

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Chairman, I rise on behalf of the American family, America's children, and restoring the American dream and will support budget reconciliation which will bring our burgeoning budget deficit into balance by the year 2002 and provide needed family tax relief. This is the right thing to do.

Consider this. According to the Joint Committee on Taxation, a child born today will have to pay \$187,000 in his or her lifetime in interest on the national debt. That money won't be spent on education, nutrition, medical research, national defense, or roads. Rather, our children will be forced to pay for the present generation's profligacy. That is unfair; it is unwise; and it offends traditional notions of justice.

For all the things the 104th Congress will do, this is the most important. We are at a historic crossroads, and I will choose the path of lower interest rates, lower taxes, and job creation, thereby preserving America's greatness for present and future generations. It is time to end the gluttonous consumption of America's precious and scarce resources. We can ill afford the relentless spending and borrowing