

and serving as assistant attorney general of Wyoming and in the State legislature. He was elected to the Senate in 1978 and quickly became a rising star in his party. He was seriously considered for the Vice Presidential nomination in 1988 and has led the fight for passage of many major legislative efforts. His service as his party's whip was outstanding, but in matters of conscience, he never lost his independence.

Of course, our friend from Wyoming is best known here and throughout the country for his colorful personality. He is widely known for having one of the best senses of humor in Washington and one of its most acerbic tongues on occasion. He has entertained friends with his keen sense of comic timing, his witty delivery, and a standard portfolio of jokes and anecdotes, many of which could not be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD or other reputable publications. When he leaves the Senate, he could pursue a number of different careers. He has the talent to be another Johnny Carson. He could successfully pursue many other fields, for he has a brilliant legal mind and has the ability to get to the core of an issue rapidly.

I count him as one of my closest friends. His beautiful, thoughtful, and gracious wife, Ann, is likewise a superb individual and my wife and I will never forget their genuine kindness and concern when Elizabeth Ann suddenly became ill on an overseas trip earlier this year.

It has been my privilege and pleasure to serve with Senator ALAN SIMPSON over the last 17 years, and I look forward to our last year here together. I congratulate him on an outstanding career, and hope that we have not seen the last of him in the public arena. We need his leadership, his passion for the issues, and his humor to help lighten our load.

#### TRIBUTE TO SENATOR MARK HATFIELD

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, while MARK HATFIELD's retirement announcement did not take me by complete surprise—for such decisions have become virtually a weekly event here in the Congress—I was nonetheless disappointed and saddened to learn that he would not be seeking reelection to the Senate next year. He is one of the senior Members of this body, and has been a national leader of uncommon earnestness, moderation, honesty, and principle. He is known for his lack of excessive partisanship and for always yielding to his conscience on the many difficult matters that come before us. He is thoughtful, deliberative, intellectual, and never fails to do what he believes to be right and in the best interest of his State and country.

The people of Oregon have entrusted Senator HATFIELD with its reins of leadership through State or national office since 1956, when he was elected secretary of state at the age of 34. In

1958, he was elected Governor, serving for 8 years. In 1966, he was elected to the Senate and has been here ever since.

He is a deeply religious man who has been a spiritual leader as well as a public one. His leadership of our Senate Prayer Breakfast group over the years has been nothing short of inspirational. I have also enjoyed working with him on the National Prayer Breakfasts each year, something he had been involved with even at the State level when he was Governor back in Oregon. Our friend from Oregon has led by example; his religious convictions and quiet, friendly manner have been a powerful demonstration of how an ideal public official should conduct himself. He has been one for us to look at and emulate, regardless of our own political views.

As a young serviceman, he was one of the first Americans to see Hiroshima after it was bombed. This experience left its mark, and Senator HATFIELD has been an unflinching leader on issues relating to nuclear deterrence and non-proliferation.

MARK HATFIELD was born in Dallas, OR in 1922, and graduated from Willamette and Stanford Universities. He served in the Navy during World War II, commanding landing craft at Iwo Jima and Okinawa. Early in his career, he was a teacher of political science and has written extensively on public policy issues. Since January, he has chaired the Senate Appropriations Committee, a daunting task in its own right, but particularly challenging this year. He had previously served in that capacity. His graciousness and earnestness have not been diminished by the fierce budget wrangling this year.

Senator HATFIELD and I will be leaving the Senate at the same time, so I will not be serving here once he is gone. But I do know that those Members who do remain after him will find it a much lesser place in his absence. I am proud to call him a friend, I congratulate him on his outstanding career and for the way he has always conducted himself, and wish him and Antoinette all the best for a happy, healthy, and lengthy retirement. I also look forward to serving with him over the next year.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

#### THE RETIREMENTS OF ALAN SIMPSON, MARK HATFIELD, AND NANCY KASSEBAUM

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, three of our colleagues have just recently announced they are not running again for

reelection. The most recent is Senator SIMPSON.

I got to know AL SIMPSON when I was a State legislator and he was a State legislator. We were at a meeting that a foundation pulled together of what they, accurately or inaccurately, called the outstanding legislators from various States, and I got to know ALAN SIMPSON there.

I have worked with him over the years. He and I differ on some things, but he is a legislator's legislator. He really legislates. He sits down and works things out. He is a man of reason. He is not frightened by a new idea. I think he has made a tremendous contribution to the Senate, to his State of Wyoming, and to the Nation, and I am very proud to have served with him.

I will add, one of the things that characterizes Senator SIMPSON, Senator HATFIELD, and Senator KASSEBAUM is something the Presiding Officer has heard me talk about before, and that is there is not excessive partisanship. One of the things that has changed in my 21 years, soon to be 22 years here in Congress, is that we have become gradually more partisan. Both parties share the blame on this, and it is not a good thing. It is like the budget process. We issue statements, we have press conferences, we denounce each other instead of sitting around a table, working things out. ALAN SIMPSON, MARK HATFIELD, and NANCY KASSEBAUM were the kind of people who worked things out.

I have, up until the last election, served as chairman of three subcommittees. I do not think we ever had a party-line vote in any of my subcommittees. That meant sometimes I had to give a little more than I wanted. Sometimes others did. But I think the net effect was a good one for the Nation and, strangely, I think, good for the two parties. I think the public senses that we are excessively partisan and there is a negative attitude toward both the Democratic and Republican Parties out there. I hope we can move away from that.

The second person who recently announced that he is retiring is Senator MARK HATFIELD. Most people think about MARK HATFIELD in connection with chairing the Appropriations Committee, or a hundred and one other things that he does. I think of MARK HATFIELD particularly for his leadership in the area of arms control. Long before others raised the flag that maybe we should not be spending so much money on arms, MARK HATFIELD was telling us that.

Even today we spend more on our defense budget than the next eight countries combined. It does not make sense. If we take the 1973 budget on defense and add the inflation factor, we are spending more today than we were in 1973. In 1973 we were involved in Vietnam, we faced the cold war with what was then the Soviet Union and a nuclear threat there. We ought to be paring it down. MARK HATFIELD has been a

voice of reason. Again, like ALAN SIMPSON, he has been one who has been willing to work with people on the other side.

Senator NANCY KASSEBAUM is the same. I read the stories about her, as I did about all of my colleagues and their contributions. One of the contributions NANCY KASSEBAUM has made has been on the Subcommittee on Africa, in the Foreign Relations Committee. She chaired that for a while. NANCY KASSEBAUM did not get any votes back home in Kansas by chairing the Subcommittee on African Affairs, but made an immense contribution in the very same way that ALAN SIMPSON gets no votes in Wyoming by chairing the Subcommittee on Immigration.

One of the things that we have in this body are people of real ability who have a sense of public service. And we need more of that, and a little less, as I indicated, partisanship and power grabbing. But Senator KASSEBAUM is primarily thought of by her work on the Labor and Human Resources Committee in which the Presiding Officer serves. And she has done a superb job there over the years, part of it in these years as chairman where she has had to make some very difficult decisions as we passed a budget resolution that cuts back on some of the things that she favors. But the contributions that she has made over the years have been very significant.

I have been proud to serve with all three. The people of Wyoming, Oregon, and Kansas can be very proud of these three Senators—Senator SIMPSON, Senator HATFIELD, and Senator KASSEBAUM.

Mr. President, I do not see anyone seeking the floor, so I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. INHOFE. Are we in morning business, Mr. President?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes, we are.

#### SENDING UNITED STATES TROOPS TO BOSNIA

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I, like many people, have been distressed over the weekend listening to a lot of the comments as to what is going on in Bosnia, and this seems to be—and it is portrayed by this administration that it is—a done deal. Many Republicans and many Democrats are also saying that it is a done deal; that the troops are going to go; the President has made up his mind. The President, back in February 1993, made a commitment of 25,000 American troops on the ground in Bosnia, and he has decided they are going to go. So I guess the easy thing

is to say, well, the President made the decision; I may not agree with it or I may agree with it but nonetheless the decision is made, and we want to support our troops that are over there.

I am really getting tired of the demagoging that is going on about supporting the troops that are over there, as if this thing is a done deal. I grant you, Mr. President, I agree that the President of the United States does have the constitutional right to deploy troops. I think it is wrong, and historically it has not been done. The Presidents have come to the American people and have come through Congress for resolutions of approval, and this President has chosen not to do this.

Of course, I will remind all America that the House of Representatives, the other body, has already on two occasions expressed itself in a very, very strong vote in opposition to the deployment of ground troops to Bosnia. So we turn on the talk radio shows and we look at the news accounts, and they say, well, it is already a done deal and Congress has no role; Congress is not relevant in this debate.

I just do not buy that. I think this is still America, and the American people can be heard, and the best way for the American people to be heard is through their elected representatives. I think we have just a few hours to stop this thing. I am talking now about the mass deployment.

Yes, the President has already sent several hundred troops into the area of Tuzla, which is the northeastern sector, in which I had occasion to spend quite a bit of time, and I see an environment which is the most hostile environment that perhaps we have ever had the occasion to deploy any American troop into in the history of this country. We talk about and can identify that there are more than 6 million mines of all shapes and sizes that are out there, and you cannot do anything about rendering those mines harmless because the ground is now frozen and they will not appear really until a heavy vehicle gets on top of them. Of course, we are talking about the deployment of 130 M1 tanks and several other armored vehicles, so it is a very frightening thing. It is a frightening thing to think it is not just a matter of three factions that do not like each other in the former Yugoslavia. It is not just the Serbs and the Croats and the Moslems, because in addition to that you have the Bosnian Serbs, you have the Bosnian Moslems, you have the Arkan Tigers, you have the Black Swans, you have the Afghanistans, you have the Iranians. You have all of these, what we call rogue factions over there. And yet they say it is a done deal.

I think it is too easy to say that. I hope that everyone in America will demand that their Senator get on record on this issue. Mr. President, we are going to give them the opportunity to get on record on this issue. Last week, I served notice that there is going to be

an up-or-down vote on the sending of troops into Bosnia.

It is not a matter of supporting our troops that are there. You bet we support them. I know something about being a troop. I used to be in a troop, and I wanted the support of the American people and got it. I think every Member of this Senate, every Member of the other body, is going to support our troops wherever they are.

That is not the issue. That is a cop-out. The issue is, should they be over there to begin with? I can remember so well when Michael Rose, who was the commanding general of the troops, the U.N. troops, in Bosnia said, if America sends troops over there, they will have more casualties than they had in the Persian Gulf. That was 390.

In the Senate Armed Services Committee, when I asked Secretary Perry and Secretary Christopher and General Shalikashvili—I said, “Is that mission to contain a civil war and to protect the integrity of NATO worth more than 400 American lives?” And Secretary Perry said yes; Secretary Christopher said yes; General Shalikashvili said yes. But I say no, because, you see, Mr. President, they were speaking on behalf of the President of the United States, the top people, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of State, and, of course, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

So now we say it is a done deal and that Congress is not relevant. But I say we are going to have a vote on this, and people are going to have to be responsible for it.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that at this point an editorial be printed in the RECORD, a December 1 editorial by Abraham Sofaer.

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

#### CLINTON NEEDS CONGRESS ON BOSNIA

(By Abraham D. Sofaer)

President Clinton has appealed to Congress and the American people to support his policy committing 20,000 ground troops to implement the peace agreement reached between Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia. It is a tribute to the American people that the president is accorded the greatest deference when he calls for the greatest sacrifice. Americans respond, at least initially, to such appeals from their President.

But Mr. Clinton is exploiting this quality. He has presented the agreement and the American role in its enforcement as an accomplished fact, though the documents have yet to be signed by the parties, and numerous preconditions to U.S. involvement have yet to be fulfilled. He is consulting with Congress, but he is already sending troops to the area without any form of legislative approval. Indeed, he claims that, while he would welcome Congress's approval, he plans to go ahead regardless.

Presidents often try to get what they want by leading aggressively. Congress nevertheless has a duty to study carefully the proposed operation and then express its view. The essential first step in that debate is to read the documents signed recently in Dayton. The complex agreement, with 12 annexes, calls for Bosnia to remain a single but divided nation, and all the warring factions