

So here we have the people who are in the top ranks, the President's three top men, reflecting the wishes of the President—that is, to send troops into Bosnia on the ground.

There is something else that is very curious about this, which came up in this meeting. They stated in the meeting that no matter what the condition was 12 months from now, those troops would be back in the United States.

I ask you, Mr. President, in all of your well-read days on military science, if you have ever found a time when a country sent its troops into a warring area with a time certain to come back, regardless of the circumstances, whether we were in the middle of a very hostile situation or whether it was a peace accord, we are going to bring them home in 12 months?

They all said, "Yes." They had it written down that, "The troops will return in 12 months." As much as I hate to see it, the only thing I could think of with any degree of certainty that is going to happen in 12 months is that it will be election time, November 1996. I hope that does not have anything to do with this decision.

So I plan, in a couple of days, to go over to Bosnia. I am going to go, and I am going to stand in the same places where all of our troops are going to be standing if the President is successful in not coming to Congress for authorization to send troops. I am going to look at the hostility around me, and I am going to listen to the gunfire, and I am going to bring that message back to the American people.

This is something that has to rise above politics. We went through this same thing when President Bush wanted to send troops to the Persian Gulf. Yes, we had a real mission there relative to our Nation's security. That mission was whether or not we could have the energy necessary to be viable in fighting a war—a real mission relative to our Nation's security. At that time, he said we are going to send the troops there, and we said: Mr. President, we do not think it is wise to send the troops over, those soldiers, not knowing they have the support of the American people as well as the support of Congress behind them. He did not have to. Just like President Clinton does not have to come for authority to the Congress, President Bush did not have to, but he did it. It was a very wise move for the sake of those individuals who were going over there to lay their lives on the line, where 390 Americans died valiantly. The President, at that time, came to the Congress, asked for authority, and we had a united America in fighting the Persian Gulf war.

This war over there is not our war, Mr. President. This is a civil war. Sure, it is a problem for people in Western Europe, and I hope that Western Europe gets busy. Let them do what is necessary to protect their security interests. Perhaps they have security interests in Bosnia. We do not.

I do not want to wake up and find out that the American public did not know

about this, did not care about this enough that they did not know whether they have an outcry to bring our troops back until our American corpses are dragged through the streets of Sarajevo. We can stop it right now, Mr. President. I plan to go to Bosnia and spend several days there at the end of this week and bring a story back for the American people.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, if I understand it correctly, we are in morning business at the present time?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Correct.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. I ask that I may be permitted to speak for as much time as I may consume.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXTENSION OF THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE FACILITATION ACT

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I rise to discuss the need for an extension to the Middle East Peace Facilitation Act, which expires tonight, and the majority leader's announcement a short time ago that there will be an objection to passing that bill today.

This is very surprising to me. I was sitting in the Judiciary Committee hearings on Waco when I was told about it. I speak today as the ranking member on the pertinent subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee and one who was very concerned about what the repercussions would be in the peace process from the resolution we passed last week on Jerusalem. And now we are confronted this week with a situation that I think, again, has a ripple effect throughout the Middle East if we do not take action.

Mr. President, I think we ought to ask, what will one say, what will the Israelis say, what will Prime Minister Rabin say, when they are asked the question about why the Congress has refused to continue funding Palestinian economic development in support of the peace process? Prime Minister Rabin has explicitly asked for this legislation on each of his visits to the United States. Not passing the extension today, it is my understanding, stops not only the funding but the operation of the necessary offices to carry out that funding, including one here in Washington.

What is disturbing is that no one here is even arguing for letting the Middle East Peace Facilitation Act lapse. This dispute before us, in fact, has nothing to do with the Middle East. It has to do with conflicting views about whether or not or to what extent to consolidate the foreign af-

fairs agencies of the United States Government.

This is a legitimate issue. There are strong opinions on both sides.

It seemed to me we had a process for negotiating this issue to reach some agreement. Senator KERRY on our side, the Senator from Massachusetts, and the chairman of our committee, Senator HELMS, had been negotiating. While agreement has not yet been reached, I believe it can with continued good faith at the negotiating table.

Wherever one stands on the question of consolidation one thing should be clear: The Middle East peace process is too important to be held hostage to disagreements over unconnected issues or to partisan disputes.

I wonder if anyone in this body differs with that view? Do any of my colleagues on either side of the aisle believe that the Middle East peace process just does not matter that much? Or that it is expendable enough to be turned into a political football?

One of the truly wonderful things about American foreign policy in the Middle East is that it has always been bipartisan. Strong support for Israel and active pursuit of Middle East peace have never been the province of just one party.

Indeed, this peace process is the outgrowth of the tireless efforts of President George Bush and Secretary of State James Baker. It has been carried forward with skill and dedication by the current administration.

The bipartisan nature of United States support for the Middle East peace process was never more evident than on July 21 when I joined a group of my colleagues in cosponsoring Senate bill 1064, a long-term extension of the Middle East Peace Facilitation Act.

I was proud to stand with Senators HELMS, PELL, DOLE, DASCHLE, MACK, LIEBERMAN, MCCONNELL, LEAHY, and LAUTENBERG in expressing strong support for continuing America's leading role in the peace process.

I know, too, that the chairman of the subcommittee on which I serve as ranking member, Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, Senator BROWN, also supported the sentiments in S. 1064.

I ask my colleagues who joined me that day, what has changed? If the Middle East peace process was deserving of strong bipartisan support on July 21, why is it being held hostage to unrelated legislative disputes on October 31?

I simply do not understand how we can fail to extend this legislation. It is so important to ensuring Israel's ability to live in peace and security with its neighbors in the future. It is so important to protecting a Israel as a Jewish State, to seeing that the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are

recognized and eventually aiming for peace and security in that entire region.

I think we owe it to all those who have supported us in that area not to abandon our commitments. American Jews know what the stakes are in keeping the Middle Eastern Peace Facilitation Act in force.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an advertisement from the September 17, 1995, New York Times be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

(See exhibit No. 1.)

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. The ad begins "Prime Minister Rabin, we know that pursuing peace is risky. Not pursuing it is unthinkable." The ad goes on to endorse this legislation explicitly. It reads:

... We support the Middle East Peace Facilitation Act, the United States legislation which enhanced Israel's security by ensuring compliance by the Palestinians with their agreements and advancing economic development in the West Bank and Gaza, to show Palestinians that peace can improve their lives.

This ad reflects nothing less than the consensus of the organized Jewish community in America. It is signed by 29 Jewish organizations. Such a broad consensus of American Jews, Israel's strongest supporters, should not, in fact, be construed as wrong. I hope we will listen to them.

I did not think we would be in this position where one person would prevent this act from being extended and effectively cut off all aid to the peace process, all economic development assistance that in good faith America has pledged.

On top of what happened last week, when these resolutions and these actions and these nonactions by this body are extrapolated universally and particularly in the Middle East, they very often come to have different meanings.

This body went on record in July supporting this process. How can we today turn it off? How can we say what we supported in July, we do not support enough in October to pass a simple amendment to extend the act? Instead, along with ambassadors, along with other treaties, we will hold it hostage?

I think it is wrong. I think it is overkill. I think it is a redoubtable action at best. I hope that the majority leader would be able to prevail on those who want to hold this hostage to achieving goals that are unrelated to the Middle East Peace Facilitation Act, and that those parties would reconsider. I think it is very important that they do.

I thank the Chair for the time.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the New York Times, Sept. 17, 1995]

PRIME MINISTER RABIN, WE KNOW THAT PURSUING PEACE IS RISKY. NOT PURSUING IT IS UNTHINKABLE

Mr. Prime Minister, as you continue the arduous journey to peace, know that American Jewry stands with the Government of Israel.

Overwhelmingly, American Jews say "yes" to Israel's current pursuit of peace with security. Every poll reflects this.

We know there is no alternative to the peace process except continued violence and continued despair. We support your government and its vision of two peoples living side by side, in peace, so that the children of Israel can look forward to the future without fear.

To bring us closer to this goal, we support MEPFA—the Middle East Peace Facilitation Act, U.S. legislation which enhances Israel's security by ensuring compliance by the Palestinians with their agreements and advancing economic development in the West Bank and Gaza to show Palestinians that peace can improve their lives.

To road ahead will be filled with obstacles. But to turn back would be far more dangerous. It would reward terrorists by giving them precisely what they want: the death not only of peace, but of hope.

Mr. Rabin, we say bracha v'hlatzlacha—may you be blessed with good fortune. On the eve of the Jewish New Year 5756, we offer you and the people of Israel our steadfast support and heartfelt prayers in the days ahead.

American Jewish Committee, Robert S. Rifkind, Pres. David Harris, Exec. Vice Pres. American Jewish Congress, David V. Kahn, Pres., Phil Baum, Exec. Dir.

American Jewish League for Israel, Martin L. Kalmanson, Pres.

American Zionist Movement, Seymour D. Reich, Pres., Karen J. Rubinstein, Exec. Dir.

Americans for Progressive Israel—Hashomer Hatzair, Naftali Landesman, Pres.

Americans for Peace Now, Richard S. Gunther, Co-Pres., Linda Heller Kamm, Co-Pres., Gary E. Rubin, Exec. Dir.

Anti-Defamation League, David H. Strassler, National Chair, Abraham H. Foxman, National Dir.

Association of Reform Zionists of America, Philip Melitzer, Pres., Rabbi Ammiel Hirsch, Exec. Dir.

B'nai B'rith, Tommy Baer, Pres., Dr. Sidney Clearfield, Exec. Vice Pres.

Bnai Zion, Rabbi Reuben M. Katz, Pres., Mel Parness, Exec. Vice Pres.

Federation of Reconstructionist Synagogues and Havurot, Jane Susswein, Pres., Rabbi Mordechai Liebling, Exec. Dir.

Givat Haviva Educational Foundation, Fred Howard, Chair, Hal Cohen, Exec. Dir.

Hadassh—The Women's Zionist Organization of America, Marlene Post, Pres., Beth Wohlgelelner, Exec. Dir.

Jewish Policy Forum, Robert K. Lifton, Chair, Jonathan Jacoby, Exec. Vice Pres.

Jewish Labor Committee, Lenore Miller, Pres., Michael S. Perry, Exec. Dir.

Jewish Women International (formerly B'nai B'rith Women), Susan Bruck, Pres., Dr. Norma Tucker, Exec. Dir.

Labor Zionist Alliance, Daniel Mann, Pres.

MERCAZ—Zionist Organization of the Conservative Movement, Roy Clements, Pres.

NA'AMAT USA, Sylvia Lewis, Pres.

National Committee for Labor Israel, Jay Mazur, Pres., Jerry Goodman, Exec. Dir.

National Council of Jewish Women, Susan Katz, Pres., Rosalind Paaswell, Exec. Dir.

National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, Lynn Lyss, Chair, Lawrence Rubin, Exec. Vice Chair.

New Israel Fund, Herbert Teitelbau, Pres. Norman S. Rosenberg, Exec. Dir.

Project Nishma, Theodore R. Mann, Co-Chair, Henry Rosovsky, Co-Chair, Edward Sanders, Co-Chair, Thomas R. Smerling, Exec. Dir.

The Abraham Fund, Alan B. Slifka, Pres., Joan A. Bronk, Interim Exec. Dir.

Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Melvin Merians, Chair, Rabbi Alexander Schindler, Pres.

United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism, Alan Ades, Pres., Rabbi Jerome N. Epstein, Exec. Vice Pres.

Women's League for Conservative Judaism, Evelyn Seelig, Pres., Bernice Balter, Exec. Dir.

World Jewish Congress, Edgar M. Bronfman, Pres., Israel Singer, Sec. General.

[From the New York Times, Sept. 12, 1995]

1,000 RABBIS AGREE: THE PEACE PROCESS MUST CONTINUE

Today, every Member of Congress will receive a letter signed by 1,000 American rabbis expressing "strong support for Israel's efforts to achieve peace with her neighbors."

Never before has so large a cross-section of American rabbis spoken so clearly about the urgent need to pursue peace. Reform, Conservative, Reconstructionist and Orthodox—from 47 states and the District of Columbia—they call upon Congress to demonstrate "leadership so that peace and security for Israel can become a reality."

The rabbis urge the renewal of the Middle East Peace Facilitation Act (MEPFA), terming it an "important and effective diplomatic tool for moving the peace process forward."

MEPFA enables the United States to play a constructive role in Israeli-Palestinian negotiations and to provide leadership in the international effort to assist the Palestinian Authority. "Furthermore, it is a key element in the fight against terror," according to the rabbis.

As the new Jewish year 5756 approaches, and Israel continues its courageous journey to a peace that will endure, let us pray, with the rabbis, for the peacemakers to succeed.

RABBINIC SUPPORT FOR THE PEACE PROCESS, September 12, 1995.

See peace and pursue it—Psalms 34:15

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE SENATE: We are writing to express our strong support for Israel's efforts to achieve peace with her neighbors and for the active involvement of the United States in the Middle East peace process.

Right now, the Congress of the United States has the opportunity to help maintain the momentum towards peace in the Middle East and to fight terrorism against Israel. We call upon you to demonstrate your leadership so that peace and security for Israel can become a reality.

The Middle East Peace Facilitation Act (MEPFA) will expire soon. The act permits the United States to play a constructive role in the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations and to provide leadership in the international effort to assist the Palestinian Authority. As such, MEPFA has been an important and effective diplomatic tool for moving the peace process forward. Furthermore, it is a key element in the fight against terror. As Prime Minister Rabin recently said, "The solution between the Palestinians and Israel will create conditions that will reduce the influence of the extreme Islamic terrorist groups."

In its June 1 report, the State Department points out that "the United States needs to be in a position to support, encourage, and facilitate the Israeli-Palestinian dimension of the [peace] process." MEPFA's renewal ensures that the U.S. will play a key role in advancing peace and in fighting terror. Like the leaders of Israel, we believe this role to be essential. We therefore urge you to renew MEPFA in a manner that both the American and Israeli administrations believe will help further the talks and strengthen the fight against terrorism.

We care deeply about Israel. We know that this may be Israel's one true chance for

peace, and that this opportunity is fragile. We are deeply concerned about the level of P.L.O. compliance; nevertheless, we are heartened by the progress that, thanks in part to MEPFA, has been attained. At the same time, we understand that reducing our country's involvement or cutting aid to the Palestinian Authority, which has committed itself to making peace with Israel, is not now the proper vehicle for expressing our concern. This is why we call upon you to support peace and let the negotiations continue unhindered.

In the voice of our tradition we say, "One does not have the responsibility to complete the task, but neither is one free to take leave of it." We urge you to play your part in helping peace grow strong. Thank you.

Sincerely,
(Signed by over 1,000 American rabbis.)

EXTENSION OF TIME FOR MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to extend morning business for 15 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECONCILIATION

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, last Friday in the wee hours of the night there was a total abandonment of any kind of truth in budgeting. There is no better way to express it.

Under this entire charade, once again, we have lied to the American people. There is no question that in those wee hours, Mr. President, that they were trying their dead-level best and finally succeeded in buying off the votes of certain of the Senators with respect to Medicaid.

In order to purchase it, what they did was use Social Security funds. That was a use and violation—not only of the rule but of the law. The rule was called by the distinguished Senator from Florida and the distinguished Senator from Iowa, Senator HARKIN. If you ever want to see distortion, obfuscation, and abandonment of responsibility by the Parliamentarian in the U.S. Senate, I wish you would read that RECORD.

Be that as it may, the Chair would say, I do not know. We will refer to the chairman of the committee, Senator DOMENICI, and say, well, I like what the Chair has ruled. Ruled and on and on and back and forth but no idea of a parliamentary ruling or recognition of the law. That is why I take the floor today.

What really happens is that they constantly are talking about a balanced budget when everybody—both at the White House, the Democratic White House, and the Republican Congress—know that it cannot be done. It cannot be done without increasing taxes.

Here in the extreme, they are talking about decreasing taxes—about tax cuts.

Let me go right to the point here, so I can make a coherent record.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this little two-page summary of budget tables be printed in the RECORD at this particular point.

There being no objection, the tables were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"Here We Go Again": Senator Ernest F. Hollings

[In billions of dollars]

Starting in 1995 with:

(a) A deficit of \$283.3 billion for 1995:	
Outlays	1,530
Trust funds	121.9
Unified deficit	161.4
Real deficit	283.3
Gross interest	336.0
(b) And a debt of \$4.927 billion.	
How do you balance the budget by:	
(a) Increasing spending over revenues \$1,801 billion over 7 years?	

GOP "SOLID", "NO SMOKE AND MIRRORS" BUDGET PLAN

[In billions of dollars]

Year	CBO outlays	CBO revenues	Cumulative deficits
1996	1,583	1,355	-228
1997	1,624	1,419	-205
1998	1,663	1,478	-185
1999	1,718	1,549	-169
2000	1,779	1,622	-157
2001	1,819	1,701	-118
2002	1,874	1,884	+10
Total	12,060	11,008	-1,052

(b) And increasing the national debt from \$4,927.0 billion to \$6,728.0 billion?

DEBT ¹

[In billions of dollars]

Year	National debt	Interest costs
1995	4,927.0	336.0
1996	5,261.7	369.9
1997	5,551.4	381.6
1998	5,821.6	390.9
1999	6,081.1	404.0
2000	6,331.3	416.1
2001	6,575.9	426.8
2002	6,728.0	436.0
Increase 1995-2002	1,801.0	100.0
1996		2002

¹ Debt off CBO's August baseline includes:

1. Owed to the trust funds	1,361.8	2,355.7
2. Owed to Government accts	81.9	(²)
3. Owed to additional borrowing	3,794.3	4,372.7
[Note: No "unified" debt; just total debt]		5,238.0
		6,728.4

¹ Off CBO's August baseline.

² Included above.

(c) And increasing mandatory spending for interest costs by \$100 billion?

[Deficit in billions of dollars]

How? You don't!

(a) 1996 Budget: Kasich conference report, p. 3	-\$108
(b) October 20, 1995, CBO letter from June O'Neill	-\$105

—You just fabricate a "paper balance" by "smoke and mirrors" and borrowing more: Smoke and Mirrors.

(a) Picking up \$19 billion by cutting the Consumer Price Index (CPI) by .2 percent—thereby reducing Social Security benefits and increasing taxes by increasing "bracket creep".	
(b) With impossible spending cuts:	
Medicare	270
Medicaid	182
Welfare	83
(c) "Backloading" the plan:	
—Promising a cut of \$347 billion in FY2002 when a cut of \$45 billion this year will never materialize.	

[In billions of dollars]

	Outlays	Revenues
(d) By increasing revenues by decreasing revenues (tax cut)		\$245
2002 CBO Baseline Budget	1,874	1,884

[In billions of dollars]

	Outlays	Revenues
This assumes:		
(1) Discretionary Freeze Plus Discretionary Cuts (in 2002)		121
(2) Entitlement Cuts and Interest Savings (in 2002)		226
[1996 cuts, \$45 B] spending reductions (in 2002)		-\$347
Using SS Trust Fund		-115
Total reductions (in 2002)		-462
+Increased borrowing from tax cut		-93
Grand total		-555
(e) By borrowing and increasing the debt (1995-2002)—Includes \$636 billion "embezzlement" of the Social Security trust fund		
		1,801

The Real Problem—

Not Medicare—In surplus \$147 billion—Paid For

Not Social Security—In surplus \$481 Billion—Paid For

But interest costs on the national debt—are now at almost \$1 billion a day and are growing faster than any possible spending cuts

—AND both the Republican Congress and Democratic White House as well as the media are afraid to tell the American people the truth: "A tax increase is necessary."

—SOLUTION: Spending cuts, spending freezes, tax loophole closings, withholding new programs (AmeriCorps) and a 5 percent value added tax allocated to the deficit and the debt.

"Here We Go Again"—Promised Balanced Budgets

billion

President Reagan (by fiscal year 1984):

President Reagan (by fiscal year 1991):

President Bush (by fiscal year 1995):

1981 Budget	0
1985 GRH budget	0
1990 budget	+\$20.5

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, start in the year 1995; we are going to try to balance the budget. Starting in the year 1995, you start with a deficit of \$1.518 trillion in outlays, so you have a deficit here of \$283 billion for 1995. And a debt of \$4.927 trillion.

If you start with a deficit and a debt of almost \$5 trillion and you look at the increased spending over revenues during each of the fiscal years, using Congressional Budget Office figures, you will find that cumulatively, from 1996—and each year is listed in this particular document to 2002—there is an increase of spending of \$12.06 trillion over revenues received over each of those years—cumulatively, now, of \$11.008 trillion.

So you are spending \$1 trillion more than you are taking in over this GOP budget plan. Specifically, you can look at last month. September ended the fiscal year 1995. If you look at the outlays for that year and for this year, 1996, and you see the increase from the \$1.530 trillion to \$1.583—or a \$53 billion increase in spending.

Now we are going to cut spending, balance the budget, cut spending—yet the very first year here we have increased spending \$53 billion.