

United States has tremendous resources which only have to be harnessed, and the Committee's hearings represent a significant step in that direction.

As we approach the 21st Century, I welcome efforts to ensure that our country is well prepared to act on the basis of the very best data. I particularly want to thank you for your efforts in this regard. Your ideas and insight on these issues are important to me, and your continued support is essential.

Again, please accept my very best wishes for a productive series of hearings.

Sincerely,

AL GORE.

AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE BOSNIAN WAR

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

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, you will notice that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WELDON] and I are not in tuxedos. A lot of the membership from both sides of the aisle are down at the White House tonight in tuxes at the Christmas party.

The last time I was at a Christmas party was 3 years ago tomorrow night. George Bush's personal Pearl Harbor was that December 7 Christmas party, and I touched him for the first time in his Presidency, put my hands on his shoulders and I said, "Mr. President, I'm going to run for President in 1996 for one reason, to avenge you, a 58-combat-mission Naval carrier attack pilot being defeated by a triple avoider of serving his country who let three high school kids from Hot Springs and Fayetteville go in his place."

The reason I asked you to stay for a second in the well, CURT, you are a subcommittee chairman under Chairman FLOYD SPENCE of National Security. It used to be Armed Services—it still is in the Senate—Committee on Armed Services. There are five of us. We did away with Oversight.

I nicknamed us the Marshals. You can pick a Napoleonic field marshal image with batons, or I prefer the Old West being a westerner. In Pennsylvania you have sheriffs still, do you not?

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Yes.

Mr. DORNAN. So we are his 5 marshals. His deputies. So the two of us on the floor means we have 40 percent of the subcommittee chairmen on the House.

I just came from a CAT meeting. That is one of these new unofficial groups that is supposed to be the toughest tigers, panthers, leopards on the hill, Conservative Action Team, CAT. They do not know what to do over Bosnia.

I am putting you on the spot because you know I respect you. I think you are a Russian expert. Nobody tracked the Kremlin harder than you did when the bad guys were in power, and now that the bad guys are still all over the place with different titles and we have a

Communist taking over the Secretary-Generalship of NATO, fought to keep Spain out of NATO, you described to me, because I am on your R&D subcommittee, you described to me before I had to leave to go to a 2-hour intelligence briefing on Bosnia and Chechnya, that it was a nightmare beyond description, the nuclear waste problem all across Russia and Siberia.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DORNAN. I will. I want to hear a little bit more about it in a dialog.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. The problem is so extensive that the security forces of Russia went into the headquarters of this Norwegian non-government organization, Ballona, which was about ready to release a report, confiscated all of their computers, all of their software, all of their data and their photographs. They were able to save a significant portion of that which we will release tomorrow at 12:30 which in fact show photographs of spent nuclear fuel that have been exposed in the outdoors for 30 years, of nuclear waste on land that is sitting with no protection.

The situation is so severe in the area of the Northern Fleet up in the area of Murmansk and the ports where the Northern Fleet is headquartered—Severodvinsk is the other port—that Dr. Yablokov and the Yablokov Commission report estimated that perhaps as much as 10 million curies of radioactive nuclear waste is currently being stored because the Russians have no capacity to safely dispose of it.

By comparison, Three Mile Island at its worst only gave off a few curies, relatively speaking, to the Russian threat that is there. So there is a terrible problem as the Russians downsize their military, as there are nuclear-powered submarines that are being decommissioned. They do not have any way to deal with this.

□ 1845

The point that we have to understand is, as we look at those nuclear weapons that are still in Russia, and we are concerned about the command and control of those nuclear weapons, certainly when you look at the way they are treating the waste gives you some indication that there are serious problems in the way that Russia deals with its nuclear power as well as its nuclear waste, and, as you know, I say to the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN], and as a member of our subcommittee, we have been extensively looking at Russian command and control.

In January of next year, our subcommittee will have a hearing that will be the conclusion of a 4-month investigation where we have interviewed over 40 witnesses on the issue of intelligence gathered and provided to Congress on command and control of the Russian nuclear arsenal. Some of the results of those interviews are startling in terms of the lack of security

and the concerns that many of us had which now, in fact, may be verified that Russia does not have adequate control and that perhaps the potential for an accidental or a rogue launch, or even worse, a sale of one of those systems to a rogue nation is, in fact, something we have to look at in a serious vein. That hearing we will hold in January will even consist of people who have worked in the administration.

Mr. DORNAN. Hearing under which subcommittee?

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. R&D subcommittee, which Chairman SPENCE asked me to chair, took testimony from at least three people whose stories have been corroborated that perhaps there has been some dumbing down of intelligence reports relative to Russian command and control. So the purpose of the hearing tomorrow is not to just look at the environmental problems of Russia and to work with those good people like Dr. Yablokov, who are not afraid to stand up and speak the truth, but also to point up the fact that we in this country who want improved long-term relations with the Russians, and I certainly do as chairman of the Russian-American energy caucus and as a member of the environmental caucus that works with Russian duma member Nikolai Veronsov on environmental issues, that we must never oversee the way that Russia deals with the most potent force that they have, and that is their nuclear arsenal. Dr. Yablokov, who is in our country right now to be present at the press conference and hearing tomorrow is the prime person in all of Russia who has been willing to stand up and question the leadership.

Just last week I read the FIBITS reports, as I do everyday, on Russia.

Mr. DORNAN. Flesh out that acronym.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. That is the foreign intelligence reports that we get summarizing all the foreign media.

Mr. DORNAN. Broadcast from all around the world in English.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. There were three specific articles from Russia, all three quoted Dr. Yablokov by name. One of them was highlighting the fact Dr. Yablokov has stated on the record that Russia has as much as 100,000 tons of chemical weapons despite the fact the military leadership only says they have 40,000 tons. Dr. Yablokov has come out publicly in Moscow and said that cannot be correct. Dr. Yablokov has also come out and publicly criticized the leadership over the small nuclear weapons that Russia, in fact, has accessible to it. So he is not afraid to speak his mind. He is someone for whom I have the highest respect. He is with us. He will be with us tomorrow at the hearing. He will be very candid and tell us what he feels are the problems of his country.

But I also expect him to be very candid about problems we, in fact, have in

our country. We are not totally without blame. In fact, part of our hearing tomorrow, I expect, will focus on the 30,000 barrels of nuclear waste that were dumped off the San Francisco coast a few years ago and what we are doing to monitor that. We, in this country, have been very critical of the Russians because of their lack of control over the *Komsmolensk* when it went down off of Norway, yet we have not been willing to discuss openly the fact that we have two nuclear subs on the bottom of the ocean floor, the *Thresher* and *Scorpion*.

We are saying we must join together to understand the problems created through the use of nuclear technology. This will be a first step tomorrow. I am looking forward to having the gentleman whose special order I am infringing on to be there, as he so eloquently is on all of our national security issues, to help us understand what is happening in the former Soviet states as relates to these and other issues involving nuclear power and nuclear weapons.

Mr. DORNAN. For letting you get in those extra words, I wanted everyone in the million people watching C-SPAN, not only our distinguished Speaker pro tempore in the chair, to know that, but I wanted to read you something. This is the price you are going to have to pay to bounce this off you, if you knew about this particular atrocity: Bosnian Serbs swept into Moslem and Croat villages, 3,800 of them, and engaged in Europe's worst atrocities since the Nazi Holocaust. Serbian thugs raped at least 20,000 women and girls. In barbed wire camps, men, women, and children were tortured and starved to death.

To me, the sickest thing in the world is not only murdering an innocent person in cold blood, but torturing them for hours knowing you are going to kill them anyway. Girls as young as six were raped repeatedly. I am reading from Readers Digest, the October issue. In one case, three Moslem girls were chained to a fence, raped by Serbian soldiers for 3 days, then drenched with gasoline and set on fire.

Now, for all of my Serbian-American friends, and I have plenty, I know you cringe at the sound of these atrocities, and I know because you have got them in Pennsylvania as I do in California, great Americans of Serbian heritage, and they say, well, what about the atrocities committed following the battle of Kosovo, June 28, 1389, 606 years and 5 months ago. Yes, the Ottoman Turks committed atrocity after atrocity. Then the Serbs began to give as good as they were taking it, and then it became a three-way split with Catholic Croats fighting orthodox Serbs, back and forth, Austria, the province of Styria, holding the line, look at the big army in Groz, in Austria, it shows there, 400 or 500, half a millennium of defending Christendom from Islamic warriors coming up from Istanbul.

However, this is the 20th century, and no matter 600 years of suppression and persecution and then Tito's crimes, you do not do that to women and children. You do not target innocent people, and although, and this is the best ballpark figure until I am disabused of this, although five percent of the atrocities are committed by Moslems, they can quibble 4, 3, let us just say 5, and 10 percent by Croats, they can quibble it down to 8, 9, 85 percent is Serbian atrocities. And they now are going to get to keep maybe half of the 3,800 villages where they destroyed the minaret and destroyed every shred of culture, town halls, anything that would be a memory draw to bring people back when the killing was over.

We are putting our young men and women into that, and I will tell you, Mr. Speaker, from this chairman, if CAT, the conservative action team, cannot figure out what to do, then I want everybody within the sound of my voice, I am telling you for the first time, I got my 50 signatures today to have a conference tomorrow. I, BOB DORNAN, circulated the letter on this floor those last 5 votes. I got 64 signatures. All I needed, 50, under Republican rules, no Democrats, just Republicans, tomorrow to discuss Bosnia. The feeling I am getting around here, we are going to do nothing. We have already voted twice. We had a vote 243 to 171, we are not doing anything. The freshmen are telling me we are not in yet. Let us have 1 more vote tomorrow while only the enabling advanced team is in. I hate to put you on the spot. Do not you think, in the midst of this budget talk, the impending second train crash on December 15, possibly that we should talk Bosnia tomorrow for at least an hour?

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. If the gentleman will yield further, absolutely. As a matter of fact, as he knows, last week, I believe it was on Monday or Tuesday, I did a 45-minute special order on Bosnia where I expressed my outrage at portions of the President's speech. The gentleman from California just acknowledged the atrocities that have occurred against human beings, and what offended me most was when President Clinton went before the American people and made the case of how kids and women have been abused and tortured in ethnic cleansing.

In a bipartisan manner on this House floor, we have been saying that for 3 years, and in bipartisan votes on three separate occasions this body and the other body voted to have the administration lift the arms embargo so that there at least would be a leveling of the playing field so people could defend themselves. All of those three times over the past 3 years, the administration failed to listen to us.

But now, all of a sudden, they want to put American sons and daughters in between these warring factions. I would say to my colleague from California, as he knows, I have developed

legislation which I will be back on the House floor tomorrow to present to this body which, in fact, will call for a vote.

Mr. DORNAN. Good.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. As you know, the President, I voted with my colleague from California on three occasions to say we do not want ground troops in Bosnia; unfortunately, again, the President is not listening. He has told the American people it is going to be between 20,000 and 25,000. They are not the numbers. The numbers are 32,000 ground troops, with about 20,000 support troops, for a total of somewhere over 50,000 American kids.

Here we are sending 50,000 American kids into a region that borders Germany where they are sending 4,000 Germans. To me, it is not just unfair, it is outrageous.

Mr. DORNAN. Are you going to the Christmas party?

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. No.

Mr. DORNAN. My I publicly make a presentation of a gift to you? As I come down to the well to give it to you, do you feel any problem with being told you are not supporting the troops, the First Armored Division, Old Ironsides, if you somehow or other vote to stop them from going there?

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. If the gentleman will further yield, I will tell you what I said to Secretary Perry in very emphatic words in our hearing last week. I said, "Mr. Secretary," he asked me what do we tell the troops if this Congress were to vote against the President's policy, and I said, "Mr. Secretary, let me say this to you, you go back and tell those troops that this Congress and our national security committee supports those troops with every ounce of energy in our bodies to the core and bone of our bodies." In fact, if I have my way, we will have a vote this week, as my good friend and colleague knows, and that vote will be on having this Congress go on record to say that we will give the theater command officer in Bosnia with the President sending our troops there, General Joulwan, every resource, piece of equipment and support that he feels he needs to protect our troops. Secretary Perry said, "We do not need that. I will do that." I said to the Secretary we were told that three years ago, and because the Secretary of Defense said the climate was not right, politically, in Washington, he denied the support that was requested of him by the commanding officer in charge of the Somalia theater that led to not only the deaths of 18, actually 19, young Americans, but had their bodies dragged through the streets of Mogadishu. So we are going to support the troops, and we are going to support them most emphatically, because we are not going to let this administration repeat Somalia.

Mr. DORNAN. Let me tell the audience here something, and the Speaker, because foreign affairs went first, and now named international relations, they got most of the coverage that

night on C-SPAN. We went in the afternoon. You sit to my immediate left, to the senior position, going up toward FLOYD SPENCER, our great chairman, and they wired the mikes all the way down to your mike for C-SPAN. Remember, I said, I am not using my mike. I want to use your mike. I want the C-SPAN cameras to hear my voice clearly, the sound on tape. They came up to me afterward and heard me lean over to you, when you asked the question of Christopher, the Secretary of State, what about Somalia, and I leaned to you, and I said, "We learned our lesson in Somalia," half a second later Christopher said, "We learned our lessons in Somalia." I went, "Oh, my gosh, yes, over the dead bodies of 19 men."

What have we learned in Vietnam, for God's sake? What have we learned in Grenada, Panama; what did we learn in every single conflict? We are always learning from the immediate last prior struggle. We learned the U.N. command structure is flawed.

What I am going to do with this patch of *Old Ironsides* is, on my blazer, it looks funny on a suit, I am going to make everybody else pay me three bucks, yours is free, because it is a House floor presentation.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. I will pay you.

Mr. DORNAN. No; no.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Remember the gift ban.

Mr. DORNAN. You pay me for the cloisonne, \$6. I am going to get a little cloisonne pins, regimental pins they wear up here for the First Armored Division. On my blazers, it looks good on a blue blazer with gray slacks, I am going to sew this on my blazers for the next 11 months. Nobody is going to tell BOB DORNAN I do not support the troops. You and I are going to probably take a codel over there after New Year's, maybe New Year's Day. We can arrive there as Clinton did in Moscow in 1969, New Year's, to welcome in 1970. We are going to go over there and meet these guys and tell them, "Gentlemen," and they are men and women; we call them kids because we love the young guys and gals. They are men and women.

Did you see this picture in the week-end papers of Clinton leading the troops in Germany? Do you know what he had to do to get this picture? The most offensive picture, even worse than the whole Joint Chiefs of Staff and our late pal Les Aspin on the stage at Fort McNair, to abuse SAM NUNN's law, and IKE SKELTON and us on homosexuals in the military, to twist it into "Don't ask, don't tell," a confusing policy designed to lose in the courts; he, worse than that, Fort McNair, July 19, 1993, was May 4, ending Operation.

Hope, Restore Hope, in Somalia, end of George Bush's operation, only three men killed in action on patrol, 27 more to go, 19 on the third, fourth and sixth of October, he lined up 30 Marines, including about 8 lady Marines, lined

abreast in his new blue suit, he marched down the lawn of the White House 50 feet or more to a prepositioned mike.

□ 1900

You know how he got this one? He meets with the division commander of the 1st Armored and all the officer corps division level of *Old Ironsides*, and he says, using infantry Fort Benning, GA words, gentleman, would you follow me for a second? And he turns his back on them for a second and says follow me, and walks down this driveway at their command headquarters in Germany.

Here is one of the White House people that screwed up the Waco hearings, the gentleman from Massachusetts, PETER BLUTE, just recognized him, from twisting all the Waco joint hearings here in the early summer; he starts walking down, he gets that look with his chin in the air, flexes his jaw muscles, and poses just like he did in 1993. It is December, and I nominate this as the most offensive photo opportunity using our military men and women that I have seen this year. That is the worst staged thing I have seen. But he does not say follow me all the way to Bosnia, because he is on his way home to be at the Kennedy Center last night. He says follow me down this driveway to the camera, thank you for the photo op, and enjoy your Christmas in the snow of Tuzla, 5 kilometers from the biggest chlorine plant in all of the 8 provinces of former Yugoslavia that a Green Beret who is over there helping the Muslims told me, and nobody has contradicted it, one bomb or terrorist attack on that chlorine plant and poison gas starts down the valley to Tuzla, and it can kill everybody in town and every American man and woman in the whole area. I hope to God we are going to secure that plant.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. If the gentleman will yield, I just want to add, I agree, there is the worst administration photo op I have seen. It offends me, not just a photo op like that, and I share my colleague's feelings about that, but that we would in a case of having our troops deployed overseas ever deny adequate backup and support as requested by the on-scene commander.

In the 9 years I have been here, that has only happened one time, and that was in Somalia. We in the Congress did not find out about it until after it was over. That led to the resignation of Les Aspin, who was a good friend of both of ours. That is never going to happen again. As I said to Secretary Perry and Christopher and General Shalikashvili, this President, through his chain of command, has put General Joulwan in charge of that theater of operations.

Mr. DORNAN. We helped to make that happen. It is under NATO because of us.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Whatever General Joulwan wants, this Congress and this administration better

give it to him. And we will be watching every request that comes over from General Joulwan, who has been given the responsibility to protect our troops and give them the resources we need. And this Congress, and I know the gentleman shares my feelings as chairman of the Subcommittee on Military Personnel and perhaps no one speaks more eloquently for our men and women in the military than the gentleman, and with the experience he has had and with the background he has had, he is the perfect chairman of that subcommittee, but that we will make sure that we will not have a repeat of Somalia in this operation, even though the overwhelming majority of our colleagues disagree with sending ground troops there in the first place.

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, just one thing, before the chairman goes, infringing on his time again, because I have always found that a dialogue is more interesting to watch only C-SPAN than a monologue, and I am going to give them one hell of a monologue here in a minute, the gentleman and I both know one of the biggest misconceptions, although the American people are beginning to understand if you look at the polling data, that we are expending massive treasury in that whole Balkans area. I am trying to tell people if you want to get down the debate, think of it in couplets. Sealift, 95 percent ours, and airlift, 95 percent United States of America taxpayers. Sea power, the Adriatic. You notice that PAT SCHROEDER, bless her heart, finally starts asking good questions after she announced her retirement. I whispered to the gentleman they will not answer this question, and they did not. We have the 6th fleet in the Med. We always have people up there. It is steaming longer, they are costing more money at sea. The minute your put a carrier battle group out there, that is another 6,000 men on top of everything else.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Easy 6,000, probably closer to 7,000. How about air strikes that we provided?

Mr. DORNAN. That is next. Sealift, airlift, sea power, air power. Close air support. I was at Aviano August 30. I am told again that the two French pilots, Frederique and Jose, are probably beaten to death, murdered, and they were known prisoners. I held up their pictures on the floor here the other day. Captain Chiffot and Lieutenant Jose Savignon.

These two pilots, this is day 90 they are missing in action. If these were American pilots, particularly if one was a woman, that is the way Americans respond to a woman in trouble, Clinton would not be marching at this photo op in front of the 1st Armored. He would not be doing it if those were American pilots.

Well, what are these Frenchmen, allies of ours or not? They were flying under our command or control, our AWACS, our airborne control centers, our combat control out of Aviano.

They took off from Villaparte, maybe 10 more air minutes to fly over Aviano, and they are gone. They are lost. They disappeared. And the war criminals know where they are, because I have got all their faces pickeled out, so the Serbs turned over the pictures to Perry Match. So that is the first quadrant of it. Sea power, air power, sea lift, air lift.

Now, food. What are we? 80 percent? 70 percent? 90 again? Fuel, what are we? 70, 80, 890 percent, supplied and transported there?

Now down to hospitals. I told you we are going to go back to Zagreb. I hope to God there is never a person in there as badly wounded as BOB DOLE was just a few kilometers across the Adriatic in mid-Italy. I hope we do not fill up the hospital in Zagreb. We have most of the hospital supplies.

The whole other range of logistics. You know I am on my 7th year that NEWT extended me on Intelligence. We are 95 percent or more of the intelligence. We have the no-longer-secret unmanned aerial vehicles, that is under my other subcommittee chairmanship, Technical and Tactical Intelligence. Our satellite architecture, which you are an expert on, that is ours.

I mean air power, sea power, sealift, airlift, fuel, food, logistics. Here is the other one. The war will spread. Certainly not across the Adriatic. The 6th Fleet is there. Will it go south into Greece? No, because we have got 500 men and women in Macedonia, a blocking action. What are they? Chopped liver? We have men on the ground hemming them in.

They are not going to blow through Hungary. TOM LANTOS will stop that and take over a CO-DEL and physically stand on the line to stop that. What are they going to do, charge into Romania and Bulgaria? They are not going to come through Croatia. They got their clock cleaned in the whole Krajina area, the old former Slavonia. Slovenia is not going to let them come up there. They are begging to come into NATO. More than NATO, they want to be a United States ally, just like Albania.

Where are they going? Nowhere. In other words, we are doing everything except putting our men and women on the ground in the toughest quadrant around Tuzla in harm's way. I think that I as a Member feel blackmailed, CURT, that when NATO says to me, and Senator MCCAIN repeated it this week-end, that NATO said they would not go without us.

Vice President GORE said on the show, the expanded Nightline, Viewpoint, with Ted Koppel, well, look, we had to go over there in World War I. My dad was wounded three times. We had to go in World War II.

CURT, do you like to go in European museums? Have you ever seen so much culture in your life, from Greece to the British Parliament? These people we are told they are incapable of not slitting one another's throats unless they have Americans standing between

them. We are going to end this century in Sarajevo, well, the French get that, Sarajevo or Tuzla, the way we began it in Sarajevo.

It is offensive to be blackmailed and be told by intelligent Europeans, a bigger population than we have, bigger gross domestic or area product than we have, to be told unless you are, there, we are not going, and the raping of little 6-year-old girls can continue. We want you in the trenches.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. If the gentleman will yield on that point, that was the second major problem I had with President Clinton's speech. He said that those who oppose his policy are isolationists.

Nothing could be further from the truth. He knows that this Congress has gone on record three times saying to lift the arms embargo over the past three years. He knows that since August this Congress has gone on record three times. The most recent vote garnered 315 in favor, Democrats and Republicans alike, saying do not send ground troops in.

This Congress has said America should not be asked to do it all alone. When you add up the amount of troops that you have just outlined, and you total in the ground troops, we are talking in excess of 50,000 American troops, costing the taxpayers between \$2 and \$3 billion, that we are going to incur for this Bosnian operation.

The question that made me so upset as I thought through this whole situation, was why are the Germans only putting in 4,000 and why does the Bundestag have to approve that before they can go? Why are the Italians putting in 2,100, and why does the Italian parliament have to approve that before those 2,100 can go? Why are the Scandinavians only putting in a collective total of 2,000, and certain of the Scandinavian countries have said we will come, but you have to pay for our travel, our food and our lodging?

Why are these other countries in Europe putting all of these conditions and providing so few troops, when America is putting again 50,000 young American sons and daughters on the line. And the French, who I will admit are putting 7,500 in, are the same French that denied us access to their air space when we wanted to go down to Libya to pay Quadafi back for the terrorism he caused. The same people we are now joining with, because they feel it is important for America to be there, denied us that air space.

Let me just say that is what we are concerned about. And this President, as he usually does, twists that around and convolutes it to say we are isolationists who do not care about human rights abuses. It is outrageous.

The real mistake here was when this President 3 years ago opened his mouth and said, "If need be, I will put American ground troops on the ground for a peace agreement." Long before the negotiations began we all knew that was a given. That is what we all found so

offensive, that we never had a chance to play a role in this process, because the President committed the ground troops long before any leader in the Balkans decided they were going to come to terms for a peace agreement.

Unfortunately, young kids are going to lose their lives over that. That is why you and I, as chairman of appropriate defense subcommittees, have got to use every ounce of energy in our body to protect those kids. And we will do that.

Mr. DORNAN. You know where the Germans are going? Croatia. There is no fighting in Croatia now around Zagreb. They will live in Croatian military barracks and hard facilities because of their cozy relationship during the Second World War. I am not going to bring up the ghost of the Istasa, the Coatian gestapo. They had their sins, so did the Serbs under Tito. The Muslims were importing terrorism early on, just like World War I, fiddling around with the terrorist groups in the Middle East. Every side there has plenty of guilt.

But this is the German relationship. The German Embassy is in Zagreb, Croatia, is the biggest one here. Here may be the dreaded gray hand behind all of this, the European Economic Community. The EEC is interested in one thing, bigger import into the United States then we export to Europe. More Volkswagens and Mercedes and Volvos coming in here than we are putting out there. They see this area as a trade area.

One thing I have said for 3 years, 4 years, I told Bush, the Europeans are dragging their feet and demanding we put our people in danger on the ground because they simply do not want a Muslim State in the European area west of the Ural Mountains. They do not want it. So now that we are down to the place divided up, half of the villages where atrocities took place going the other way, Clinton said last week something that made my blood curdled again.

He said "We have fought all these wars." Not we. He wasn't there when this country called him. And it is not that he has to say you folks and get in a Ross Perot problem. All he has to say is "America has fought these wars."

A lot of people are calling my office and saying "Are you going to impeach him, Congressman DORNAN," because I read this on the floor? This is an article from Mr. Phil Merrill, in the Wall Street Journal, November 14, it seems like a long time ago, 22 days ago, "Bosnia, we shouldn't go," Phillip Merrill, the former Assistant Secretary General of NATO.

The new Secretary General of NATO is a former Spanish communist who fought to keep Spain out of NATO. Suddenly he has been picked to be the head of NATO, and he is Clinton's candidate. I read this on the floor 3 weeks ago. These are former Deputy Secretary General Phillip Merrill's words.

"It is very doubtful that the Balkans can sustain a multi-ethnic society of

the kind envisioned by Clinton. The U.S. has no strategic stake in this fight and cannot and should not be the military arbiter. Our policy seems to be," and I wish Mr. Speaker, Americans would memorize this, "to simultaneously threaten the Serbs from the air. The Aviano-Villaparte-Brindisi air threat is still there. You do something wrong, we tear you up from the air."

Two: Now we are going to act as peacekeepers on the ground.

Three, we are going to train the Croatian Army. We have been doing that. I witnessed it in August. We are going to arm the Bosnian military.

When Ted Koppel on the aforementioned Friday or Thursday show last week said "how are we going to do that, Mr. Vice President," he seemed very uncomfortable, Mr. GORE, and he said "Well, with third parties." And he said "Well, who would those be?" And there was this long uncomfortable pause, and he said contractors.

Contractors. Like Vernell? Are we going back to RMKBRW, the big huge conglomerate that LBJ built out of Texas and Idaho and other firms, to put in 20 10,000 foot runway bases and a couple of parallel 13,000 runway bases at Bien Hoa and Cam Ranh Bay so he could come in in a 747 to visit with the troops?

□ 1915

Mr. Speaker, I am hearing all of the Vietnam doublespeak, all the McNamara crazy rationalizations, and this time one of my staffers said to me, BOB DORNAN, isn't this your dream when you were 31 years old, after the Tonkin Gulf, that you wished you were in Congress as a forceful articulate voice to stop men dying? You thought it would be a couple thousand, turned out to be 58,000 plus, and 8 women engraved on that wall down there, and friends of mine, like David Hrdlicka left alive behind in Laos, Charlie Shelton, Eugene Deburen.

No. I am here now, and I want to see if I cannot do what I thought I could do as a young man if I had only come to the Congress, which was 10 years ahead of the curve in those days.

So after we threaten the Serbs from the air, act as peacekeepers on the ground in the toughest quadrant of all, around Tuzla, train the Croatian army, arm the Bosnian military, then we are going to make sure that the Dayton peace negotiations are implemented, and then we are not going to go out of our way to seek out or hunt down, like a good tough Simon Wiesenthal, these people that sanctioned the raping of children and the burning alive of women who had been desecrated, hanging on a fence for days. No, we will not hunt them down, and we are going to try not to bump into them, but if we find them in the room with us, we will arrest them, these 53 Serbian and 3 Croatian war criminals.

Now, as Mr. Merrell continued, any one of these policies is defensible. Taken together they are incoherent. As

flareups occur, these inherently conflicting policies will leave us powerless in the end to act effectively, even if we do not have any casualties, which I pray to God we will not. I do not want one first armored division, Old Ironsides, same name as that great naval ship of the line that still is a commissioned naval fighting vehicle up there in Boston Harbor that they take out and turn around every six months so the sun bakes both sides equally. That Old Ironsides is where this armored division—actually, it is Patton's tank battalion from World War I, that my dad tried to get into because he was an automobile man from New York City and did not make it. This is the outgrowth. Our very first armored division commissioned before World War II grew out of the prophetic statements of General George S. Patton of what would happen in the next war with armor.

Now, here is the way Merrell closed, and I read it on the floor, so a lot of people across America say BOB DORNAN is the man to carry the articles of impeachment against Clinton. I read these words of Ambassador Phillip Merrell. To endorse the President's policy comes close to an act of murder of young Americans, who have sworn allegiance to our country but who will serve and die under circumstances that will neither advance U.S. interests nor the cause of freedom.

Certainly not if we are going to fail to arrest the war criminals guilty of atrocities and invite the big kahuna war criminal Milosevic to Dayton.

When the American body bags start coming home, it will be a political disaster for those who did not oppose sending troops to Bosnia. What does that mean; that Senator BOB DOLE, who at this point in time has a percentage lock on the Republican nomination to challenge Clinton, does it mean that Clinton is doomed; that he will add to the two Democratic Presidents who have gotten a second consecutive term since Andy Jackson, when he got his second term in the election of 1832? Only Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson have gotten a second consecutive term, so that means Clinton does not get a second term? Maybe he can make a comeback in the year 2000 like Grover Cleveland, another Democrat. Separated terms.

Does that mean that DOLE does not win? What does it mean; that Ross Perot is going to be emboldened; that United We Stand America will grow into the major party and eclipse the other two; because hearing the haunting twang of Alabama's George Wallace, there is not a dime's worth of difference between the two of them; that the Senate votes a resolution to support and the House goes impotent and silent, neutered, we do not do anything?

He says should President Clinton send American troops into Bosnia without congressional approval, he should be impeached. The time to face

the choice is now, before we enter this war and before American blood is shed.

If he sends them in without a congressional approval, which the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. WELDON, Chairman WELDON, just said the French have to do and the Germans have to do—by the way, the most foreign ownership of property in this country is British. The mother country. It makes some sense. Guess who is right up there with the Japanese. I think they own more property. The Netherlands. The Dutch. Holland. The Netherlands, where in the Hague, in their capital, Richard Goldstone, the distinguished justice of South Africa, is conducting the war crimes tribunal.

The Netherlands are sending 180 troops only, and their parliament will have to approve their going. No aircraft will be flying in harm's way over the SAM sites along the Danube, being tracked by radar sites from inside Melosevic's Serbia proper.

Here is the map, Mr. Speaker. It is not classified. I swear in the next Congress, if we get a freshman class as big and as aggressive as this, I will get you to sign on a letter for me, Mr. Speaker, where we can have, within reason, with tightly written rules, a Congress man or woman on this floor saying I would like the camera to come in, with your best lenses, and I will hold it steady, we would have it on a tripod, and come in and cover this map frame-to-frame on the camera, like I used to do on my Emmy award winning television show 27 years ago.

Here is the footprint of the Dayton line. They are going to get the Croats to give back this huge chunk of yellow territory. This is Croatia, the beige, and this big chunk of yellow was where the Croats, with American training, cleaned the clock of the Serbians along the Krajina area.

Krajina is Serb-Croat language for border. That is all it means, the borders. The fighting of the vicious border line between the vicious Ottoman empire, the corrupt killers, and the equal killing vengeance forces developed from Austria all along this area. Hungarian knights. Croatian knights. Remember, we got our neckties from Croatia. When they rode with Napoleon, he loved it that they put their cravats on their lances and their scarves from their women around their wrists or their throats. And that was the beginning of neckties, Croatian forces fighting with Napoleon.

Now, Mr. Speaker, here, what used to look like a country that was shaped like an arrowhead, the penetration of the Islamic Ottoman arrowhead into the belly of Europe, an arrowhead shape, it now looks like a very sick amoeba with some big tumors on it from the Bihac pocket all the way down past beautiful Dubrovnik, which I visited in 1972 and thought it was a dream village, and then the Serbs pounded the blazes out of it and burned down monasteries that were 500 and 600 years old, and here they had survived both the world wars of this period.

Here is Montenegro. I met with one of the freedom fighters from there 3 weeks ago. They want to break away from Serbia. Here is the blown-up map of the city, with neighborhoods cut in two, just like Clinton visited Belfast for the first time. I have been there nine times. Shot in the back with a rubber bullet the week after Bloody Sunday in February 1972. I have walked along the Shankle. I have been in Derry. Not Londonderry, but Derry. I understand what it is like when a neighborhood builds corrugated steel walls and people hate each other from apartment building to building.

There are 100,000 people demonstrating in Sarajevo saying they will not accept the Dayton map lines through this city of Sarajevo. Here is Pale, the Serb capital, just a hop, skip, and jump over the Igman Mountain area into the area. That is where the French pilots were shot down in the Mirage 2,000. Pale. Probably beaten to death and murdered by Serbs. That is a war crime, to kill a prisoner of war. They both had leg damage. In the pictures I showed last week on the floor we could see they were being held up. Again, the camera could not come in close. Trust me, I will change that.

Now we have the Postojna corridor. Then this chloride plant. The biggest in all of the eight provinces of Yugoslavia. That means the Hungarian province, Vojvodina; Kosovo, which is 90 percent Albanian, although attached to Serbia. Those were the two autonomous regions. Serbia makes three; Bosnia-Herzegovina, four; Croatia, five; Montenegro, six; Macedonia, seven; and Serbia itself eight. Those are the eight areas.

This was the biggest plant, and it is just a few miles from Tuzla. Right there, Ruckevach. That is where it is that can kill everybody in that area, if somebody decides to hit that with a missile from Serbia. So, hopefully, we will secure that plant. I will go over there around New Year's and make sure we do.

So there is the Dayton line. They have built a corridor out to Gorazde. We have written off Srebrenica. I have just found out it meant silver. That was a big silver plant contracted by the Germans. The Venetians had it first. All of this area, what Churchill called the tinderbox of Europe, and the Europeans cannot solve that problem themselves.

Mr. Speaker, this is the script, the written text, of Steve Kroft on 60 Minutes, a piece entitled "Over There", the song from my dad's period, interviewing two people who worked hard over there, Lieutenant Colonel Bob Stewart, the British commander, and Canadian General Louis McKenzie, a great sports car driver, I might add, with a love for MG sports cars, as this Congressman has, and I passed it on to my son.

Here are the words of General McKenzie and Colonel Stewart saying you will be in there for 30 years, just like Cyprus. And I thought, no, we will

not. Clinton is going to pray, and I will be praying right along with him, that not a single man or woman from Old Ironsides is hurt, and that he will be back in time for the election. He will hope that Haiti does not explode. So I want to put in the words of General McKenzie and Colonel Stewart.

Mr. Speaker, here is the paper from over the weekend, that same photo-op. I was at Normandy watching young soldiers shake Clinton's hand. Afterward, I said do you like this guy? They said, no, he beat it out of the service. He did not serve. We love Reagan. But, hey, he is the President. I want to send a picture home to my mom. I want to say I shook the President of the United States' hand. He is the Commander-In-Chief. Meanwhile, Tom Brokaw was saying these GI's love him. They cannot get enough of him.

Well, here is something. This is why he loves these photo-ops. These GI's are so good, they will do their best to make him look good in spite of himself. The troops saved their most enthusiastic response. Roars of hoo-ah for Clinton's description of rules of engagement. Now, this is dangerous, Mr. Speaker. That will allow them to protect themselves against perceived threats.

We are coming to Clinton's exact words. Their orders, Clinton said, spell out the most important rule of all in big bold letters. If you are threatened with attack, you may respond immediately and with decisive force. Everyone should know that when America comes to help make the peace, America will look after its own. In his speech a week ago last night he said we will meet fire with fire and then some.

Mr. Speaker, this is what costs men's lives. We cannot tell the youngest troopers in this armored division, with their tanks all locked up in a tank park, or left behind in Germany because they cannot get across some of those bridges in that area with a 70-ton M-1 Abrams tank, to tell young people that if you perceive a threat, fire. It is not going to work.

This division commander, and I am going to go visit with him before we have somebody killed over there, or a woman shot at night, or a child shot, or somebody trying to come over to our camp for food shot at night by some nervous GI who watched his friends step on a mine the day before. Remember that Lieutenant Calley, who should have been shot for what he did to the U.S. Army and to his unit and to his men? Remember what Calley's unit did? They had not been in serious fighter fights, having their men shot up with AK-47's. They had been stepping on land mines for months, an unseen enemy. Men screaming, their private parts and their legs all shredded. That is what built up in the tension where suddenly he could turn to people like Paul Meadow, who told him get lost, Lieutenant, and walked away, a real hero, but told other people, kill that little boy over there throwing his leg over his brother.

□ 1930

Kill that Buddhist monk. And then they asked later, "What was that Buddhist monk saying?" And he was saying, "Please, please, please, help me. Please don't hurt me. I'm a man of religion." And they murdered him.

That is what happens when you tell troops loose rules of engagement. Again, nice man; wrong man for this job: Warren Christopher, saying we learned our lesson from Somalia. I am going to ask permission to put in this Reader's Digest article. That is October. I understand the November issue is just as bloodcurdling.

I am lucky enough to have on my staff one of the greatest young authors to come out of the Vietnam conflict, Al Santoli. He is masterful with oral history. Here is a chapter from his book, "Leading the Way: Lessons Learned." About real leaders.

He interviewed Schwarzkopf and Colin Powell for this book. Here is First Sergeant Anthony McPike, Saudi Arabia, 1990 to 1991. Tank leader, C Company, first tank battalion. I think they did have Abrams tanks, but it is Marines. First marine division.

He says, "In one incident," the first sergeant says, Sergeant McPike, "I was on road security. There were two captains, a warrant officer, gunny, a master sergeant and me. We found some enemy prisoners of war who surrendered. These two captains did one of the stupidest things I have ever seen. Without even securing the area, one captain tried to order some troops that were flanking outside the POWs" which they were doing correctly, but the captain grabs a rifle and runs across the field. He did not even know what was in front of him. "Myself, and the other first sergeant saw that, we shook our heads. We went back to the Humvees and just sat there."

It is nice to have sergeants that understand combat to keep some rather aggressive young officers in check.

Something else that I felt important to keep in check was that a lot of troops wanted to open fire. The first sergeant and I talked to a lot of them. We said, 'Y'all don't understand. The minute you pull that trigger and kill somebody, your life is changed forever. That's a feeling you'll never get rid of.'" To kill a human being.

"You might think it's funny now, but it's not. You might take the life of another human being that is not even offering a threat to you. I can understand if a man is running at you with his weapon blazing or with a fixed bayonet. But if he's standing there with his hands on top of his head, don't tell me you are just going to take him out."

"They said, 'Hell, Top, he's the enemy.'" These are Marines now, Mr. Speaker. "I said, 'That's right. But you've got to realize that enemy should be treated humanely. You are an American fighter. You are not a paid killer. How about if somebody did that to your child?'"

"They said, 'Wow, Top, we didn't think of it like that.'"

"In Saudi Arabia, a chaplain gave us a class on combat leadership. I think that this class should be mandatory. He said, 'There is a fine line between reality and fantasy. Once you cross that line, all the psychiatrists in the world will do nothing but get wealthy on you.'"

"Under the stress of combat, anyone can cross that [psychological] line without realizing it . . . If that young man is allowed to mess up, you defeat yourself. Because it affects the whole platoon. And once a leader loses the respect of his troops, he'll never get it back."

God forbid we kill some innocent Moslems, innocent Serbs, or innocent Croatians in this Tuzla hot area soon to be under heavy snow cover in another terrible, pneumonia-producing Balkan winter. Because if we get some young trooper that kills some innocent people and the Army decides to court-martial him, you know what he is going to say? He is going to say that he was in Germany in the first week of December in 1995, and he heard Mr. Clinton, who managed to avoid service and have his draft induction date of July 28, 1969 politically reversed and suppressed, he will say, "Here the president's words were: The most important rule of all, in big bold letters, if you are threatened with an attack, you may respond immediately, even if you perceive it to be a threat."

These are the wrong rules of engagement for peacekeepers. But then the first armored division was trained to take on the best Russia could throw at us in the Fulda Gap to save Europe with American lives for a half century after the Nuremberg trials, which started two weeks ago 50 years ago.

Here is a letter from IKE SKELTON, to show that this is bipartisan angst here against what Clinton is doing. He writes to Secretary Perry, "If the U.S. Department of State insists on arming and training the Croat-Moslem federation, will an American guarantee and coordination of the effort, as testified 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 Serbs or of hostilities from Moslems expecting, but denied, favorable treatment? This is a major security issue."

He has two sons on active duty, Army officers. "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."

I would like to put in the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, a background paper from the Heritage Foundation that I think is great, questioning the Bosnia peace plan. I want these questions asked and answered in print. If it is too expensive, I will get permission on the House floor tomorrow to put it in.

We are talking about saving lives. Then here is the House Republican Conference issue brief. "Bosnia: Questioning the Clinton Plan, But Supporting Our Troops." The reason, again, Mr. Speaker, and you will be there, that I want this conference, unless you are on the floor in the chair, that I want this conference tomorrow, is that we have got to decide how we draw a line. Do we support the troops, all 50,000-plus of them in the Adriatic, in the skies flying air patrols out of Aviano, and everybody on the ground? The first armored and all the troops. We support them. We want to keep them safe, but we disagree with this policy, even though the division commanders are gung-ho to go. The young privates that I saw, except for a few sergeants who do not want to leave their little, tiny children at Christmas-time. Those holidays, it is only about from the second birthday to the tenth where Christmas is a dazzling event. We only get eight of those from God with each individual child, and we miss one, that is one-eighth of a great heart-tugging memory gone. Then we try to look at the shaky video that our young wife took of the kids.

Mr. Speaker, how much time do I have left?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina). The gentleman has 4 minutes left.

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, let me read this segment on Bosnia. If I run out of time, I ask for unanimous consent to put it in the RECORD.

This is Readers Digest from Dale Van Atta. I know Dale. He is a good reporter. This is not an excerpted article from a news magazine. This is commissioned by Readers Digest and it is about the United Nations. And I have always avoided beating up on the United Nations, because we have had some good Americans serve up there. But this is the most unregulated, financially unaccounted for group in the history of civilization. It has dictatorships in there. Castro is in there. These people submit bills. Nobody ever audits them. They are all overpaid. Boutros Boutros-Ghali makes \$344,000 tax-free a year, double the President, if we include that Chelsea Clinton does not get \$12,675 a year tax free.

It is outrageous, the corruption at the United Nations, and these are the people that Clinton wanted our troops under. We beat his brains out in this House. Is that is why they are under General Joulwan instead of some U.N. command? Implementation force sounds like one of these U.N. names, but it is not.

The section on Cambodia I may read tomorrow night, and then Rwanda and then Somalia, and then I will get the November issue. But I will trail off reading until my time runs out on Bosnia.

June 1991, Croatia declared its independence. I had just left there a few weeks before. Was recognized by the U.N. Serbia-dominated Yugoslavian

Army invaded Croatia ostensibly to protect its Serbian minority. The Serbs agreed to a cease-fire. The United Nations sent in a 14,000 member UNPROFOR [U.N. Protection Force] to build a new nation.

The mission has since mushroomed to more than 40,000 personnel. I was all over their headquarters like a cheap suit meeting with Yasushi Akashi. It became the most expensive and extensive peacekeeping operation ever. After neighboring Bosnia declared its independence in March of 1992, the Serbs launched a savage campaign of ethnic cleansing against the Moslems and Croats, who made up 61 percent of the population. Rapidly, the Serbs gained control of two-thirds of Bosnia. Bosnian Serbs swept into Moslem and Croatian villages, 3,800, and engaged in Europe's worst atrocities since the Nazi Holocaust. Serbian thugs raped at least 20,000 women.

I will skip ahead of this. The 6-year-olds. The Serbian women hung on the fence drenched with gasoline and set on fire alive.

While this was happening, the UNPROFOR troops stood by and did nothing to help. Designated military observers counted artillery shells and the dead. Meanwhile, evidence began to accumulate that there was a serious corruption problem, like Cambodia. Accounting procedures were so loose that the U.N. overpaid \$1.8 million on a \$21 million fuel contract.

Kenyan peacekeepers stole 25,000 gallons of gas worth \$100,000; sold it to the Serb aggressors. Corruption charges routinely dismissed as unimportant by U.N. Officials. Sylvana Foa, F-O-A, then spokesperson for the U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva said, "It was no surprise," get this quote, "that out of 14,000 pimply 18-year-old kids, a bunch of them should get up to hanky-panky."

That sounds like some good old boy, not a woman. Like black market dealings and going to brothels. When reports persisted, the United Nations finally investigated. November 1993, a month after Mogadishu, a special commission confirmed that some terrible but limited mistakes had occurred. Four Kenyans and 19 Ukrainian soldiers were dismissed from the U.N. force.

The commission found no wrongdoing. I will continue this tomorrow, and point out that the Russian commander, Mr. Speaker, is the man responsible for the atrocities in Chechnya, he is going to be in our zone commanding a brigade, a battalion of 800 Russian troops. What a massive problem to dump into the arms of our fine young American officers and men who are eager to please.

The State Department announced today, that one way or another, the Bosnian peace talks, currently going on in Dayton, Ohio, will come to a close tomorrow. If that sounds like an ultimatum, it is.

For 19 days, the Chief U.S. negotiator, Richard Holbrooke, has literally forced the three warring factions to negotiate a peace

treaty to end the war. If the talks fail, presumably that's it. If the talks succeed, President Clinton has pledged to send 20,000 U.S. troops over there, as part of a NATO force to keep the peace; actually, most of them are already over there, stationed in Germany, waiting to be told what to do next.

As the talks near to climax, we wanted to find out what American soldiers could be getting into. In a quarter of the world few Americans knew much about, until the Serbs, the Croats and the Bosnian Muslims started killing each other. No one knew that better than the two men you're about to meet.

60 MINUTES

"OVER THERE"

Steve Kroft: Canadian General Louis McKenzie and British Lieutenant Colonel Bob Stewart, who we met in London, have both commanded peacekeeping troops in Bosnia for the United Nations. And the U.S. military thought enough of their experience to have them give advice to American officers who might serve in Bosnia. In 1992, Stewart led a battalion of British troops responsible for delivering humanitarian aid.

Colonel Bob Stewart: "You know, it's not a question about me not getting through, it's a question of whether I—how much damage I do."

Steve Kroft: He knows what it's like to lose friends, and to witness atrocities.

Lt. Colonel Bob Stewart: "But no man can kill a child . . . and a woman like this."

Interpreter: "They died because they're Muslims."

Steve Kroft: When we talked to him in London this weekend, both he and General McKenzie told us the Americans have to be prepared to take casualties.

Lt. Colonel Bob Stewart: My soldiers were shot up by all three sides. You mustn't just deploy soldiers into the middle of a war zone, and think it's just like someone escorting a kid to school in the morning. I'm quite sure the American military are fully aware of that.

Steve Kroft: General Louis McKenzie was the first UN Commander in Sarajevo, back in 1992; a Veteran of nine peace-keeping missions in places like Gaza, Cyprus and Vietnam. But nothing prepared him for the former Yugoslavia.

General Louis McKenzie: There is a level of—of hatred that certainly, I have never seen before in any other theater of operations.

Steve Kroft: McKenzie's opinions on potential U.S. involvement there have been solicited by two U.S. congressional committees. His most recent appearance was before the House National Security Committee last month.

You told the House committee, not too long ago, that you didn't think the United States Government should get involved militarily in Bosnia. Do you still feel that way?

General Louis McKenzie: Yes, I do. From a military—I—I have to emphasize, from a military point of view, they didn't invite me down there to give them political advice; they had plenty of folks doing that. And I appreciated that they'd painted themselves into a corner politically. And I think they were gonna have to get involved. But from a soldier's point of view, I said, "don't touch it with a ten-foot pole."

Steve Kroft: If there's an agreement signed in Dayton between the warring parties, it will be a triumph of politics and diplomacy. But General McKenzie and Colonel Stewart both caution against euphoria. They say what's going on in Dayton is the easy part. The hard part will be making it work on the ground. General McKenzie says he negotiated nine different cease fires in Sarajevo, and was delighted if they held for 24 hours.

Can these parties be trusted to keep a peace agreement?

General Louis McKenzie: No, they can't be trusted. There is a history of lying. It depends what their agenda is. And their agenda is—it's not predictable, and it changes.

Steve Kroft: We can't trust any of these people?

Lt. Colonel Bob Stewart: No, that's a perfect—perfect way to describe it. If you want a philosophy, don't trust them til they prove their actions on the ground.

Steve Kroft: Unlike the U.N. forces, American troops training for deployment in the former Yugoslavia, will not be peacekeepers. Their job will be to enforce the agreement, and if necessary, punish violators. They'll have to insert themselves between warring armies, and assist in the treacherous job of moving people in and out of areas, that the agreement decrees will be set aside for Croats, Muslims and Serbs. And not everything will be spelled out in the manual.

General Louis McKenzie: They will be delivering babies, they'll be delivering food, they'll be moving families, they'll be evacuating burning hospitals, they will be doing all kinds of things that aren't within their terms of reference, because they're going to be the only game in town.

Steve Kroft: The situation is fraught with peril for the Americans. It was the Duke of Wellington who said, "Big countries shouldn't involve themselves in small wars." The United States would be risking its military credibility in a situation, General McKenzie believes, isn't worth it.

General Louis McKenzie: In Bosnia, every side there wants America on their side. Forget about NATO for a second; they want America on their side. And to target American soldiers and make it look like one of the other two sides is doing it, is extremely easy. You can hire somebody across the line, in the other ethnic group to fire at American soldiers. And America, historically, has reacted very forcefully to that, and will go after the side that they think is targeting them. And that is the beginning of a slippery slope. So, I think that American soldiers will be subjected, to a degree of risk out of all proportion, to any other nation represented in the NATO force.

Lt. Colonel Bob Stewart: These guys are out of control. That's clear. People on the ground don't give a damn. They're in a position; they're bored. They might just take pot shots because they feel like it. No one is going to bring them to book for it. I haven't heard of anyone being brought to task by their own side. There are no rules of engagement. We talked ages and ages about rules of engagement. There are no rules of engagement for them. And there's no comeback when they fire.

Steve Kroft: The NATO troops are expected to remain impartial. But that won't be easy. The American military knows it already has enemies in Bosnia; the Serbs, for example.

Steve Kroft: Last summer, NATO warplanes, mostly American war planes, pounded Bosnian Serb military positions, and inflicted heavy damage.

Lt. Colonel Bob Stewart: How many Bosnia Serbs, sons, brothers and husbands, were killed? And how many children, women? But sure as hell, someone at the far end has lost someone. Someone's got a grudge. And that person will not be under control necessarily, when Americans go in.

Steve Kroft: Is that realistic, to expect that the—that the United States can go in there and be a neutral force?

General Louis McKenzie: On the first day you arrive, you could well be impartial. But on the first evening of the first day that you arrive, and one side targets you, Corporal Jones and Lieutenant Smith are probably not going to be terribly impartial.

Lt. Colonel Bob Stewart: If you act at all, you'll lose your impartiality. I'll give you an example: When I was there, our blood . . .

Steve Kroft: Colonel Stewart told us his Battalion ran into a situation where it had some surplus blood. Rather than throw it away, they decided to give it to the local hospital.

Lt. Colonel Bob Stewart: Now, that's a pretty neutral thing to do, you would imagine. No. The next thing I had was the local Bosnian Croat commanders and also the mayor of the town, complaining like hell, that I had given our blood to a hospital that was predominantly Muslim. So, in reality, in order to act at all, you should somehow get a third of the blood supply to Bosnia Croats, Bosnia Muslims, and Bosnian Serbs.

General Louis McKenzie: I have never run up against that problem in any other mission area. Through Central America, the Middle East, Vietnam, etcetera, where even talking to one side during the negotiation process is seen as collaboration by the other side.

Steve Kroft: So, it's possible then, in our function there, that we could end up with everyone against us.

Lt. Colonel Bob Stewart: Well, that would be perfect.

General Louis McKenzie: Yeah. Like the General said, "That would be perfect . . ."

Lt. Colonel Bob Stewart: Then you're neutral.

General Louis McKenzie: If you can get everybody to just dislike you equally, then you—you're on the right track.

Steve Kroft: They aren't laughing because it's funny. It's called gallows humor.

To make sure American soldiers aren't put in indefensible positions, they would bring with them, massive fire power . . . Some of that firepower, was on display a few weeks ago, during live fire exercises in Germany.

And the Pentagon is promised that American troops would be able to use that firepower. If attacked, they would be able to respond decisively and immediately.

The Secretary of Defense, Perry, says we are going to be the meanest dog on the block. Is that—is that what's needed?

Lt. Colonel Bob Stewart: Well, I could be quite crude and answer that, "you can be the meanest dog in the block, but when someone's got you between—between their legs, you howl like hell. Surely, weren't the American troops, the meanest dog in the block in Vietnam. I don't wish to say there's a—some kind of parallel here, but you're not necessarily fighting a war that's a standard conventional war in Bosnia. You're not meant to be fighting. In a way, you're meant to be in between. And in between, standing there, trying to get peace, is dangerous, and people get hurt."

General Louis McKenzie: I'm not sure that the meanest dog in the block is the right analogy; maybe a seeing eye dog. Maybe a seeing eye dog could help these folks, because they're the ones that have to make the peace and keep the peace. It's not—you can't—you can't impose peace more than you can impose morality. You can't kill people to make peace. It just doesn't work very well.

Steve Kroft: What you need in Bosnia, General McKenzie says, is patience; lots of patients; and realistic expectations about the prospects for long-term peace in the Balkans.

General Louis McKenzie: I don't think I was exaggerating when I said three or four years ago, if Americans gets involved in this particular game, maybe they should start training their grandchildren as peacekeepers. Because this—I mean, we've been in Cyprus for over 30 years now, on a U.N. mission, and I—it won't surprise me if we're in Bosnia for over 30 years.

Steve Kroft: President Clinton said this is a gonna be one-year commitment.

General Louis McKenzie: Everyone—everyone agrees that that's for domestic consumption. It's just no way you're gonna be out of there in one year.

Steve Kroft: So, you're saying that you believe that there will be United States troops in Bosnia taking casualties, during a Presidential Election?

General Louis McKenzie: I—I hope there are no casualties. But I believe there will—if you go in, in the near future, there will be United States troops in Bosnia during the— the Presidential Election, and another Presidential Election, and another Presidential Election.

Steve Kroft: Do you agree?

Lt. Colonel Bob Stewart: Absolutely.

Steve Kroft: Is it a mistake to say that you're gonna be out in a year?

Lt. Colonel Bob Stewart: Well, I don't think it's a mistake, but I don't think any—I think it's rather foolish statement to—to say, that—there is a time limit. Because I don't think you can actually necessarily put a time limit on something, when we don't even understand—we don't even know what's going to happen there tomorrow.

Steve Kroft: President Clinton and his State department have heard these dire assessments before. Some have even come from American military officers. But the President and his Administration are taking their cues from history; and their belief that an abdication of responsibility in Europe, could destroy the NATO alliance, and weaken America's position in the world. And even former military commanders, who have spent time on the ground in Bosnia, believe that argument has some merit.

General Louis McKenzie: With all due respect to NATO—and I served nine years in NATO—I mean, it is looking for a mission. And if it passes this one up, it might be a long time before another one comes along. So this is a defining moment for NATO, overworked phrase, but I think it is.

Steve Kroft: Is this a situation where the Europeans said, "This is too tough a problem for us to solve. Let's let the Americans do it?"

I think, Colonel Stewart, a lot of people probably are thinking that.

Lt. Colonel Bob Stewart: Yeah. I think it's possibly true. I mean, quite frankly, I don't care. Really, I don't care who leads. But pray to God, someone does, and we get something done. I don't care.

Lt. Colonel Bob Stewart: All I want—I personally, and I know General Lewis is the same, want peace restored to this area. We actually feel quite strongly about the place. We know that the vast majority of the people are crying out for the fighting to stop.

Steve Kroft: And finally, there is the moral argument; 200,000 people killed, 1.8 million driven from their homes. Does the world's last superpower have a moral duty to end the suffering? Is there a chance that the Serbs, the Croats and Muslims really are finally tired of the bloodshed.

General Louis McKenzie: There's a whole bunch of things involved here, just in addition to doing the right thing. I mean, there's the American political process which is unique. There is NATO looking for a role. There's a country that self-destructed over the last three years, and is looking for some help. There's a whole bunch of very brave non-governmental organization working their butts off in the former Yugoslavia, delivering medicine and food, et cetera, et cetera, and all that comes together in Dayton, with three people that we agree we don't trust.

BOSNIA: QUESTIONING THE CLINTON

PLAN . . . BUT SUPPORTING OUR TROOPS!

Republicans don't question the President's authority, as Commander-and-Chief, to send U.S. troops to Bosnia. We do question his judgment. For an operation that will place American lives at risk, the "Clinton Plan" for Bosnia is fraught with difficult-to-swallow Administration "assurances" and too many unanswered questions. However, as much as we may disagree with the President's decision, there should be no mistake that Republicans will strongly support our troops once they are on the ground.

The Process—The President's promise to send 25,000 U.S. ground forces to Bosnia was made in an ill-conceived and off-hand remark more than two years ago. It became a commitment in search of a mission. Clinton made this promise without gaining the support of the American people and before consulting Congress. As a result, both Congress and the American people have been shut out of the process that now involves sending American men and women to Bosnia. This problem is highlighted by the numerous polls indicating close to 60 percent of Americans continue to disapprove of the Clinton plan to send U.S. troops to Bosnia.

U.S. Troops As Targets—There are inherent problems with using American soldiers as "peacekeepers." As Washington Post Columnist Charles Krauthammer has written, "If you are unhappy with the imposed peace, there is nothing like blowing up 241 Marines or killing 18 U.S. Army Rangers to make your point." The lessons of Beirut and Somalia are simple—when the United States, the world's only remaining superpower, sends troops to unstable regions of the world, they immediately become targets for those seeking either attention for their cause or retribution for past events, such as NATO-led bombings.

Can U.S. Peacekeepers Remain Neutral?—The Clinton Plan calls for U.S. forces to act as neutral enforcers of the peace while the U.S. also helps arm and train the Bosnian Muslims so they will be able to defend themselves once American troops leave. This scenario, however, ignores the role America played prior to this peace accord. It was American planes that bombed the Bosnian Serbs into submission in order to force them to the bargaining table.

As for arming the Bosnian Muslims, the Clinton Administration contends that the Bosnians need arms to defend themselves once American forces leave. But if peace has broken out, and the American "enforcers" are no longer needed, exactly who will the Bosnians be defending themselves from? The fact that the Clinton plan recognizes that the Bosnian people will need to defend themselves from the Serbs once the American forces are gone illustrates just how illusory this peace really is.

Is There Really a Peace?—While peace may exist on paper, it is unclear as to whether it exists in the hearts of the Balkan people. Recent news reports indicate that the peace plan is not receiving a very enthusiastic endorsement from the Bosnian Serbs, especially those living near Sarajevo. And it is still unclear to most Americans why 60,000 heavily-armed, combat-ready soldiers are needed to "enforce" a "peace" agreement.

The Clinton Plan Is Poorly Defined—Before our troops are fully deployed, Republicans will continue to insist that the President outline a clear and achievable objective and define what encompasses a successful mission. Finally, the President needs to develop an exit strategy that is more comprehensive than the simple goal of having our troops home in one-year.

Republicans Support Our Troops—While Republicans continue to question the wis-

dom of the President's decision to send U.S. forces to Bosnia, we understand that it is a foregone conclusion that they will go. Indeed, close to 1,500 troops have already begun to arrive in the former Yugoslavia. There should be no doubt that Republicans will unconditionally support our troops once they are in Bosnia. We will make sure our troops have every resource available and as much leeway as they feel they need to defend themselves should they be attacked. Again, there should be no mistake: Republicans will support our troops in Bosnia and we will continue to work to ensure their safety throughout this mission.

NATIONAL HEALTH CARE: WE SHOULD NOT SURRENDER THE DREAM

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

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, we have 10 days left on our countdown until the budget deal is made. Ten days left, and it appears certain that there will be some great disappointments among a majority of the American people. The majority will be swindled by this budget deal, but I am here tonight to send a message that we should not be discouraged.

The budget deal that is going to be made is not a surrender, it is a retreat. It is temporary. The dream and the vision of the American people to have a better society, a society which makes use of all of the resources of our tremendously rich industrialized economy should not be surrendered. It still can be realized.

Last year we drove for a while, for the first two years of the Clinton administration, toward a national health care plan. The national health care plan's dream was to realize universal health coverage for the first time in the United States of America. Most of the industrialized nations of the world do have universal health care coverage, or something close to it.

Because of the fact that the legislation which is before us now, the legislation which is likely to be agreed upon, the negotiations dealing with the legislation and the appropriation when it is all finished, we will be a long ways away from that universal health care dream.

We should not surrender the dream though. We should only understand that it is a temporary stalemate. It is a retreat which we continue to insist that this country is rich enough, this country has the resources, and the people of this country deserve a national health care plan which guarantees health care for all who need it.

□ 1945

That is a next step in our civilization that we should not ever turn our backs on. The fact that the deal is going to be made and we are going to be far short of that should not deter us. The deal will be made and no matter what it is,