

staff members who were early adopters of this emerging technology, and who indeed gave us the impetus to move forward to this day.

Further, Mr. President, I would emphasize that this is but one step under the current leadership of the Rules Committee, myself and Mr. FORD. We hope to enrich and further expand the Senate Internet presence in the coming months with additional information about the Senate, and its Members.

Further, Mr. President, some of the additional services that we hope to add will be a calendar of events in the Capitol and the Senate, video and voice excerpts of Senate proceedings, and expanded home page percentages.

I yield the floor to my distinguished colleague.

Mr. FORD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. FORD] is recognized.

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I am pleased to join with Senator WARNER, our new chairman of the Senate Rules Committee, in announcing that as of this morning, the Senate is now online on the World Wide Web.

The Senate Rules Committee first authorized a Senate presence on the Internet in September, 1993, with the creation of the Senate FTP Gopher Server. In November of that year, the Rules Committee established policies and procedures for Senate participation on the Internet. In the short 2 years since that time, Internet technology has leaped forward producing the significantly improved graphics capability of the World Wide Web. The Web provides the Senate an improved opportunity to provide educational information to the public and I am pleased that we are able to announce this step forward today.

The U.S. Senate World Wide Web Server is produced under the auspices of the Secretary of the Senate's office with technical advice and input from the Sergeant at Arms' Office and the Rules Committee technical staff. The Senate Server will provide the public with general information on the Senate and how it works. The Senate Home Page will provide a direct link to Member's home pages located on the Server and will allow the public to surf such useful information as visual tours of the Capitol, committee membership and jurisdiction, a glossary of frequently used legislative terms, and the history of the Senate.

While we all recognize the somewhat limited reach of the Web today, with an estimated 6 million users nationally, the potential—and I emphasize "potential"—for this technology to eventually reach every school child, office place, and even private home, is obvious. The Senate needs to move into the 21st century and our presence on the Web ensures that the Senate will not be left behind as this technology explodes.

The Rules Committee will continue to monitor the development of the Web

with an eye to ensuring that as technology moves forward, the Senate keeps pace with policies and procedures that ensure access to improving technology on a fiscally sound basis. I congratulate our chairman, Senator WARNER, on moving forward with this initiative and encourage my colleagues to take advantage of this important communications tool.

I yield the floor.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I thank my distinguished colleague. I say to Members of the Senate, Senator FORD and I have worked together on many things for now some 17 years and he is a tough, fair working partner, I tell you that.

Mr. FORD. Leave the "tough" out.

Mr. WARNER. All right. He is a man who takes very conscientiously the duties of the Rules Committee and has for many years. It is a pleasure to work with him.

TRIBUTE TO THE CAPITOL POLICE

Mr. WARNER. On Monday, October 16, a very significant number—I shall not make any estimate—of American citizens came from every corner of our land to answer a challenge to join in a day of atonement and brotherhood on the National Mall and the west front of the U.S. Capitol. Many visitors journeyed to Washington from distant States to join in what was characterized as the Million Man March, a successful occasion, indeed, by all press accounts.

The Capitol Grounds, which belong equally to every citizen of this Nation, was one of the focal points of this gathering. Sometimes those of us who work in the Senate, whatever the capacity may be, tend not to fully appreciate what happens behind the scenes when large demonstrations of this magnitude occur.

I stand today to pay tribute to the infrastructure of the Senate—indeed, I think of both the House and the Senate—that contributed in some measure to making this an acceptable and safe event.

Again, I thank all who helped make it a safe event. It was one of the largest demonstrations on the U.S. Capitol Grounds in contemporary history. I would particularly like to thank our Capitol Police Department; 1,100 U.S. Capitol Police officers were on duty on October 16. All days off were canceled. Officers were required to work extended duty hours. Officers provided routine law enforcement, protective operations, and traffic control. Their professionalism assured that our visitors received the services they deserved and permitted Senators and staff to continue their work during the day.

There was also significant infrastructure to provide for health and first aid.

Planning meetings with the organizations began early in August to assure this public safety. Senator FORD and I convened two meetings of the infrastructure on the Senate side and care-

fully reviewed their plans. We thank Chief Gary Abrecht, Assistant Chief Robert Howe, and Deputy Chief James Rohan for their overall command, and we are grateful to Lt. Gregg Parman and Officer Terry Rinaldi for their involvement in all phases of the planning process.

While the Nation focused its attention on the west front of the Capitol, the Capitol Police Department worked to assure the safety and security of all who assembled, preserving the tradition of our first amendment rights.

We thank the Capitol Police for their good work. We thank many others in this institution who equally contributed. And I pay a special recognition to Mr. Howard Greene, the Sergeant at Arms, who was sort of the executive officer of this effort.

RETIREMENT OF SENATOR NUNN

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, it is a privilege for me to place into today's RECORD of the Senate the remarks made by our distinguished colleague, Senator NUNN of Georgia, when he announced his future intentions, which, to the regret of many, indicated that he would not seek reelection to the Senate.

Mr. President, I say it is a privilege because Senator NUNN has been a very, very close personal friend, a valued and respected professional partner—I always considered him a partner—for a quarter of a century. I first came to know Senator NUNN when I, as Secretary of the Navy, worked with Carl Vinson. Carl Vinson was chairman of the House Armed Services Committee. He served in the House of Representatives for 50 years. I had a role in the naming of a supercarrier after him, the U.S.S. *Carl Vinson*.

It was in the process of that naming procedure that I first came to know SAM NUNN, who at that time was working in a capacity with Carl Vinson and the House Armed Services Committee. Of course, when I was privileged some 17 years ago to come to the Senate, he was a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, and we worked there together for these many years and will continue to work for this coming year. I anticipate his contributions in this coming year to our Nation and to our Senate will be no less as significant in magnitude as the many contributions he has made over his entire career in the Senate.

As I say, I value his friendship, and for 6 years we were privileged to work together with Senator NUNN as chairman of the committee, and I had the position of ranking member. We sponsored many pieces of legislation, coauthored them together, particularly in the areas of personnel and strategic matters. We journeyed together to many foreign lands in connection with our responsibilities on the committee.

So it is with heartfelt thanks that I say to my friend, in joining many others in paying him respect, I wish him

and his family the very best of good fortune and simply say thank you, Senator NUNN, for the many things you have done for our country particularly in the area of national security.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in today's RECORD the full text of his statement. Also, I have a short article which appeared in the Washington Times entitled "Inside The Beltway," and I will read it. That would be the final, concluding part of the entry in today's RECORD. It reads:

Family values. On Monday, after Senator Nunn announced that he would not run for reelection next year, we asked him what he felt had been his greatest accomplishment during his 24 years in Congress. Mr. Nunn thought about our question for several days and got back to us yesterday. We must concede we were surprised at his response, having expected the Georgia Democrat to cite one of his many legislative accomplishments.

"Keeping my family together," he said.

Asked to explain, Mr. Nunn said that, with the multitude of demands on a Senator's family, families have to make many sacrifices. He said he is especially proud to have kept his family together.

The Senator and his wife, Colleen, recently celebrated their 30th wedding anniversary. They have two children, Michelle, 28, and Brian, 26.

I think that final comment in connection with his future plans not only symbolizes the humility of this great American but it also speaks to the life and the challenges of every Member of this institution.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR NUNN'S STATEMENT, OCTOBER 9, 1995

I am honored to be in our beautiful State capital building on the floor of the Georgia house where I began my legislative career 27 years ago. After a lot of thought and prayer, I have concluded that my rewarding and fulfilling legislative career should end at the conclusion of my present term. This has been a difficult decision made much harder because of my deep respect for the many people who have encouraged me to run, but I know in my heart that it is time for me to follow a new course.

I believe that both voters and incumbents have a responsibility for careful assessment before entering into a new Senate Contract. For me, an election establishes a sacred trust between the voter and the elected official. Each time I have been elected to the Senate, I have committed heart and soul to the full range of duties of a Senator for a full 6 years. The job requires this commitment—the people deserve it.

Today, I look forward to more freedom, to more flexibility, more time with my family, more time in Georgia, and more time to read, write, and think. While I will not continue in the legislative arena, I will continue my involvement in public policy.

The essence of democracy is much more than just legislators casting votes. It is the action of men and women who take the time to wrestle with the problems of individuals and communities—and do something to solve them. This is the new arena that I will enter—that of a private citizen who also is engaged in the challenges that face our communities and our nation.

Today, there is no shortage of challenges. These include issues of national security, foreign policy, the environment, health care,

and the plight of citizens struggling to fully participate in the economic opportunity of our Nation.

Too many of our citizens are being left behind as our economy moves from the industrial age to the age of information and knowledge because they lack appropriate education and training. A large part of our economic challenge is fundamentally an education challenge. We must change.

Too many children in America are born and grow up outside family structures without the attention, nurturing, discipline, and love that every human soul must have. Too many parents who are struggling to provide their children with basic needs have no way to protect them from street violence and drugs. If America is to remain the greatest country on Earth, our children must come first. We must change.

Too many executives are spending too many corporate dollars paying for television programs that bombard our homes with sex and violence—not thinking or caring about the effect of this bombardment on our children and our nation's future. Too many of us as citizens sit by passively while this bombardment takes place. We continue to buy the products which are advertised and sold at the expense of our culture—our values—our children—and our future. We must change.

We are reaping the harvest from this combination of conditions in soaring rates of child abuse, drug abuse, teenage pregnancies, abortions, and unprecedented levels of crime and violence.

These challenges are made more difficult because our citizens are increasingly concluding that our political system responds primarily to money and special interests. Our system of government is sound, and most public officials are honorable, but there are fundamental problems which must be corrected.

Too much of the time and effort of Members of Congress is consumed by fund raising. The ability to raise big money and buy saturation tv ads has become the dominant theme of our political races.

Too often the tactics of obsessive polling, negative and cynical campaigns, and horse race media coverage overwhelm substantive debate, dialogue with the voters, and real leadership. Too much of the time of both Congress and the executive branch is spent budgeting—not enough time is spent in oversight and evaluation of Federal programs.

The average citizen primarily wants his or her elected officials to use common sense for the common good, but too often those voices are drowned out by the extremes in both parties who are usually wrong, but never in doubt. Our system of government is the best in the world, but our political process is in need of major reform. Continuation of the two party system, as we know it, will depend on whether true campaign reform and congressional procedural reform are undertaken soon.

America is not perfect, but it is the greatest country in the world. During our 200 year history, when we have faced economic, military, political, or social peril, Americans have demonstrated the unrivaled ability to change and to grow stronger in the process.

This is a period of transition for our Nation, similar to the historic periods after World War I and World War II. After World War I, decisions and events took place that led to a devastating worldwide depression, and an even more deadly war. After World War II, Americans led the way, in rebuilding war torn nations, in building international institutions that endured, and in containing communism until it collapsed from its own weakness. American leadership opened the door to an unprecedented era of prosperity for the free world.

We too will someday be measured by how well we meet the challenges we face today at home and abroad.

I am optimistic about America because the checks and balances built into our constitutional system have stood the toughest tests of time, and I am confident they will again.

I am optimistic because our military, with the world's best technology, remains ready and well-led, with men and women who reflect our very best in quality and in character. Our military strength represents a strong defensive shield against aggression. Our free society, our free flow of ideas, our energetic people, and our free enterprise system represent a strong offensive sword for democracy.

I am optimistic because America responds to major challenges. We have the opportunity and responsibility to prove to ourselves and to the world that our ideals of liberty, justice, and human rights can all be made to work in this land of diversity. In a world of ethnic and religious strife, America has no greater mission.

I am optimistic because we are finally recognizing that our fiscal soundness as a Nation depends on restraining the growth of our entitlement programs. Entitlement reform, including Social Security reform, will be difficult and must be done over time with care—but it must be done.

I am optimistic because we are beginning a serious debate on fundamental tax reform, and beginning to realize that there is a direct connection between our savings and our standard of living.

I am optimistic because we are at long last discussing frankly the terrible affliction of family deterioration and illegitimacy. We must reach out as an extended family to the millions of neglected and abused children who desperately need someone who cares. Government must play a role, but I do not believe that it will be the decisive role. This is a battle that must be fought one child at a time.

I am optimistic because I see our young people tutoring children, helping flood victims, building houses for the homeless, and working with at-risk youth. I see our young military personnel on their own time teaching math to inner-city children and mentoring young students.

I have watched my own daughter, Michelle, and her young friends in Atlanta create an organization of 10,000 people of all ages volunteering 20,000 hours per month for children, the elderly, the handicapped, and others in great need. Volunteers like these are filling a void in America today. They are our real heroes.

I am optimistic because we have so many energetic, innovative and bold young entrepreneurs like my son, Brian, who are finding their niche in the dynamic new world of information and technology—thereby building jobs and strengthening America's economic future.

I am optimistic about Georgia's future and Georgia's leadership in both the public and private sector. Our State has benefitted from strong political leadership, sound fiscal policy, and hard-working people. Our leaders in the private sector understand the important role that business must play in strengthening our education system and our communities.

When I leave the Senate at the end of next year, I know that whatever I will have accomplished during my legislative career will have been because I had a lot of help. I am deeply grateful to Colleen, my wife and partner, for her sacrifice, her patience, her wisdom and for her love which made my life of public service possible—to my children, Michelle and Brian, of whom we are very proud—to my wonderful mother and my late

father who shaped my life by their love, their expectations and their example—to my sister Betty Mori and her husband, Jean, and to my entire family and close friends for their sacrifice, their steadfast support, and for their love.

I am grateful to my friends and supporters and to the voters of Georgia for their support in each election—for their encouragement and confidence—for their constructive criticism and for their forgiveness of my errors.

I am grateful to my staff—past and present—who have worked with honesty, skill, and dedication on behalf of the people of Georgia and the Nation.

I am grateful to the Members of the U.S. Senate and House—past and present—of both political parties, who have been my mentors—teachers—and friends, and who have been my partners in many legislative initiatives.

I am grateful to my friends in the Georgia legislature, and to Governor Miller, Governor Harris, Governor Busbee, and Governor Carter, Speaker Murphy and Lt. Gov. Howard as well as our State constitutional officers. They have guided our State with vision, fiscal prudence and integrity while I have served in the Senate. I am grateful to our leaders at the local level who play such an important role in the daily lives of our citizens.

I am grateful to Georgia Democrats for their role in leading our State to a point of unprecedented economic opportunity. Georgia Democrats have made education our top priority and brought together people from every region, every walk of life, and every race to work for common goals.

I am honored to represent a State where the vast majority of our people cast their ballots—not on the basis of one or two issues—but rather on their judgment of a candidate's principles and values, integrity and vision. I can never fully repay the people of Georgia for the trust and faith they have placed in me.

I have tried to return this trust and faith with hard work and effective representation.

I hope that I have played a meaningful role in making Georgia a better place to live and to raise our children.

I hope that I have helped build bridges of understanding and cooperation between people of different races, religions and political beliefs.

I have tried to help make America stronger at home and abroad. I have tried to help build a safer and more peaceful world with freedom and justice.

I have tried to instill in our young people by word and by example—the understanding and belief that it remains possible to be involved in the political process and also retain both intellectual honesty and ethical behavior. In the final analysis, this may be the single most important responsibility of public service.

I look forward to continuing these efforts as a U.S. Senator for the next 15 months, and after that—as a private citizen of Georgia for whatever term God may grant.

UNITED STATES TROOPS TO BOSNIA

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, in recent days, the Nation has focused its attention on one of the most serious issues to come before this country since I have been privileged to be in the Senate, and I say that in all sincerity. That is the very difficult decision facing the President of the United States as to whether or not this Nation will make a further—and I underline fur-

ther—commitment of our Armed Forces to the situation in Bosnia.

As I am privileged to address the Senate this morning, there are still pockets of combat in that war-torn nation, a nation which I have visited five times myself, being the first Senator to go to Sarajevo over 2½ years ago.

Since that time, I am pleased that so many of the Members of the Senate have found the opportunity to go to that region so that they can, likewise, gain a clearer and better understanding of this historic and tragic conflict.

I would like to focus my remarks today, Mr. President, on an issue which has captured the attention of the American people over the last week, that is, President Clinton's decision to send up to 25,000 United States ground troops to Bosnia.

Hearings were held this week in the U.S. Senate, both in the Armed Services Committee, of which I am a member, and in the Foreign Relations Committee. Those hearings revealed the depth of congressional concerns, both Republican and Democrat, with this proposed deployment. May I emphasize, Mr. President, I do not view this issue as a political one. I think each Senator that has spoken out or involved himself or herself in this debate has done so very sincerely, as a matter related to their duties to this Nation, not for any political reason.

I myself, in traveling through my State, indeed, not just in the last month or so, but over the period of the nearly 3 years of this conflict, have detected perhaps the deepest, the most sincere concern that I have ever experienced since the closing days of Vietnam about this conflict and America's role in the conflict.

In my view, the American people are entitled to a voice in a decision of this magnitude. The American people have followed this conflict for over 3 years. They are well-informed, they understand the complexities involved, they should have a voice in this decision. Their voice can best be manifested right in this institution, the U.S. Congress, with a very thorough and extensive debate. That is the principal reason I rise today to address the Senate. We, their elected representatives in the Congress, must ensure that the voice of the American people is heard.

I call on the congressional leadership, both Senate and House, to establish a plan for debating and voting on a freestanding resolution regarding the authorization for the use of United States ground troops in Bosnia.

I have consulted with my leader in the Senate, Senator DOLE. And he, at this time, is considering this need for the leadership to establish the procedure and the timing for this debate. In my view, in this special instance, the leadership must exercise control—I say that most respectfully—control over the procedure by which the Senate commences this debate to ensure that it is meaningful, well-informed, and timely.

I would like to emphasize that the timing of this congressional debate is critical. If the Senate considers the issue too soon, that is, before we know the outlines of the peace agreement, before we know all of the details of the proposed NATO operation, there will be too many unanswered questions to enable this debate to reach an informed conclusion. If we wait too long, however, our troops may well be on the their way, that is, our ground troops, and Congress will not have performed the responsible role that I believe the Constitution requires us to perform. Only by daily monitoring of this situation can the leadership best determine that critical hour when this debate should be initiated.

I do not see this debate, I repeat, Mr. President, as a political fight. This is not Republicans versus Democrats or Republicans versus the President. The misgivings regarding this operation cross party lines. At issue in this debate is not who scores the most political points. What is at stake are the lives of the men and the women of the U.S. Armed Forces and the present and future credibility of America's security policy.

The most important question we must answer in this debate is whether or not the United States has a vital national security interest in this conflict in Bosnia, which justifies putting United States combat troops in harm's way in this operation and justifies imposing a very significant cost on the American taxpayer, a cost which cannot be fully calculated at this time but which would easily be in the billions of dollars.

We must keep in mind that past military operations have taken dollars from our modernization and O&M accounts in the Department of Defense, dollars which directly affect the future readiness, preparedness, and capabilities of the Armed Forces of the United States.

Again, Mr. President, I focus on the fact that the use of United States ground troops in Bosnia would be an additional step by our Nation. Our military forces are already there and have been there in a very significant way in those military operations involving airpower, and in those military operations involving the naval embargo. In both the air and the naval operations, for several years we have been the dominant military participant.

I question, is this deployment of United States ground troops the best of the remaining options for resolving the fighting in Bosnia? The President and his negotiators deserve credit for the achievements they have had to date with respect to achieving a peace agreement and lessening the fighting. So that is definitely to their credit.

But should the United States play a role on the ground in Bosnia given that we are already, as I say, playing the major role in the air operations and the naval blockade, or are there other options we should consider which