

position to reassess the U.N.'s role, and, possibly, develop a viable, international solution—one that does not require the United States to assume unilateral responsibility.

While this policy remains an option, the administration is in the midst of negotiations intended to strengthen the U.N.'s hand—a strategy that reflects a more sensible alternative to an outright rejection of the arms embargo. I urge my colleagues to consider this strategy, and reject S. 21.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute 20 seconds to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. LEVIN].

(Mr. LEVIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Chairman, I do think we have to consider who shot whom and who is raping whom. In a word, we have to step up to Serbian aggression.

While there is a clear difference of opinion in our Nation let me ask this: Would the Bosnian Serbs prefer this resolution pass or fail, that the arms embargo be lifted or continued? I suggest that they will deem a positive vote today as another indication of determination to stop Serbian aggression.

Any course does carry a risk. Past policies have risked continued aggression and mass murder, and they have paid the consequences. It is time, indeed long overdue, to try a new course. I support this resolution.

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

Mr. LEVIN. I yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, I think the gentleman makes a critically important point. The point the gentleman just made was that the message the Serbs would take from this was that the Congress and America were determined to stop further Serb aggression. I think the gentleman is absolutely correct, which is why I am so strongly in support of a "yes" vote on S. 21.

I thank the gentleman for his statement.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1½ minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. CLEMENT].

Mr. CLEMENT. Mr. Chairman, this debate is about a father's right to protect his family, a brother's right to protect his siblings, and the preservation of a race and a heritage.

We have all seen the horrible scenes of starving men in camps which harkened memories of World War II concentration camps. We know about the rape, robbery, destruction, and mass genocide.

Ethnic cleansing has become commonplace in everyday conversation. Ethnic cleansing: what a sanitary term. Perhaps it is the hope that such a term will make the events in the former Yugoslavia a little more bearable—a little more tidy. But, in reality it is anything but tidy. Ethnic cleansing is the systematic destruction of a people, a culture, real live human beings like you and me.

The United Nations arrived as the knight in shining armor; the defender of the innocent and persecuted. They issued edicts and ground rules and promised to protect and defend the innocent victims.

Well, we are still waiting. This mission has the world's premier military hardware and the best trained soldiers at its disposal, yet time and time again innocent people are tortured, murdered, and abused while U.N. forces sit idle.

The U.N. Secretary-General has reduced UNPROFOR to a role of finger pointing. The U.N. has lost all credibility. Renegades and criminals masquerading as soldiers have managed to hold the world at bay for months.

I understand that this is a delicate situation and that things are easier said than done, but you have to make an effort. You can't win if you don't join the game. Superior force ceases to be a deterrent if there is a demonstrated reluctance to use it. The Serbs have no fear because U.N. reprisals have been too seldom and too restrained.

The U.N. has clearly demonstrated that it is willing to talk the talk but reluctant to walk the walk. Unfortunately, the Bosnians don't have such luxuries.

It is bad enough that the Secretary-General of the U.N. continues to sit on his hands and leave the so-called safe zones vulnerable. But to make matters worse, the Secretary-General continues to keep the Bosnians' hands tied behind their back.

The Bosnians have a right to defend themselves. If the U.N. is not going to defend the Bosnians—and there is no reason to believe they will—then the very least we can do is to lift the arms embargo.

Two safe havens have fallen since our last vote on the House floor and there is no reason to believe that other safe zones will not follow in the near future. How much longer will we wait? How many more people will have to suffer? How many more men and women will be widowed? How many more children will be orphaned?

Lift the arms embargo. Give the Bosnians a fighting chance.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN].

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. EMERSON) having assumed the chair, Mr. BONILLA, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (S. 21) to terminate the United States arms embargo applicable to the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, had come to no resolution thereon.

PERMISSION TO EXTEND GENERAL DEBATE IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE DURING CONSIDERATION OF S. 21, BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA SELF-DEFENSE ACT OF 1995

Ms. MCKINNEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further general debate on S. 21 be extended by 1 hour equally divided between the chairman and the ranking member of the Committee on International Relations in the Committee of the Whole.

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

There was no objection.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA SELF-DEFENSE ACT OF 1995

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the House Resolution 204, and rule XXIII, the Chair declares the House in the Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the Senate bill, S. 21.

□ 1455

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the Senate bill (S. 21) to terminate the United States arms embargo applicable to the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with Mr. BONILLA in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. When the Committee of the Whole rose earlier today, the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN] had 5½ minutes remaining in debate, and the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] had 1 minute remaining in debate, pursuant to the House resolution 204 and the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER] had 3½ minutes remaining.

Pursuant to the order of the House of today, the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN] and the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] will each be recognized for an additional 30 minutes of general debate.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN].

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER] of the 30 minutes provided to me, for general debate, and I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER] be allowed to yield portions of that time to other members.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN]?

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, obviously I am not going to object, I do want to thank the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN]. The gentleman from New York is one of the real gentlemen of this House irrespective of party. He is my close

friend, and he and I have worked closely together for over a decade on issues of concern to human rights and international peace and justice. I want to thank the gentleman for his consideration during the course of this debate. It is very much appreciated.

Mr. GILMAN. I thank the gentleman for his kind remarks.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Ms. MCKINNEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. FARR].

Mr. FARR. Mr. Chairman, I rise today to address the issue of the arms embargo on Bosnia and Herzegovina, and proposals before Congress for the United States to unilaterally lift the embargo.

This is not an easy issue. It affects our relations with our allies abroad, and the authority of our President to conduct foreign policy. Above all, it involves the lives of thousands of people, Bosnians and Americans, who will be affected by lifting the embargo.

There are some who argue that ending the embargo will lead to a fair settlement in Bosnia, or even some victories for the Bosnian Moslems. But there is little evidence this will happen. Indeed, the exact opposite may occur: Serbs may begin massive preemptive attacks on Bosnians to destroy their army before they can receive arms. In addition, recent evidence suggests the Bosnians are so poorly trained and led that increased arms shipments would do little to improve their chances on the battlefield.

In fact, the war may expand far outside the borders of Bosnia if the embargo is lifted. Nearby places such as Macedonia and Kosovo are already politically and ethnically unstable, and could easily become engulfed in the conflict. Furthermore, Russia, a traditional ally of Serbia, may respond to any Bosnian victories by providing overt military support for Serbia—bringing a major world power into the war, and forcing the West to either provide similar support for the Bosnians, or else let them be defeated.

Even supporters of ending the embargo admit: Ending the embargo would mean increased conflict in Bosnia—and thus, more bloodshed, more deaths of innocent civilians, and massive increases in refugees fleeing to Western Europe.

Above all, I believe the ultimate question on this issue must be: Will lifting the embargo put the lives of American men and women in danger?

Supporters for lifting the embargo make it sound simple: Lift the embargo, and wash our hands of the Bosnian conflict. But things rarely happen that way—and they would be unlikely to happen that way in Bosnia.

First, the United States would be forced to immediately deploy troops—at least 20,000—to Bosnia, to aid the withdrawal of the thou-

sands of defenseless U.N. troops stationed in Bosnia.

Next, the Bosnians would need weapons and the training to use them. Supporters for ending the embargo may say that that would not be our responsibility. But how will we respond to those who argue that, if we are responsible enough to unilaterally end the embargo, for the supposed benefit of the Bosnians, how can we not be responsible enough to come to the aid of those same Bosnians, especially the innocent civilians who have lost the protection of the United Nations?

And what if other countries, such as Russia, come to the aid of the Serbs? How could we not provide similar aid to the Bosnians?

Mr. Chairman, I support peace in Bosnia, not war, and not the deaths of Bosnian civilians or American soldiers. It is hard to believe—and no one can possibly guarantee—that lifting the embargo would help the peace process. I cannot support unilaterally lifting the arms embargo when the result will be needless conflict and deaths.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], the distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on International Operations of our Committee on International Relations.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, earlier today I was given the opportunity to speak in this debate about why I felt so strongly we need to lift the arms embargo. I think it is immoral. It continues to be unethical. People are being killed and slaughtered.

Under the right of one's country, a sovereign right, to defend themselves, it is my strongly held view, and thanks to the majority of this Chamber, both sides of the aisle, that we ought to lift the arms embargo. It was improperly imposed. It ought to be lifted immediately so the Bosnians can defend themselves.

□ 1500

But I would like to take just a moment or two to read a letter that was sent on July 31 to myself and the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER], who has been a real strong advocate and a leader on this lifting of the arms embargo. It is from Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, a man who has appeared before the Helsinki Commission, which I chair, and the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER] used to chair, is now ranking Democrat on that Commission, and time and time again he has made an impassioned plea over the years for lifting the arms embargo as a way of this country, this important country, to defend itself, but also so that the diplomacy would work. Absent a credible counterweight to the armed aggression by the Serbs, the Bosnian Serbs, the diplomacy will not work, and I would like to read the letter from Dr. Silajdzic, the Prime Minister, to Mr. HOYER and me:

REPUBLIKA BOSNA I HERCEGOVINA,
OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER,

July 31, 1995.

Hon. CHRISTOPHER SMITH,

Hon. STENY HOYER,

U.S. House of Representatives.

DEAR CONGRESSMEN: As you are aware, the people of my country have been under the most brutal assault seen in Europe since World War II. Throughout this conflict, we have never asked for American or foreign ground troops to fight for us. We do not need them. We have both the manpower and the will to fight for ourselves. Nor have we asked for training for our soldiers in weaponry or fighting. Our officers are already well trained, and our rank-and-file soldiers have had three years of on-the-job training in addition to their service in the former Yugoslav army. Instead, we have asked only that the arms embargo against our country be ended.

In spite of the passage of the Hoyer amendment last month, this embargo remains in place. In the eight weeks since that vote, the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina has deteriorated dramatically. The countries that created and committed themselves to protect the six United Nations-designated "safe areas" have betrayed two of them—Srebrenica and Zepa—by allowing them to be overrun by Serbian forces. During and after these attacks, hundreds of civilians were raped and tortured. Thousands were massacred. At least seven thousand are unaccounted for. Tens of thousands more were displaced, and, in the absence of any real response from the international community, hundreds of thousands of our citizens throughout Bosnia are now more gravely imperiled than before. Time is of the essence.

With their latest pledge to defend Gorazde and interminable deliberations over whether to honor their existing commitments to protect the three other remaining "safe areas," Contact Group and UN-troop contributing nations claim to have drawn a line in the sand. The London Conference countries made their pledge ten days ago, yet still there has been no action. And it increasingly appears that the line was drawn to protect only Gorazde—if that.

Why only Gorazde? Why not Zepa? Its 20,000 inhabitants, even as they were still clinging to life and defending the enclave against all odds, were written off in the London conference communiqué in the name of consultations and consensus. Why not Bihac, which Serbian forces are trying to overrun even now? Why not Sarajevo, where Serbian forces have escalated their criminal strangulation and shelling attacks, and where, last week alone, 45 civilians—including 5 children—were killed, and 184 more wounded.

How do you explain to the Bosnian people that the very governments that created and promised to protect these enclaves are now sacrificing them? Serbian forces have crossed every line that the international community has ever drawn. After only a few more summits, commitments, pledges to act, and consultations, there could be no more Bosnians left in Bosnia.

Since before the very first attacks on our population more than three years ago, we have been prepared to fight to defend ourselves. Tragically, the arms embargo against our country has ensured that this conflict be a slaughter rather than a war.

The arms embargo must be terminated and a balance of power be effected on the ground. Only then will this genocidal spiral end. The recent offer of Croatian Serb forces to retreat from Bihac back into Croatia rather than face approaching Croatian Army units amply demonstrates the Serbs' responsiveness to a credible threat of force rather than empty diplomacy.

Our Army and even ordinary citizens are determined to provide that threat and fight for their lives, homes, villages, and country. This is our right. It is one that the American people—and their leaders—would undoubtedly demand for themselves if faced with brutal aggression of the type that Bosnia is enduring.

On behalf of our people, I appeal to the American government, the American people, and their elected representatives to untie our hands and to prove, once again, why American is the leader of the democratic world. In the name of morality, lift the arms embargo.

Sincerely,

HARIS SILAJDZIC,
Prime Minister.

I urge all Members to vote to endorse the amendment that has been offered to the bill by Mr. DOLE, and please lift this arms embargo so people can defend themselves.

Ms. MCKINNEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. BERMAN].

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Chairman, I think we should be clear about one thing. The Western response, our response, to the war in Bosnia represents the greatest failure of the West since the 1930's. It has tarnished NATO; it has tarnished all of us. In the past I have voted for the resolution to lift the embargo unilaterally because of my disgust for the Western response and, I am sorry to say, because of my disgust for our own response to what has been happening there, and I have listened during this debate to the passionate speeches on behalf of lifting the arms embargo. The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER] and others have reminded us about American responsibilities to support freedom and oppose the forces of tyranny, and nowhere is that tyranny more apparent than in former Yugoslavia today. There is rape, murder, ethnic cleansing, concentration camps, disappearances, the slaughter of innocents. These have all become Serbian trademarks in this battle, and we have long gone beyond the time for decisive action. We should have acted years ago to end these atrocities.

So why do I change my position at this particular time? It is because, as we all search for the moral and appropriate thing to do, I think we have to look at the consequences of our actions and what is happening, and for the first time in 3 years, since all of this started unraveling, since all of this horror came upon the scene, I finally see a glimmer of hope, perhaps the first demonstration of a reality that the West finally realizes it needs to act.

NATO is now taking a forceful role in Bosnia. The dual key system that gave United Nations bureaucrats control over the use of force has now ended. Military commanders now have the ability to order tactical and strategic attacks when necessary to defend the remaining safe areas.

NATO is now discussing the use of heavy air attacks to end the Serb assault on the Bihac safe area.

A Rapid Reaction Force, heavily armed, has been deployed. Artillery

units are dug in on Mount Igman. Relief convoys are being escorted into Sarajevo. Artillery, tanks, and armored personnel carriers are in position. The French have already fired back, suppressing Serb artillery.

Secretary Perry says that "airplanes are ready to go on a moment's notice" and the White House assures us that "substantial air actions will be mounted."

With these new commitments and change in the command and control structure, NATO has pledged its resolve. Now it must demonstrate it.

The alternative of lift; we should be clear what it does and what it does not do. It lifts the arms embargo, but it does not provide arms to Bosnia. It does not authorize the use of American troops for any purpose in Bosnia, whether it is to help with the withdrawal of the UNPROFOR forces that surely must follow that lift or the training, support, or delivery of military equipment. It does not give the Bosnian forces a chance. It does not provide them with the heavy military equipment or the training that all experts—including the Bosnians—agree is needed.

Is this a vote for symbolism over substance? I fear that it may very well be.

In the end I cannot help remembering that whether it was Czechoslovakia, or Poland, or Hungary, or the other countries that were subject to Nazi aggression and genocide, there was no arms embargo on those countries. Those countries without a forceful Western response were unable to resist the aggression. It was not until that response came all too late for so many millions that that aggression was resisted, and in the hope and the belief that finally the West and the United States are prepared to do something meaningful, I say for this time now let us give them that chance. If we are disappointed once again, then we have to go back to the old strategy.

Ms. MCKINNEY. I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CONYERS].

(Mr. CONYERS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentlewoman from Georgia for yielding this time to me.

My colleagues, I rise today in reluctant opposition to this bill which seeks to pile matches upon a smoldering tinderbox in the former Yugoslavia. I am a veteran of war, but if I am remembered for anything in this body, I hope this body will remember me as a champion of peace. At best, we will make a difficult choice in our policy toward Eastern Europe, and at worst, we will take the first step down a slippery slope to an involvement that we cannot get out of, and I would like to give my colleagues the three reasons that make me support a position of voting "no" on lifting the embargo.

If the United Nations has to move out, the United States will have to de-

ploy 25,000 ground troops to this volatile region to protect the withdrawal as part of President Clinton's commitment to the NATO evacuation plan, OPLAN 40104. So do not be deceived. This is an easy vote in some quarters, but a vote to lift the embargo is a vote to send in U.S. troops.

Second, our best allies, Britain and France, have made clear that, if the embargo is lifted, the United Nations will pull out and no one will be there to feed the 3 million displaced people daily. This would dramatically exacerbate the refugee crisis and the civilian casualty rate, especially among Moslems.

Let me skip the other two and quote Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.:

The past is prophetic in that it asserts loudly that wars are poor chisels for carving out peaceful tomorrows. One day we must come to see that peace is not merely a distant goal that we seek, but a means by which we arrive at that goal. We must pursue peaceful ends by peaceful means.

So today I ask my colleagues not to overlook the common sense of this uncommon wisdom. Let us commit to a long-term policy that cuts off fuel and supplies to aggressors, allows the President to act in concert with the international community and seeks to wage peace rather than war.

Ms. MCKINNEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. POMEROY].

Mr. POMEROY. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding this time to me.

I hate to my core the tragedy that is occurring in Bosnia. Twenty-two years ago I was an exchange student in Yugoslavia. It was a country coping reasonably well with its incredibly diverse culture and backgrounds. This god-awful tragedy did not have to happen. Those responsible for sending this country into a fratricidal state of unimaginable cruelty, murder, and rape should be condemned for all eternity. This tragedy on our planet is a blow for all mankind.

But let me make one thing very, very clear. It is not America's fault. It is not America's fight.

As I wrestled with the decision before us, a constituent asked me two questions that I think get to the core of the difficult issues before us. Why are these people killing each other, and why should we place American lives on the line to stop it?

□ 1515

I did not have an answer to either question posed by my constituent, and without these answers I cannot vote on a proposal which is an inevitable first step to Americanizing this tragedy. As deeply as I hate what is occurring, I will not support this country taking a "Go It Alone" approach and exposing us in this fashion to deeper U.S. involvement in this tragic conflict.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to my very good friend, the gentleman from New York [Mr. ENGEL]

who has been deeply involved in foreign affairs issues during his career here in the House.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time. We have all heard this story of how Nero fiddled while Rome burned. For the past 3 years the world has fiddled while Bosnia has burned and its people have been raped and killed. For 3 years, I and others have been arguing on this floor to lift the arms embargo, and what do we hear time and time again and 3 years later? We are still hearing the same things.

Mr. Chairman, the failed policies, the tired policies, the diplomatic niceties, they have failed. The status quo is not acceptable. Two hundred thousand people have been killed. It is almost an insult to our intelligence to say we should just stay the course and let us give NATO or the United Nations one more chance.

Mr. Chairman, for the past several weeks, some of us who are Members of Congress have been receiving the most vile anti-Semitic and racist faxes coming into our office. Unfortunately, it shows that 50 years after the Holocaust, anti-Semitism and racism is still alive and well in some quarters, and genocide, once again, is rearing its ugly face on the Continent of Europe. Are we just to stand by and do nothing?

Perhaps, Mr. Chairman, we ought to do something because it is right. Is that not what this wonderful country has always stood for, doing what is right? The Serbs are trying to expand Greater Serbia. If they get away with this in Bosnia, Kosovo will be next and other places will be next. Let the Bosnian Moslems defend themselves. That is all they are asking.

We have seen in the past 3 years, whenever NATO has seemed to take a firm stance, the aggressors have backed down. When they saw that NATO and the United Nations was a paper tiger, they emboldened themselves. Safe zones were established only to crumble: Srebrenica, Zepa. What is next, Gorazde, Bihaj, and Sarajevo? Are we going to sit by and watch people be raped and murdered?

Mr. Chairman, we do not want to send the message that aggression and genocide pays. We want to send a message that this country will not tolerate it. Support the bill. The whole world is watching.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2½ minutes to the distinguished gentlewoman from Georgia [Ms. MCKINNEY].

Ms. MCKINNEY. Mr. Chairman, I rise today in support of the President's position to uphold the arms embargo on Bosnia. As the world's leader we have the responsibility to uphold the principles of negotiated settlement and conflict resolution.

By lifting the arms embargo, Mr. Chairman, we put 25,000 peacekeepers in danger, we become responsible for escalating the war, and we set the

stage for a deeper, personal U.S. involvement in the conflict. A unilateral lifting of the embargo would drive our allies out of Bosnia and pull us in. It will place the responsibility for defining the mission in Bosnia squarely on our shoulders.

Our leadership on this issue must be clear, unwavering, and forthright. The Serbs' assault in recent days makes it clear that we must strengthen UNPROFOR in consultation with our allies. A congressional passage of a unilateral arms lift at this delicate moment would undermine all efforts to shore up UNPROFOR and work in concert with our allies.

A unilateral arms lift means unilateral responsibility for the United States. A unilateral arms lift, Mr. Chairman, will not be a quick fix. We must stand fast with our allies and with NATO.

We must maintain our global responsibility to seek a negotiated settlement to pursue a peaceful resolution to the Bosnian crisis. We must support the President, our allies, and NATO. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I urge my colleagues to vote "no" on lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Chairman, perhaps we ought to get clear here on the amount of time remaining. Could the Chair advise us what time remains for each of the three managers?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] has 18 minutes remaining, the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN] has 14½ minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER] has 16½ minutes remaining.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1½ minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Connecticut [Ms. DELAURO], one of the leaders on our side of the aisle.

Ms. DELAURO. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia.

Lifting the arms embargo is not something we should take lightly. But we cannot continue to allow innocent civilians to be killed, tortured, raped, and herded out of what have been called safe havens. What kind of safe haven allows the slaughter of innocents?

The arms embargo was put in place to prevent weapons from entering the former Yugoslavia. But it has not worked each night on the news, we can witness the atrocities being committed by the well-armed Serbs. The Serbs have slaughtered men, women and children. The survivors have been forced out of their homes so that the Serbs may realize their appalling goal of an ethnically pure Serbia.

The international community has not been able to defend the Bosnian, and through the arms embargo, the international community has not accorded the Bosnians their fundamental right to defend themselves. We must not continue down the same path that has led to ethnic cleansing, rape, mur-

der, and torture. In Bosnia the battle lines may change daily but the line between right and wrong does not move. It is wrong for the Serbs to slaughter a defenseless people and it is wrong for the United States to stand by and watch. Lift the arms embargo. Allow the Bosnians to defend themselves.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Chairman, I will reserve the balance of my time. We do not have a speaker on the floor at the moment, but some are on their way.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Maryland [Mr. CARDIN] a member of the Helsinki Commission.

Mr. CARDIN. First, Mr. Chairman, let me thank the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER] for his leadership on the Helsinki Commission and on human rights issues.

Mr. Chairman, by maintaining the status quo and not lifting the arms embargo, we are taking sides. We are taking the wrong side, on the side of the aggressor. The Serbs are clearly the aggressors in Bosnia.

We have had hearings before the Helsinki Commission here in Washington that have documented the atrocities that have taken place. The numbers before the most recent aggression by the Serbs indicate over 20,000 rapes, over 151 mass graves holding up to 3,000 remains, over 200,000 deaths, 800 prison camps and detention facilities, 50,000 people tortured. The Serbs are the aggressors, the Serbs are armed, the Bosnians are not. Maintaining the status quo is taking a side; taking the wrong side.

Yes, Mr. Chairman, lifting the arms embargo is uncertain. We do not know what will happen by lifting the arms embargo, but we know that by maintaining the arms embargo, the atrocities, the genocide that is currently taking place, will continue to take place. Why should we not let the Bosnians make their own decision? They should have the right to be armed.

Recently, at a meeting of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, I presented a statement on behalf of the Bosnian Government. They were unable to get there, for obvious reasons. I will quote from the government statement less than one month ago.

This war continues because UNPROFOR commanders have lacked the political will and the Bosnian army has lacked the means to adequately confront those that willfully defy international law and Security Council resolutions and OSCE decisions and principles in pursuit of an ethnically pure Greater Serbia achieved through genocide. You know that the Bosnian government lacks the means of confront those butchering its civilians and acquiring its territory by force because of the unjust and absurd arms embargo, which is in full contradiction to Article 51 of the U.N. Charter confirming the inherent right to self-defense.

Mr. Chairman, the United States has stood up before, and many times alone

on human rights issues. We stood very tall against the former Soviet Union and opposed economic sanctions against the advice of many of our allies, and the Soviet Union changed and Soviets were allowed to leave the Soviet Union.

We stood tall against South Africa, when many of our allies questioned our actions. We were right and South Africa changed.

On the 20th anniversary of the Helsinki Accords, let us stand up for what is right. Vote to lift the arms embargo.

Mr. Chairman, I include the statement by the Delegation of the Parliament of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the 4th OSCE Parliamentary Assembly for the RECORD.

STATEMENT BY THE DELEGATION OF THE PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA TO THE 4TH OSCE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY, OTTAWA, 4-8, 1995—GENERAL COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL AFFAIRS AND SECURITY

MR. CHAIRMAN, the Delegation of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is pleased to contribute to this debate on political affairs and security our views which have been formulated after years of experience with the United Nations and OSCE security mechanisms, as manifested in UNPROFOR, NATO, as well as numerous political mechanisms, including the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and the Contact Group.

We must impress upon you the fact that these experiences are first hand and in the most difficult and trying of circumstances. The lessons learned, or better to say, the lessons that have been offered to us, those in the security and political fields, come at the expense of more than 200,000 dead Bosnians, and perhaps at the expense of the credibility of the security and political mechanisms mentioned above.

Stability and security in Europe are most threatened by the continuing war of aggression and genocide waged by Karadzic's war criminals and their sponsors in Belgrade against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. This war continues because (1) the Karadzic terrorist Serbs still reject the Contact Group peace plan, and (2) because UNPROFOR commanders have lacked the political will and the Bosnian Army has lacked the means to adequately confront those that willfully defy international law and Security Council resolutions and OSCE decisions and principles in pursuit of an ethnically pure Greater Serbia achieved through genocide.

You know that the Bosnian Government lacks the means to confront those butchering its civilians and acquiring its territory by force because of the unjust and absurd arms embargo which is in full contradiction to Article 51 of the UN Charter confirming the inherent right to self defense. You also know that the Karadzic regime continues to reject peace as its totalitarian ambitions have been fulfilled under the current status quo while its territorial ambitions have not.

What may not be known to you is why UNPROFOR, despite the courage and commitment of its troops on the ground, has failed to protect Bosnia's civilians and has failed to have an impact in facilitating peace. The answer is not new, rather, it is known to many, but unfortunately ignored by those capable of making it a reality. In October 1993, Mr. Jose-Maria Mendiluce (Former Special Envoy of the UNHCR in Former Yugoslavia) stated that humanitarian efforts in Bosnia and Herzegovina

"were used as a palliative, an alibi, an excuse to cover the lack of political will to confront the reality of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina with the necessary means (political and perhaps military) . . . generating a great deal of contradictions." This problem still exists today and is compounded by the UN Secretariat and some Permanent Security Council members who cling to a policy of "conflict containment" in Bosnia and Herzegovina—a policy that is morally corrupt and strategically absurd. In trying to justify their position, these factors have given us a public display of handwashing and rhetorical evasion.

Rather than seeing action to implement the mandates, we hear invocations that the neutrality of a peacekeeping mission must not be compromised when there is no peace to keep and when the mandates were established as reactions to the transgressions of the Karadzic Serbs. As this has become more difficult to justify, the relevant factors have engaged themselves in the immoral practice of equating victim and aggressor, and towards that end, have manipulated and suppressed information. An Associated Press wire report of 25 November, 1994 entitled "Playing Down Bihac" illustrates: "A United Nations spokesman . . . repeated assurances that rebel Serbs were respecting the Bihac (safe area) zone. He mentioned in passing, however, that a United Nations observation post had to be abandoned due to shell fire. Afterward, reporters with access to United Nations maps discovered the post was inside the safe zone."

Mr. Chairman, evasion of victim and aggressor, evasion of responsibility, and manipulation of information are no substitute for the rule of law, and in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the law manifests itself in UNPROFOR's mandates. And, again despite the muddying rhetoric of the UN Secretary-General and others, the mandates are clear in their permission, under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, to use force to deliver aid to populations in need and to use force to protect the safe areas and to use force to ensure compliance with the UN/NATO exclusion zones around Sarajevo and Gorazde. It is high time that the relevant factors be held accountable for their evasion of responsibility and manipulation and suppression of information. It is high time the UNPROFOR implement what my government sees as a satisfactory mandate; not just to vindicate the suffering Bosnians, but to vindicate the valiant efforts of UNPROFOR's men and women, who have been short changed by the UN Secretary-General and his representatives.

Towards implementing the UNPROFOR mandates, my Government welcomes the deployment of the Rapid Reaction Force. We believe that this force has the capability and the means to help UNPROFOR bridge the gap between what is written in Security Council resolutions and what actually takes place on the ground. We also welcome the positions of those UNPROFOR troop contributing states, like the Netherlands, who have expressed that UNPROFOR's primary responsibility is to the Bosnia's civilian population.

More and more UNPROFOR troop contributors hold the view that their troops must carry out their responsibilities in a robust fashion if the mandate is to be successfully implemented and if their troops are to be less vulnerable to Karadzic Serb terrorist reprisals. We believe that you, as Parliamentarians, are in a position to see this concept become reality.

However, if UNPROFOR, and the Rapid Reaction Force act only as instruments that maintain the status quo, we cannot accept their continued presence in the RBH. To do

so would only prolong our civilians dependence on international subsistence without addressing their protection and how to neutralize those that are responsible for their suffering.

It must be remembered that UNPROFOR was deployed in BH in the absence of our inherent right to self defense. While humanitarian aid has prolonged some lives, it has failed to save others from murder and other acts of terror. Only a force with the will to protect civilians can protect civilians. In this regard, UNPROFOR has thus far failed. If the Rapid Reaction Force is unable to make amends for these shortcomings, then the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be given the opportunity, as it is legally and morally obliged to protect the civilian population. We can only succeed where others have failed if the arms embargo is lifted. To maintain this embargo under existing circumstances would be nothing less than playing accomplice to the genocidal and territorial designs of the Karadzic terrorist Serbs sponsored by the Milosovic regime. The continuation of this policy is nothing less than inviting other like-minded terrorists to pursue racist and aggressive objectives undermining peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

Thank you Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. OBEY].

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Chairman, I have been incredibly frustrated by our situation in Bosnia, and I frankly, think that the only time that the tragedy which has happened there could have been prevented was at the very beginning, before Mr. Milosevic and the Serbs began their brutal series of attacks. I think through much of the period since then NATO has failed. I think they especially failed at the beginning, when they should, I think, have made it quite clear that they were going to take collective action if the Bosnian Serbs moved one troop across a designated line.

Mr. Chairman, because of that concern and frustration, and my outrage at the conduct of the Bosnian Serbs, I voted on two occasions to lift the embargo in order to send a message to the United Nations that they needed to shape up their operations; in order to send the message to our NATO allies that they needed to get serious and get tougher; and that U.N. troops had to be in a position to shoot back when fired on; and, lastly, almost in desperation, to send a message to the Serbian leadership that they might, in the end, encounter more than they bargained for unless they backed off.

I believe, Mr. Chairman, that things have changed, at least for the moment. I reserve the right in the future to again vote to lift the embargo, but it seems to me that, at least for the moment, the message seems to have partially been heard. There seems to be some at least temporary pause by the Serbs in their attack since the possibility of air strikes were announced. There has been a change in U.N. operating procedures so that we do not have Mr. Boutros-Ghali continuing to interpose himself in decisions on air strikes. It also seems to me that we

have had a stiffer reaction on the part of the U.N. forces lately to attacks or threats of attack.

Mr. Chairman, it seems to me, under these circumstances, the most important thing, since we have gotten movement from our allies, and since we have gotten a change in procedure from the United Nations, it seems to me the most important thing at this point is for us to be together and for us to try to see whether this new effort by the President can, in fact, be expanded and enhanced.

□ 1530

When we met with the President this morning, he indicated that perhaps those who had voted to lift the embargo in the past had in fact provided some help to him, because that had perhaps sent the message to our NATO allies, which helped him to get a stronger position out of them. I dearly hope so. But it seems to me at this moment, given the changes that have taken place on the ground and the changes that have been enunciated with respect to our allies' policy, as well as the United Nation's policy, that we ought to grant the President the time he needs to try to work out policy based on this new stance and this new posture.

So I, with great reluctance, and with great frustration, and with great understanding for those who have in the past supported lifting the embargo, I would urge that for the moment we give this new adjusted policy a chance to work, because it seems to me the best chance to avoid having to send American troops into that area and to avoid the significant and perhaps even massive loss of life that could come if this situation unravels quickly, as it certainly might.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Utah [Mr. HANSEN].

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the gentleman yielding time to me.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of lifting the embargo. I believe this vote is a vote for American leadership in the world and the only moral thing to do.

The Clinton administration calls their strategy engagement. Well, if this is engagement where is the ring?

It would be more accurate to call the current policy living together. We have no commitment, we have no plans for the future, we simply make ourselves feel good while leaving plenty of room to sneak out the back door with no strings attached.

This policy has been a disaster since the beginning. Bosnia, a member of the U.N. General Assembly, has been denied its fundamental right to self-defense under the U.N. Charter. Instead, the United Nations has provided a protection force hardly capable of protecting itself, and now provides U.N. escorts to ensure the safe and orderly ethnic cleansing of the U.N. designated safe areas.

While at its root this problem is a European one, this does not mean the United States should relinquish its rightful role as leader of the allies. On the contrary, leadership is precisely the role we must play.

Leadership, however, does not mean compromise and agreeing to some easy middle ground. Leadership requires the courage of commitment to do what is right.

What is right in this case is that the Bosnian Government is entitled to protect its sovereignty and its people, against Serbian aggression.

What is right, is that the NATO allies, supported by the United States, should begin to follow through on their promises of air strikes in response to continued Serbian attacks on the safe areas of Bihac, Gorazde, and Sarajevo.

What is right is that the United Nations should lift the immoral arms embargo against the people of Bosnia. While there will almost certainly be casualties, I believe the Bosnian people would rather die fighting for their country, than at the hands of cowardly Serb snipers or brutal ethnic cleansing.

As Dr. Martin Luther King so clearly stated, "The biggest enemy is not the brutality of the evil people but rather the silence of the good people."

I urge all of my colleagues to vote for American leadership and international law, vote for S. 21.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Maine [Mr. LONGLEY].

Mr. LONGLEY. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Chairman, I have three points I would like to make this afternoon. First, I stand here as a past opponent of lifting the embargo, but not necessarily as a supporter of the administration's policies in that part of the world. I think we have been vacillating and indecisive, and I think we have invested far more authority in the United Nations than they are militarily capable of handling.

It has reached the point where our forces on the ground are actually ridiculing what we are establishing in terms of policy, for the forces that are on standby in that part of the world, they are not talking about the rapid reaction force, they are talking about the reaction force, or the reaction-reaction force; or, listen to this one, UNPROFOR-UNPROFOR, the U.N. Protection Force for the U.N. Protection Force.

It is clear to me that the administration needs to understand it needs to put some steel behind its words; and if we are going to offer safe havens for innocent civilians, they need to know they are going to be kept safe. But the real choice in this debate is between a policy that will further more violence or less violence, and I would submit that adding more ammunition, more weapons, to an already volatile situation is going to be counterproductive in terms of what we want to accomplish.

I will go one step further: It is very clear if we lift the arms embargo Great Britain and France are going to withdraw their peacekeeping forces, which is going to lead to a commitment the United States has made to provide troops on the ground in Bosnia to assist in that withdrawal.

This vote amounts to a vote as to whether we want to put Americans on the ground there or not. On that basis I would oppose lifting the embargo.

I would add one further thing. If I were a troop sitting on the ground in Italy or at sea, watching the division between the administration and the Congress over this aspect of our foreign policy, I would be shivering in my boots. I would submit that once we get through this vote, it is incumbent upon us as leaders of both parties and the administration to find some way to bridge the chasm that exists between us, so we can finally restore a bipartisan consensus on what our policy is going to be in that part of the world.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California [Ms. PELOSI].

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding. I thank the gentleman for his relentless leadership on this effort. I have not always agreed with the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER] on this particular resolution. In the last year I voted against it. I did so because I am a strong believer in multilateralism, a strong supporter of the goals of the United Nations, and am indeed a member of the North Atlantic Assemblies, so I would prefer a multilateral solution. For that reason, I voted no last year.

I visited the former Yugoslavia. I have met with UNPROFOR forces there and are impressed by what they are trying to do. But, sad to say, this approach has not succeeded. Indeed, since the summer of last year, the allies contact group has developed a take-it-or-leave-it peace map, threatening the Bosnian Serbs with lifting the arms embargo or air strikes if they refused to sign on. They refused, but no punishment has been meted out. In August, we threatened air strikes against the Bosnian Serb forces violating the Sarajevo weapons exclusion zone. Pin prick strikes were the response. The list of threats and retreats goes on and on.

Mr. Chairman, we must be sure people know what we mean and say about ethnic cleansing. Never again. I urge our colleagues to support the resolution.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Colorado [Mrs. SCHROEDER].

(Mrs. SCHROEDER asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time. Let me say there is plenty of blame and shame to go around to everyone all over the world as to what has happened in the former Yugoslavia. But there is one bit of good news, and

I fear that if we vote for this resolution today, we may even blow up the one bit of good news, and that is unlike the war in that region at the beginning of this century, so far that war has not spread. It has not splattered all over the face of Europe, making it a World War III.

While we have fumbled all over each other trying to figure out how to act together as an alliance, and we have been awkward, and alliances are not really efficient, and while there has been some real horror shows that none of us want to see on TV, if you read history and if you read what has been accomplished, at least this has not spread. If we Americanize this war, which is what I think we will be doing if we vote for this today, because if you were the Bosnian leaders, you would pick up the phone right after this passed and say, OK, you guys, you voted for it, now bring the weapons in and it is now ours, as our allies say goodbye. So let us not do that.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. ACKERMAN].

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York is recognized for 4 minutes.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Chairman, it was a terrible joke to begin with. Izzi and Abie were rounded up and captured by the Nazi troops. They were marched to the end of the town and told to dig their own grave, which they did. And the Nazi storm trooper stood in front of them with his machinegun and he said, "Do you have any last wish?" And Izzi looks at Abie and he says, "Abie, I think I will ask for a blindfold." And Abie looks quietly back at Izzi and he says, "Izzi, don't make waves."

From that terrible story, Mr. Chairman, came the expression "Never again." Never again would a people allow themselves to be placed at the edge of annihilation, without fighting back, without defending themselves. Never again said the almost wiped out people. Never again said their neighbors. Never again said the rest of the world. Never again will we sit idly by and allow a whole race to face extinction. Never, said a regretful world.

We did not know, said their neighbors. We did not know it was happening, said everybody. They must have taken them away in the middle of the night. How did we know? Never again.

Well, Mr. Chairman, never again is happening yet again. Does it make it any better if you substitute Ahmed and Mohammed for Izzi and Abie? I think not. Does it make it better if you substitute someone else's people for my people? I think not. Does it make it better if you talk about the numbers being only hundreds of thousands instead of millions? It certainly does not.

How do we sit idly by? How do we allow this to happen? How do we institutionalize inaction? How do we pre-

vent the people from fighting back and defending themselves, tying their hands behind their backs. That is worse. That is being complicitous. That is being enablers. That is being permitters. It is almost like being accomplices to those who are committing genocide on this planet today.

We sit here and fritter about terrible choices that we have. There were terrible choices then as well. We talk about glimmers of hope. Glimmers of hope for whom? If that were your people, if that were my people, you would not be so hopeful, waiting for the world to intervene.

Mr. Chairman, we must act or we will be guilty of recommitting the sins of the past that we have condemned on this floor over and over and over again. This is racial ethnic genocide, make no bones about it, and those who sit and only watch are guilty of participating, are guilty in sins of omission, if not sins of commission.

Mr. Chairman, once again evil stalks the world, and we are sitting around passing the blindfolds.

□ 1545

Do not let this happen. We would not want this to happen to our people. This should not happen to anybody's race. This is our race. It is the human race.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Chairman, it is my understanding that the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN] has the right to close. I advise my colleagues that I have three speakers remaining.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN] has 10½ minutes remaining, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] has 11 minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER] has 9 minutes remaining.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 3 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, I think we are now beginning to wind the debate down. I want to say to my colleagues who have participated on both sides that I think we have had a very, very good debate, certainly have clarified the issues.

Let me speak very quickly to two or three points that I think are salient in the debate. One of the things that bothers me most gravely about the position of those who would lift unilaterally is it seems to me throughout this debate they have simply been unwilling to speak to the consequences of what happens once you have the unilateral debate.

They want to lift the embargo, but that raises a whole series of questions: who supplies the arms who delivers them, who pays for them, who is going to feed 2 million people every day, who protects the Bosnian civilians if Serbs attack. The consequences of the lift simply have not been adequately addressed, it seems to me, by the proponents of a unilateral lift. They do not provide any arms. They do not provide any funds. They do not provide a single cent in this resolution. I think it is a serious defect in the resolution.

Second, they have spoken very powerfully today about atrocities. I do not yield to any person in this Chamber at my abhorrence of atrocities that have been committed in this war. I am willing to concede that the Serbs have committed a lot of atrocities. I do not think all atrocities have been committed by one side. But I do know this: That the way to stop atrocities is to stop the war. Almost all who favor lifting the embargo recognize that that is a consequence of the war. To intensify the war will simply multiply the atrocities.

The third point I would make is that this unilateral lift simply turns over one of the most fateful decisions in American foreign policy to the Bosnian Government. The bill says that the President shall lift the embargo if the Bosnians ask UNPROFOR to leave. How can we in this Chamber, who often say that we do not like to put authority in multilateral institutions, how can we just turn over the authority of the U.S. Government to conduct American foreign policy to a foreign government, without any even participation on our part?

Finally, many have said that the policy has not worked. I agree with that statement. But I think we do have, as repeated speakers have said on our side, a new strategy in place. The President has articulated it and so have his secretaries. We do not know if that strategy is going to work. It may work. But give it a chance for the next few weeks to see if it works. If it does not, then maybe we have to go to a unilateral lift.

It is a stiffer policy. It is a tougher policy. It is a unified policy. It will give time for negotiations to work, and in the few days that it has been in place, it has worked. So far, so good.

I urge the defeat of the proposal.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. WILSON].

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

This is a difficult, difficult situation for me because in my 23 years in this House, I have supported the foreign policy of President Nixon, President Ford, President Carter, President Reagan, President Bush, and so far, President Clinton. However, the savageness that the Serbs have placed upon the people of the Balkans simply crosses the line. I can no longer do that, as much as I find it distasteful.

The aggression and brutality are just too much. With the arms embargo, this is the first time I can think of in history that the great democracies of the West have denied the right of self-defense to the people upon whom aggression is being put.

Therefore, I am going to support the resolution of the chairman of the Committee on International Relations from New York. But I would also say that I think that we are going to have to consider Croatian, and we are going to

have to consider the fact that they are going to be next, if the Serbs are successful, as they are apparently going to be, in the wretchedness that they are vesting upon the Bosnians.

So I would say to the chairman of the committee and the sponsor of the amendment that I would hope that in the future we can consider the fact that we are probably going to have to lift the arms on Croatia because they are probably going to be the next attacked. They are going to be subject to exactly the same kind of racial cleansing that the Bosnians are. I hope that we will keep that in mind.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN].

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this amendment. Let me say every 2 or 3 years debate takes place on this House floor where the thoughtfulness and the humanity and the depth of feeling on both sides of the argument is equally powerful and has equal ability to touch the heart and to make one's thinking processes work at supersonic speed.

I agree with most, well not all, but I agree with much of the arguments made on the other side about how sad it is to release arms embargo, arms embargoes in a situation where males, and it is generally always older males, telling younger males to die and to fight for a cause that could be negotiated if the proper pressure were applied in this case, I believe, by the ex-superpower, that has come down to be the confederation of Russia, and the world's only superpower, the United States.

If the proper pressure, probably privately, was applied by the United States and Russia in Belgrade, which is the seat of this problem, when all is said and done, there probably could be a diplomatic solution.

Sometimes it appears like Northern Ireland in my heritage tree, that until there is an exhaustion over the death, the unnecessary death of thousands of innocent people, until the exhaustion point is reached, middle-aged males will not sit down and reason properly.

Now, there is one point that has been argued on the side against this resolution that I must take exception to. It is when they stand up and say, this is going to drag in American fighting people. And I guess that includes women at this point in our history for a while anyway, until I have hearings, men and women. American men and women are not going to be dragged into this fight under this Senate Resolution 21 that we are voting on here shortly.

On the next to last page, article f, Rule of Construction, it says quite clearly: "Nothing in this section shall be interpreted as authorization for deployment of United States forces in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina for any purpose, including training"—I want to repeat that—"including training."

To release an arms embargo against the people most suffering does not

mean high technology weapons are going in there, Stinger missiles. And it does not mean we have any obligation to train anybody to even use a rifle or a pistol. It just does not.

It says it includes "training, support, or delivery of military equipment." We have no obligation by removing this arms embargo to deliver anything, let alone train anybody, let alone put in Vietnam-style observers, let alone get involved in the fighting.

Here is what makes this thing so painful. One of the Members said it is like throwing gasoline on a fire. There has been an awful fire burning there. I read an intelligence report the other day, the title is not classified. It said simply, fighting in all directions. That is what is supposed to be on the President's desk in his 9 intell briefing, fighting in all directions was talking about the Bihac pocket where the Moslems are divided into two camps and the U.N. courts of justice have just made Martić, M-A-R-T-I-C, Martić another war criminal. That is war criminal No. 46, and they are all in the Serbian camp, 46 war criminals who cannot travel through the airports of the world. And they do not care, because they can drive up to R&R in Belgrade. So what do they care whether the world calls them war criminals?

But the fact that we have a four-way fight going on there does not mean that we have a right to hold the hands behind the back of one party being terribly beaten, even if we think by releasing their hands the adversary will pull out a gun and shoot them dead in front of our face. That is how bad I think this conundrum is, the horns of this dilemma is.

We are crippling the right of men to fight to defend themselves. Yet, if we take off the restraints we have put on them, the other side, led by 46 war criminals, will go so wild that they may try and kill as many young males as they can before the first pistol arrives on the scene.

With all of that said, this Member cannot vote to keep an embargo on people who are being slaughtered.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. MORAN].

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield one-half minute to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. MORAN].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. MORAN] is recognized for 1½ minutes.

Mr. MORAN. Mr. Chairman, I greatly respect the point of view of the ranking Democratic member of the Committee on International Relations, which is the point of view of the President of the United States, that we ought to continue negotiating.

I understand the implications of lifting the arms embargo. But we have been negotiating for 3 years, and the problem is we are dealing with a bully. Bullies do not negotiate. They react to

the threat of force. We understand that in our own lives.

Who among us, if we were walking down the street and saw someone clubbing to death a defenseless person, who among us would not do something? I am sure there are some who would shrug their shoulders and walk on, saying this is not my battle. I am not in my neighborhood. A lot of people get clubbed to death all the time. Life is unfair. But that is not very many of us.

Some of us would take the club away, maybe punch them in the nose to create a level playing field, and then let them fight it out. Some of us might interrupt and give a club to the other person and say, okay, it is fair now. Go ahead. But I do not think any of us would stand there and watch it happen. And for 3 years that is what we have been doing. We have been complicit in this genocide.

America is the moral leader of the world. We are not just the military leader. We have looked to as the moral leader of this world. Let us be that leader. Let us be that leader. Let us exercise that leadership.

We have another choice then to do the right thing. Support the lifting of the arms embargo.

□ 1600

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MURTHA].

Mr. MURTHA. Mr. Chairman, let me say that one of the previous speakers talked about supporting President Reagan in Central America, and I did that. He talked about supporting President Bush in Saudi Arabia, and I did that. I opposed their effort in Somalia. I felt it was a mistake. The United States can only do so much.

The gentleman who just spoke, said if somebody is fighting in the middle of the street, reminds me of one of the Members who said they got involved in a domestic quarrel; and when they got involved, in the end they both turned on the individual Member who tried to interfere with a domestic quarrel. There was a physical battle.

We are talking here about the most complicated type of situation. I remember one time going to Bosnia, 3 or 4 years ago, and Helen Bentley said to me, a former Member of Congress, "Do not forget, this started in 1389." The animosity and deep feelings of the two sides, the three sides, in Bosnia are very difficult. All of us feel we would like to solve it. It is a tragedy.

I walked through the mud in Vietnam, up to my waist in the water. I saw young Vietnamese killed, and I saw young Americans killed. I was wounded twice. I know something about what it is like to send Americans into harm's way. If I thought it would solve the problem, I would be the first to step in front, but it will not solve the problem. For instance, if we were to lift the arms embargo, France and Britain will withdraw their troops.

America is committed, the prestige of the United States, the prestige of the President of the United States, is committed to sending in 25,000 American troops. It will not be an easy evacuation.

For instance, if we go into Split, it will take one ship at a time, it will take one C-5 in that small airport. The roads are narrow, the foliage is deep. It took us 40 days to get a light infantry unit into Saudi Arabia. It will take much more time to get 25,000 troops into Split, and we cannot send them in piecemeal. If they go over the roads, which are 10-ton roads, with our heavy equipment, it will break the roads down, so it will take all kinds of time to reinforce or to get a rapid deployment force into position, if we have to fight our way in and fight our way out. What we are saying is we are authorizing a defeat.

We are actually saying we are in favor of lifting an embargo which withdraws the British and French, and the United States will go in and bring them out. It is a Diepee. It is a Dien Bien Phu for the United States. We are starting out by saying we are authorizing a defeat, and what will it cost? One billion dollars, at least, and how many lives we do not know; and it will not solve the problem. What is the next step? Croatia gets more involved, Serbia gets more involved, the Russians get more involved, Hungary gets involved, Greece and Turkey get involved.

I stood on the spot where World War I started. I looked out and thought to myself, how could this have happened, that this incident where the Archduke Ferdinand was killed started World War I?

We are, in effect, starting the possibility of a wider war with much, much more loss of American lives. The President changed his policy dramatically. He now has got the key to eliminating the dual key of bombing. The military asks military-to-military. Second, the hostage situation is eliminated. They will not stop the bombing because of hostages. Instead of pinprick bombing, there will be massive bombing. That is a big difference. That will make a difference.

There is no one who knows better than I do how much air power means in an operation, especially in the short term. When we go in and drop bombs, we will usually drive off any enemy. We are facing a major decision, one of the most important decisions that Congress will face. I would urge Members not to lift the embargo, because they are in fact declaring war, and they are endangering American lives.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER].

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

Mr. Chairman, we come to a close of a very serious debate. We come to the close of a debate that has seen 3 years of failure. No one on this floor has ad-

ressed the policy as a success. Everyone has said it is a failure. It is time, then, to move on. Today we mark, Mr. Chairman, the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act to the day, August 1, 1975. Twenty years ago the United States, in concert with 33 countries of Europe and Canada, declared our commitment to 10 sacred principles governing our relationships with each other. We pledge to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms. We pledge to respect the territorial integrity of each state, like Bosnia, the sovereign, independent, internationally recognized state of Bosnia. We pledge not to threaten or use force against any state, unlike Serbia. We pledge to settle disputes by peaceful means, so as not to endanger international peace, security, and justice. When President Ford signed the historic accord on behalf of the United States he said this: "This document will not be measured by the promises made in the Helsinki Final Act, but by the promises kept."

This debate is about promises to keep. This debate is about meeting our commitments under article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. There are promises to be kept, Mr. Chairman, and now is the time; not tomorrow, not tomorrow and thereafter.

I have heard in every debate on the lifting of the arms embargo, "Wait, wait until tomorrow. The sun will come up tomorrow for the Bosnians. The sun will come up, and all of a sudden the Serbs will see the light." However, here we are, Mr. Chairman, years later. The atrocities continue. Seven weeks ago this House voted overwhelmingly in support of the Hoyer amendment to lift the arms embargo. S. 21 before us now, gives us a vehicle to do just that. Three hundred and eighteen of us stood to say we will not give aid and sustenance to the aggressors, branded as war criminals by the international community.

The gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] makes the point that we will turn over American policy to the Bosnians, because if they have this they would have to request UNPROFOR to leave, or the lifting of the embargo. That is not true. We make a decision today to say in which manner we will lift the arms embargo. We will do it in a considered fashion, under S. 21, ensuring the safety of our allies. Indeed, the President is given 30-day segments to extend the lifting of the embargo if the allies are still at risk.

Mr. Chairman, what has happened in the few short weeks between voting for the embargo and today? Srebrenica and Zepa lie in ruins. The United Nations-declared safe areas have been overrun by the terrorist Serbs. The international community effectively buried Zepa. Where is our integrity? Where is our commitment to enforcing the principles we adopted in Helsinki?

Civilians raped, tortured, thousands massacred, thousands unaccounted for,

and tens of thousands more displaced; more refugees out of this confrontation and conflagration since any time since the 1940's. War criminals we have put on the same level as the democratically elected government of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We have said to them: "You can only proceed with the arms that are in Yugoslavia," and all of us know that it is the Bosnian Serbs who succeeded to that army.

Yes, there has been some moral relativism on this floor, making analogies between the Serbs and the Bosnian Moslems, and we ought to be neutral; and yes, if we do this our European allies may lift the embargo on Iraq. If they do that, shame, shame, shame on them. Is there any analogy to be made between Saddam Hussein, the dictator-butcher of Baghdad, and the democratically elected government of Sarajevo, Bosnia, and Herzegovina? The answer, Mr. Chairman, is of course not.

The time has come for us to make a decision. The time for us has come to lift this embargo. The time for us has come to say we understand who the victims of aggression are in this case; and America, the leader of the free world, America, the beacon of freedom to the peoples of the world, America, that stands for justice, will not stand silently by while the innocent victims, unarmed, are subjected to the genocide that everybody on both sides of this issue has spoken to.

Mr. Chairman, let us not fall into the abyss of negligence. Let us not fall into the abyss of saying, "It is not our struggle." I quoted John Kennedy earlier today when he told the world that we would be with them in their fight for freedom. The international community recognized Bosnia and Herzegovina. It said to them, "We respect you as a member of the international family of nations," under the Helsinki Final Act, under the United Nations Charter, but even more importantly than that, under the principles that America has held so dear since it declared on July 4, 1776, our independence. When we look to others to recognize and support that independence, let us stand for those principles today. Vote for S. 21.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield the remainder of my time to the distinguished gentleman from Missouri [Mr. GEPHARDT], the minority leader.

(Mr. GEPHARDT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GEPHARDT. Mr. Chairman, I urge Members to vote against this resolution. I want to talk this afternoon about what is moral and what is right for our country and for the people in Bosnia. However, first, I want to talk to the Members who voted for a resolution of this kind a few weeks back. I want to urge them to change their vote. I want to argue to them that there are two reasons, in fact, three, to do that.

First, the situation on the ground in these 3 or 4 weeks has changed. The

complexity of the war is now in full view, as the Croats are about to enter the war again, and there is even talk of the Serbians coming back from Serbia proper and having a much wider conflagration than we contemplated 3 or 4 weeks ago.

Second, I want to argue that the President's and the West's policy has changed dramatically in these last 2 or 3 weeks. There is no more dual key. The West now says we will no longer stop air attacks if there are hostages taken; easy to say, hard to do. I understand it, but they have said it. The West is more united in taking a strong response. A rapid redeployment force is on the ground, and they are shooting back on the road to Sarajevo.

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So there is hope that a tougher, more effective policy among the western nations is in place. But last, I want to argue to you that lifting this embargo is not the moral thing to do. I want to lead you through what I believe, and more importantly, what experts on the ground believe, will happen if we lift this embargo.

Mr. Chairman, the first thing that will happen, it has been said many times today, is that the U.N. forces will immediately want to come out. Are we committed by the word of the President of the United States that we will put 25,000 of our people on the ground to defend the Moslems? No. To conduct a retreat. I am told it may take 50,000 of our people for a retreat. Imagine explaining to the American people that your kid died in Bosnia to perform a retreat. It will be the biggest retreat since Dunkirk. Is that what we want to do?

Mr. Chairman, the second thing that will happen is the Serbs will move. Do you think for a moment if this embargo is raised that they will not move faster than they are already moving? The Secretary of Defense told me this morning that all of the enclaves will go down. There is not a chance we will get there in time with arms to protect the enclaves. With the roads, with the ports being what they are, it would take 50 days to get arms in, much less train anybody to use them. The genocide that we are worried about will be increased if we adopt this policy.

Mr. Chairman, I want to give credit to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER] who feels so deeply and so morally with such great integrity about this issue, and all who think like him. But in his case, he has consistently said throughout that he not only wants to lift the embargo, he wants American troops, and a lot of them, on the ground. I respect him for that view.

I even want to argue that if that is what we were deciding today, that that would not be a moral policy. We cannot bring about what we want to bring about, either by lifting the embargo or putting a lot of our people on the ground. Ladies and gentlemen, the answer in Bosnia has always been the

same. We have to have a peace treaty. And even if you put 200,000 people on the ground and defeat the Serb army, when you leave, you will be back to what you are at today. There is no solution to this without getting peace.

I end with this: A British official said it best. No language can describe adequately the condition of Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and the other provinces. The political intrigues, the constant rivalries, the hatred of all races, the animosities of rival religions, and absence of any controlling power, nothing short of any army of 50,000 of the best troops would produce anything like order in these parts.

Mr. Chairman, Benjamin Disraeli, 117 years ago, uttered those words. It has not changed. What we need is peace, peace in this very troubled, troubled part of the world. I wish our force could bring it about. I do not think it will happen. What we must do is what the President and the West is trying to do, which is get these people back to the peace table and do everything in our power to bring about peace and end the genocide. That is the moral thing to do, and we must recommit ourselves today to do exactly that.

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

Mr. Chairman, I want to commend the distinguished gentleman, both the ranking minority member of our committee, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON], and the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER] for the fine manner in which they conducted this very thorough debate and all of our colleagues who participated.

Mr. Chairman, the choice that our colleagues have before them is clear and impelling. We can explain to our children and our grandchildren some 10 or 20 years from now that we stood with the people who have been the victims of rabid, genocidal supernaturalism, and supported their right to self-defense, or that we stood on the sidelines wringing our hands and reaffirming once again the "Spirit of Munich" that we were powerless to do anything but speed the end of the conflict by ensuring the destruction of an innocent nation.

Let there be no mistake, my colleagues. Despite ours' and the international community's best intentions, our Bosnia policy has been an abject failure, and serves only the interests of the aggressors. Time after time during the sad history of this conflict, the United Nations, our friends in Europe and our own Government have laid down strict terms and lines that could not be crossed by the Serbs, and time after time, the Serbs have thumbed their noses with impunity.

We can start with Security Council resolutions stating unequivocally that humanitarian assistance could not be blocked, and how many times because of Serb obstruction have we heard about U.N. convoys taking weeks and sometimes months, to get through to a desperate people? How long has it been

since a single flight of humanitarian supplies has been able to land in Sarajevo? It has been months.

We can go on to mention the enforcement of the no-fly decree. Today we heard that Serb aircraft were flying with impunity over Bosnia on military missions. What about the heavy weapons exclusion zones around Sarajevo and Gorazde? Those are apparently not even under discussion any more. Then of course there are those almost comically misnamed "safe areas." I think we may all be forgiven for our skepticism when we are told that the United Nations has drawn another line in the sand around one of the four safe areas that remain while it tries to decide whether we can defend the remaining three. We are fast running out of sand.

Mr. Chairman, let us not forget this war's other casualty, the credibility of our Government, of our allies, of the United Nations and its Charter, and of NATO.

Mr. Chairman, to my colleagues who point to the escalating U.S. involvement, I point to that section of the bill, section 4, subparagraph F, which states that this measure is not to be interpreted as an authorization for deployment of U.S. forces.

There is one principle in international relations that we can still salvage from this Bosnian debacle and that is the right to self defense. This right provides the backbone of any kind of international order that our own citizens would want to live under. I urge my colleagues by their support of this legislation to reaffirm that right, not only for the people of Bosnia, but for tomorrow's potential victims of aggression, for ourselves, and for our children.

Former National Security advisors, Zbigniew Brzezinski in a recent New Republic article on August 7 stated and I quote:

There is every reason to believe that the lifting of the embargo will significantly help the Bosnians in their effort to defend themselves. Their army, which is eager and willing to fight, is larger than the army of the Bosnian Serbs. With the arrival of more modern and plentiful arms, the Serbian advantage on the battlefield will be erased. A number of States have indicated their willingness to finance and to deliver to the Bosnians the needed arms. The arming of the Bosnians need not be a unilateral American undertaking.

Accordingly, I urge my colleagues to vote "yes" to lift the arms embargo.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. RADANOVICH. Mr. Chairman, today the House will consider legislation to lift the embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina. Last week, the Senate passed S. 21, the Bosnia and Herzegovina Self-Defense Act of 1995, with the two-thirds necessary to override a Presidential veto. Senator BOB DOLE, in conjunction with a broad bipartisan coalition is attempting to assert American leadership in the right direction. In the course of 3 years, the United Nations prestige has dwindled to nothing, NATO's credibility has been seriously

damaged, and the United States has invested over \$2½ billion in a mission which is undeniably a complete failure. As a result, tens of thousands have died by simply putting faith in the United Nations promise of protection. After the fall of two of six U.N. safe havens, there can be no doubt that the United Nations lacks the will and means to defend innocent civilians. Yet, the embargo denies the Bosnians the ability to acquire the weaponry necessary for them to do the job of defending Bosnian homes, cities, and citizenry. And so, it is now our responsibility to exhibit strong and decisive leadership to end this grave injustice. It is high time to allow the Bosnian people to defend themselves. Therefore, I urge my colleagues to once again vote to lift this crippling arms embargo. Bosnia's fate should be decided by Bosnia, not the international community.

Mr. MARKEY. Mr. Chairman, as the international community watches, Europe's bloodiest conflict since World War II enters its 40th month. In the heart of Europe, villages are burning, innocent civilians are driven from their homes, women are raped, families are separated, and men are systematically executed in a campaign of terror unmatched since the days of Hitler.

It was once said that "the revolution will not be televised." Mr. Chairman, this genocide has been televised, analyzed, and quantified. We know how many Bosnians have been murdered, we know which cities and towns have been destroyed, we know who the aggressors are, where they operate, and what they plan to accomplish. Still, we do not stop them.

There are consequences for our inaction. The supporters of ethnic war everywhere are watching: Hutu rebels in the refugee camps of Zaire; Moslem extremists in the Middle East; white supremacists throughout Europe. By remaining silent accomplices to genocide, we are sending a loud and clear signal to the opponents of racial, ethnic, and religious tolerance: proceed with your plans, we will not object.

As we celebrate the 50th anniversary of the United Nations, we are paying a bizarre tribute to the very principles on which the United Nations was founded. Article 51 of the U.N. Charter stipulates that "nothing shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security."

Bosnia is a recognized member of the United Nations. Yet we refuse to permit the Bosnian Government to exercise its right of self-defense. The embargo imposed on Bosnia prevents a democratically elected government from protecting itself from the forces of hatred and separatism. Although intended to contain the Balkan conflict, the embargo has served merely to guarantee its outcome. With the heavy equipment of the former Yugoslav army in the hands of the Bosnian Serbs, the Bosnian Government is left to fight with substandard weapons. It's a fight they cannot win.

There are no good choices in Bosnia. There are no easy solutions to the problems in the former Yugoslavia. We must, however, allow the Bosnians themselves to try to solve their own problems. We must lift this unjust embargo and permit them to defend themselves. It is their right, and it's our duty.

Mr. VENTO. Mr. Chairman, the tragic situation in Bosnia demands action by the United

States. While I support diplomatic efforts to end the war in former Yugoslavia permanently, it has become increasingly apparent that diplomacy will prove insufficient in resolving the Balkans conflict, the source of which is deeply rooted and complex. Moreover, achieving consensus with our European allies on the best course of action has been extremely difficult. The time has come for the United States to take a leadership role.

The recent Serb capture of U.N. safe areas and subsequent actions against the civilian population demonstrate once again that the U.N. arms embargo has worked only to the advantage of Serbia and the Bosnian Serbs against the Bosnian military and Croatian military and most importantly the civilians. I am outraged at recent reports of rapes, summary executions, and massive looting following the capture of Srebrenica by the Bosnian Serbs. This is a continuation of a pattern of outrageous behavior that is wholly unacceptable. If the Serb aggression continues unchecked and unchallenged, the former Yugoslavia will face an unprecedented humanitarian disaster. The United States should not stand by and permit this carnage and assault against human dignity persist to be endured by essentially unarmed Bosnian Moslems.

Lifting the arms embargo against the Bosnian Moslems will help some in this situation and permit the people of Bosnia to obtain weapons to defend themselves and their country. Lifting the embargo is not a panacea; but as the United Nations, NATO, our European allies, and the United States itself are unwilling to engage in the Bosnian civil war that is to provide protection to the unarmed population, then the Bosnian people must not be barred from having the opportunity to defend themselves.

Earlier this year, I joined 317 of my colleagues in voting for an amendment to the 1996 defense authorization bill supporting the efforts of the Bosnian Government and people to defend themselves against aggression, and calling on our President to lift the arms embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina. I will today support S. 21, which terminates the U.S. arms embargo applicable to the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina under specified conditions. The Senate has already approved this legislation by a wide margin. I hope there will be a similar show of support in the House, and I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting S. 21 to lift the arms embargo against Bosnia.

I believe that a diplomatic solution is best considering the diverse nature of this Yugoslavian society, but certainly negotiations to date have not crossed the line to a conclusion. Some progress has been made, but some outstanding and unreasonable actions persist, largely by Bosnia Serbs, that must be arrested. Endorsing the right to self-defense as proposed in this resolution will be of some assistance, but there should be no doubt that diplomatic and negotiated solutions must continue to be sought for a final resolution of the conflicts in Bosnia.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Chairman, in considering this resolution we are faced with a terrible dilemma. A great many of us have long felt it is morally indefensible to deny the Bosnian Moslems adequate arms to defend themselves through the ill-advised multilateral arms embargo that is so one-sided in its effect. Yet beginning the process of unilaterally lifting the

arms embargo today will surely place the UNPROFOR peacekeeping troops from France, the United Kingdom, and other countries in far greater danger.

Extracting those UNPROFOR personnel will surely require the use of American ground personnel. In fact, without adequate consultation with Congress, President Clinton has already committed up to 25,000 U.S. troops for that task. Just as surely there will be American casualties in this difficult operation—probably substantial casualties to the scattered UNPROFOR personnel and to the American and NATO allies' troops who are sent in to extract them from this difficult terrain. Under those circumstances the possibility for tragic events to cause an escalation of our actions and reactions into an Americanization of the conflict are very high. The countries providing the UNPROFOR troops and our NATO allies, all urging and warning the United States not to unilaterally lift the arms embargo, will surely blame America for the tragedy and hold us primarily responsible for such additional actions as the unfolding tragedy demands.

And what will become of the Bosnian Government and its Moslem population after UNPROFOR withdraws? The necessary quantities of adequate armament will not appear overnight and personnel are not instantly trained in their use and the military tactics to properly employ them. It certainly can be expected that the Bosnian Serbs will accelerate their onslaught before the Bosnian Government can increase their combat effectiveness. All restraint the UNPROFOR forces have been able to impose will be absent. There will be a countrywide killing field of Bosnia Government forces and the Moslem population. In this total conflict the relatively latent conflict between Croatian and Serbian forces will surely erupt and the resultant conflict and abandonment of the Yugoslavian area by UNPROFOR will make it even more difficult to keep this bloody warfare from spreading south into a larger Balkan war that would jeopardize the integrity of the NATO alliance.

Of course, the status quo is not acceptable and finally there is recent evidence of change.

Some of my colleagues have asked what could be worse than seeing this ethnic cleansing and genocide continuing? The answer to "What could be worse", my colleagues, is the probably general scenario I have just outlined. That would be worse and the approval of S. 21 by the House today will be a step down this road to a greater series of tragedies which clearly do affect our national interest. American actions must not be unilateral but framed and implemented in concert with our key European allies who have the troops on the ground in the Yugoslavian region.

Mr. Chairman, my colleagues, despite our horror with the events in Bosnia, despite the lack of confidence most of us have in the policies of the Clinton administration, and despite the dangerous incompetence of the civilian leadership of UNPROFOR, I urge my colleagues to set aside those emotions and vote "no" on this legislation.

Mr. BORSKI. Mr. Chairman, I rise today in opposition to S. 21, the so-called Bosnia and Herzegovina Self-Defense Act. While I share my colleagues' frustrations over the war in Bosnia, I believe this is the wrong course of action to take at this time. Unilaterally lifting the embargo will Americanize the war, damage U.S. leadership in NATO, and impede our

ability to enforce U.N. sanctions in regions of the world where we have more vital national interests. Enactment of this legislation today will commit Congress to deploying U.S. troops into a war that will be made even more hostile and violent by these unilateral actions.

We are all united today in our condemnation of the recent deplorable actions of the Bosnian Serbs. The recent Serbian assaults on Srebrenica and Zepa, and their "ethnic cleansing" of these areas, have prompted this Congress to respond. The temptation to do something to put an end to this conflict has never been stronger.

But before we act, we must examine how effective our actions will be, and whether the benefits are worth the costs. I share my colleagues' belief in the principle that the Bosnian Government deserves the right to defend itself. But I believe the damage that will be caused to our national interests by unilateral action far outweigh any benefit to our interests in Bosnia.

Unilaterally lifting the arms embargo on the Bosnian Government will not end this tragic war. It will not bring about an end to ethnic cleansing. It is questionable whether it will even have any appreciable difference on the battlefield. In fact, our own military leaders at the Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS] concluded in a January study that it is "extremely unlikely" that a unilateral lift would improve the Bosnian Government's chances of achieving a balance of forces with the Serbs.

More likely, lifting the embargo unilaterally at this time will intensify the fighting, widen the conflict and perhaps even make matters worse for the Bosnian Government forces. Because new heavy weapons would have to cross Croat and Serb territory, many would not even make it into right hands. By the time the Bosnian Government can be effectively trained to use the weapons that do make it through, it may be too late. Unilateral action by the United States will give Russia an excuse to supply arms to the Serbs, its historic ally. Inspired and supplied by Russia and Belgrade, the Serbs will launch new offensives to capture as much territory as possible before the Bosnian Government can be effectively armed.

Overwhelmed by Serb attacks, the Bosnian Government will make urgent appeals for support from Islamic countries, including those antagonistic toward the United States. While such support may help Bosnia's interests, it will come at the cost of increased influence of Iran, Libya and other fundamentalist countries in the Balkans.

Unilaterally lifting the arms embargo will not only damage our efforts in the Balkans, but also threaten U.S. leadership throughout the world. While the United States has a strong humanitarian interest in ending the war, it has a greater national interest in preserving a strong relationship with our NATO allies. Unilateral action will cause extensive and irreparable damage to a relationship that has remained strong and united for the past 50 years. It will isolate the United States at a time when it is seeking allied support for its foreign policy toward North Korea, China, Iran.

Our refusal to comply with the U.N. arms embargo will also permanently damage our ability to enforce other U.N. sanctions in regions where we have more vital, national interests. This will prompt other nations, who wish to put their economic interests ahead of our

national interests, to violate sanctions against rogue nations like Iraq, Libya and North Korea. We will have little credibility arguing against such violations.

The enactment of S. 21 will divide our Nation at home as well. By seizing the President's constitutional prerogative to make foreign policy, we will send a powerful signal abroad that Congress and the President are moving in different directions on foreign policy. A divided Nation at home is a weak nation abroad—a fact that will only embolden future potential foreign adversaries.

A vote for S. 21 is a vote to commit United States troops into the middle of an even more violent Balkan quagmire. The President has already promised 25,000 troops for the evacuation of U.N. peacekeepers. Should that evacuation be necessary, the enactment of this legislation is likely to create an even more hostile environment for our troops. They will be on the ground at the same time that Serbian forces will be launching new offensives before the actual lifting of the embargo. Our troops will become targets for those seeking retaliation for the actions we will take today.

Mr. Chairman, the war in Bosnia is a travesty that requires a determined and united effort by all western nations. We should work to cease this war, but we should not go it alone. Enactment of this legislation will Americanize this war and lead to the eventual deployment of thousands of our men and women into this troubled, violent land. If we pass this legislation today, we in Congress will become directly responsible for their fate.

Mr. POSHARD. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the resolution and in support of lifting the arms embargo against the Bosnian Government.

No one can approach this debate without some misgivings about the appropriateness of any action in this war-torn part of the world. But no one can watch what is taking place in the former Yugoslavia without being deeply troubled by the ongoing barbarity and terror.

As the safe havens for Bosnian Moslems continue to come under attack, and as the United Nations presence there does little to prevent aggression, the time has come to lift the arms embargo and allow the Bosnian people to defend themselves.

The arms embargo has not halted the aggression of the Serbs—it can be argued that it has, ultimately, encouraged them to continue their advances with little fear of retribution. The United States can no longer impose an embargo which ultimately results in leaving people virtually helpless against an aggressor intent on cleansing the earth of their presence.

I will reserve judgment about the manpower and equipment we might be called on to provide should a withdrawal of UNPROFOR troops be necessary. But I am opposed to putting American troops on the ground in the former Yugoslavia, and believe the time has come to lift the embargo and allow the Bosnian people to defend themselves.

Mr. LAZIO of New York. Mr. Chairman, I rise today to state support on a matter of utmost importance: lifting the arms embargo against the Bosnian Government. The United States Government must take the morally correct position and unilaterally lift the arms embargo immediately. We simply cannot continue to look the other way as the horrors of genocide continue.

On September 25, 1991, the United Nations Security Council imposed an international

arms embargo against the former Yugoslavia which was intended to cut off the supply of arms to all parties involved in the conflict. Yet, despite this embargo, the violence and bloodshed continues. The Bosnian Serbs already have heavy weapons. The embargo, which United States forces have helped enforce, has done nothing but deprive the Bosnian Moslems of their inherent right to defend themselves and their families.

International bureaucrats should not be making decisions about which weapons the Bosnian people may use to defend themselves. For too long we have stood idly by as incidents of ethnic-cleansing, systematic rape and murder, and attacks on civilian targets continue. Yet there is no end in sight unless we unequivocally stand and demonstrate that this moral outrage is absolutely unacceptable.

I do not advocate the use of United States ground troops in this conflict. The Bosnian Government has not asked for that kind of help. While our European neighbors have apparently decided to abdicate their moral responsibilities in Bosnia, we have no right to turn a blind eye. The United States must not let itself become a party to such gross negligence. Although I hold out hope for a diplomatic solution to this conflict, the end is not in sight, and as long as the right to self-defense is denied to the Bosnians the onslaught will continue.

It is time to realize that our past policies have failed. It is time to do our part to stop the slaughter.

My colleagues, it is time to support this bill. Let's end the embargo.

Mr. COYNE. Mr. Chairman, there is no doubt that most Americans support efforts to bring peace to Bosnia and to end the war against the Bosnian people being waged by Serb forces in Bosnia. I share the deep concern of many Americans over recent events in Bosnia, especially the violation of safe areas established by the United Nations.

Americans are right to feel outrage and frustration over the events in Bosnia. The violations of human rights and atrocities against women, children and unarmed men should disgust everyone. It is natural for us to look for some solution to the war in Bosnia which will bring a quick resolution to this brutal war against the Bosnian people.

Unfortunately, there are no quick and easy solutions to the crisis in Bosnia. This is certainly true of the proposed legislation before the House today which would unilaterally lift the arms embargo currently in effect for all of the former parts of Yugoslavia. Lifting the embargo will ensure that the war will continue in Bosnia while sharply undermining efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement in Bosnia. Lifting the embargo will result in the certain withdrawal of NATO forces serving with the United Nations' humanitarian mission in Bosnia and will guarantee the deployment of up to 25,000 members of the American military to assist in the withdrawal of our NATO allies from Bosnia.

Unilaterally lifting the arms embargo against the former nations of Yugoslavia will ensure that the United Nations role in Bosnia is brought to an end. Members of the House must keep in mind that this U.N. mission currently provides the Bosnian people with vital humanitarian relief that feeds and helps keep alive over 2 million people in Bosnia. The United States will bear a great responsibility for

the void left by the departure of our European NATO allies who have placed their military forces on the ground in Bosnia. It may be an easy vote for some to lift the embargo but this vote, if successful, will be only the first of several votes to follow with the Americanization of the Bosnian conflict.

The situation in Bosnia is at a very crucial point. The Clinton administration is currently working intensively with our NATO allies and the United Nations' command in Bosnia to strengthen the United Nations' position in Bosnia. President Clinton has stated that the United States is now working to implement the agreement reached recently in London to threaten substantial and decisive use of NATO air power if the Bosnian Serbs attack Goradze and to strengthen protection of Sarajevo using the Rapid Reaction Force. These actions lay the foundation for stronger measures to protect the other safe areas.

Congressional passage of this resolution to lift the embargo unilaterally will undermine these efforts. It will provide our allies with strong motivation to initiate a withdrawal from Bosnia at exactly the moment the United States is asking for greater involvement by our NATO allies. It will require the United States to honor its promise to provide ground support for the withdrawal of our NATO allies from Bosnia.

Mr. Chairman, I urge my colleagues to understand what is at stake if the Congress approves a unilateral lifting of the embargo. The Congress is setting the United States on a course that will place responsibility for Bosnia squarely with our country. I urge my colleagues to consider carefully the direction in which unilaterally lifting the embargo will move U.S. foreign policy. We must not vote on this issue out of frustration with the horrible situation in Bosnia but instead should support the efforts of President Clinton to strengthen U.N. resolve in support of its mission in Bosnia.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Chairman, today we are once again discussing the pros and cons of unilaterally lifting the U.N. arms embargo on Bosnia, and I rise in strong support of this measure, S. 21, that would lift the embargo.

Although the arms embargo was deemed a viable stopgap to the conflict when it was first instituted almost 3 years ago, it has clearly failed to inject any amount of fairness into this tragic war. The Bosnian Serb army, under the tutelage of Milosevic, and armed with the weaponry and training of the former Federal Yugoslav Army, is a towering Goliath to the Bosnian Government's brave David.

For 3 years now every American has watched with horror as the tragedies in the Balkans continued unabated. In those 3 years there has been much talk, and even several threats, about doing something that could effectively stop the advance of the Bosnian Serbs in their quest to ethnically cleanse Bosnia.

And yet the United States and Europe are still stuck in the same place we were in when the conflict began. What is the secret solution to ending the bloodshed? What is the correct combination of action and diplomacy that will send the strongest possible message to the Serbs that the international community does not tolerate this slaughter? I don't know. And I can't say if anyone knows. But I do know, as do most of my colleagues, what is the right thing to do. We must lift the embargo.

In my mind, it is the only conscionable thing to do. The Bosnian Government and people

have called for it, and the American people support it, as does this Congress. There is no doubt that the embargo was well-intentioned, but in practice it has no validity. We must give the Bosnians a chance to defend themselves under equal terms. Without this measure, we leave them without a fighting chance.

Recently Srebrenica and Zepa were overrun, tomorrow it could be Sarajevo and Bihac. And it is common knowledge that the Bosnian Serbs won't stop until they get exactly what they want—a land free of everybody else except for them. This message sounds eerily familiar, particularly in light of the Nazi Holocaust, and especially this summer, as we commemorate the 50th anniversary of the end of WWII.

The United States has always been known as the true defender of democracy and basic freedoms. I say then, let us take the lead in promoting that legacy. We are not opening the door for another Vietnam. The Bosnians don't want us to train and advise them. They don't want us to plan their military operations and send in American ground troops to defend Sarajevo. What they want is a fighting chance. And with this vote, we can give that to them.

Mrs. MINK of Hawaii. Mr. Chairman, the policies of the Western allies with respect to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, including the deployment of the U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] to protect the U.N.-declared safe areas of Bosnia and the denial of arms to Bosnia, have failed. That failure has been vividly documented in newspapers and on television.

The arms embargo on Bosnia was intended to contain the spread of armed conflict in the former Yugoslavia. While that may have been the embargo's intent, the embargo has in fact expanded the conflict by securing the military advantage of the Bosnian Serbs and allowing the Bosnian Serbs to exercise their military advantage to the fullest. The Bosnian Serbs have shelled Sarajevo unrelentingly, attacked Bosnian Moslem enclaves repeatedly, and are now in the process of eliminating the U.N.-declared safe areas.

The arms embargo on Bosnia has allowed the 80,000-member Bosnian Serb militia, which is armed and supported by neighboring Serbia, to conquer and control roughly 70 percent of Bosnia. The embargo has also prevented the Bosnian Government from defending its territories by mobilizing its potential 200,000-member militia. And, by encouraging Bosnian Serb aggression, the embargo has undermined the efforts of the United Nations to encourage a diplomatic settlement and, most tragically, provide humanitarian aid to Bosnian civilians.

I have voted twice to lift the United States arms embargo on Bosnia because I believe that Bosnian Serb aggression and truculence can be checked and the stage set for a possible diplomatic resolution of the ongoing conflict only when the Bosnian forces are able to defend their territories by gaining parity with Serbian military might.

I urge my colleagues to vote to lift the arms embargo.

The CHAIRMAN. All time for general debate has expired.

Pursuant to the rule, the bill is considered read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. No amendment is in order except an amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by the mi-

nority leader or his designee. That amendment shall be considered read, shall be debatable for 1 hour equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent, and shall not be subject to amendment.

If there is no amendment, under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. COMBEST) having assumed the chair, Mr. BONILLA, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the Senate bill (S. 21) to terminate the United States arms embargo applicable to the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, pursuant to House Resolution 204, he reported the Senate bill back to the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on the third reading of the Senate bill.

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the Senate bill.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the noes appeared to have it.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the grounds that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 298, nays 128, not voting 8, as follows:

[Roll No. 608]
YEAS—298

Ackerman	Calvert	Dornan
Allard	Camp	Doyle
Andrews	Cardin	Dreier
Archer	Castle	Duncan
Armey	Chabot	Dunn
Bachus	Chambliss	Durbin
Baker (LA)	Chenoweth	Ehlers
Ballenger	Christensen	Ehrlich
Barcia	Chrysler	Emerson
Barr	Clement	Engel
Barrett (NE)	Clinger	English
Bartlett	Coble	Ensign
Barton	Coburn	Everett
Bass	Collins (GA)	Ewing
Becerra	Collins (MI)	Fawell
Bentsen	Condit	Fields (TX)
Bilbray	Cooley	Flanagan
Bishop	Costello	Forbes
Bliley	Cox	Fowler
Blute	Crane	Fox
Boehlert	Crapo	Frank (MA)
Boehner	Cremeans	Franks (CT)
Bonilla	Cubin	Franks (NJ)
Bonior	Danner	Frelinghuysen
Bono	Davis	Frisa
Boucher	Deal	Frost
Brewster	DeFazio	Funderburk
Brown (OH)	DeLauro	Furse
Brownback	DeLay	Galleghy
Bryant (TN)	Deutsch	Ganske
Bryant (TX)	Diaz-Balart	Gekas
Bunn	Dickey	Gilchrist
Bunning	Dingell	Gillmor
Burr	Doggett	Gilman
Burton	Dooley	Goodlatte
Buyer	Doolittle	Goodling

Goss	Lucas	Salmon
Graham	Luther	Sanders
Green	Maloney	Sanford
Greenwood	Manton	Sawyer
Gunderson	Manzullo	Saxton
Gutierrez	Markey	Scarborough
Gutknecht	Martini	Schaefer
Hall (TX)	Mascara	Schiff
Hancock	McCarthy	Schumer
Hansen	McHale	Scott
Harman	McHugh	Seastrand
Hastings (WA)	McInnis	Sensenbrenner
Hayes	McIntosh	Serrano
Hayworth	McKeon	Shadegg
Hefley	McNulty	Shays
Heineman	Meehan	Shuster
Herger	Menendez	Skeen
Hilleary	Metcalf	Slaughter
Hinchee	Meyers	Smith (MI)
Hobson	Mica	Smith (NJ)
Hoekstra	Miller (FL)	Smith (TX)
Hoke	Mink	Smith (WA)
Holden	Molinari	Solomon
Horn	Moorhead	Stearns
Hostettler	Moran	Stenholm
Houghton	Morella	Stockman
Hoyer	Myers	Stump
Hunter	Myrick	Stupak
Hutchinson	Nadler	Talent
Hyde	Neal	Tanner
Inglis	Nethercutt	Ney
Istook	Ney	Tate
Johnson (CT)	Norwood	Tauzin
Johnson (SD)	Nussle	Taylor (NC)
Johnson, Sam	Oberstar	Tejeda
Jones	Olver	Thomas
Kaptur	Owens	Thornberry
Kasich	Oxley	Tiahrt
Kelly	Packard	Torricelli
Kennelly	Pallone	Towns
Kildee	Pastor	Trafficant
Kim	Paxon	Upton
King	Pelosi	Velazquez
Kingston	Peterson (MN)	Vento
Klecza	Pickett	Volkmer
Klug	Pombo	Waldholtz
Kolbe	Porter	Walker
LaHood	Portman	Walsh
Lantos	Poshard	Wamp
Largent	Pryce	Watts (OK)
Latham	Quillen	Weldon (FL)
LaTourette	Quinn	Weldon (PA)
Laughlin	Radanovich	Weller
Lazio	Ramstad	White
Leach	Regula	Whitfield
Levin	Riggs	Wicker
Lewis (CA)	Rivers	Wilson
Lewis (KY)	Roberts	Wise
Lincoln	Rogers	Wolf
Linder	Rohrabacher	Wyden
Lipinski	Ros-Lehtinen	Wynn
LoBondo	Roth	Zeliff
Lofgren	Royce	Zimmer
Lowey	Rush	

NAYS—128

Abercrombie	Evans	Livingston
Baesler	Farr	Longley
Baker (CA)	Fattah	Martinez
Baldacci	Fazio	Matsui
Barrett (WI)	Fields (LA)	McCollum
Beilenson	Filner	McCreery
Bereuter	Flake	McDade
Berman	Foglietta	McDermott
Bevill	Foley	McKinney
Bilirakis	Ford	Meek
Borski	Gejdenson	Mfume
Browder	Gephardt	Miller (CA)
Brown (CA)	Geren	Mineta
Brown (FL)	Gibbons	Mollohan
Callahan	Gonzalez	Montgomery
Canady	Gordon	Murtha
Chapman	Hamilton	Neumann
Clay	Hastert	Obey
Clayton	Hastings (FL)	Ortiz
Clyburn	Hefner	Orton
Coleman	Hilliard	Parker
Collins (IL)	Jackson-Lee	Payne (NJ)
Combest	Jacobs	Payne (VA)
Conyers	Johnson, E.B.	Peterson (FL)
Coyne	Johnston	Petri
Cramer	Kanjorski	Pomeroy
Cunningham	Kennedy (MA)	Rahall
de la Garza	Kennedy (RI)	Rangel
Dellums	Klink	Reed
Dicks	Knollenberg	Richardson
Dixon	LaFalce	Roemer
Edwards	Lewis (GA)	Rose
Eshoo	Lightfoot	Roukema

Roybal-Allard	Stark	Vucanovich
Sabo	Stokes	Ward
Schroeder	Studds	Waters
Shaw	Taylor (MS)	Watt (NC)
Sisisky	Thompson	Waxman
Skaggs	Thornton	Williams
Skelton	Torkildsen	Woolsey
Souder	Torres	Yates
Spence	Tucker	Young (FL)
Spratt	Visclosky	

NOT VOTING—8

Bateman	Minge	Thurman
Hall (OH)	Moakley	Young (AK)
Jefferson	Reynolds	

□ 1644

Mr. HASTERT changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

So the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

□ 1645

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on S. 21, the Senate bill just passed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. COMBEST). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, July 31, I was in my district conducting a previously scheduled townhall meeting, and, therefore, missed rollcall votes 601 through 607. These events were planned at the time with information from the House leadership that the House would not be casting votes on July 31.

I am including in the RECORD how I would have voted on rollcall votes 601-607.

No. 601—"yes"; No. 602—"yes"; No. 603—"yes"; No. 604—"no"; No. 605—"yes"; No. 606—"yes"; and No. 607—"no".

REPORT ON RESOLUTION WAIVING POINTS OF ORDER AGAINST CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 1854, LEGISLATIVE BRANCH APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1996

Mr. DIAZ-BALART from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 104-221) on the resolution (H. Res. 206) waiving points of order against the conference report to accompany the bill (H.R. 1854) making appropriations for the legislative branch for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1996, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

THE COURT REPORTER FAIR LABOR AMENDMENTS OF 1995

Mr. FAWELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate

consideration of the bill (H.R. 1225) to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to exempt employees who perform certain court reporting duties from the compensatory time requirements applicable to certain public agencies, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I will ask the gentleman to explain his unanimous-consent request.

Mr. FAWELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. OWENS. Further reserving the right to object, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. FAWELL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

H.R. 1225, as reported by the Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities on July 20, 1995, would allow an exemption under the Fair Labor Standards Act for official court reporters while they are performing transcription duties and being paid on a per-page basis.

I introduced H.R. 1225 on March 14, 1995. Without this bill, almost every State and local government and court will have to alter their payment structures for official court reporters.

My colleagues on both sides of the aisle deserve acknowledgment for their efforts in moving this bipartisan legislation and, in particular, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. BALLENGER], whose subcommittee held hearings on this bill, also to the chairman, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GOODLING], and the ranking minority member, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLAY], for their leadership in shepherding this bill through the committee. I especially want to pay my respects to the gentleman from New York [Mr. OWENS], who helped craft the final language of the substitute, and his help and guidance was certainly instrumental in this bill.

I understand that the other body will take up this bill in the near future. I look forward to their expeditious consideration of this matter.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, further reserving the right to object, I rise in support of the unanimous consent request.

As the gentleman stated, H.R. 1225 concerns the compensation for overtime for State and local court reporters. Although a blanket exemption from the Fair Labor Standards Act overtime requirements would be inappropriate, where court reporters are otherwise receiving compensation for a transcript on a per-page basis and are preparing the transcript on their own time, that time should not be required to count for purposes of computing the reporters' overtime.

I support this legislation because it achieves that end, and I commend my colleagues, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GOODLING], the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FAWELL], the