

spending, by making Government leaner, more efficient and more cost-effective.

This budget finally turns off the out-of-control big government spending machine, and puts us on a responsible path to prosperity America can rely on well into the next century.

While we ratchet down the deficit to zero by the year 2002, we also provide for \$245 billion in long overdue tax relief, putting more money in the pockets of American families and providing incentives for savings, economic growth and job creation. Importantly, this budget takes action to preserve, improve, and protect Medicare, while permitting Medicare and Medicaid spending to increase dramatically in the next 7 years. Furthermore, this budget does not touch Social Security, and it maintains our commitment to national security second to none.

The American people have been drowning in a sea of red ink, and this budget provides the liferaft they have been waiting for. Now, I know our opponents will try to deflate that liferaft with their sharp partisan darts and routine scare tactics, but the American people will not be fooled. They know the status quo is no longer acceptable, and they know leadership means making tough decisions.

Mr. President, this agreement reflects the product of countless hours of hard work, and on the Senate side, that effort has been led by my friend from New Mexico, Senator DOMENICI. The taxpayers of America are fortunate to have Senator DOMENICI on their side. He has done a remarkable job leading this historic effort, and I look forward to continuing to work with him to ensure enactment of the balanced budget. I would also like to commend our Senate Republican conferees for their crucial role in forging this agreement: Senators LOTT, BROWN, GRASSLEY, GORTON, GREGG, and NICKLES.

I think the icing on the cake would be if the President of the United States would announce his public support for a constitutional amendment for a balanced budget.

We are just one vote short in the Senate. I am certain the President of the United States could find that one vote with the six Senators who voted against the balanced budget this year, when they voted for it last year on the Democratic side.

Mr. President, I look forward to bringing this balanced budget conference report to the floor next week. We hope it will be no later than Thursday, but it could be on Friday. By statute, there are 10 hours of debate, and we will complete action on the budget resolution next week.

BAD NEWS FOR BOSNIA

Mr. DOLE. Finally, Mr. President, I have made a number of statements over the past couple of years on Bosnia. I keep thinking maybe someday there will be some good news about

Bosnia; that people who do not really focus on it very much—Democrats, Republicans, it is not a partisan issue—maybe there is some good news that people might feel good about if they watch TV or listen to the radio or watch television.

But I am afraid there is more bad news on the Bosnian fronts.

First, word leaked out of a letter from Boutros Boutros-Ghali's Special Envoy, Yasushi Akashi, to Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serbs' militant leader, intended to assure the Bosnian Serbs that despite the deployment of the European Rapid Reaction Force [RRF], the United Nations would continue business as usual in Bosnia.

I have obtained a copy of that letter. I would note that the letter is addressed to H.E. Dr. Radovan Karadzic—the H.E. stands for His Excellency—a term usually reserved for dignitaries and government officials, not alleged war criminals.

The letter reads, and I quote:

I wish to assure you that these theatre reserve forces will operate under the existing United Nations peace-keeping rules of engagement and will not in any way change the essential peace-keeping nature of the UNPROFOR mission. While the reserves will enhance UNPROFOR's security, the understanding and cooperation of the parties themselves will be the best guarantor of the force's continued effectiveness as an impartial force. The United Nations, troop contributing states and the Security Council have all recognized that the reserve force cannot and will not be a substitute for a political process aimed at an overall peaceful settlement of the Bosnian conflict.

Once again, Yasushi Akashi did what he does best as the United Nations' appeaser on the front lines: delivers good news to the Serbs, and bad news to the Bosnians.

This morning, we read that the French held secret negotiations with the Serbs—in Pale and in the ethnically cleansed city of Zvornik. Reportedly, the French promised that in return for the release of the U.N. hostages, NATO would not conduct any further airstrikes on Serb positions. A lot of people suspected that and maybe this now makes it a fact.

Mr. President, the message is crystal clear: The United Nations has abandoned its mandate of protecting the so-called safe areas and intends to continue to bend to the will of the Serbs. And, it has done so not in the Security Council through a vote, but in back rooms with Serb militants whom French President Jacques Chirac publicly called "Terrorists."

When President Chirac met with congressional leaders he called for an end to the humiliation of the peacekeepers. In my view, letting war criminals blackmail the leaders of the Western World is humiliating—and an absolute outrage.

This brings us to the matter of the rapid reaction force, which is intended by the British and French to protect the U.N. forces in Bosnia. From these reports it is obvious that the rapid re-

action force will not change the way UNPROFOR conducts its business. In other words, UNPROFOR will not do the job it was tasked to do by the Security Council in numerous resolutions—whether or not the rapid reaction force is deployed. In fact, the rapid reaction force appears designed to protect UNPROFOR so that it can continue not doing its job.

And this brings us finally to the question of why the United States should subsidize the rapid reaction force, let alone the entire UNPROFOR operation. We know that the taxpayer's dollars are being dumped in a big black hole because international leaders do not have the courage to do what is right and what is smart—and that is to withdraw the U.N. forces and lift the arms embargo on Bosnia. Can we in good conscience continue to appropriate funds for such a failure?

Well, the administration appears committed to this massive multilateral mess. In today's New York Times, administration officials were cited as considering the use of funds designated for humanitarian aid to pay for a U.S. contribution of about \$100 million to the rapid reaction force. While there are budgetary reasons such a shift would be difficult, congressional opposition would likely be strong. The fact that anyone in the administration is thinking along these lines is shocking. People in Sarajevo and elsewhere in Bosnia are hungry—they cannot eat European pride. Furthermore, virtually the only effective United States activity in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been the provision of emergency humanitarian assistance.

Mr. President, the U.N. operation in Bosnia is in a meltdown. Now is the time to cut our losses, not sink more resources into a failed investment.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent a letter I referred to be printed in the RECORD at this point.

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

U.N. PEACE FORCES HEADQUARTERS,
Zagreb, June 19, 1995.

DR. RADOVAN KARADZIC,
Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Former Yugoslavia.

DEAR DR. KARADZIC: I wish to inform you that the Security Council has recently reviewed the latest report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the mandate of UNPROFOR. On 16 June 1995, it adopted resolution 998 (1995), a copy of which is attached for your information. This resolution covers a number of different issues, including the status of the safe areas, and makes provision for the establishment of a rapid reaction capacity to enable UNPROFOR to carry out its mandate in a secure and safe environment.

Despite the recent intensification in hostilities, the United Nations and troop contributors remain committed to the continued presence of UNPROFOR in order to alleviate the suffering of all the people of Bosnia, and to facilitate the earliest possible end to hostilities through peaceful means. However, risks to UNPROFOR have increased dramatically and there has been a marked lack of respect by all sides with the

security, safety and freedom of movement of UNPROFOR personnel. The Security Council has accepted the offer of a number of countries to provide flexible and mobile reserve military reinforcements in order to reduce the vulnerability of UNPROFOR personnel and to enhance the Force's capacity to carry out its humanitarian tasks.

I wish to assure you that these theatre reserve forces will operate under the existing United Nations peace-keeping rules of engagement and will not in any way change the essential peace-keeping nature of the UNPROFOR mission. While the reserve will enhance UNPROFOR's security, the understanding and cooperation of the parties themselves will be the best guarantor of the Force's continued effectiveness in an impartial force. The United Nations, troop contributing states and the Security Council have all recognized that the reserve force cannot and will not be a substitute for a political process aimed at an overall peaceful settlement of the Bosnian conflict.

I would like to emphasize that assistance for the delivery of humanitarian aid, and the protection of civilians from deliberate attacks, continue to be central to UNPROFOR'S mandate. Alleviation of the very serious humanitarian situation created by recent events in Sarajevo and other enclaves will be one of UNPROFOR's primary objectives. In this regard, the Security Council has demanded that all parties respect the status of the safe areas and has underlined the need for their demilitarization by mutual agreement, in order that attacks both into and out of the safe areas cease forthwith. I am confident that urgent action to achieve progress in this direction would be of enormous benefit to all parties. It would go a long way towards realizing an overall stabilization of the current situation.

The Secretary-General has, in his recent report on UNPROFOR, emphasized that the United Nations cannot operate in a political vacuum. In the past few days, leaders of the international community have also repeatedly emphasized that there can be no military solution to the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the measures set out in Security Council Resolution 998 (1995) should be seen in this light. In view of the critical situation facing us all, I would urge you to take

advantage of the current international climate in order that we may promote initiatives favourable to a dynamic and comprehensive peace settlement.

Yours sincerely,

YASUSHI AKASHI.

SENATE SCHEDULE

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, there were a couple of reports that the August recess would start on August 4. That has not yet been determined. I saw in a couple of the Hill publications—one called the Hill, and I think the other was Roll Call—that that matter had been settled. We hope it will start as previously scheduled but it depends on what unfinished business there may be. I think August 4 would be the day we hope to start the recess, but it may go into the next week. It could be the 11th or even shortly after the 11th, if we have unfinished business.

We still have some very major pieces of legislation to deal with. One is certainly regulatory reform. We are working, in a bipartisan effort, Republicans and Democrats, to try to come together. If we can do that and complete action on that next week, that will be a big step in the right direction. I have been asked by the Democrat leader to sit down with him next week on that issue.

Also, before the recess, we have agreed to take care of the gift reform legislation and lobbying reform legislation. Again, we are attempting to work in a bipartisan way.

I have asked Senator LOTT to lead a group on our side to meet with a like group on the Democratic side to see if we cannot come to some conclusion for good, sound gift reform and lobbying reform legislation.

Welfare reform is another very important issue that will take some time to dispose of. I think it is fair to say—

I can say on the Republican side, we are having problems coming together on some of the issues. That may be true on the other side. But we believe we can resolve any differences, at least on this side. That is a matter we want to do before the August recess.

In addition, there will be a number of appropriations bills that will be ready for action and a number of conference reports that will be ready for action.

Hopefully, in the month of July, we can consider crime legislation. That will depend on whether or not the Judiciary Committee will have the time to report out reform of the present crime statutes. Hopefully, again, that will have bipartisan support.

I am just speaking here from memory. I may have left out some critical pieces of legislation. But the point I want to make is that obviously we want to start the recess as early as we can, hopefully on time. That decision has not been made. I know many of my colleagues have already made commitments in their own States for meetings, meeting with constituents, and I certainly want to honor all those commitments if we can. But the other side of the coin is, if we do not complete it, it means we are going to be here longer this fall. Hopefully, we can arrive at some agreement that will accommodate nearly all the views of Members on each side of the aisle.

RECESS UNTIL 11 A.M., MONDAY,
JUNE 26, 1995

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate now stands in recess until 11 a.m. Monday, June 26, 1995.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 3:04 p.m., recessed until Monday, June 26, 1995, at 11 a.m.