

Even though I have steadfastly opposed the introduction of ground forces in Bosnia, I think the British and the French are on fairly solid ground when they chastise the United States for trying to tell them how to conduct themselves there. And they remind us periodically, that we have not been facing the same kind of threat they have. They are the ones who have had their troops taken hostage. They are the people who have had people killed. We have not.

If it is determined that we are going to withdraw the UNPROFOR forces from Bosnia, then I think the United States has a role to play. I am not sure, and I am not prepared today to define it in any detail, but certainly in my opinion we have a financial role to play.

We have been neglecting our dues to the United Nations because there is a trend in this country that thinks that somehow or another the United Nations is subversive.

I watched some of that militia hearing the other day. I never heard as many cockamamie theories in my life in such a short period of time about what a terrible Government we have. I wanted to ask, why is everybody in the world scratching and clawing and swimming the ocean to try to get here, if it is such a terrible place?

Back to Bosnia. We have an obligation. We are part of NATO. We are part of the United Nations. We have not been nearly as diligent as we should be in our commitment to our dues to the United Nations, or paying for the peacekeeping operation.

I think the Senator from New York will be much more familiar with this than I am, but as far as I know, the part of our dues we are furthest behind on is in the peacekeeping area. Yet we have championed all of these peacekeeping operations.

I spent a day at the United Nations a couple of years ago, and at that time I was shocked to find the United Nations has something like—I hesitate to say—20, 25 peacekeeping operations going on in the world right now.

We only know about the Golan Heights, and Bosnia, and some of the more visible areas, but the United Nations has peacekeeping operations all over the world, trying to keep people from fighting. A very laudable undertaking.

Let me remind those people who always want to denigrate the United Nations and the whole concept of world cooperation that time and again on this floor I have applauded President George Bush for going to the United Nations and getting that body's approval of Desert Storm and for recruiting a lot of the countries in the United Nations to assist in that operation. It was essentially a U.S. effort, but we had tremendous help from other nations because we were operating as a group of nations that the United Nations had endorsed for this operation.

Now, I have about reached the conclusion. About the time I wrote an op-

ed piece in my own State newspaper, I read an article by Tom Friedman in the New York Times. Tom Friedman had been in Lebanon and wrote a magnificent book called "From Beirut to Jerusalem." A magnificent book.

He pointed it out in this New York Times piece last week, that in Bosnia, as in Lebanon, we have religion as one of the centrally dividing issues—they are not different ethnically.

It is my understanding during the Ottoman Empire the Turks said to the Bosnians, "You may be blond and blue-eyed but you will be Moslem."

I can tell the Senator from New York is not agreeing with me on that. He is the historian, so it must not have been the Ottoman Empire. It may have been later.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Will the Senator yield for a question? Sharing his great regard for Tom Friedman's comments in this respect, I think the Bosnians were of a religious group within the Catholic Church which was being excommunicated, and they chose to affiliate with Islam in that setting.

Mr. BUMPERS. I was not quoting Tom Friedman on that point.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. It was, in a certain sense, a voluntary conversion.

Mr. BUMPERS. Perhaps so. But his bottom line was when the Serbs and the Bosnian Moslems tire of fighting each other, they will reach some kind of an accord.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. And then the United Nations might be able to help.

Mr. BUMPERS. And while I want to support the foreign policy of the President and the Secretary of State, we may very well have reached the time—the President made a compelling point the other day in support of his position. Everybody says our policy in Bosnia now is an unmitigated disaster.

The President responds by saying, in 1993, I guess it was, 92,000 people were killed in Bosnia. In 1994, 3,000 were killed. So it is difficult to say the policy is an unmitigated disaster when that many lives are being saved.

But there is not any question, the six Bosnian Moslem enclaves, are threatened. They are going to starve. Something is going to happen. Some of them have not been resupplied in months, and something is going to have to give.

I am almost of the opinion that perhaps we should withdraw. While we might not be, as a nation, actively involved in arming Bosnian Moslems, other nations are perfectly willing to do that if we can figure out a way to get the weapons to them. That does not mean that war is going to reach a stalemate. It does not mean the Bosnian Moslems are going to be winners ultimately. But at least it would help equalize the sides. The thing is totally unfair now to them.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. BUMPERS. I will be happy to.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Bosnia is a member of the United Nations. It has been invaded by another country and in sup-

port of an internal dispute. The Yugoslavian Army, out of Belgrade, is clearly involved. We now learn that it was computers in Belgrade that brought down Captain O'Grady's F-16. Under the United Nations Charter it is elemental that Bosnia has the right of self-defense. And for the United Nations to impose an arms embargo on a member state which has been invaded is to put the charter in jeopardy. Would the Senator not agree?

Mr. BUMPERS. Absolutely. The Senator makes a very, very compelling point that I should have started off with.

So, to allow a member nation to be systematically choked to death while other U.N. members, as well as NATO, essentially look on and allow it to happen is totally unacceptable. Either we get involved or we get out. I doubt very seriously the people of this country would stand very long for our entry into the war. I saw a poll last week that said 61 percent of the people in this country are now saying they would not oppose the introduction of American ground troops in Bosnia. I do not happen to be a member of that 61 percent, because I realize what a sticky wicket this can be. But I was shocked by that number.

Mr. President, I found the Senate in a quorum call and I thought I would just make these few comments regarding those two issues.

I thank the Senator for the time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

NATIONAL HIGHWAY SYSTEM DESIGNATION ACT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I want to assure the Senator from Arkansas we are not closing up right now. If the Senator has nothing further to say, we will go into a quorum call unless the Senator from New York has something to say. The majority leader will be closing up the Senate a little later. He has a statement he wishes to make.

In connection with the bill before us, the highway bill, we have done as much of our work as we can do today, so I will be leaving. But the place will remain open until the majority leader comes in, sometime not too long, I guess.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ABRAHAM). The clerk will call the roll. The bill 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.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED DURING RECESS

Under the authority of the order of January 4, 1995, the Secretary of the

Senate on June 16, 1995, received a message from the President of the United States, submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The nominations received on June 16, 1995, are shown in today's RECORD at the end of the Senate proceedings.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Kalbaugh, 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 Foreign Relations.

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

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, pursuant to unanimous consent section 3(b) of Senate Resolution 400, 94th Congress, I ask that S. 922 be referred to the Senate Armed Services Committee.

MEASURES REFERRED

The following bill was referred to the Committee on Armed Services pursuant to section 3(b) of Senate Resolution 400, 94th Congress, for a period not to exceed 30 days of the session:

S. 922. A bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1996 for intelligence and intelligence-related activities of the United States Government and the Central Intelligence Agency Retirement and Disability System, and for other purposes.

MEASURES PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The following bill was read the second time and placed on the calendar:

S. 939. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to ban partial-birth abortions.

EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, which were referred as indicated:

EC-1024. A communication from the Architect of the Capitol, transmitting, pursuant to law, the semiannual report of the Architect for the period October 1, 1994 through March 31, 1995; to the Committee on Appropriations.

EC-1025. A communication from the General Counsel of the Department of Defense, transmitting, a draft of proposed legislation to amend chapter 38 of title 10, United States Code, as added by the Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986 (Public Law 99-433; 100 Stat. 992), with respect to joint officer management policies for the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-1026. A communication from the General Counsel of the Department of Defense, transmitting, a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Army National Guard Combat Readiness Reform Act of 1992 and to make certain provisions of such Act applicable to the Selected Reserve of the Army, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-1027. A communication from the Coordinator for Drug Enforcement Policy and Support, Department of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to the status of the random drug testing program; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-1028. A communication from the Assistant Secretary of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to the Civilian Separation Pay Program; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-1029. A communication from the Secretary of Energy, transmitting, pursuant to law, a notice of a 45 day extension with respect to a report relative to Defense Nuclear Facilities Safety Board recommendations; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-1030. A communication from the Director of Administration and Management, Department of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to cleaning services at the Pentagon; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-1031. A communication from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting, pursuant to law, a notice of determination relative to contract awards; to the Committee on Armed Services.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. D'AMATO, from the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute:

S. 240. A bill to amend the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 to establish a filing deadline and to provide certain safeguards to ensure that the interests of investors are well protected under the implied private action provisions of the Act (Rept. No. 104-98).

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second time by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. THOMAS (for himself, Mr. SIMPSON, Mr. CRAIG, and Mr. CAMPBELL):

S. 943. A bill to require the Secretary of the Treasury to mint and issue coins in commemoration of the 125th Anniversary of Yellowstone National Park; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

The following concurrent resolutions and Senate resolutions were read, and referred (or acted upon), as indicated:

By Mr. DOLE (for himself and Mr. DASCHLE):

S. Res. 136. A resolution to authorize representation by Senate Legal Counsel; considered and agreed to.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. THOMAS (for himself, Mr. SIMPSON, Mr. CRAIG, and Mr. CAMPBELL):

S. 943. A bill to require the Secretary of the Treasury to mint and issue coins in commemoration of the 125th anniversary of Yellowstone National Park; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

THE YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK 125TH ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATIVE COIN ACT

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I send a bill to the desk and ask that it be referred appropriately.

I am pleased to say that Senators SIMPSON, CRAIG, and CAMPBELL are joining me to sponsor the Yellowstone National Park 125th Anniversary Commemorative Coin Act.

Yellowstone National Park, of course, is largely in my State of Wyoming. It is, I think, the crown jewel of the National Park System. It is the first national park having had its 100th anniversary sometime back. It consists of about 3,400 square miles, the largest national park. We believe that we are joined by most to think it is the crown jewel of the Park System.

We have had—and we continue to have, Mr. President—substantial financial strain on our national parks, some of it due to the expansion of the authorization of parks far beyond our ability to pay for them. We have this expansion continuing to go on with a debt of about \$4 billion in authorized expenditures which have not been able to have been appropriated.

There is increased wear and tear on 500 miles of roads in Yellowstone Park, 1,000 miles of trails, and countless public facilities. And, frankly, there is a need for \$600 to \$700 million to do the kind of maintenance that is necessary over a period of time. That will be very difficult to extract from the budget.

The bill that we offer is one that would authorize and provide for the minting and issue of 500,000 \$1 silver coins for Yellowstone's 125th anniversary in 1997. For the taxpayers, this is a budget-neutral proposition. It does not cost the taxpayers anything.

The surcharges from the sale of the coins will be split evenly, 50 percent going directly to Yellowstone Park and 50 percent to the Park Service for distribution among other parks.

The sale of the coins could potentially raise \$2.5 million for Yellowstone's needs.

Mr. President, chairman, I urge my colleagues to join me in this common-sense approach to provide the needed resources for Yellowstone Park and properly honor our oldest national park.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 160

At the request of Mr. SHELBY, the name of the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. THOMAS] was added as a cosponsor