

public believes spending cuts alone will do the job. And the media validate bogus plans to cut taxes as serious moves to balance the budget. That we really are broke is ignored.

Rather than being pollster pawns, the media should serve as an institutional memory to give up perspective. With the Cold War over, it's time to rebuild our economy. More than ever, a strong government is needed—for education, job training, research, housing, transportation, technical development and inner-city needs.

But the media treat government as the enemy.

In a silent conspiracy with pollsters and Washington politicians, the media masquerade opinion polls as fact and validate the politics that any tax increase is poison. All the time, the rebuilding of America goes wanting and neither the Clinton nor the Dole/Gingrich forces can talk sense. The train wreck is a media production. •

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BROWN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. HUTCHISON). The Senator from Colorado is recognized.

#### OUR TROOPS WILL SPEND CHRISTMAS IN BOSNIA

Mr. BROWN. Madam President, as I came over here tonight for the vote, I could feel the light snow and the chill of the wind. It made me think of the weather that the young men and women who we are sending to Bosnia will experience during their Christmas—the 19- and 20-year-old young men and women who love their country, and they will give their very lives if called upon to serve. They will spend this Christmas thousands of miles away from home, in the outskirts of Tuzla, Bosnia—and they will do it gladly.

In the idealism of youth, they will know that they are serving their country, and they will carry with it an enthusiasm that tells them they would do anything to serve this Nation and to preserve our freedom.

I cannot help but remember the words of a movie that perhaps some have forgotten, a movie that some of the critics laughed at. Sylvester Stallone played the part of a man trying to free POW's in Vietnam. When he came back from the mission that some of the leaders had tried to thwart, he was asked by his commanding colonel what in the world he wanted. The words he spoke in the movie were: "I want what every man who served in Vietnam wanted; I want my country to love me as much as I love my country."

Tonight we have decided to send young men and women into harm's way, and into a cause that is not clearly defined, and into a mission that is full of risk. But they will go, and they will go gladly. They will make us proud.

Madam President, that love of country and that willingness to serve, to go anywhere and do anything for us, deserves more than a casual commitment

from the leaders in this country; it deserves leaders that love those men and women as much as they love us. It deserves a commitment from us that is comparable to theirs. It is a commitment we should not take lightly. We should not send young men and women to their death without being fully resolved that what they might die for is worth the price.

I do not believe that the mission that has been outlined is worth that price, and I do not believe that our leaders have that commitment. But the decision has been made. Those young men and women go with our prayers, and I will think of them this Christmas, away from home and facing what may be the saddest part of anyone's life—the chance of giving their lives for a mission that their country may not care about. That surely is the toughest burden that any young man or any young woman may ever have to face. I only pray, now that the decision is made and the troops are on the way, that we will not forget them, that we will stand beside them, that we will not deny them the weapons they need, that we will not refuse to go after the people who shoot after them, and that we will spare no effort.

My heart was filled with joy when I heard the reaction of the French President when the French pilots, who had been taken prisoner, were not returned. He made it very clear that France would not accept their men not being returned in any way, or under any circumstances. Because he stood firm, those boys were returned. He stood up for his troops and he stood beside them.

I only pray that this Nation will have the courage to do as much for those young men and women whose lives we put on the line.

I yield the floor.

Mr. PRESSLER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota is recognized.

#### SENDING TROOPS TO BOSNIA IS A MISTAKE

Mr. PRESSLER. Madam President, I would like to say that I feel very strongly that the basic decision to send troops to Bosnia, under the circumstances, is a mistake. I voted today for the Hutchison resolution, and I did so as a Vietnam veteran, as one who served in the Army in Vietnam. I feel strongly that we have made a mistake by sending troops to Bosnia.

Certainly, all of us want our troops to be well cared for and well equipped, but I oppose the basic decision to send troops there. Indeed, from my State, in the National Guard callup, 1 of 8 people who have been called up so far, probably to go to Bosnia, is a nephew of mine. And he will willingly serve his country, just as I did. But I disagree with the basic decision to send troops there and have so voted today.

Those were not easy votes, and I feel that the last vote was more or less pa-

pering over the whole decision, so I voted against that resolution. I feel very strongly, and my constituents feel, that we are engaging in an adventure from which we will not be able to get out of easy, and if we do get out of it, it will be with a large foreign aid bill.

There has been fighting in that country since the 15th century, and it has continued largely because foreign armies have come every time they have had a civil war, and it has never been resolved. That will probably be the case again.

So, Madam President, I wish to state that, certainly, we all care a great deal for our troops. One of them is going to be my nephew. I make my decision based on experience as a lieutenant in the Army in Vietnam. I just do not think this will work. That is the reason I voted as I did today.

#### UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREE- MENT—CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 1977

Mr. BROWN. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate considers the conference report to accompany H.R. 1977, the Interior appropriations bill, that it be considered under the following time limitation: There be 6 hours for debate on the conference report, with 3 hours under the control of Senator GORTON or his designee, and 3 hours under the control of Senators BUMPERS and BRADLEY or their designees with 20 minutes of Senator GORTON's time under the control of Senator BYRD; that when the time is used or yielded back, the Senate proceed to vote on adoption of the conference report with the above occurring without intervening action or debate.

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

#### CORRECTION OF ENROLLMENT OF S. 1060

Mr. BROWN. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of House Concurrent Resolution 116 that has just been received from the House.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 116) directing the Secretary of the Senate to make technical corrections in the enrollment of S. 1060.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to proceeding to the immediate consideration of the concurrent resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the concurrent resolution.

#### AMENDMENT NO. 3098

(Purpose: To add a technical correction)

Mr. BROWN. Madam President, I send an amendment to the desk on behalf of Senators SIMPSON and CRAIG.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Colorado [Mr. BROWN] for Mr. SIMPSON, for himself, and Mr. CRAIG, proposes an amendment numbered 3098.

Mr. BROWN. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

On page 2, after line 10, insert the following:

(7) In section 18, strike "contract, loan, or any other form" and insert "or loan".

(8) In section 12(b)(1), strike "7" and insert "6".

Mr. SIMPSON. Madam President, I rise, along with Senator CRAIG, to offer an amendment to H.Con.Res. 116, the resolution to make technical corrections to the recently-passed lobbying reform legislation, S. 1060. We understand that our amendment is acceptable to the managers of the lobbying reform legislation, Senators LEVIN and COHEN, and we are grateful to each of them for their cooperation.

In explaining our technical amendment, we note that three versions of the Simpson-Craig lobbying reform amendment have passed the Senate. The first was our amendment to S. 1060, banning all forms of Federal fund transfers, including contracts, to organizations described in Internal Revenue Code section 501(c)(4) who also engage in lobbying activities. Part of the rationale for this amendment was that those organizations should not simultaneously enjoy the benefits of exemption from taxation, unlimited expenditures on lobbying, and Federal funding support.

However, learning of a quirk in the legislative history of 501(c)(4) organizations, we found that many insurance companies are still technically organized as 501(c)(4) organizations, even though they are now fully taxable. Many of these, along with other health care providers that are also 501(c)(4) organizations, handle Federal contracts under Medicare, the Federal employees health system, and CHAMPUS. We believe that our colleagues would concur that such groups lie outside the scope of the intended reach of a cutoff of grant money to organizations which enjoy the benefits of 501(c)(4) status.

It is for this reason that we redrafted our amendment, during consideration of the Treasury-Postal appropriations bill, to correct for this and to exclude contracts from the prohibition on Federal funding assistance. That amendment passed the Senate by voice vote on July 24 of this year.

The third version of this provision to pass the Senate was included in a broader version of grants reform, which was the Simpson-Craig amendment to the provision authored by Representatives ISTOOK, MCINTOSH, and EHRLICH that the House had included in House Joint Resolution 115, the second FY

1996 continuing resolution. In the language in that amendment affecting 501(c)(4) organizations, we also took out the ban on contracts and other forms of funding, other than grants.

Mr. CRAIG. Senator SIMPSON has pointed out the important fact that versions of the Simpson-Craig lobbying reform amendment have been approved by the Senate three times this year. I commend Senator SIMPSON on his leadership in this area and am happy that the Simpson-Craig amendment, along with the rest of the lobbying reform bill, is on the verge of being signed into law.

The first version of our amendment, added to S. 1060, had a scope and impact on some insurance and health care providers, uniquely classified as 501(c)(4) organizations, that the authors and the Senate never intended. This problem was corrected in the second and third versions of the Simpson-Craig amendment. Therefore, the Senate twice approved the very change in our 501(c)(4) organizations language that we are proposing again today.

For reasons totally unrelated to this change, the House of Representatives struck the second and third, perfected, Simpson-Craig lobbying reform amendments from the Treasury-Postal bill and the continuing resolution. The House was seeking, instead, to promote its broader Istook-McIntosh-Ehrlich language. However, even in that House language, 501(c)(4) organizations were never barred from receiving contracts.

So, Madam President, the intent of the Senate is clear throughout the evolution of floor votes on three bills, and the intent of the House is clear in two floor votes on a related provision. Neither body intends that all 501(c)(4) organizations who lobby should be barred from receiving Federal contracts. But because the earliest version of either body's position on lobbying and grant reform was the one preserved in S. 1060 as cleared by the House, the clear intent of both bodies on 501(c)(4) organizations is not reflected in that bill.

That is all we are proposing in our technical amendment today, that this technical corrections resolution adjust S. 1060 to reflect the clear intent of both the Senate and the House, as expressed in the relevant votes taken in both bodies.

Mr. SIMPSON. The Senator from Idaho [Mr. CRAIG] is correct. While we are pleased that the House passed lobbying reform legislation with the original Simpson-Craig language intact, we also believe that Congress would want to take the opportunity, in the form of this technical corrections resolution, to acknowledge the unique status of certain 501(c)(4) organizations, as we did in our redrafted amendment to the Treasury-Postal appropriations bill and the second continuing resolution. We therefore submit our amendment to eliminate the terms "contracts" and "any other form" to the Senate, trusting that the correcting language will more closely conform to the intentions

of the Congress in passing our original amendment.

Mr. CRAIG. There is one additional provision in our amendment, at the request of the bill's managers, to simplify and expedite the process of handling this resolution. This provision would correct, in section 12(b)(1) of the bill, a cross-reference to the definition for representation of a foreign entity. This same change was already made in section 12(c), and the change in section 12(b)(1) simply makes it consistent and correct, clerically.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 3098) was agreed to.

Mr. BROWN. I ask unanimous consent that the concurrent resolution be considered and agreed to, as amended, and the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, and that any statements relating to the concurrent resolution appear at the appropriate place in the RECORD.

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

So the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 116), as amended, was agreed to.

#### CORRECTION OF ENROLLMENT OF S. 1060

Mr. FORD. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Senate Concurrent Resolution 36, a concurrent resolution introduced earlier today by Senator LEVIN; that the resolution be read and adopted; that the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table.

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

So the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 36) was agreed to, as follows:

#### S. CON. RES. 36

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring).* That in the enrollment of the bill S. 1060, to provide for the disclosure of lobbying activities to influence the Federal Government, and for other purposes, the Secretary of the Senate shall make the following corrections:

(1) In section 6(8), strike "6" and insert "7".

(2) In section 9(7), insert "and" after the semicolon, in section 9(8), strike "; and" and insert a period, and strike paragraph (9) of section 9.

(3) In section 12(c), strike "7" and insert "6".

(4) In section 15(a)(2), strike "8" and insert "7".

(5) In section 15(b)(1), strike ", 5(a)(2)," and in section 15(b)(2), strike "8" and insert "7".

(6) In section 24(b), strike "13, 14, 15, and 16" and insert "9, 10, 11, and 12".

(7) In section 12(b)(1), strike "7" and insert in lieu thereof "6".

#### AMENDING THE CLEAN AIR ACT

Mr. BROWN. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of H.R. 325 just received from the House.