

million people dead; the systematic rape and torture of thousands; ethnic cleansing; concentration camps; over 300 graves with more than 1 body in them; war crimes; thousands still unaccounted for; 2 million homeless; and the fear of a spreading conflict.

Not since Adolf Hitler has the world seen such atrocities.

When our children and grandchildren look back on this day, they should not have to ask, Why did we not act when we had a chance to make a difference? Why did we not learn from the lessons of the Holocaust?

America is the strongest nation in the world. As new nations fight for survival, as ethnic groups fight for their rights, as the leaders of fledgling nations fight for democracy and as people suffer atrocities, we must be careful as to how and when and where we make a difference. But if we can make a difference, and if it is important to our interests, I believe we should.

We have an interest in this peace. Some might say we did not have such an interest before Dayton, but post-Dayton we most certainly have an interest in this peace. We have brokered this peace. We have a chance for peace to succeed. We cannot turn our backs because if we turn our backs on a chance for peace, what we are going to go back to is the systematic torture and rape and ethnic cleansing and atrocities.

When the assault took place on Srebrenica, the moral argument truly hit home. And after all, there are still thousands of men and boys unaccounted for since the Serbs took over Srebrenica.

I have used this picture standing next to me in this Chamber before. Today I use it again. This young Bosnian woman from Srebrenica looks very normal—her skirt, her sweater—with one exception: She has hung herself. She is hanging from a tree. Rather than further endure the atrocities, the rape, the torture, the mayhem, she hung herself.

What we stand for as a nation is not letting things like this happen. What we stand for is doing something about it. And we have done that before. Our men and women have fought two wars in Europe—World War I and World War II. America was not threatened then, but we fought for some of the same reasons that we brokered a peace in Dayton that now has an opportunity to succeed, if we have the will, the unity, and the disposition to see that peace succeeds.

So my argument today is really the moral one. We can have a peace succeed at this time if we have the resolve as a free, strong country to see it through.

Once again, I would recall what Edmund Burke said many years ago and paraphrase it: Bad men flourish when good men refuse to stand up.

It is true, as many have said, and there is no question that there is a price to pay. The question is, Should we pay that price? And what happens if we do not?

Let me begin with what happens if we do not. If we do not, we know that our allies will not go in. Since the arms embargo has just been lifted by the U.N. Security Council, we know that all sides will have greater access to arms. The Bosnian Government most probably will get arms from Moslem nations, and possibly from the United States as well. And the Bosnian Serbs will gain arms from Serbia and quite possibly from Russia.

There is a significant danger that what has been a largely self-contained conflict could spread, drawing in Croatia and Serbia as full participants—and we have seen the might of the Croatian Army—and then to nearby nations, such as Macedonia and Albania. From there our NATO allies, Greece and Turkey, could find themselves drawn in. And the threat of a major European conflict will be drastically increased.

The mission that has been proposed is not without risk and it is not without cost. No military mission ever is. But it is a risk, I think, the leader of the free world must take.

My continued support for the President's plan will be contingent upon the details of the mission. And I want to go into that for a moment.

Our task over the next few weeks is to ensure that this mission is achievable, and that our troops are given everything they need to allow these highly trained forces—and they are very highly trained—to do what we know they are capable of as the strongest, best-equipped, best-trained military force in the world.

There are certain aspects of this plan that are fundamentally necessary to ensure success. First, as I have said, the United States will take the lead, but we will not be alone. We will provide one-third of the troops; our allies will provide two-thirds.

Second, the command will be unified and straightforward. U.S. and all other troops will operate under the command of an American general, General Joulwan, the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe. This mission—Operation Joint Endeavor—will be an exclusively NATO-led mission. The United Nations will not play a role.

Third, our forces will be operating under robust rules of engagement. They will respond with immediate and overwhelming force to any threat. Anyone who threatens our forces will not receive a proportional response. They will, quite simply, be taken out.

Here I want to commend the President for his clarity and strength. I echo his words that if anyone threatens U.S. troops, "We will fight fire with fire—and then some."

Tomorrow, the Foreign Relations Committee, of which I am a member, will hold hearings on the plan to implement the peace agreement. The Armed Services Committee will also have an opportunity. Today, the House International Relations Committee is having that opportunity.

We will have an opportunity to examine the terms of the peace agreement

in depth, and to discuss the commitment of the parties to the agreement. President Clinton has made it clear that there will be no peace implementation force unless all parties sign the peace agreement.

There are other concerns that also must be thoroughly addressed: the precise definition and limits of the mission; the avoidance of mission creep; a well-thought-out exit strategy, and the President has indicated four areas which will be used as the determining factors of when the mission has been successfully completed; the relocation of an estimated 2 million refugees; how to deal with anonymous sniper fire.

We now know that there will be an international police task force set up, separate from the peace implementation force, to handle policing duties. There will be a body set up to handle the relocation of refugees. And we now know that the parties themselves will participate in efforts to remove the large number of landmines.

All of these questions, though, must have more answers, and I believe they are in the course of being presented.

As many of my colleagues have noted in recent days, the President has the constitutional authority to deploy these troops without congressional approval. The President, however, is seeking the support of the American people and of Congress for this mission. We must work with him to ensure that this mission is successful, but we can do no less than to support him.

Three weeks ago, as Bosnian, Serb, and Croatian leaders hammered out this peace agreement, in another part of the world a great peacemaker and world leader was felled by an assassin's bullet. I was very sobered by the fact that Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin gave his life for peace. More than anything else, I think this shows the risk that making peace in a historically troubled area carries with it. And so his death serves as a reminder that leadership in the search for peace has a price.

I remember something that President Kennedy once said, that "America would pay any price, bear any burden, and suffer any hardship in the cause of liberty and peace." I think that really says it all. We have an historic opportunity to help achieve peace where there has been far too much war. We cannot pass up this chance for peace.

I thank the Chair, and I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Idaho.

SENDING UNITED STATES TROOPS TO BOSNIA

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, I am not quite sure I can speak with the passion of the Senator from California, but I, too, feel a great concern for the situation in which this President has now in a foursquare way placed this country.

The President's speech this week was probably the most important speech of his Presidency. It was an address that outlined a decision, a very critical decision that only a President can make, and that is to deploy United States troops, in this instance United States troops, to be peacekeepers in the former Yugoslavian Republic. I was looking for a number of answers in his message, such as a very full articulation of a defined goal or mission, strategy for achieving that goal, an exit strategy, and that of our national and security interests for our country.

I do not, in any way, bow from the moral imperative argument. That has been clear from day one. It is certainly an argument that this Nation has not walked away from. We have invested millions of dollars and lots of our manpower in air support, in sea support, in logistics. We have been involved.

So it is not a question of now versus then. I am sorry, Mr. President, if you only caught the sails of the current moral imperative, the slaughter in the former Yugoslavia has been going on for 4 years. We have all witnessed it, and the Senator from California has spoken to it on the floor. So that is something that has not missed America. What has missed America is how do we become engaged, engaged in a way that we can control a situation and environment and an emotion that is well 300 years old in the making, where other nations, great and small, have chosen to at least stand aside for the very risk of the people, their own people, that they might chose to engage in a solution.

So that becomes the issue. It is the issue that we, in this Senate, will have to face, because ultimately what is the President's decision can become our responsibility. I will not judge it on a moral imperative. I cannot judge it on that basis. I have to judge it on whether we can do it in a way in which we can go in, solve a problem, stabilize the situation, minimize the risk to our people, our sons and daughters who have gone in service to this country and its security, and then is there a way out. That is what I think we ought to be judging here.

There is no question about the loss of human life that has gone on over there. And we have all spoken to it with a great sense of urgency. But it is not now only to be discovered. We have known it for a long, long while.

What is at hand now is an issue that this President for justifiable reasons has attempted to bring to this country, and by his decision, and by the initialing of the agreement in Dayton, has clearly brought it foursquare. But, Mr. President, my frustration is very simple. The President of the United States cautioned us not to debate the issue until there was a decision, not to debate the issue until there was a plan. And we chose not to. I think we chose improperly, but we chose to give him the time.

And now that he has a plan, or at least now that he soon will have a plan

that we can look at with some detail, he has put us in a very unique situation. He almost has the opportunity, if we chose not to support him, to turn to us and say, you are breaking the peace agreement, you are putting at risk the men and women of the former Yugoslavia, and the children. Mr. President, not so, simply not so. They have been at risk for a long time. And this Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives has for many years contemplated alternatives. We have asked for a variety of approaches, only to be denied those, to create equity and balance with the warring factions over there, only to be denied that, to clearly create a one-sided war that by the very nature of its history would spell out human slaughter, and it has.

And now finally, after all of those long denials, this President has said, "Here is a solution. And here is what I propose to do. And here is what I am going to do." And that can result, not only in the placing at risk of 20,000 of our armed services people on the ground, clearly in foursquare risk, but it also places a good many more—because of the 4-to-1 ratio, we are not just talking about 20,000 Americans on the ground over there, we may well be talking 50,000, or 60,000, or 70,000.

Is it going to go on for a year? Well, Mr. President, I do not think you know that, and we certainly do not know that. So it is with these concerns that I come to the floor today, Mr. President, because of the constitutional role that our President has, the right that he has under the Constitution to do what he is doing today, and at the same time to recognize that we have a responsibility. And, as I have said very early on, my responsibility rests with Americans first and the ability to understand how they can best be involved and safeguarded. Our responsibilities also rest in whether we appropriately fund these actions and if the mission is effectively carried out.

So there are a lot of questions yet unanswered. I have asked the people of Idaho to speak to me and our delegation on this issue because the Senator from California is right, this is a tough one. There is no question about it that we will all consider this with great, great concern, great passion, a great aching of the heart, not only for what has gone on over there but for what we might be putting our men and women at risk in doing.

And so in asking that, my phone, like I think most of the phones of my colleagues, has been filled with phone calls from our citizens expressing with more passion than I have heard expressed in some time, a concern about what we are about to do as a country. My phone calls are running 100 to 1 in opposition to what my citizens now know at least of what our President plans to do. And they are hoping that I can block him from doing that. And I must tell them that I cannot, that under the Constitution, as Commander in Chief, he has that kind of authority.

But I do hope that this Senate will speak out very clearly as to where we

stand and what we stand for. I do not think that our message in any way can be garbled nor can we avoid just passing it by, just letting the President free rein this. Not at all. And I hope that we can develop a resolution that speaks clearly to our concerns that those who openly and aggressively support the President in this issue can have a right to express that, those of us who have very real questions at this moment who more than likely will strongly oppose the President can also have that opportunity to speak clearly to it.

That is the responsibility of the Senate and the Congress, not just to this President, but to the citizens of this country, because we, in Government here, have this unique responsibility among all, and that is whether to engage this Nation in war or police actions and ask our citizens not only to support us in this but to take up arms for the purpose of these actions.

The President has raised three concerns to justify U.S. participation in implementing the peace accord: The potential spread of the conflict, our leadership in NATO and the international community, and the need to end the carnage in the Balkans. I do not question the concerns raised by our Commander in Chief. However, I do reserve my support for his actions at this time.

Mr. President, we would like to respond to what I will refer to as the "moral imperative," that President Clinton outlined in his speech.

The devastation and human suffering in the Balkans has left us all with a feeling of frustration. These feelings are not new, however. Four years ago, I was contacted by a Croatian-American constituent of mine, when the conflict first raged between the Serbs and Croats. This gentleman was in regular contact with my office, and his fears and frustrations were very real to me. The moral imperative existed back then. However, then, like now, our options for involvement are very limited, and we still face the fundamental difficulty of trying to make the peace a greater victory than winning the war.

Mr. President, while we all understand and agree with the moral imperative, we have yet to hear why this action would serve our national interest or security needs.

In the coming days, when details of the mission are made clear, I will look and I will listen, but I have very grave concerns and reservations about this proposed action.

I must admit, President Clinton has put the Congress in a bad position by bringing us into the picture after the Bosnian peace agreement has been initiated.

He has put the Congress at the disadvantage of being the breakers of peace, if we withhold support. Even so, Congress has no choice but to speak. Regardless of the outcome, I want to

make one point very clear: If Americans are deployed to defend the peace, I will support our troops.

Mr. President, I have great concern about sending Americans into the Balkans to implement and enforce a peace agreement that was hammered out in Dayton, OH.

My concerns stem from the fact that despite their sincerity and good intentions, the negotiators may not be able to deliver on their promises.

One of the great problems with the situation in the Balkans—and one of the reasons we have had approximately 30 failed cease-fires—is that there is an inordinate number of people who are often referred to as “irregulars.” In Idaho, we would probably call them vigilantes.

The bottom line is that this kind of disorder, combined with extraordinary tensions and emotions, is a recipe for disaster.

Mr. President, as outsiders, we cannot impose peace under these circumstances. We may not even be able to serve as the conduit of peace.

There has been some discussion about the need for detail in this peace agreement. The Dayton agreement has detail, but there are people who wield power, such as Bosnian-Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, who were not at the negotiating table.

With the ink barely dry on the agreement, Karadzic announced that peace in the capital would be difficult to ensure and that the transfer of Serb-held neighborhoods was not final. Karadzic, who was not at the negotiation table, but represented by Serb President Slobodan Milosevic, is committed to making changes to the peace agreement. However, it is my understanding that negotiators in the agreement have rebuffed the idea that Bosnian Serbs could restructure the agreement.

In an interview with NBC, U.S. negotiator Richard C. Holbrooke said, “Dayton was an initialing. Paris will be a signing. There will be no change between Dayton and Paris.”

Defense Secretary William J. Perry on “Face the Nation,” reconfirmed that position by saying,

... I want to make clear: We're not going to renegotiate this agreement. This agreement is the agreement, and that's what we're proceeding on.

Karadzic does not appear stonewalled. It is my understanding from reports I have read, that he is mobilizing community leaders from the suburbs around Sarajevo, to force changes in the agreement, prior to the signing date on December 10. While we may dismiss Karadzic's power with the Serbian people, there is one thing that cannot be overlooked: His message strikes a chord with many Serbians who have fought for gains that are now being signed away, in the name of peace.

The issue at hand may be peacekeeping, but we cannot ignore the fact that peace will only come with a high price:

What is wrong with the Dayton agreement [is that it] has created a new Beirut in Europe. It is going to bleed for decades.

Radovan Karadzic, from a Washington Post article November 27, 1995.

While Karadzic's rhetoric may be just rhetoric, it is aimed at destabilizing this agreement. It is also a message that many Serbians want to hear. From what I have seen happen in this conflict over the last few years, he will likely be a formidable opponent to peace.

Reports on comments from both Bosnians and Serbs in Sarajevo don't bode well for peace. The bitter depth of anger in this conflict and the lack of trust on both sides has not created the kind of atmosphere this peace agreement needs to be successful.

In short, Mr. President, citizens marching in protest of the peace accord are not likely to swallow the hatred they have harbored in order to bring about peace.

So, what exactly does this agreement say that is so hotly contested by some Serbian factions? Mr. President, under the agreement initialed last week, the enforcement of peace will be the responsibility of a NATO-led peacekeeping force of 60,000 troops, with as many as 20,000 of them being Americans. Bosnia would be split between a joint Moslem-Croat Government, which would have jurisdiction over 51 percent of the territory, and a Serb republic, which would control 49 percent.

Sarajevo will fall under control of the Moslem-Croat Federation, along with its Serb-held suburbs.

Needless to say, the apportionment does not sit well with many of the Serbian people.

Before closing, Mr. President, I would like to take a moment to comment on the war powers resolution. Many of my fellow Idahoans have raised concerns about who has the power to deploy troops in the kind of situation we are facing in Bosnia.

The Constitution provides authority to both the President and the Congress with respect to the use of our military. Our Constitution is one of the greatest documents ever written. The role of Congress and the Presidency in the use of our military is a case in point. Our Constitution reflects the desire to have the collective judgment of both the Congress and the President when making decisions on the use of force.

Under article II, section 2, of the Constitution, the President has the authority as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces to deploy and command our Armed Forces.

On the other hand, article I, section 8 of the Constitution gives the Congress the power to declare war. We can all look at these powers, and see the clear differences. However, lines can become fuzzy when those principles are applied to a specific situation, such as the one before us in the Balkans.

The War Powers Resolution, which passed over President Nixon's veto on November 7, 1973, was designed to provide a functional framework through which to clarify the two roles and to maintain the intended balance of power.

Compliance with the resolution becomes an issue when troops are de-

ployed to a location where they face hostilities or imminent involvement in hostilities.

The criteria required for compliance with the War Powers Resolution are very clear. The President must consult the Congress, fulfill reporting requirements, and then seek congressional approval for continued deployment beyond a specific number of days—60 or 90 depending on the situation.

If these steps are not fulfilled. Then the Congress is left with using it's power of the purse. Terminating the funds necessary for the deployment provides the Congress the ability to curb the President's powers as Commander-in-Chief. This step is not an easy one, given that the Congress would have to override a presidential veto with a two-thirds vote.

Mr. President, I would like to explore one final point in this whole situation that has consumed my concerns. The war in the former Yugoslavian republics is not new; it is a continuation of an age-old conflict. These people have fought and suffered atrocities, especially over the last 4 years, that we cannot comprehend, for a goal that we do not understand. Yet, when cease-fires were achieved they were short-lived, because winning the war or conflict was valued more highly than coexisting in peace. All sides in this conflict have had one goal: to win. To win, is to survive.

However, through our efforts to contain the conflict by placing the international embargo on Yugoslavia and maintain it on Bosnia, the conflict became very uneven. The Serbians took hold of that advantage, and have taken hold of every subsequent advantage in their efforts to win.

I do not see the average person, whether Serb, Moslem, or Croatian, being prepared to accept peace without a fight. A Washington Post article on November 27, quoted what I would call an average man who has lived through this conflict:

“It's pathetic,” said Milorad Dugovic, a car mechanic who keeps an automatic pistol tucked in his waistband. “What were we fighting for in the past four years? * * * we will continue to fight. We'll fight even NATO. What's ours will remain ours.”

I do not see the Serbian people being willing to snatch defeat from the jaws of victory. Peace under this agreement is not a done deal. Let us not deceive ourselves into thinking that our troops will only be peacekeepers. If actions fit rhetoric, and fighting begins again, our troops will be in the middle of this bloody civil war. then peace will come only if we become the peacemakers by using force to settle this conflict.

Mr. President, I remain opposed to the proposed deployment of United States troops into Bosnia as part of this peace agreement at this time. I emphasize “at this time,” because it is imperative that we all fully understand what is at stake.

In my view, our national and security interests have not yet been defined. Before I can even entertain the thought of sending American men and women into this situation, these interests must be real, and they must be defined.

Mr. STEVENS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

SHOULD WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO BE INDIGNANT?

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, during an appearance on "Nightline" last week, I got quite disturbed with the Secretary of the Interior. He said that the Alaska delegation had been sneaky about, as he said, sticking in provisions to allow exploration and development of the Alaska oil reserve in the budget bills without honest debate. And he further said that we had done this in the dark of the night.

I came a little unglued at that, the idea that a Cabinet officer who is under oath—and I believe we are always under oath as Members of the Congress—will make statements that are just not true. I did not have time really to explain—in the context of that type of experience—the situation. So I have decided to come to the Senate and take 5 minutes to do it today.

This is a map of my State. It depicts what happened in 1980 at the time the Congress withdrew all of those areas that are outlined in blue and set them aside as preservation areas, national parks, national wildlife refuges, wild and scenic rivers, wilderness.

This area up here, the Arctic National Wildlife Range, was expanded into what is known now as Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. But one area, 1.5 million acres on the Arctic Slope, is the only area touched by that 1980 Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act that the 1980 act allowed for continued utilization for development. This is called the 1002 area, because that is the section, 1002 in the 1980 act. It abuts the Arctic Ocean of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. It is in the coastal plain. That area we have sought to proceed with leasing as was contemplated by the 1980 act now for 15 years.

What has happened this year that did not exist before this year was that the President requested and Congress has granted a change in the law with regard to scoring of Federal actions under the Budget Act. Prior to this year, the leasing of land, which brings about sizable bonus bids, would not score as a Federal revenue raiser even though it would bring money into the Federal Treasury. There was a bid for one area right offshore of the Arctic oil reserve, this part of ANWR, as we call it, \$2 billion just for the right to look to see if there was oil and gas in the area. It was dry. We expect bids in this area of over \$5 billion when the land is leased. More conservative estimates suggest that bids will be about \$2.6 bil-

lion, with \$1.3 billion coming to the Federal Treasury. That is what the Congressional Budget Office has said.

The President has asked for, and we granted, the right to score sales, and leasing is a sale of a right to use land for a period of time. Those are now scoreable so they can get in the Budget Act.

Going back to 1980, we have tried since then to get this leasing to proceed, but we have not been able to have it done.

This year in the budget reconciliation, what we're now calling the Balanced Budget Act of 1995, there was a vote in the Senate Energy Committee of 13 to 7 to include this area in the budget reconciliation. It came to the floor.

There have been three rollcall votes on the Senate floor this year dealing with the issue: May 24, to prohibit the asset sales in the budget resolution; again on May 24, to strike this amendment that had been inserted in the budget resolution by my colleague, Senator MURKOWSKI; and in October, during the budget reconciliation process, we voted on Senator BAUCUS' amendment dealing with the Arctic oil reserve. We tabled each of these motions. We were sustained in our position that this belongs in the budget bill.

In response to another of Secretary Babbitt's assertions, we have not done this in the dark of the night. There was not anything sneaky about it. As a matter of fact, we have had, since 1987, 26 days of hearings on this issue in the House of Representatives, 14 days of hearings in the Senate, and there is no question that this has all been done in the light of day.

We have not done anything sneaky in the dark of the night. To have a Cabinet officer accuse Members of the Congress of taking such action is really, I think, an extreme position. The interesting thing is the news media have picked this up and now they are bashing me over the head again, because I got disturbed at him for making such statements. It is appalling to me that we cannot require honesty and truthfulness out of people dealing with issues such as this.

We seek only to proceed with leasing, as was contemplated in 1980. As I said, this is the only area of Alaska in which that act allowed development. Look at the rest of it. Over 100 million acres of Alaska set aside. We cannot use them. This one area we can use, and we have been blocked by filibuster since 1980 to proceed as contemplated.

Now, the President asked for the change in the law, and asset sales can be included in the budget resolution. We can put this in the Budget Act, and we have put it in the Balanced Budget Act of 1995. It is a concept that we should, I think, consider.

Mr. President, it means over 735,000 jobs for Americans. It means we will be able to produce oil from that area as was contemplated. It is probably the

last greatest oil reserve on the North American Continent that has not been produced.

We have had provisions to allow the leasing of the coastal plain in a whole series of bills. At one time, we had a six-vote margin on a filibuster vote to break the filibuster. We did not have 60 votes, and we were not able to bring this up in past Congresses. President Bush's 1993 budget proposed this area be leased. Leasing of the coastal plain was part of his proposal to balance the budget by leasing land such as this and getting the bonus bids and getting the royalties that would come to the United States if leasing and development came about. He specifically provided, as a matter of fact, that the revenues would be shared equally between the Federal Government and the State of Alaska, which would mean a change in the law to accomplish that.

I come to the floor and I am going to come back again and again. I am going to ask the Senate to analyze the statements made by this Cabinet officer and let the public decide: Should we have the right to be indignant when a Cabinet officer makes statements on national television that are not true, that we try to mislead the public in terms of what is going on here in Congress? Is it sneaky to put a provision in the Balanced Budget Act of 1995 that does the same thing the President of the United States wants to do with the helium reserve, with the Teapot Dome area, and with the naval petroleum reserves? He wants to sell them. If they are sold, they are scored. We put it in the Balanced Budget Act. These actions have never been able to proceed passed because they were not in those bills either. They did not have the capability of getting a vote to avoid a filibuster in the Senate.

Now, Mr. President, it is very difficult to represent a State that is offshore, that is one-fifth the size of the United States, and that has so many varied issues that involve Federal lands and Federal actions, and to deal with the person who is Secretary of the Interior, who is unwilling to properly present the issue to the American public. I believe—and there has been a recent poll that will be announced today—the American public, when fully informed about this issue, will agree with us, that leasing should go ahead, as contemplated in 1980, and the revenues that will come from that area should come to the Federal Treasury, and some to the State. But the jobs that would come from developing our oil reserve should be available to Americans. We should stop importing so much foreign oil.

There are a great many more things that were said by the Secretary of the Interior in that statement when we appeared together on "Nightline." I will come back again and again, because all I am asking for, Mr. President, is an honest debate, to tell the truth and give the facts and let the judgment be made. But when people are trying to