

makes that euphemism sound ridiculous. It says "effectively implementing," and he writes, "On the whole, looking across the 100-day period, we believe," and the key point is "that it has become steadily less porous." I assume that means therefore it has been effectively implemented, in their view. The fact is that the border is more than 300 miles long. It traverses some of the most rugged, mountainous country in Europe, and it would be difficult to police even with a large force of monitors.

In actuality, however, Mr. President, fewer than 200 monitors have been deployed. Assistant Secretary Sherman admits the monitoring mission "is still not staffed as fully as we would like."

Most of the crossing points are not monitored 24 hours a day. Controls on so-called ant trade—carried on by private vehicles that smuggle in fuel for a Bosnian Serb war machine—are, quite frankly, laughable.

Perhaps the most ridiculous piece of information is that along parts of the Montenegro-Bosnian border, the United Nations has been relying on the Yugoslav Army, that is the Serbian Army troops, to monitor the so-called blockade. Now, call me cynical, Mr. President, but I am uncomfortable with involving Mr. Milosevic's troops in the honor system.

The ultimate proof of the ineffective closure of the border is that the Bosnian Serb aggressors have had no difficulty in securing fuel with which to continue their attacks, such as last month's offensive in the Bihac area.

Even the price of fuel on the civilian market in Serbian-controlled parts of Bosnia has not risen appreciably, an indication that there are no serious shortages of fuel. It is still coming in.

Mr. President, the whole blockade charade has proven once again that Mr. Milosevic is the shrewdest politician in the former Yugoslavia. Through his blockade gambit he hopes to weaken the Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic, but not significantly to hamper the Bosnian Serb Army. Our British and French allies and the Russians, eager for peace in Bosnia at any time, want to throw Milosevic a bone of renewed sanctions relief, perhaps even to lessen the sanctions further.

Worst of all, it now appears the United States is sliding toward the appeasement position of the British and the French. Assistant Secretary of State Holbrooke, speaking 2 days ago in Sarajevo, indicated that we have retreated from holding the Bosnian Serbs at the ladder of the contact group's peace plank. Now, apparently, we see the plan only as a basis for negotiation. That is, we have prepared to allow the Bosnian Serbs to hold on to some of the fruits of their military aggression and the vile ethnic cleansing they have been undertaking.

Mr. President, we should have none of this. The United States should vote against the extension of the U.S. sanctions waiver. Or, put another way, we

should keep the sanctions on, the economic sanctions. Such a vote would not only be a moral statement but also a proper reaction to this nonexistent blockade that has provided cover for Milosevic and our European allies.

Mr. President, although I do not have any real expectation that the administration is going to listen to me any more than they have listened to me in the past on this, or to Senator DOLE or to Senator LIEBERMAN or others, I do want the RECORD to show that there is no serious implementation of the blockade on the part of the Serbian Government; no cooperation from the Government of Serbia, Mr. Milosevic's government; no effective means to monitor whether it is underway; and no proof based upon the availabilities of the commodities that are supposedly being blocked, such as fuel for the war machine, that suggests that it is working, it is being tried, it is being implemented, it is effective.

Therefore, it seems to me, Mr. President, the only logical and consistent vote we should cast in the United Nations Security Council tomorrow is one that eliminates the extension of the waiver and puts back in place the full economic blockade on Serbia.

Mr. President, I thank my colleagues for their willingness to give me this time. I yield the floor.

APPOINTMENTS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, and upon the recommendation of the majority leader, pursuant to Senate Resolution 4 (95th Congress), Senate Resolution 448 (96th Congress), Senate Resolution 127 (98th Congress), and Senate Resolution 100 (101st Congress), appoints the following Senators as the majority membership of the Select Committee on Indian Affairs: The Senator from Arizona [Mr. MCCAIN], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. MURKOWSKI], the Senator from Washington [Mr. GORTON], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. DOMENICI], the Senator from Kansas [Mrs. KASSEBAUM], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. NICKLES], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. THOMAS], the Senator from Utah [Mr. HATCH], and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. COVERDELL].

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

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

AUTHORITY TO REPORT

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Governmental Affairs Committee have until 8 p.m. to-

night to file a report to accompany S. 1, the unfunded mandates bill.

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

MAJORITY PARTY APPOINTMENTS TO ETHICS COMMITTEE

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I send a resolution to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 46) making majority party appointments to the Ethics Committee for the 104th Congress.

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

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

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

The resolution (S. Res. 46) was agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the following shall constitute the majority party's membership on the following Senate committee for the 104th Congress, or until their successors are appointed:

Ethics: Mr. McConnell (Chairman), Mr. Smith, and Mr. Craig.

MINORITY PARTY APPOINTMENTS TO ETHICS COMMITTEE

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Senate Resolution 42, relating to minority party appointments to a Senate committee; that the resolution be agreed to; and that the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table.

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

So the resolution (S. Res. 42) was agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the following shall constitute the minority party's membership on the Ethics Committee for the 104th Congress, or until their successors are chosen.

Select Committee on Ethics: Mr. Bryan, Vice Chair, Ms. Mikulski, and Mr. Dorgan.

DESIGNATING CHAIRPERSONS OF SENATE COMMITTEES

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I send a resolution to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 47) designating the chairpersons of Senate committees for the 104th Congress.

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

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

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

The resolution (S. Res. 47) was agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the following Senators are designated as the Chair of the following committees for the 104th Congress, or until their successors are chosen:

Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry: Mr. Lugar, Chairman.

Committee on Appropriations: Mr. Hatfield, Chairman.

Committee on Armed Services: Mr. Thurmond, Chairman.

Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs: Mr. D'Amato, Chairman.

Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation: Mr. Pressler, Chairman.

Committee on Energy and Natural Resources: Mr. Murkowski, Chairman.

Committee on Environment and Public Works: Mr. Chafee, Chairman.

Committee on Finance: Mr. Packwood, Chairman.

Committee on Foreign Relations: Mr. Helms, Chairman.

Committee on Governmental Affairs: Mr. Roth, Chairman.

Committee on the Judiciary: Mr. Hatch, Chairman.

Committee on Labor and Human Resources: Mrs. Kassebaum, Chairman.

Committee on Rules and Administration: Mr. Stevens, Chairman.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Thomas, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

At 2:18 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Ms. Goetz, one of its reading clerks, announced that on January 5, 1995, pursuant to section 8002 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, the following members of the Committee on Ways and Means were designated to serve on the Joint Committee on Taxation for the 104th Congress: Mr. ARCHER, Mr. CRANE, Mr. THOMAS, Mr. GIBBONS, and Mr. RANGEL.

MEASURES PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The following measures were read the first and second times by unanimous consent and placed on the calendar:

H.R. 1. An act to make certain laws applicable to the legislative branch of the Federal Government.

EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and doc-

uments, which were referred as indicated:

EC-11. A communication from the Assistant Secretary of State (Legislative Affairs), transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of a Presidential Determination relative to the Government of Colombia; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-12. A communication from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Communications, Computers and Support Systems), transmitting, pursuant to law, notice relative to a multi-function cost comparison; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-13. A communication from the Deputy Under Secretary of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report on the demonstration program for training discharged veterans for employment in the construction and hazardous waste remediation industries; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-14. A communication from the Deputy Secretary of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, certification relative to the C-17 settlement agreement; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-15. A communication from the Deputy Secretary of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, certification relative to amphibious lift capacity; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-16. A communication from the Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, a corrected summary sheet relative to the semi-annual report on program activities for facilitation of weapons destruction and non-proliferation in the Former Soviet Union; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-17. A communication from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report on strategic and critical materials during the period October 1, 1993 through September 30, 1994; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-18. A communication from the General Counsel of the Department of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, an executive order of amendments to the Manual for Courts-Martial, United States, 1984; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-19. A communication from the President and Chairman of the Export-Import Bank, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report on a transaction involving U.S. exports to Russia; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-20. A communication from the First Vice President and Vice Chairman of the Export-Import Bank, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report on a transaction involving U.S. exports to Indonesia; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-21. A communication from the Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report entitled "A Unified National Program for Floodplain Management"; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-22. A communication from the Executive Director of the Thrift Depositor Protection Oversight Board, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report on savings associations as of September 30, 1994; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-23. A communication from the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report on credit availability for small business and small farms in calendar year 1994; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-24. A communication from the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to the report entitled "Five-Year Plan

for Energy Efficiency"; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-25. A communication from the Director, Corporate Financial Audits, General Accounting Office, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of the audit of the financial statements of the Federal Financial Bank for calendar years 1992 and 1993; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-26. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to the Governments of Serbia and Montenegro; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-27. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, notice relative to the Libyan emergency; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-28. A communication from the Acting Director of the Office of Thrift Supervision, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report entitled "Responsibilities Under the Community Reinvestment Act"; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-29. A communication from the Acting Director of the Office of Thrift Supervision, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to the report on minority thrift ownership; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-30. A communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report on foreign treatment of U.S. financial institutions for calendar year 1994; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-31. A communication from the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, Executive Office of the President, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report on direct spending or receipts legislation within five days of enactment; to the Committee on the Budget.

EC-32. A communication from the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report on progress on developing and certifying the Traffic Alert and Collision Avoidance Systems; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-33. A communication from the Chairman of the National Transportation Safety Board, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of an appeal letter; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-34. A communication from the Secretary of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report on transportation user fees for fiscal year 1993; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-35. A communication from the Financial Manager of the Federal Highway Administration, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of the memorandum implementing the Hotel and Motel Fire Safety Act of 1990 requirements; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEE

The following report of committee was submitted:

By Mr. ROTH, from the Committee on Governmental Affairs:

Report to accompany the bill (S. 1) to curb the practice of imposing unfunded Federal mandates on States and local governments; to strengthen the partnership between the Federal Government and State, local and tribal governments; to end the imposition, in