

reached, unless there has been significant political and economic progress, stability is far from assured.

If the Moslem Croat Federation stays together, the Bosnian Serbs' 2 to 1 disadvantage in arms compared to the Federation could serve as an incentive for them to align more closely with Serbia, to the detriment of the goal of a unified Bosnia.

If, on the other hand, the Federation does not stay together, the Bosnian Moslems will be at a 2 to 1 disadvantage in a potential two-front conflict with the combined strength of the Bosnian Croats and the Bosnian Serbs.

Now, I would say that it is unlikely that the Bosnian Croats and the Bosnian Serbs will join in some kind of unified or coordinated attack against the Bosnian Muslims, but the Bosnian Muslims could in the future easily find themselves in a conflict with both parties. These fragile assumptions, which could go awry very easily, make it even more essential from my perspective that the goal of the arms control build-down, the first effort to build down the weapons, as well as any arm-and-train program, leave all the parties with primarily a defensive capability.

If we start basically building up offensive arms, these ratios and all the complexities are going to be vast.

In spite of these fragile and questionable assumptions, I believe that a build-down process is worth a try. I believe that we must undertake at least the effort.

Finally, it will be imperative for the United States to remain engaged at the highest diplomatic levels to assure that the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and other civilian organizations utilize the time available to them to undertake an intensive and focused effort to accomplish their task.

F. RISKS TO MILITARY MISSION RELATING TO CIVILIAN TASKS

Mr. President, possibly the greatest risk to the military mission is that there will be confusion of the military mission and the much broader U.S. and international political goals—confusion in the Congress and confusion in the country.

This has two aspects. The first is that there will be mission creep on the ground with the U.S. military being expected to assume more and more responsibility for the political or civilian aspects of the framework agreement. These include the task of continuing humanitarian aid, rehabilitation of infrastructure and economic reconstruction, the return of displaced persons and refugees, the holding of free elections, police functions within borders, and the like.

One of the trickiest areas is not about separating the forces. That is a clear military mission. But what happens within an area if you start having murders take place within the borders? Whose job is it to take on the policing of that? Certainly, the civilian mission will be to do what they can to restore

the function of the police forces, but in the meantime what does the United States military and what do other NATO militaries do when there is really chaos within the borders?

These are a few of the areas that could very easily lead to mission creep.

The second danger—and this is something I think all of us in the Congress have a keen responsibility to keep in mind in our remarks—relates to public perception of how we define the military mission's success or lack thereof. I noted earlier that the military mission is limited. Assuming the United States military leaves Bosnia in approximately 1 year and the conflict there resumes shortly thereafter, has the military mission been a failure under these circumstances? If the news media and the American public confuse our narrowly defined 1-year military mission with the long-term political goals for a united and stable and peaceful Bosnia, the perception of failure after 1 year is possible and perhaps even probable. So I think it is important for us to define these terms very carefully.

V. RESIDUAL FORCE

Since the plans for carrying out the civilian tasks are far behind the military side and since they are so important to the building process, the best case is that there will be a solid beginning toward accomplishing the civilian tasks during the first year of the military deployment. But it will be far from complete. Because of this, I believe that planning must start now for a residual military force to replace the NATO implementation force at the end of a year to give the parties and the organizations helping them the secure environment and confidence they need to continue the longer-term civilian task which without any doubt is going to take far longer than 1 year.

A residual force should not include United States ground forces, in my view, but could be supported by the United States in those military areas where we have unique capabilities. Such a residual force can be a United Nations peacekeeping force or a coalition of forces from European and other nations that are committed to seeing the building process continued. This will in most likelihood take a number of years. The point is that the planning for a residual force needs to commence as soon as possible.

Finally, as a necessary contingency, the United States should begin to work with our allies to ensure continuing cooperation to contain the conflict if the peace process breaks down, either while our troops are there or after we leave in about a year. NATO's vital interests in my view have never been involved in Bosnia itself—important interests, but not vital. But NATO's vital interests could certainly be involved if there is a spread of this conflict. Strategic planning within NATO must begin now for a long-term containment strategy if that breakdown occurs.

Mr. President, the United Nations deployment to Macedonia in which Unit-

ed States and Nordic forces are participating is a first step, only a first step but at least a first step, toward this broader containment strategy which may be essential in the long run.

Mr. President, I thank my colleagues for their attention, and I thank the Chair for the time. I would at this point yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DOLE. 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 TOM PETTIT

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I want to take a moment to pay tribute to a friend and a former NBC correspondent, Tom Pettit, who passed away today in New York. For more than a generation, Tom gave millions of viewers a front-row seat to a world of news and politics. As NBC news vice president Bill Wheatley noted:

His work was always distinctive: There was never any doubt that it was a Tom Pettit report. Truly, he was among the very best in the profession that he so loved.

Having interviewed every President since Harry Truman, Tom certainly earned his stripes in broadcast journalism. He preserved many moments of history, including the tragic assassination of President John F. Kennedy in Dallas. I know I speak for all of my colleagues in sending our thoughts and prayers to his wife, Patricia, and his children: Debra, Anne, James, and Robert.

JOINT STATEMENT

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, just for the information of my colleagues, following the meeting today at the White House, we issued a joint statement. I will just read the joint statement.

We have agreed that we will issue statements from now on so we do not have any problem about somebody saying something that might be misinterpreted. And the joint statement reads:

Today we had good meetings which built on the progress made in yesterday's discussions. Staff will prepare further analysis to clarify options for the budget advisory group, which will then advise the principals on outstanding issues. Following the meeting of the budget advisory group, the principals will meet again next Friday afternoon.

So there will be a meeting with the President and the Vice President, the chief of staff, Leon Panetta, and the leaders of the House and the Senate.

On Thursday of next week and Wednesday of next week, staff and the advisory committees will meet.

So without much elaboration, I will say, in my view, we had a good session, very positive. I felt people wanted to get something done.

We discussed some very difficult issues. The hard decisions have not been made yet, but I guess without being too specific, it is fair to say, at least right now, the attitude of everyone is very positive, and I hope that we can do what the American people want us to do, and that is come to some agreement which will balance the budget over the next 7 years, using Congressional Budget Office numbers.

If we can do that—it may be painstaking, it may interrupt holiday schedules for some, but it will be worth it in the long run. So I certainly want to thank all of my colleagues and members of our staff who have been working this past week and will be working next week in an effort to bring about a balanced budget over the next 7 years.

MAKING FURTHER CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1996

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate turn to House Joint Resolution 136, a continuing resolution just received from the House; that the joint resolution be read a third time and passed; and that the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table.

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

So the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 136) was read the third time and passed.

PERMITTING FEDERAL EMPLOYEES TO RETURN TO WORK

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, while we are waiting, I will just say we have been trying to find some way that would permit Federal employees around the country to come back to work without enacting another continuing resolution. It is costing \$40 million a day because we are going to pay the Federal employees. It is no fault of their own they are not working. It seems to me—at least I am getting a lot of calls from taxpayers around the country saying, “Why are you paying people for not working?”

My view is they ought to be able to go back to work, but under the law, they cannot even volunteer to go back to work, because if they volunteer, their supervisor might be in violation of some criminal statute. There is a purpose for all this, because if you do not have any money in the agency, it is pretty hard to say we are going to pay salaries.

But in this case, in fact we agreed to say, it is safe to say, this afternoon—it should have been in that joint communiqué—the principals agreed those who are furloughed will be paid because it is no fault of their own.

As the Washington Post said in an editorial, they are the victims, they are the pawns in this struggle for a balanced budget, and if you are in the Agriculture Department, we passed that appropriations bill, as the Presiding Officer knows because he is chairman of

that Appropriations subcommittee, and they are working and they are getting paid. But if you work for the Interior Department, you are not getting paid because we have not passed a CR—we passed the Interior bill. Unfortunately, the President could have put people back to work, but he vetoed it.

So we have been trying to find some way out of the impasse because there are Federal workers—in fact, I heard this morning on the radio representatives of the Federal employees union saying that it is giving the Federal employees a bad image; that many believe they are out there shopping in the shopping malls knowing they are all going to get paid, and they are just getting more time off.

So I discussed in general the concept with Senator DASCHLE while we were at the White House and have been working with Senator WARNER throughout the day. We believe we have found a way that would permit Federal employees to come back to work and they would be paid on the assurance given by not only the principals in today's meeting, but a letter signed by myself and the Speaker of the House last Thursday directed to Senator WARNER and to Congresswoman MORELLA, Congressman TOM DAVIS and Congressman FRANK WOLF.

Let me read it:

Section 1342 of title 31, U.S. Code, is amended, (1) by inserting after the first sentence “for the period December 15, 1995, through February 1, 1996, all officers and employees of the United States Government or the District of Columbia Government shall be deemed to be performing services relating to emergencies involved in the safety of human life or the protection of property and, (2) by striking out the last sentence.

Hopefully by then we will have completed our balanced budget and everybody will be back to work in a normal fashion.

I am going to try to clear this on the Democratic side and send it to the House. I have had a brief discussion with the Speaker, and I am not certain if he has had a chance to analyze this. But this does two things, we are told.

First of all, it permits Federal employees to go back to work without getting somebody in trouble, and, second, it assures they are going to be paid.

So I hope we can clear this before the evening ends. I am not certain the House could take it up today, but they will be back on Wednesday.

I know there is a lot of stress and unrest among Federal employees who are not working, but they will be paid, which means there is a lot of stress and unrest with the general taxpayers who wonder why they are not working if they are going to be paid. So this would permit Federal employees to do what I guess nearly everyone wants to do in the first place.

I wish to thank my colleague from Virginia, Senator WARNER, who has just come to the floor, for his assistance. We are trying to clear this at this point with the Democratic leader. If we

cannot do that, at least I will have the bill printed in the RECORD and perhaps we can bring it up again next Wednesday when we are back in session.

Mr. WARNER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader has the floor.

Mr. DOLE. I will be happy to yield.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I just wish to thank the distinguished majority leader. Throughout this current series of problems and, indeed, in the last series, I was able to work with him expressing at all opportunity the need for the Federal employees to be treated with fairness and equity and compassion, and that means going back to work.

I just want to thank the leader for what he has done, and I am delighted to be a cosponsor of this particular piece of legislation, which, Mr. President, will enable them to be treated just like all other civil service employees, and I think that is the bare minimum we owe to these fine people who are public servants in every true sense.

Mr. DOLE. I think there is another matter we need to deal with very quickly because there are, I understand, 470,000, almost 500,000 employees who are working who are going to have difficulty being paid. So we need to address that very quickly, and we are working on that.

So as I was saying, as the Senator from Virginia indicated this morning, it is costing \$40 million a day. These employees want to work and they cannot work. They cannot volunteer. Somebody is going to be in trouble if they do that. So we have discussed this with the Parliamentarian and legislative counsel, and this brief language would permit them to go back to work and also assure them they would be paid. Those are the two purposes of the resolution.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, again, I thank the distinguished leader, and I hope it is accepted.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, there is a considerable amount of what we call wrap-up around here. While that is being prepared, 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. WARNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

E. BARRETT PRETTYMAN FEDERAL COURTHOUSE

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I am introducing a bill today to name the Federal courthouse—U.S. District Courts and Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit—in the Nation's Capital in honor of the late Chief Judge E. Barrett Prettyman.

Following my graduation from the University of Virginia Law School in