

son and what is going to happen to many son and what is going to happen to many other sons and daughters if we allow the mass deployment of troops into Bosnia.

He said one of the things that stuck in his mind was the last letter that he got from his son, Cpl. Jim Smith, who said, "Dad, the biggest problem we have is we don't know who the good guys and the bad guys are." This was in Somalia. This was one of the last letters, maybe the last letter, written by Cpl. Jim Smith before his body was dragged through the streets of Mogadishu. He said, "We don't know who the good guys and the bad guys are."

That is exactly what happened 2½ years ago when President Clinton made the first decision for airdrops. I asked the person—and I cannot use his name in this public forum because it was a restricted meeting—I said, "How do you know when we drop the stuff whether it's going to get to the good guys or the bad guys?" He scratched his head and said, "You know, I don't think we know that. Come to think of it, I'm not sure we know who the good guys and the bad guys are."

That is because if you take a snapshot of any time in the history of Bosnia or the former Yugoslavia, you will find that at one time the Croats are the bad guys and the Serbs are the good guys; another time the Moslems have just finished butchering several thousand people, they are the bad guys, the Croats are the good guys. Most recently we assume the Serbs are the bad guys, so we, under the direction of President Clinton, chose sides in that civil war. At that time, many of us said, as soon as they do airdrops, then there will be airstrikes, and then they will want to send troops in. And that is exactly what has happened.

So this not over. It is not a done deal. I know the President right now is on a wave. His numbers look good. Mr. President, I can understand that, because you are an excellent politician. You just came back from Europe. You were talking about how everyone was cheering you over there. No wonder they are cheering over in Europe. You are saying we are committing 70 percent of the cost for this, and we are committing 30 percent of our troops to fight with your other troops, to fight your battles for you.

That is not our battle over there. That is relative to the security interests of Western Europe and Eastern Europe, not the United States.

I saw the accounts on television when President Clinton was talking to the troops over there. I can remember when I was a troop, so I know how a troop thinks. When I was over there talking to those same troops just a few days before the President was there, they had one question. They said, "What is our mission? Why are we going to this hostile area? Why is the President obsessed in sending us into Bosnia?"

I only say this today. I know we are out of time, Mr. President. I just want

to say this and I do it for all of the sons and daughters of the United States. I emphasize there will be no free rides. There is going to be a vote. Most likely it will be Wednesday, not the vote that the leader has that is going to be a watered-down version of conciliatory remarks about what has gone on over there and about protecting our troops. We all know we are going to support our troops.

But this is going to be a vote on, Are we going to have a mass deployment of troops into Bosnia? Yes or no. And every Senator on this floor is going to have to make a record and stand up and say how he feels so that the people at home will know.

I do not know, Mr. President, how your calls are coming in in your office back in Tennessee. But I can tell you what mine are in Oklahoma. They are about 100 to 1 against it. That is because there is an infinite wisdom of the people of this country once left alone to make up their mind and make that judgment. It is not a beltway decision. It is not a Washington, DC, decision. It is not the kind of wisdom you get in the White House or within the beltway. It is back in real America where real people, real fathers and mothers are, sons and daughters who are going to be over there, shipped over to this endless war in Bosnia.

It is not going to be 12 months, Mr. President. When we were up in the area of Tuzla where our troops are going to be deployed, I said something about 12 months, and they all laughed. They said, "You mean 12 years." This is the time for it to be stopped. If Somalia had been stopped before the murder of the 18 Rangers over there and their mutilated bodies were dragged through the streets of Mogadishu, that would not have happened. This is the time to stop this before the mutilated bodies of Americans are dragged through the streets of Tuzla.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DEWINE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

BOSNIA AND HAITI

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, we are now debating in this country the question of deployment of United States troops to Bosnia. As we engage in that discussion this week, I think it would be appropriate if we take a moment to go back and talk about the last major U.S. deployment of troops in a trouble spot situation. Of course, I am talking about Haiti.

Today, Mr. President, there are approximately 2,500 United States troops in Haiti, down from a much higher figure previously. These troops, Mr. President, were deployed in the interest of the future of peace and democracy in Haiti. It is vitally important to Haitian democracy that there be an orderly transfer of power in Haiti in the coming weeks.

On December 17 of this year—in just a few days—elections are scheduled to take place. These elections on December 17 are to be followed, on February

mass deployment of troops into Bosnia—ident of Haiti. Mr. President, all over the world the orderly transition of power is considered the true hallmark of democracy.

This orderly, routine transfer of power is what separates true democracy from pseudodemocracy. It is what separates the democratic countries in the world from other countries. And there is no truer test of a democracy than its ability routinely to carry out this awesome transfer of power.

Mr. President, in the past, President Aristide has indicated that he understands this and that he understands the importance of this. In fact, on May 29 of this year, Senator SPECTER and I met with President Aristide at the White House in Haiti. We asked him at that time in a fairly lengthy conversation if he can envision any circumstances under which he would retain power. His answer was an unequivocal no. Senator SPECTER asked him again, could he envision any circumstances that he would retain power, stay in office. His answer, no.

Then I asked President Aristide, "Mr. President, many of your supporters may urge you to stay on, they may appeal to your patriotism, they may tell you that you are the only one who can carry out the duties of the Presidency, that your country needs you. How will you be able to resist those comments? How will you be able to resist those pleas?"

President Aristide's answer was very simple. He said, "Senator, I have no choice. The Constitution takes precedence over the wishes of my supporters."

Over the last couple of weeks, there has been some confusion about whether President Aristide will leave office. There has been some indication that he might not step down as scheduled. His views on this matter appear to be a moving target. The most recent accounts over the weekend, last Friday specifically, are that he said that he will step down after all and that he was really misunderstood in the comments that he made a few days prior to that.

Mr. President, it is vitally important that President Aristide does, in fact, step down, that he follows his Constitution, the Constitution of Haiti.

I cannot emphasize enough the vital importance of President Aristide's routine departure from office. Last year, the United States went to the brink of a full-scale invasion in support of constitutional democracy in Haiti. We want and the Haitian people want a strong and stable democracy in Haiti. To achieve that, there has to be an orderly transfer of power. The Haitian people deserve it.

Earlier in this century, William Faulkner described Haiti as "homeless and desperate on the lonely ocean, a little lost island" that had suffered "200 years of oppression and exploitation."

Faulkner's words could have just as well have been uttered last year, with the addition of several decades. The people of Haiti deserve hope. They need to know that the world shares their aspiration to be a full member of the community of nations. They have waited a long time. They have waited long enough.

I believe it is important that all of us—this country, other countries of the world—put President Aristide on notice that to flirt with the idea of clinging to power in violation of his country's Constitution would be to risk a huge step backward for the Haitian people. It is long past time to break the cycle of oppression in Haiti. The routine, orderly departure from office of President Aristide will be a major step in that direction.

Mr. President, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GRASSLEY). The clerk will call the roll. The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

TRIBUTE TO REV. RICHARD C. HALVERSON

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, today I rise to recognize and pay tribute to a great friend to the Senate. The former Chaplain of the Senate, Rev. Richard C. Halverson passed away last week. For 14 years he tended to the spiritual needs of this body and all the people who make it work.

Educated at Wheaton College and Princeton Theological Seminary, Reverend Halverson worked in several places including California, his last place of ministry prior to moving to Washington. As the 60th Chaplain of the Senate most of our Nation knew Reverend Halverson from the prayer he delivered every morning. His respectful and quiet manner was a example to us all for how to conduct ourselves and treat others with dignity. I remember with fondness the mornings when I sat as the acting President of this chamber, and listened to Reverend Halverson speak, urge and console not only the Members of this body but everybody listening throughout the Nation.

Besides his duties as Chaplain of the Senate Reverend Halverson also was a minister to the Fourth Presbyterian Church in Bethesda, MD, and an author of several books. He took a lifetime interest in trying speak to the improvement of the moral being of individuals, and the moral health of our Nation. I will miss Reverend Halverson, our country will miss Reverend Halverson, and this body will miss Reverend Halverson, but we are all better because of his life. I hope the example of his life will continue to set a standard for us all.

I know that Reverend Halverson's wife Doris and all the members of his

family know better than all of us what an exceptional and spiritual man he was. I want to express my sympathy to them with this loss.

TRIBUTE TO THE REVEREND DR. RICHARD C. HALVERSON

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I have sought recognition to honor the memory of our long-time Senate Chaplain and spiritual leader, Dr. Richard Halverson, who passed away November 28. Dr. Halverson served as Chaplain for 14 years, joining the Senate in 1981 shortly after I, too, entered the Senate. He retired this past March after distinguished service to this body and to the Nation.

As Senate Chaplain, Dr. Halverson played many roles. His prayers would open each daily session of the Senate, often reminding Senators of the higher objectives of our work. When passions ran high over controversial legislation, Dr. Halverson's opening prayers would give Senators pause for reflection and helped maintain the Senate's tradition of reasoned, respectful debate.

I came to know Dr. Halverson well through his attendance at our Bible study sessions, where he came to learn and share his thoughts on the Old Testament. He was a gracious, valued participant and we benefited from his spiritual insight.

As many know, Dr. Halverson established himself as a Chaplain who never tired of selfless service. He was always available to spend time with someone who needed his time, either for spiritual guidance or counsel. His energies were not just directed at Senators, but at their spouses and staffs, and hundreds of Senate employees. In this role, he played a vital role in keeping the fabric of the U.S. Senate together.

The Senate was a better place for having had the compassionate service of Dr. Halverson as its Chaplain for 14 years, and the Nation owes him its gratitude for the role he played in our midst.

My wife, Joan, and I extend our heartfelt condolences to Dr. Halverson's wife, Doris, and his many children and grandchildren. We will all miss his faithful, caring presence.

THE BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, as of the close of business Friday, December 1, the Federal debt stood at \$4,989,268,168,883.55. We are still about \$11 billion away from the \$5 trillion mark. Unfortunately, we anticipate hitting this mark sometime later this year or early next year.

On a per capita basis, every man, woman, and child in America owes \$18,939.35 as his or her share of that debt.

CHARITABLE GIFT ANNUITY LEGISLATION

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I am pleased that the Senate passed two im-

portant bills impacting the charitable community—H.R. 2525 and H.R. 2519. Enactment of these bills was urgently needed to put a stop to unwarranted litigation and ensure that charities can continue to accept gift annuities from generous donors across the country. For these reasons it was important for me to clear the way to immediate passage of the bills.

Charities are critical to the Nation and to communities across the country. And charitable gift annuities are an important method for them to raise much-needed funds. This legislation will allow universities, hospitals, and other important local and national charities to continue their significant contributions to communities and the needy.

I commend my colleagues in the House and Senate for working quickly to craft this legislation. Almost 2,000 charities across the country have been defendants in unnecessary and unwarranted litigation. This congressional act will end the litigation, freeing charities to continue their important work.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Before the Senator starts, the Chair will announce morning business is closed.

PARTIAL-BIRTH ABORTION BAN ACT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now proceed to the consideration of H.R. 1833, which the clerk will now report.

The legislative clerk read as follows: A bill (H.R. 1833) to amend title 18, United States Code, to ban partial-birth abortions.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah is now recognized.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I rise today to speak in support of H.R. 1833, the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act of 1995.

I understand that many people on both sides of this issue have very strongly held beliefs. I respect those whose views differ from my own. And, I condemn the use of violence or any other illegal method to express any point of view on this issue.

This bill, however, presents a very narrow issue: whether one rogue abortion procedure that has probably been performed only by a handful of abortion doctors in this country, that is never medically necessary, that is not the safest medical procedure available under any circumstances, and that is morally reprehensible, should be banned.

This bill does not address whether all abortions after a certain week of pregnancy should be banned, or whether late-term abortions should only be permitted in certain circumstances. It bans one particular abortion procedure.