

to cooperate with the activities of the War Crimes Tribunal.

Clearly the implementation of the military aspects of this agreement are critical to the success or failure of the other elements of the peace plan. And, U.S. participation in the implementation force is pivotal in that regard. But, it is important to keep in mind that while U.S. participation is essential, we will not be alone in the effort to implement the agreement—more than 25 countries have pledged to participate as well and will provide two-thirds of the 60,000-person implementing force.

While the Dayton Agreement has been well crafted, it is by no means 100-percent guaranteed to be successful—no agreement of this kind falls into that category. However, every effort has been made to minimize the chance of failure. Each and every American soldier who goes to Bosnia will be well trained and well armed to face any eventuality. The leaders of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia have also pledged to ensure the safety and security of the implementing force.

However, Mr. President, I think it would be unrealistic to promise the American people that there will be no casualties incurred during Operation Joint Endeavor. That is a promise that is not, unfortunately, totally within our power to fulfill.

Ultimately the success or failure of the Bosnian peace agreement will depend upon the willingness of the governments of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia to live up to their commitments to each other and to the international community. Without question, U.S. involvement will heighten the prospects for compliance by all parties and lessen the possibility that the Balkans will once again become engulfed in war. On the other hand, if the United States stands on the sidelines at this crucial moment, the renewal of armed conflict is all but assured.

Many of my colleagues have mentioned in the course of this debate that public opinion polls suggest that the American people do not currently support the deployment of United States troops to Bosnia. To them I would say, there is nothing novel about that. The public was initially quite negative about U.S. participation in the Persian Gulf war and only when Operation Desert Storm was up and running did the public mood shift.

It is no secret that the American people have always cared more about what happens at home than abroad and have sometimes been slow to appreciate the ramifications of international events on their own domestic security and prosperity. It is the responsibility of the President and other political leaders to explain to our citizens why a particular course of action is ultimately in the interest of this country.

President Clinton has endeavored to explain the various United States interests at stake in the Bosnian peace process. I believe he has done a very

credible job of making the case for the difficult decision he has made. On November 27, President Clinton went directly to the American people to explain why he is prepared to participate in the quest for peace in Bosnia.

During that address he put the matter very succinctly:

In Bosnia, a terrible war has challenged our interests and troubled our souls. Our interests are plain. The cause is right. Our mission will be clear, limited and achievable. The people of Bosnia, our NATO allies and people around the world are looking to America for leadership. Let us lead. That is our responsibility as Americans.

I agree with the President that the rest of the world looks to the United States for leadership. We cannot and should not answer every call for U.S. assistance. It is up to us, of course, to decide whether it is in our national interest to assume a leadership role in any particular situation. In the case of Bosnia, the situation is clear—United States leadership is essential.

I commend this body for taking the action that it did yesterday, in voting in support of the Dole/McCain resolution. We did what was critical—we sent a clear signal to the world that we are united as a nation in our resolve to support peace in Bosnia, and that we stand full square behind the men and women of our Armed Forces as they commence their mission of peace in the coming days.

With that affirmative vote we did not simply give peace a chance in Bosnia. We did far more. We reaffirmed our position as a world leader and strengthened the rule of law in the post-cold-war era. I am proud of what the Senate accomplished last night.

HAITI—A MULTI-BILLION-DOLLAR FOREIGN POLICY FAILURE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, U.S. policy regarding Haiti is another example of throwing good money after bad. In order to keep a sinking foreign policy ship afloat, the Clinton administration has handed over, in less than a year and a half, more than \$2 billion of the American taxpayers' money in propping up the regime of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

This enormous sum of money has gone to a tiny, corrupt country representing less than 1 percent of this hemisphere's population.

Within the past month, I have received new requests from the administration to send additional millions of dollars to Haiti.

President Clinton's enormous spending spree in Haiti has not produced the stability, security, and democracy promised by the Clinton administration. I possess no crystal ball but it was apparent to me then, and still is, that politically motivated assassinations and increased mob violence would result if Aristide were reinstated as President to be propped up by American soldiers. But, just as was the case early in the 20th century when the

United States Marines occupied Haiti for 19 years and did not bring democracy to Haiti, the present military occupation has not transformed Aristide into a leader who believes in and practices democratic ideals.

Mr. President, whatever Aristide and his cronies are committed to, it certainly isn't democracy. Their primary interest is U.S. dollars.

Aristide has flatly refused to implement free market reforms, and has warned that the first person who "dares sell the state's possessions on behalf of privatization" will be "arrested immediately." In fact, Aristide's hostility toward free market economic reform resulted in a political crisis which led to the resignation of his Prime Minister in October and the suspension of all World Bank programs.

In June's legislative elections, fraud was rampant, and several opposition candidates were threatened and intimidated. Poll workers were largely untrained, voting secrecy was rare, ballots were burned or dumped, and tally sheets were widely doctored.

Even with 6,000 international troops and a new U.S.-trained police force in place, dozens of politically motivated murders have occurred since the Clinton administration restored Aristide to power last October. In March, a woman was gunned down in retaliation for criticizing President Aristide.

Another Port-au-Prince murder is reminiscent of the Old Testament account of King Abel who coveted the property of his subject, Naboth. When Naboth refused to sell, King Abel had him poisoned and took the property.

History is repeating itself in Haiti. Michel Gonzalez and his American wife were Aristide's neighbors in the Port-au-Prince suburbs. When Aristide wanted to add on to his villa, several neighbors accepted his offer to buy their property. However, despite several offers from Aristide, Mr. Gonzalez declined to sell his home. So, on May 22, as Mr. Gonzalez entered his driveway with his teenage daughter, he was gunned down. Sources in Haiti assert that soon after the assassination, the wall dividing the properties was knocked down. Aristide got his way.

On November 11, President Aristide incited mobs to violence at a funeral of a political crony and relative. His bloodthirsty syncophants responded immediately, and across Haiti, buildings were burned, houses were ransacked, and dozens were murdered. Yet violence has not abated. Recently, the bodies of seven men and women were found in a dump near Port-au-Prince, gagged and shot in the head.

Mr. President, not one person has been prosecuted and sentenced for any of at least 22 politically motivated murders committed between January and October of this year. In fact, I am unaware of any serious investigation into these assassinations, much less into the more recent murders last month.

When asked by a Creole newspaper about killings sparked by his speech,

Aristide said that "If Jesus was so angry when he entered the temple that he took up a whip, turned over the tables and talked harshly to the hypocrites, all the more reason for us to do so who are Jesus' servants." For this man to compare himself to Jesus is disgustingly blasphemous.

Aristide opposes every principle for which our country stands. For the United States to spend over \$2 billion in taxpayer dollars to prop up this man is unconscionable.

Mr. President, Aristide threatened to send a flood of refugees to the United States if additional millions of the American citizens' dollars are denied him. And the Clinton administration has capitulated to this blackmail. But this Senator, for one, cannot stomach using U.S. tax money to sponsor a tyrant who has demonstrated no concern for justice or democracy.

If the December 17 elections proceed, Aristide's hand-picked successor, Rene Preval, will almost certainly win, inasmuch as 10 of the 12 largest political parties are boycotting the election. Aristide declares that he and Preval are twins—an allusion to their ideological similarity. It is, to be sure, an indication of what a Preval president will be.

The deteriorating situation in Haiti is clear: Unless Aristide and his successor fulfill their promises to the Haitian people, to the United States Government, and to the international community, neither United States troops nor additional billions of United States taxpayers' dollars can ever bring democracy to Haiti.

BOSNIA

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I have spoken several times on the Senate floor about the situation in Bosnia. Just last night, the Senate voted in support of our troops.

Time and again, I have listened to Senators cite the amount of phone calls and letters they have received from their constituents both for and against sending American ground troops to Bosnia.

I, too, have heard from a number of Vermonters about this issue. Over the past several weeks, opponents of President Clinton's Bosnia policy have outnumbered supporters by a 3 to 1 margin.

I think it is appropriate, however, that on the day the Bosnian peace agreement is signed in Paris, I share with the Senate a letter I received from my friend, Colonel R.W. van de Velde USA (Ret.).

I ask unanimous consent to insert his letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD after my statement and yield the floor.

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

NOVEMBER 15, 1995. R.W. van de Velde Ridge Road, RR 2 Cornwall Middlebury, Vermont 05753

TO THE EDITOR: It is unfortunate, but foreign policy is paid attention to by other nations only when it has economic or military clout. It would be a nicer world if some other reason, such as logic or kindness, had similar clout, but in a world of humans rather than of angels, that is very rarely the case.

So when the President of the United States says the military must be used, he is backing up policy with muscle. Sometimes the mere threat of that kind of muscle is enough. The situation in the Balkans surely has gone beyond that possibility.

It is also a fact of life that a leader, or a nation that will not lead is bound to lose his or its ability to lead.

It is another truth that whether we like it or not, the world looks on the United States for leadership. We are the richest and strongest in the world in peace as well as war. We are a peaceful people, but we maintain a well trained and well equipped military force; and it is all volunteer. There is no draft—no unfairness—everyone in the military service of this Nation is a person who chose that service presumably with his/her eyes open and mindful that there might someday be some dangers, some risks, to life and limb. How we, a nation, got the notion that military force can be exerted without risk, I don't understand.

Let us not be "skeptical" or fearful of using our military strength when we can't do otherwise. Anyone who says "let Europeans clean up their own mess" simply does not understand the condition of Europe or the Balkans. Both need American leadership and strength, and so do we if we are to continue as the ideal of what a big nation should be.

R.W. VAN DE VELDE
Colonel, U.S. Army (Ret.).

NOTE

(In the RECORD of December 12, 1995, beginning on page S18387, an improper version of the statement by Senator COHEN was reflected. The permanent RECORD will be changed to reflect the following correct statement.)

Mr. COHEN. Mr. President, I have lamented on a number of occasions the erosion of civility in our public discourse. This is a trend that has had a negative impact on our politics and on the relationship between the government and the citizenry. The heightened level of rhetoric, the slash-and-burn tactics, and the accusations of bad faith, have made it more difficult for politicians to communicate with each other and to communicate with those we represent. It has made it more difficult for reasonable people to reach agreement and far too easy for unreasonable voices to dominate the debate.

The breakdown in the tone of our discourse is symptomatic of a wider problem which many have described as a deterioration of civil society. Our civil society is the collection of public and private institutions, and accepted moral principles, that bind us together as a community of citizens. Civil society is what makes us a nation of community, rather than merely a group with common voting rights.

There is abundant evidence that our civil society is fraying around the edges. People lack faith in the capacity

of government to act in the interest of the people. There is a growing lack of confidence in our public schools—one of the great unifying forces in our country. Americans are less engaged in fewer communal activities than we once were. We are much more apt to stay at home to rent a video, communicate on the faceless Internet, or channel-surf on cable TV, than we are to attend a PTA meeting, march in a parade—or even join a bowling league, as one Harvard professor's study revealed.

It is against this background that today we consider the constitutional amendment to prohibit desecration of the U.S. flag. The argument for protecting the flag is a weighty one: The U.S. flag is a unique symbol of our nationhood. When our troops go to battle to fight for our Nation, they march under the banner of the flag; each day when our children go to school, they pledge allegiance to the flag; when a national leader or world dignitary dies, the flag is flown at half mast; when one of our athletes wins a gold medal at the Olympic Games, the flag of the United States is raised; when a soldier or police officer dies, his or her coffin is draped with the flag; when immigrants are naturalized, they salute to the flag.

In this diverse Nation, respect for the flag is a common bond that brings us together as a nation. Our common reverence for the flag is part of what makes us citizens of a country, not just individuals that happen to live in the same geographic area.

There is also no denying that when the flag is burned, desecrated, despoiled, or trampled upon, the potency of the flag as a symbol is denigrated. When the flag is burned, whether by Iranian fundamentalists during the hostage crisis or by American protestors here at home, we are rightly outraged because these acts represent a direct affront to our Nation. By tolerating flag desecration, we are condoning actions that undermine the fabric of our national life.

Critics of the flag amendment have reminded us that because flags owned by the Government are still protected under current law, this amendment will only restrict what individuals can do with flags that they own personally. But the flag is not a mere piece of property like a car or television, it is more than the fabric and dye and stitching that make it up. The design of the American flag and the values it represents belong to all of us; in a sense, it is community property. We the people maintain part ownership of that flag and should be able to control how our property may be treated.

This is not a very radical principle. Federal law already controls what we can or cannot do with our own money. Anyone that mutilates, cuts, defaces, disfigures, or perforates a dollar bill can be fined or put in jail for 6 months. Similarly, in O'Brien versus United States the Supreme Court upheld the