

many of the values that we as Republicans now hold dear to us, fiscal conservatism and a concern for the environment as well.

Mr. Speaker, I am saddened by the loss of Congressman Cleveland. He was a political ally. He was an adviser. But, most important to me, he was a dear friend.

SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, and under a previous order of the House, the following Members will be recognized for 5 minutes each.

FREE THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from the District of Columbia [Ms. NORTON] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, according to this morning's paper, the majority leader of the Senate, Mr. DOLE, said, and I am quoting him, concerning a Federal Government shutdown, "I don't believe we should shut down the Government. I think it would be a mistake. I do not believe it should happen. I don't believe it will happen."

I think the majority leader is probably right. The Congress would be insane or close to it to shut the Government down 10 days before Christmas. A lot of folks who are not Federal employees and are nowhere close to Federal employees would regard that as the act that deserved the Scrooge Award of 1995.

But will the Congress overlook the District of Columbia and allow it the short continuing resolution that I am certain will come for Federal employees? My prediction is you will probably let the Government stay open until we get back from the recess.

Mr. Speaker, I am here to explain that for the District, that does almost nothing, because we are not a Federal agency. We are a city of almost 600,000 people, and you cannot run a complicated city, down on its luck, with 2- and 3-week continuing resolutions. You then have to calibrate how much money you spend on the basis of for example, if it is 2 weeks, one-fourteenth, so you do not overobligate. With the city in the financial condition it is in, that should be unthinkable.

There is a very special congressional responsibility, therefore, to release in the next continuing resolution the District's money, raised solely in the District, until such time as an appropriation bill has been signed. I would hope that an appropriation bill will be signed before December 15. But, very frankly, our appropriation is stuck on stupid. It is stuck up here on controversial issues having nothing to do with the wishes of the people of the District of Columbia. So I cannot guarantee that by December 15 our appropriation will be signed.

I have a bill that would allow the District to spend its own money until such time as an appropriation bill is signed. That way we would have the flexibility to run the city. Otherwise, we are put in the position where, if unfunded mandates such as AFDC have to be matched on time, as they do, and a payroll has to be paid on time, as it does, we could overobligate.

The Congress has been most critical of the District for what it says has been overobligation in the past. The last thing the Congress, I am sure, would like to do, is put the District in the position where it is between the hardest rock and the worst hard place, where it had unfunded mandates and funded mandates that it had to meet and had no way to meet them because it can only spend a certain percentage of its funds.

The Washington Post said in an editorial recently:

House Speaker Gingrich, Subcommittee on D.C. Appropriations Chairman Jim Walsh and other Congressional leaders who seek to bring financial order to this city should see the importance of separating the local functions as well as the responsibilities of the Control Board and chief financial officer from Federal stalemates. If their concern for the District's financial stability is genuine, they should press for immediate enactment of a continuing resolution, as well as for protections against any more situations like this.

Shutting the District down, when its own money is here only because the Congress requires it to come here, not because the Congress provides it, is an outrage. I ask this body, if and when such time should come that a continuing continuing resolution is needed to keep Federal agencies going, and if that continuing resolution is a short-term continuing resolution, that you allow the District to spend its own money—and about 80 percent of the money in our appropriation is raised by hard working D.C. taxpayers in the District of Columbia—and that you allow that money to be spent, so that the District will not be thrown into worse financial shape than is already the case.

That is not what this body desires. This body has been working beneficially with the District. So has the Financial Authority. We do not need another setback. I acknowledge that the District is responsible for many of its own problems, but the fact is, it is trying to get hold of those problems now. The District should not be thrown into further disarray because the Congress goes into short-term continuing resolutions, overlooking the difference between HHS, the State Department, and HUD and the District of Columbia.

The District is a living, breathing city that has suffered tremendously throughout this period. It is the innocent bystanders for whom I speak now, not the Mayor, not the City Council and not the Delegate, but the hard working residents who pay taxes in the District of Columbia. Free the District of Columbia.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS TO HAVE UNTIL MIDNIGHT TONIGHT TO FILE REPORT ON H.R. 2684, THE SENIOR CITIZENS RIGHT TO WORK ACT OF 1995

Mr. BASS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Ways and Means may have until midnight tonight to file a report to accompany H.R. 2684, the Senior Citizens Right to Work Act of 1995.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Hampshire?

There was no objection.

ILL-ADVISED MISSION IN BOSNIA SHOULD BE ABANDONED

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. SKELTON] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, Friday evening, the Vice President was on ABC News "Nightline." In his comments, the Vice President stated that the task of bringing peace to Bosnia would be done at a minimal risk to American troops. This would be true, but for one provision to which the administration has signed up: namely, the guaranteeing and coordinating of the arming and training of one of the belligerents.

According to testimony by Secretary of State Warren Christopher, our Government policy is supervising—that is, guaranteeing and coordinating—the arming and training of Bosnian Moslem forces. This is a flawed and dangerous policy. It gives the appearance that we favor one side of this bitter internal struggle over another. It makes our Government appear to be a combatant. We cannot be both a combatant and a peacekeeper.

This policy of arming and training Bosnian Moslems—even through a third party, but guaranteed and supervised by us—concerns me greatly. Three points are to be considered:

First, already, there exists a parity between the warring factions, the Serbs on the one hand and the Croat-Moslem Federation on the other. Note the recent battlefield successes by the Federation. Further, the Moslems have been receiving arms by way of Croatia for some time.

Second, our allies are not in favor of arming and training the Moslem forces. The French and British, in particular, are against it. This was pointed out in news reports Thursday morning.

Third, the arming and training of the Moslem forces, quoting the Vice President: "we are going to see that it happens * * * we commit to making sure that is going to happen."

Mr. Speaker, this is a flawed policy. The Vice President concedes that it would be wrong for the American troops to directly arm and train the

Bosnian Moslems, as it would destroy the even-handedness and perception of even-handedness of our troops in the field. I say that the United States guaranteeing and coordinating this effort is just as bad. Having America in charge of this effort—having other countries or other persons contracted to do the job—still destroys the even-handedness and perception of even-handedness of our Americans in uniform. This policy has red, white, and blue stamped all over it. This policy paints each American soldier with a bulls'-eye target.

In order for peacekeeping to work, there must be trust—trust of the former belligerents in the impartiality of the peacekeepers. This trust and confidence will not exist so long as our Government pursues the policy of supervising the arming and training of the Moslems. It is one thing, in the words of Secretary of Defense William Perry, to "be the meanest dog in town." It is another not to have to fight at all.

The U.S. Army Field Manual, regarding peacekeeping, states: "Peacekeeping requires an impartial, even-handed approach." Our National Security Committee heard testimony from retired generals and others who stressed the need for peacekeepers to be neutral, to be even-handed.

Soon, our American soldiers, some 20,000 of them, will arrive in Bosnia as peacekeepers between the three warring sides: the Croats, the Bosnian Serbs, and the Bosnian Moslems. A few weeks ago, in a White House meeting, Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbot told me of plans for the U.S. Government to arm and train the Bosnian Moslems. Being concerned with this policy, I wrote a letter to the President on October 31, criticizing this stance. After the peace agreement was signed, I wrote another letter on November 22. After I, along with several others, criticized this plan—which would clearly put our troops in danger by destroying their required impartiality—a new plan to arm and train then appeared. This new arrangement is one of farming out, contracting out, laundering out the task to third parties.

There is nothing in the Dayton peace agreement, initiated by the three belligerents, that requires the United States to arm and train anyone. This slightly altered policy still violates the required impartiality of the United States, and that lack of impartiality will be transferred to our soldiers serving as peacekeepers.

Ordinary military risk is one thing; inviting vengeance against our troops is another.

Those who came up with this wrong-headed policy should learn the wisdom of the Missouri Ozarks: "Those who aid my enemy become my enemy." The Serbs will look upon American troops as enemies and the Moslems will expect favors.

Bosnia is a snake pit of anger, hatred, and vengeance. We are putting

our troops in a snake pit while we are angering half the snakes. This policy could well be a death warrant for scores of American men and women in uniform. Taking sides in previous peacekeeping efforts—1983 in Beirut and 1993 in Mogadishu—brought tragedy to Americans in uniform. We should learn from the past.

The President agreed to furnish 20,000 troops for peacekeeping—not 20,000 targets for vengeance.

Remember, this is the Balkans, the scene of centuries of hate, centuries of killing, and centuries of vengeance. I, for one, see no reason for American troops to be made victims of vengeance because of this wrong-headed policy of arming and training the Moslems.

As a matter of fact, our troops have not been forewarned of the additional security risk that our policy could bring. On December 1, I wrote the Secretary of Defense a letter, urging his Department to issue memorandums to the soldiers to be on extra alert, as this policy puts them at higher risk.

I understand the need for America to assume a leadership role in the world. I understand the need for America to be the leader of NATO. But I do not understand why American troops will be inserted into this war-torn country as both peacekeepers and combatants. The credibility of American soldiers as impartial peacekeepers will be lost.

I urge this administration to abandon this policy, as it will undoubtedly bring needless loss of life and injury to our fine troops in Bosnia.

I include for the RECORD my letters dated October 31, November 22, and December 1.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, October 31, 1995.

THE PRESIDENT,
The White House, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Please know that I very much want to help you in supporting the promising Bosnian peace initiative. However, I have great concerns about the effort to equip and train the Bosnian Muslims, especially while U.S. troops are operating in Bosnia.

I believe the "equip and train" effort corrupts the implementation force (IFOR) as a neutral peace force, and needlessly places the lives of American troops at risk. The effort will cause America to be perceived as a party to the conflict in the eyes of the Bosnian Serbs, their friends, and their allies. There will be no avoiding it, even if an attempt is made to keep the effort separate from IFOR. The message received in the region will be clear: American troops are not in Bosnia to implement a peace agreement, but rather to protect the Bosnian Muslims.

The purpose of the "equip and train" effort is to establish military parity. However, given what has happened in Bosnia over the last three months, I question the assertion that a military imbalance exists. On the contrary, I suggest a regional military balance has existed for sometime. Furthermore, I sense that the warring factions have grown weary of prolonging the fight.

We are walking down the dangerous path toward an arms race in Bosnia just at the time when American troops will attempt to bring peace to an area suffering from a savage war. Will not the Russians respond to the

cries of their ethnic cousins, the Bosnian Serbs, who fear being driven from their homes in the future by a menacing Bosnian Muslim force? Our effort to equip and train Bosnian Muslims could bring more war to the region.

No matter how we try to separate it from IFOR, the effort to equip and train will have "RED, WHITE, AND BLUE" written all over it. This would jeopardize the safety of U.S. forces. The Serb partisans will have an incentive to make American troops pay the price, and American troops will become the object of Serb anger and acts of vengeance.

Therefore, I believe that we should defer any effort to equip and train until IFOR departs the country. My suggestion keeps faith with the Bosnian Muslims without needlessly jeopardizing the lives of American troops.

Again, Mr. President, I want to help you bring peace to Bosnia. But I would find it difficult to support U.S. participation in IFOR should we embark on the dangerous path of equipping and training Bosnian Muslims.

Sincerely,

IKE SKELTON,
Member of Congress.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, November 22, 1995.

THE PRESIDENT,
The White House, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Now that a Bosnian peace agreement has been reached, our attention turns to the impending deployment of American troops to Bosnia as peacekeepers. With the proposal for American military participation in the implementation force, it is critical that Congress have the answer to the question I have raised with you and members of your Administration over the past few weeks. The question is:

Will the U.S. government or any of its allies supply training, armaments or equipment, either directly or indirectly, to any of the belligerents or former belligerents between now and the end of our troop involvement in Bosnia?

I ask the question because we have had the sad experience of American forces being viewed as favoring one side over another in previous conflicts, resulting in American injuries and deaths. I refer to Beirut in 1983 and Mogadishu in 1993. This is especially important in light of the news report on the BBC this morning that the Bosnian Serb leadership is sharply divided on this agreement.

I would appreciate hearing from you.

Very truly yours,

IKE SKELTON,
Member of Congress.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, December 1, 1995.

HON. WILLIAM J. PERRY,
The Secretary of Defense, Washington, DC.

DEAR SECRETARY PERRY: If the U.S. Department of State insists on arming and training the Croat-Muslim Federation—with an American guarantee and coordination of the effort, as testified to by Secretary Christopher yesterday—will the 20,000 American soldiers in the Bosnia-Herzegovina region be forewarned of this additional security risk? Will they be informed of the possibility of vengeful acts by the Serbs, or of hostilities from Muslims expecting but denied favorable treatment?

This is a major security issue. I urge the Department of Defense to issue memoranda to each soldier to be on extra alert, as this State Department policy will put them at higher risk.

Please respond at your earliest convenience. Thank you.

Sincerely,

IKE SKELTON,
Member of Congress.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 2076

Mr. ROGERS submitted the following conference report and statement on the bill (H.R. 2076) making appropriations for the Department of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1996, and for other purposes:

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. 104-378)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 2076) "making appropriations for the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1996, and for other purposes," having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment, insert: *That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1996, and for other purposes, namely:*

TITLE I—DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For expenses necessary for the administration of the Department of Justice, \$74,282,000; including not to exceed \$3,317,000 for the Facilities Program 2000, and including \$5,000,000 for management and oversight of Immigration and Naturalization Service activities, both sums to remain available until expended: Provided, That not to exceed 45 permanent positions and 51 full-time equivalent workyears and \$7,477,000 shall be expended for the Department Leadership Program only for the Offices of the Attorney General and the Deputy Attorney General, exclusive of augmentation that occurred in these offices in fiscal year 1995: Provided further, That not to exceed 76 permanent positions and 90 full-time equivalent workyears and \$9,487,000 shall be expended for the Executive Support program for the Offices of Legislative Affairs, Public Affairs and Policy Development: Provided further, That the latter three aforementioned offices shall not be augmented by personnel details, temporary transfers of personnel on either a reimbursable or non-reimbursable basis or any other type of formal or informal transfer or reimbursement of personnel or funds on either a temporary or long-term basis.

COUNTERTERRORISM FUND

For necessary expenses, as determined by the Attorney General, \$16,898,000 to remain available until expended, to reimburse any Department of Justice organization for (1) the costs incurred in reestablishing the operational capability of an office or facility which has been damaged or destroyed as a result of the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City or any domestic or international terrorist incident, (2) the costs of providing support to counter, investigate or prosecute domestic or international terrorism, including payment of rewards in connection with these activities, and (3) the costs of conducting a terrorism threat assessment of Federal agencies and their facilities: Provided, That funds provided under

this section shall be available only after the Attorney General notifies the Committees on Appropriations of the House of Representatives and the Senate in accordance with section 605 of this Act.

ADMINISTRATIVE REVIEW AND APPEALS

For expenses necessary for the administration of pardon and clemency petitions and immigration related activities, \$38,886,000: Provided, That the obligated and unobligated balances of funds previously appropriated to the General Administration, Salaries and Expenses appropriation for the Executive Office for Immigration Review and the Office of the Pardon Attorney shall be merged with this appropriation.

VIOLENT CRIME REDUCTION PROGRAMS,

ADMINISTRATIVE REVIEW AND APPEALS

For activities authorized by sections 130005 and 130007 of Public Law 103-322, \$47,780,000, to remain available until expended, which shall be derived from the Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund: Provided, That the obligated and unobligated balances of funds previously appropriated to the General Administration, Salaries and Expenses appropriation under Title VIII of Public Law 103-317 for the Executive Office for Immigration Review shall be merged with this appropriation.

OFFICE OF INSPECTOR GENERAL

For necessary expenses of the Office of Inspector General in carrying out the provisions of the Inspector General Act of 1978, as amended, \$28,960,000; including not to exceed \$10,000 to meet unforeseen emergencies of a confidential character, to be expended under the direction of, and to be accounted for solely under the certificate of, the Attorney General; and for the acquisition, lease, maintenance and operation of motor vehicles without regard to the general purchase price limitation.

UNITED STATES PAROLE COMMISSION

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses of the United States Parole Commission as authorized by law, \$5,446,000.

LEGAL ACTIVITIES

SALARIES AND EXPENSES, GENERAL LEGAL ACTIVITIES

(INCLUDING TRANSFER OF FUNDS)

For expenses necessary for the legal activities of the Department of Justice, not otherwise provided for, including not to exceed \$20,000 for expenses of collecting evidence, to be expended under the direction of, and to be accounted for solely under the certificate of, the Attorney General; and rent of private or Government-owned space in the District of Columbia; \$401,929,000; of which not to exceed \$10,000,000 for litigation support contracts shall remain available until expended: Provided, That of the funds available in this appropriation, not to exceed \$22,618,000 shall remain available until expended for office automation systems for the legal divisions covered by this appropriation, and for the United States Attorneys, the Antitrust Division, and offices funded through "Salaries and Expenses", General Administration: Provided further, That of the total amount appropriated, not to exceed \$1,000 shall be available to the United States National Central Bureau, INTERPOL, for official reception and representation expenses: Provided further, That notwithstanding 31 U.S.C. 1342, the Attorney General may accept on behalf of the United States and credit to this appropriation, gifts of money, personal property and services, for the purpose of hosting the International Criminal Police Organization's (INTERPOL) American Regional Conference in the United States during fiscal year 1996.

In addition, for reimbursement of expenses of the Department of Justice associated with processing cases under the National Childhood Vaccine Injury Act of 1986, not to exceed \$4,028,000, to be appropriated from the Vaccine Injury

Compensation Trust Fund, as authorized by section 6601 of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act, 1989, as amended by Public Law 101-512 (104 Stat. 1289).

In addition, for Salaries and Expenses, General Legal Activities, \$12,000,000 shall be made available to be derived by transfer from unobligated balances of the Working Capital Fund in the Department of Justice.

VIOLENT CRIME REDUCTION PROGRAMS, GENERAL LEGAL ACTIVITIES

For the expeditious deportation of denied asylum applicants, as authorized by section 130005 of Public Law 103-322, \$7,591,000, to remain available until expended, which shall be derived from the Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund.

SALARIES AND EXPENSES, ANTITRUST DIVISION

For expenses necessary for the enforcement of antitrust and kindred laws, \$65,783,000: Provided, That notwithstanding any other provision of law, not to exceed \$48,262,000 of offsetting collections derived from fees collected for premerger notification filings under the Hart-Scott-Rodino Antitrust Improvements Act of 1976 (15 U.S.C. 18(a)) shall be retained and used for necessary expenses in this appropriation, and shall remain available until expended: Provided further, That the sum herein appropriated from the General Fund shall be reduced as such offsetting collections are received during fiscal year 1996, so as to result in a final fiscal year 1996 appropriation from the General Fund estimated at not more than \$17,521,000: Provided further, That any fees received in excess of \$48,262,000 in fiscal year 1996, shall remain available until expended, but shall not be available for obligation until October 1, 1996.

SALARIES AND EXPENSES, UNITED STATES

ATTORNEYS

For necessary expenses of the Office of the United States Attorneys, including intergovernmental agreements, \$895,509,000, of which not to exceed \$2,500,000 shall be available until September 30, 1997 for the purposes of (1) providing training of personnel of the Department of Justice related to locating debtors and their property, such as title searches, debtor skiptracing, asset searches, credit reports and other investigations, (3) paying the costs of the Department of Justice for the sale of property not covered by the sale proceeds, such as auctioneers' fees and expenses, maintenance and protection of property and businesses, advertising and title search and surveying costs, and (4) paying the costs of processing and tracking debts owed to the United States Government: Provided, That of the total amount appropriated, not to exceed \$8,000 shall be available for official reception and representation expenses: Provided further, That not to exceed \$10,000,000 of those funds available for automated litigation support contracts and \$4,000,000 for security equipment shall remain available until expended: Provided further, That in addition to reimbursable full-time equivalent workyears available to the Office of the United States Attorneys, not to exceed 8,595 positions and 8,862 full-time equivalent workyears shall be supported from the funds appropriated in this Act for the United States Attorneys.

VIOLENT CRIME REDUCTION PROGRAMS, UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS

For activities authorized by sections 190001(d), 40114 and 130005 of Public Law 103-322, \$30,000,000 to remain available until expended, which shall be derived from the Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund, of which \$20,269,000 shall be available to help meet increased demands for litigation and related activities, \$500,000 to implement a program to appoint additional Federal Victim's Counselors, and \$9,231,000 for expeditious deportation of denied asylum applicants.

UNITED STATES TRUSTEE SYSTEM FUND

For necessary expenses of the United States Trustee Program \$102,390,000, as authorized by 28 U.S.C. 589a(a), to remain available until expended, for activities authorized by section 115