

is he said if the mission is clearly defined; No. 2, would be if the people in this country are behind the mission; No. 3, is if there was a very clear and reasonable chance for success; and No. 4 is if there is a good, strong exit strategy. All four of those the President fails on.

And probably, Mr. Speaker, I would say to the gentleman, the biggest failure is what will this do to the spirit of the military? The spirit of the military has been captured by a speech given by General MacArthur. I would like to quote just a paragraph from a great general who really understood warfare, understood how necessary it was for the general to take responsibility for his troops in the field.

On May 12, 1962, in his speech, "Duty, Honor, and Country," General MacArthur said, "And through all of this," he said this to the graduates at West Point, he said:

And through all of this welter of change and development that you will face, your mission remains fixed, determined, and it is to win our wars. Everything else in your professional career is but a corollary to this vital dedication. All other public purposes, all other public projects, all other public needs, great or small, will find others for their accomplishment, but profession of arms, the will to win, the sure knowledge that in war there is no substitute for victory, and that if you lose, the Nation will be destroyed.

What are we setting our troops up for? Are we dissipating our troops? Are we putting ourselves on a slippery slope, like we did in Vietnam, where we never have recovered economically, like the post-Vietnam wars? And the spirit of America took a hit that we were not even able to begin to recover until we had a President like Ronald Reagan who could really again show us how we could go in and win with the likes of Colin Powell and Dick Cheney.

Mr. GANSKE. I thank the gentleman, and I am sure your phone calls have been the same as mine: overwhelmingly against this. The public does not understand the reason that we should be there, and my phone calls are 8 or 9 to 1 against this. Time and time again, people are phoning saying, do not do this. We do not understand. We think you will not accomplish anything of significance.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. HORN. Well, Mr. Speaker, I would say to the gentleman, we have exactly the same experience, and I know a lot of our Democratic friends had that experience. The other day one representative, when asked how many letters do you get on this subject and what are they saying, she said all of them are against, 100 percent; not even one or two out of 100 supporting it. And I think the wisdom of the people in this case is right on the mark. People are not stupid. They know where our national interests ought to lie.

No one has convinced us that American lives are at stake, even though Bosnia is one of the most tragic situa-

tions in the world. So was Cambodia, so were a number of places, so are those places right now in Asia and the Mideast and Africa. But we cannot be, as I said earlier today, super cop to the world, and that is sort of what we are getting ourselves into.

Mr. GANSKE. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield for a minute, there is an option. The option is something that Senator DOLE, for instance, recommended a couple of years ago, and that was make for a level playing field. Lift the arms embargo. Allow the various factions to have a level playing field and to settle their own civil war with the same type of support that we have done in the past, logistical and air, and yet not interpose ourselves into the middle of essentially a civil war.

Mr. HORN. Mr. Speaker, one of our most successful operations, as the gentleman knows, happened under the Carter administration. It is ironic that many of the advisers of President Carter also are advising this administration. But what they did that was successful, they began the effort to provide arms to the Afghan Mujaheddin, and through Pakistan they did just that as really a covert operation without using American troops, and they were able to have sufficient arms go in that the world's second strongest superpower was driven out of Afghanistan where it never should have been in the first place.

Mr. GANSKE. Mr. Speaker, let me summarize, and I thank my colleagues for joining me in this colloquy. I believe that this mission is primarily going to involve a breathing space for the warring parties. They need to rearm. They will do that on a brief enforced peace.

I think at the end of the day it is not that America cannot tolerate casualties; it is that Americans just do not tolerate casualties unless they can see a real purpose.

UPDATE ON BOSNIA

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. SEASTRAND). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DORNAN. Madam Speaker, I have got to collapse a 60-minute special order into 5 minutes, but that is all right. I am signed up for some next week.

Let me give you an update on what is happening with our leadership getting a vote before the 1st Armored Division officers and men arrive in the dead of winter in a very, the most dangerous area of Bosnia where most of the fighting has been going on, unit-to-unit, man-to-man combat. And a few women.

We see the terrible destruction of Sarajevo because of some cleverly hidden cameras and some of the people with the guts to come in from the Sarajevo airport to film that rocket fire at night, with huge shells slamming into

modern Holiday Inn buildings. I mean actual Holiday Inn franchise buildings set up for the Olympics.

We saw the horrible killing and the marketplace explosions in Sarajevo, but the last nightmarish killing of innocent men, women, and children during what they thought was a breather, and God knows who fired the mortars, but the suspicion is that it came from the Bosnian Serb side. That was in Tuzla.

□ 1930

We are going into Tuzla. That is where most of the mines are around in the hills along with the hills surrounding Sarajevo. And I want to do everything I can to get another vote here.

Here is what I have been promised. I want to thank our conference chairman, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BOEHNER], and the gentleman from California [Mr. COX], the policy leader on this side. I have been told I will get at 9:30 Wednesday morning, there is not going to be any votes until late Tuesday night, I want a full-court 235 healthy men and women in my conference, if that is possible on Wednesday morning, the so-called peace accords are going to be signed on December 14, the next day, I want on Wednesday, today is Pearl Harbor day, the 13th, Wednesday the 13th, 9:30, I am going to ask for a vote not to table my words and we can perfect my words, if this does not satisfy, not to put this off to the policy committee.

My words, which I have not read since two nights ago are, Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no Federal fund shall be appropriated or otherwise available for the deployment on the ground of United States Armed Forces in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as part of any peacekeeping operation or as part of any implementation force.

Now, the 30 or so, more conservative Senators in the other great body said that if they even tried to bring this up, it would never be allowed on the floor. Their words are simpler, and this a rough draft, that the Congress, House and Senate, opposes the deployment of United States ground forces into the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to implement the general framework agreement for peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina and its associated annexes.

I and other Members have pleaded with them not to have a section 2. Section 2 is insulting. They even indicate we might not support our forces, including all the aforementioned support forces, by the thousands and millions of dollars that are already functioning there to try and keep these people educated, intelligent, cultured people, from slaughtering and raping one another. But several of the Senators want this, that the Congress strongly supports the United States Armed Forces who may be ordered by the President to implement the general framework agreement for peace in Bosnia and

Herzegovina and its associated annexes.

Madam Speaker, I think I told you this yesterday. Colonel General Leonty, L-E-O-N-T-Y, Shevtsov, S-H-E-V-T-S-O-V, is the chief of staff of the Russian forces in Chechnya. He was there from December 1994, when the killing was at its height, ruining our Christmas last year with savage pictures of man's inhumanity to man, and he commanded through April of last year.

By the way, there have been 1,500 instances of the Moslem Chechnyan guerrillas attacking young Russian boys who should not have to die this month of Christmas 1995. This Russian commander who was there when atrocities were committed has been put in as the commander of the Russian forces.

As we approach this Christmas, Madam Speaker, there is not a single Russian soldier, it has been a long, hard 6 years Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Hungary, the now-separated Czechoslovakia and Slovak Republics, Czech Republic, there are no Russian troops there, but they are on their way into the Balkans. They will be subject to Serbia because they made the Serbian case.

I close on this, Clinton leading Maj. Gen. William Nash, who fought so hard in Vietnam, and Gen. George Joulwan, who fought in Vietnam, leading them down the driveway, not to follow him to Bosnia like Alexander the Great or Caesar but to do his dirty work. Madam Speaker, God forbid it. Let us stop it.

Madam Speaker, I include for the RECORD the following information:

RESUME OF SERVICE CAREER OF WILLIAM LAFAYETTE NASH, MAJOR GENERAL COMMANDING OFFICER, 1ST ARMORED DIVISION

Date and Place of Birth: 10 August 1943, Tucson, Arizona.

Years of Active Commissioned Service: Over 26.

Present Assignment: Commanding General, 1st Armored Division, United States Army, Europe Seventh Army, APO AE 09252, since June 1995.

Military Schools Attended: The Armor School, Officer Basic Course; The Infantry School, Officer Advanced Course; United States Army Command and General Staff College; United States Army War College.

Educational Degrees: United States Military Academy—BS Degree—No major; Shippensburg University—MS Degree—Public Administration.

Foreign Language(s): Russian.

Major Duty Assignments:

Aug. 1968-Oct. 1968: Student, Ranger Course, United States Army Infantry School, Fort Benning, Georgia.

Oct. 1968-Nov. 1968: Student, Armor Officer Basic Course, United States Armor School, Fort Knox, Kentucky.

Dec. 1968-Apr. 1969: Platoon Leader, Troop L, 3d Squadron, 3d Armored Cavalry Regiment, Fort Lewis, Washington.

Apr. 1969-Feb. 1970: Platoon Leader, Troop A, 1st Squadron, 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment, United States Army, Vietnam.

Feb. 1970-Jun. 1970: Executive Officer, Troop B, 1st Squadron, 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment, United States Army, Vietnam.

Jun. 1970-Jul. 1971: Assistant G-3 (Operations) Training Officer, later Assistant G-3

(Operations) Chief of Force Development, 82nd Airborne Division, Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

Jul. 1971-Nov. 1971: S-3 (Operations), 1st Squadron, 17th Cavalry Regiment, later Procurement Officer, Board for Dynamic Training, 82nd Airborne Division, Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

Nov. 1971-Feb. 1973: Commander, Troop A, 1st Squadron, 17th Cavalry Regiment, 82nd Airborne Division, Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

Mar. 1973-Jul. 1973: Student, Officer Rotary Wing Aviator Course, United States Army Helicopter Center/School, Fort Wolters, Texas.

Jul. 1973-Dec. 1973: Student, Officer Rotary Wing Aviator Course, United States Army Aviation School, Fort Rucker, Alabama.

Jan. 1974-Sep. 1974: Student, Infantry Officer Advanced Course, United States Army Infantry School, Fort Benning, Georgia.

Sep. 1974-Jun. 1977: Platoon Leader and Assistant Operations Officer, later Platoon Commander, and later Regimental Plans Officer, Air Cavalry Troop, 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment, United States Army Europe, Germany.

Aug. 1977-Jun. 1978: Student, United States Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

Jun. 1978-Apr. 1979: Staff Officer, Regional Operations Division, Office, Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans, United States Army, Washington, DC.

Apr. 1979-Jun. 1982: Aide and Assistant Executive Officer, later Executive Officer to the Vice Chief of Staff, Army, Office of the Chief of Staff, Army, Washington, DC.

Jun. 1982-Jun. 1983: Deputy Executive Assistant to the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, DC.

Jun. 1983-Jun. 1985: Commander, 3d Squadron, 8th Cavalry Regiment, 8th Infantry Division, United States Army Europe, Germany.

Aug. 1985-Jun. 1988: Student, United States Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania.

Jun. 1988-May 1988: Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3 (Operations), 1st Cavalry Division, Fort Hood, Texas.

May 1988-May 1989: Executive Officer to the Commander-in-Chief, United States Army Europe, Germany.

Jun. 1989-Dec. 1990: Commander, 1st Brigade, 3d Armored Division, United States Army Europe and Seventh Army, Germany.

Dec. 1990-Apr. 1991: Commander, 1st Brigade, 3d Armored Division, DESERT STORM, Saudi Arabia.

Apr. 1991-Jul. 1991: Commander, 1st Brigade, 3d Armored Division, United States Army Europe and Seventh Army, Germany.

Jul. 1991-Jun. 1992: Assistant Division Commander, 3d Infantry Division (Mechanized), United States Army Europe and Seventh Army, Germany.

Jun. 1992-Jul. 1993: Deputy Commanding General for Training, United States Army Combined Arms Command, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

Jul. 1993-Jun. 1995: Program Manager, United States Army Office of the Program Manager, Saudi Arabian National Guard Modernization Program.

Promotions and Date of Appointment:

2LT—Temporary: 5 Jun 68; Permanent: 5 Jun 68.

1LT—Temporary: 5 Jun 69; Permanent: 5 Jun 71.

CPT—Temporary: 5 Jun 70; Permanent: 5 Jun 75.

MAJ—Permanent: 10 Jun 77.

LTC—Permanent: 1 Nov 82.

COL—Permanent: 1 May 89.

BG—Permanent: 1 Mar 92.

MG—Frodoed.

U.S. Decorations and Badges: Silver Star, Legion of Merit, Bronze Star Medal with "V" Device (with 2 Oak Leaf Clusters), Purple Heart, Meritorious Service Medal (with Oak Leaf Cluster).

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. ABERCROMBIE) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. GIBBONS, today, for 5 minutes.

Ms. NORTON, today, for 5 minutes.

Mr. POSHARD, today, for 5 minutes.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA, today, for 5 minutes.

Mr. MFUME, today, for 5 minutes.

Mr. VENTO, today, for 5 minutes.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE, today, for 5 minutes.

Mr. BRYANT of Texas, today, for 5 minutes.

Mr. PALLONE, today, for 5 minutes.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. HORN) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. SOUDER, today, for 5 minutes.

Mr. LEVIN, today, for 5 minutes.

Mr. HAYWORTH, today, for 5 minutes.

Mrs. CHENOWETH, today, for 5 minutes.

Mr. HOKE, today, for 5 minutes.

Mr. GOSS, today, for 5 minutes.

Mr. HORN, today, for 5 minutes.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART, for 5 minutes each day, on December 12 and December 13.

(The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. WELDON of Florida, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. DORNAN, for 5 minutes, today.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. ABERCROMBIE) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. BARCIA.

Mr. TOWNS.

Mrs. LOWEY.

Mrs. MEEK of Florida.

Mr. FROST.

Ms. KAPTUR.

Mr. REED.

Mr. SERRANO.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. HORN) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey.

Mr. KOLBE.

Mr. BEREUTER in two instances.

Mr. NEY.

Mrs. FOWLER in three instances.