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House of Representatives

The House was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Tuesday, March 21, 1995, at 12:30 p.m.

Senate

FRIDAY, MARCH 17, 1995

(Legislative day of Thursday, March 16, 1995)

The Senate met at 10 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Lloyd John Ogilvie, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Let us pray:

Almighty God, You have promised strength for the work of this day, power to handle the pressures, light for the way, patience in problems, help from above, unfading courage, and undying love. In the stresses and strains of leadership, often we sense our wells have run dry. Life has a way of de-powering us, depleting our resiliency, and draining our patience. People can get us down and perplexities stir us up.

Lord, I pray for Your supernatural strength for the women and men of this Senate, their families and their staffs. Bless them with a fresh flow of Your strength—strength to think clearly, serve creatively, and endure consistently; strength to fill up diminished human resources; silent strength that flows from Your limitless source, quietly filling them with artesian power. You never ask us to do more than You will provide the strength to accomplish. So make us river beds for the flow of Your creative spirit. Fill this day with the serendipities, unexpected surprises of Your grace. Be Lord of every conversation, the unseen quest at every meeting, and the guide of every decision.

Gracious Lord, on this Saint Patrick's Day, we remember the words with which Patrick began his days. "I arise today, through God's might to uphold me, God's wisdom to guide me, God's eye to look before me, God's ear to hear me, God's hand to guard me, God's way to lie before me and God's shield to protect me." In Your holy name. Amen.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

LINE-ITEM VETO

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, there will now be a period for debate on the line-item veto legislation, S. 4, until the hour of 3 p.m., equally divided and controlled by the majority and minority leaders, or their designees.

RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The acting majority leader is recognized.

SCHEDULE

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, for the information of my colleagues, today's session will be dedicated to general debate on the subject of the line-item veto legislation. The time between 10 a.m. and 3 p.m. today will be equally divided.

Last evening, the majority leader announced there will be no rollcall votes today, nor will there be rollcall votes during Monday's session of the Senate.

On Monday, March 20, the hours between 10 a.m. and 5 p.m. will be equally divided for debate only on the subject of the line-item veto bill, S. 4. Under a previous order of the Senate, the Senate will proceed to consideration of S. 4 at 5 p.m. on Monday. However, as mentioned before, there will be no rollcall votes on Monday.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from South Carolina be granted such time as he may use as in morning business, and following that we proceed to discussion of the line-item veto.

I yield to my colleague from North Dakota, if he has a request or a comment.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I say to the floor manager, I would like, if possible, 5 minutes at the end of the remarks of the distinguished Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that following the remarks of the Senator from South Carolina, the President pro tempore of the Senate, that the Senator from North Dakota be recognized for up to 10 minutes for any remarks that he may make.

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. INHOFE). Without objection, it is so ordered.

RESUMPTION OF HOSTILITIES IN BOSNIA AND CROATIA

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I wish to thank the able Senator from Arizona.

Earlier this week, the administration announced that Croatia has agreed to allow U.N. peacekeeping troops to remain beyond the expiration of the U.N. mandate on March 31. If the United Nations had been forced to leave, fighting would probably have broken out between the Croatian Government and the Croatia Serbs who control the Krajina region of Croatia. This would have reignited the conflict in Croatia, and it no doubt would have spread to Bosnia and the rest of the region.

I have often been critical of the Clinton administration's inept diplomacy that has produced one foreign policy debacle after another. But in this case the administration deserves credit for persistence in a very difficult situation. I agree with Vice President GORE that the concession by Croatia's President Tudjman is "*** a major step away from war and toward peace."

We have narrowly averted disaster—for the moment. But let us not congratulate ourselves too warmly or prematurely. If we are not careful, this limited and temporary success may breed a high degree of complacency, and blind us to the larger, impending crisis in the Balkans. As always, we seem to be reacting only to the crisis immediately at hand, instead of thinking ahead. While we still have a few weeks or at most 2 months, we had better start preparing for what may happen in Bosnia. Failure to anticipate and prepare now could lead to disaster later on.

We are facing two deadlines. The most urgent deadline of course is the expiration of the U.N. mandate in Croatia on March 31. For the moment the situation in Croatia appears under control, even though the underlying problem that led President Tudjman to request the United Nations departure in the first place has not been solved. That problem is a de facto division of the country. The Krajina region, nearly one-third of the country, is under Serb control. Understandably the Croatian Government does not want to accept a partition that could harden into permanence. Although the continued U.N. presence in Croatia gives us some breathing space, it will not end Serbian domination of the Krajina or guarantee the end of conflict between Croatian forces and the Krajina Serbs. After all, there are plenty of U.N. troops in Bosnia, and they have not prevented fighting between the Bosnian Government and Bosnian Serbs.

The second looming deadline is May 1, the end of the temporary truce and current contact group negotiations in Bosnia. The present negotiations may

be the last chance for a peaceful settlement. I hope and pray they are successful, but I fear this contact group effort may prove as fruitless as all the others. Furthermore, May marks the arrival of warm weather and the traditional resumption of military campaigns. If the people of this troubled region once again choose war over peace, we, in the Congress and the administration, are going to be faced with some very difficult choices. We had better start thinking dispassionately about those choices now, and not wait until we are overwhelmed by the passions of the conflict and terrible images of violence.

If a general conflict erupts again across the region, the U.N. peacekeeping mission—UNPROFOR—could find itself in extreme danger. The administration has agreed to provide military assistance, including U.S. combat troops, to help cover the withdrawal of UNPROFOR if it should prove necessary. I have always opposed a general intervention in Bosnia with United States ground forces. But an UNPROFOR withdrawal is an entirely different situation. With the deepest reluctance I will support U.S. participation in a NATO mission to cover the withdrawal of UNPROFOR.

The United States cannot stand idly by if U.N. troops from allied nations find themselves in mortal danger. The damage to U.S. leadership, honor, prestige, and credibility would be beyond calculation. Some will say that honor, prestige, and credibility are only words, empty words; that they are not worth the lives of young Americans who will have to go into the Balkans. It is true that leaders often misuse these words to manipulate public opinion on behalf of questionable causes. But they do have meaning, as "justice" and "liberty" are words that have deep meaning, and are words that we live by. Credibility, prestige, and national honor are still essential components of national security, as they have always been. They are especially important if we are to exercise the moral leadership expected of the world's only superpower.

If we want to remain secure in today's violent and chaotic world, we must never permit any doubts in the minds of friends or enemies that our word is good, or that we can be relied upon to stand with our allies, or that we will keep our commitments. The credibility that comes from demonstrated steadfastness of purpose is a key aspect of deterrence. It is an essential though intangible element of global power and of the necessary relations between states. A great nation cannot remain great very long without it.

Therefore, I will support the participation of U.S. troops in such an operation, but only under certain conditions.

First, it must be a NATO operation, totally under NATO command. Once our troops are committed on the ground and to potential combat, we

cannot tolerate the so-called dual-key arrangement between the United Nations and NATO. This violates the most basic principle of sound military operations—unity of command. Unless the dual-key relationship is completely scrapped and replaced with clear lines of command and control under NATO, I will vigorously oppose U.S. participation in the withdrawal.

This unified command authority must be established in advance. All governments with forces involved, and all UNPROFOR officers and NATO commanders at every level, must understand before the operation begins that NATO will be in charge, even in zones where the withdrawal proves peaceful.

Second, the rules of engagement must not place any limitations on the use of force to protect the withdrawal. It must be clear to all parties to the conflict that we will not tolerate any attacks on NATO or on UNPROFOR. Any attack must be met with massive, overwhelming force; and not merely on the attacking forces, but on the offending party's military and logistical capabilities wherever they may be hit.

We must also remember that while the Serbs are the primary aggressors and have committed the most atrocities, none of the parties in this conflict have clean hands. NATO and U.S. ground commanders must be alert to provocations from all sides. They must anticipate and respond appropriately to attacks from one party intended to blame another, and be careful not to retaliate against the wrong party.

Third, the scope and duration of the withdrawal must be limited. I do not advocate a date certain for ending it. It must end promptly when all UNPROFOR and NATO troops are safely out. We must be especially careful not to allow the withdrawal mission to be transformed at some point into peace enforcement or a broadened combat mission that results in a general, prolonged engagement with Serbs, Croats, or Bosnians—as we learned to our great cost in Somalia.

Fourth, we need to make it abundantly clear that a U.S./NATO rescue mission is not a blank check to the United Nations for the future. I believe the United Nations and our allies have been too eager to commit to dubious peace operations. The Bosnian dilemma is a result of such ill-conceived policies. The United States cannot rush to the rescue every time our allies find themselves in a tight corner because they did not consider the consequences of a misguided peace operation in advance, or took our help for granted. Our diplomacy and statecraft must make sure we are not faced with such a terrible choice ever again.

The diplomatic success in Croatia has bought us some time. Let us use it wisely, and make sure the Congress and the administration are working together to face whatever crisis may come in the Balkans. Above all, let us use it to prepare the American people