

they will find the opportunity to wage one final battle for those children who cannot fight for themselves. I hope they won't leave Congress quietly, but with an angry sword held high. In that way, even if they lose this battle, they will leave behind a legacy of courage that a future generation can uphold with pride. •

BURTON MOSELEY

Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN. Mr. President, at the time the world was mourning the terror in Israel, my family was mourning the loss of my beloved uncle, Burton Moseley.

Uncle Burt was my late father's only sibling. Both before and after my dad passed away, Uncle Burt was a mentor, a friend, and a role model. He was a simple, honest man, an upright man who brought joy to those whose lives he touched.

No one had a harsh word about him, he never spoke ill of another person. He was, for almost all of his adult life, a Chicago police officer. He epitomized the very best in law enforcement, a person who cared about the quality of life in his community, and who saw fighting crime as a way to contribute. He remained active in the Guardians police organization to the end.

He was our hero.

SPLIT OVER MORALITY

• Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, people are concerned about what is happening to our country and they are not simply concerned about economics. They are concerned about many issues that reflect our culture in ways that are not healthy.

E.J. Dionne, Jr., one of the most thoughtful journalistic observers of our scene, recently had a column in the Washington Post titled, "Split Over Morality," which I ask to be printed in the RECORD after my remarks.

For those of you who saw it originally in the Post, it is worth rereading, and for those who did not, it should be read and clipped and saved.

The column follows:

SPLIT OVER MORALITY
(By E. J. Dionne, Jr.)

It is remarkable how quickly political talk these days turns to the question: What does the religious right want? Variations on the theme include: How much must Bob Dole do to get the votes of Christian conservatives? Can't President Clinton help himself by hanging the religious right around Dole's neck?

All this might be taken as a great victory by Ralph Reed and the Christian Coalition he directs. The obituary of the religious right has been written over and over since the rise of the Moral Majority in 1980. Yet none of this has stopped the Christian conservative movement from expanding its influence.

Reed and his troops have already gotten a lot of credit for help Dole stop Pat Buchanan's surge dead in the South Carolina primary. That is the very definition of political power.

Reed and his followers have every right to do what they are doing. Religious people have the same rights as union members, en-

vironmentalists, business groups and feminists. President Clinton himself has spoken at hundreds of black churches. The president is often at his most effective from the pulpit, an exceptionally good venue for his favorite speeches about the links between personal responsibility and social justice, crime and unemployment.

Democrats thus have no grounds for challenging Reed's argument that his people deserve "a place at the table" of national politics. What does need real debate is more important. It has to do with how moral issues should be discussed in politics, and also how they should be defined.

A lot of Americans—including many who want nothing to do with Ralph Reed—have a vague but strong sense that what's going wrong in American life is not just about economics. It also entails an ethical or moral crisis. Evidence for this is adduced from family breakdown, teen pregnancy, high crime rates (especially among teenagers), and trashy movies, television and music.

But unlike many on the Christian Right, these same Americans see strong links between moral and economic issues. Their sense that commitments are not being honored includes family commitments, but it also includes the obligations between employer and employee and the question of whether those "who work hard and play by the rules," as the president likes to put it, are getting just treatment.

Democrats, liberals and other assorted critics of the religious right have no problem in discussing these economic matters. But they have made the reverse mistake of Reed and his friends: The religious right's foes have only rarely (and only relatively recently) been willing to understand that many American families see the moral crisis whole. It's possible, and reasonable, to be worried about both trashy entertainment and the rewards that go to the hard-working. Human beings are both economic and moral creatures. But liberals often cringe when the word "morality" is even mentioned.

Giving the Christian right a near monopoly on moral discussion has narrowed the moral debate. This narrowing needs to be challenged.

To hear leaders of the religious right talk in recent weeks, for example, one of the pre-eminent moral issues of our time is whether gay marriages should be sanctioned by state or local governments. But surely this is not even the 10th or the 25th most important issue for most Americans. The resolution of this question one way or the other will do virtually nothing about the moral issues such as crime or family breakup that actually do trouble lots of people.

It's easy enough to recognize why tradition-minded Americans are uneasy with this broadening of the definition of "marriage." But turning this question into yet another political litmus test will only push the political debate toward yet another ugly round of gay-bashing. Is that what 1996 should be about?

What needs to be fought is a tendency described movingly by Stephen Carter in his new book, "Integrity." It is a tendency Carter quite fairly discerns all across the political discussion.

"I must confess that the great political movements of our day frighten me with their reckless certainties and their insistence on treating people as means to be manipulated rather than as the ends for which government exists," he writes. "Too many partisans seem to hate their opponents, who are demonized in terms so creative that I weep at the waste of energy, and, as one who struggles to be a Christian, I find the hatred painful." So would we all. •

WEST VIRGINIA WESTINGHOUSE SCIENCE TALENT SEARCH

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Mr. President, today, I would like to take a moment to recognize the 40 finalists in the 55th Annual Westinghouse Science Talent Search. These exceptional American youth—hailing from 13 States, including my home State of West Virginia—are being honored as the Nation's brightest high school math and science students.

This program, sponsored by the Westinghouse Foundation, in partnership with Science Services Inc. since 1942, awards America's most prestigious and coveted high school scholarships in math and science. This year's finalists are among 1,869 high school seniors from 735 high schools located throughout the 50 States, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, including two West Virginia students, Namoi Sue Bates of Franklin and Bonnie Cedar Welcker of Parkersburg. Their independent science research project entries cover the full spectrum of scientific inquiry, from biology to solid state luminescence.

The honor of being named to this group far exceeds the value of the scholarships and awards bestowed. Over the years, finalists have included five winners of the Nobel Prize as well as those who have achieved brilliant careers in science, medicine, and related fields.

Mr. President, I want to commend each and every one of these outstanding American teenagers who truly embody the American dreams of discovering, curing, inventing, and changing the world.

PENTAGON REPORT PREDICTS BOSNIA WILL FRAGMENT WITH- OUT VAST AID

• Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, when the Bosnian intervention question came before the Senate, I strongly supported President Clinton's request, but added that I thought it was unrealistic to believe that we could go in and in 1 year pull out.

We made that mistake in Somalia and we should not make the same mistake again.

Recently the New York Times had an article by Philip Shenon titled, "Pentagon Report Predicts Bosnia Will Fragment Without Vast Aid," which I ask to be printed in the RECORD after my remarks.

It tells in very realistic terms why it is necessary to retain some troops in the Bosnian area in order to have stability in that area of the world.

If we fail to do that, we invite bloodshed and instability that will inevitably spread to Macedonia, Albania, and other neighboring areas.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times]

PENTAGON REPORT PREDICTS BOSNIA WILL
FRAGMENT WITHOUT VAST AID
(By Philip Shenon)

WASHINGTON, March 19—The Pentagon has offered its grimmest assessment of the prospects for peace in Bosnia to date, warning that without an enormous international aid program to rebuild its economy and political institutions, the country will probably fragment after the withdrawal of NATO peace-keeping troops late this year.

The assessment for the Senate Intelligence Committee was prepared by the Pentagon's senior intelligence analyst, Lieut. Gen. Patrick M. Hughes, and it could signal an effort by the Defense Department to distance itself from blame if the civil war resumes shortly after the NATO withdrawal.

General Hughes, the director the Defense Intelligence Agency, offered reassuring words in his report for American troops stationed in Bosnia, suggesting that NATO forces face no organized military threat. If the war resumes, he said, it will not be until after the American peacekeepers and their NATO allies have pulled out.

But the report, dated Feb. 22, offered no similar solace for the people of Bosnia. General Hughes said that the "prospects for the existence of a viable, unitary Bosnia beyond the life" of the NATO deployment are "dim" without a large international program to revive Bosnia's war-shattered economy.

If his assessment is accurate, the peace effort in Bosnia could well be doomed, since the civilian reconstruction effort there is barely under way, its economy and physical infrastructure—roads, water and electricity lines, telephones—still in ruins. The last American soldiers are scheduled to withdraw from Bosnia in December.

General Hughes said that the strategic goals of the warring factions in the region "have not fundamentally changed" since the days of the civil war and that tensions among them would probably grow in the months leading up to the NATO pullout.

If that is true, the Clinton Administration might come under intense pressure from its NATO allies not to withdraw American troops by the end of December—a deadline that the Administration insists it will hold to.

The Pentagon assessment also implicitly questions basic elements of the American-brokered Dayton peace agreement, which laid out what critics in Congress called unrealistic deadlines for political and economic reconstruction in Bosnia and for the withdrawal of peace-keeping troops.

"There's only so much our soldiers can accomplish," said another senior Defense Department official, echoing the report's central findings. "The military forces agreed to keep the peace for a year, and that's what we're doing. But this peace will not hold without an effort to rebuild the country. That's not being done yet. And that's not our job."

The job of organizing the economic and political reconstruction of Bosnia has been left to a European delegation led by Carl Bildt, a former Swedish Prime Minister.

But Mr. Bildt has complained repeatedly in recent months that foreign governments have been slow to make available the billions of dollars needed for civilian reconstruction—everything from building bridges to printing election ballots—and that the political component of the peace effort is lagging far behind its military component. In a meeting this month with donor countries, he pleaded that the donors "do more to honor the pledges we have made."

While questioning whether Bosnia was about to dissolve once again into civil war,

General Hughes said in his report that "in the short term, we are optimistic" about the situation faced by the 18,400 American soldiers stationed there as part of the peace-keeping force.

"We believe that the former warring factions will continue to generally comply with the military aspects" of the peace accord, the report said. "We do not expect U.S. or allied forces to be confronted by organized military resistance."

The threat faced by the American forces would come instead from land mines "and from various forms of random, sporadic low-level violence," the report said. "This could include high-profile attacks by rogue elements or terrorists." So far only one American soldier has been killed in Bosnia, an Army sergeant who was killed in an explosion on Feb. 3 as he tried to defuse a land mine.

The report suggested that if the civil war resumes, it will flare up only after the NATO forces have pulled out, removing the buffer that has kept the factions at peace for most of the last four months.

"The overall strategic political goals of the former warring factions have not fundamentally changed," General Hughes said. "Without a concerted effort by the international community, including substantial progress in the civil sector to restore economic viability and to provide for conditions in which national (federation) political stability can be achieved, the prospects for the existence of a viable, unitary Bosnia beyond the life of IFOR are dim." The NATO forces in Bosnia are known as the Implementation Force, or IFOR.

General Hughes suggested that all of the fragile alliances created by the peace accord might collapse—with tensions between the Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats threatening their federation, with the Bosnian Croats working toward "de facto integration" with Croatia, and with elections and the resettlement of refugees "delayed or stymied."

He said that the Bosnian Serbs were likely to consolidate their hold on their own territory, seeking "some form of political confederation" with Serbia.

Questions about whether any peace in Bosnia would outlast the presence of NATO troops—and whether American troops would be stuck there as a result—were at the heart of the debate in Congress that preceded votes to authorize the American military deployment. Senator Bob Dole, the front-runner for the Republican Presidential nomination, demanded and won an Administration pledge to play a role in arming and training the Bosnian Government's army.

The assessment by the Defense Intelligence Agency is only slightly more pessimistic than remarks heard elsewhere in the Pentagon. Senior Defense Department officials have long warned that the peace would fail without a huge effort to rebuild Bosnia and to give the people some hope of economic and political stability after years of slaughter.

"Ultimately I think the bigger problem is not the military implementation of the peace agreement," Gen. John Shalikasvili, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told the House National Security Committee this month. "We need to make sure we understand that it is equally important to the overall effort—and also the safety of the troops—that we get on with the civilian functions that need to be performed."

"And when I say 'we,' I don't mean the military, but the nations that are involved in this effort," he added.

"The elections have to go forward, the refugees have to begin to return, reconstruction has to start, the infrastructure has to be re-

built so that the people in the country can see an advantage to not fighting."

MEASURE PLACED ON
CALENDAR—H.R. 2337

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that H.R. 2337, which was just received from the House, be placed on the calendar.

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

ORDERS FOR THURSDAY, APRIL
18, 1996

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, on behalf of the leader, Senator DOLE, that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until the hour of 9:30 a.m., on Thursday, April 18; further, that immediately following the prayer, the Journal of the proceedings be deemed approved to date, no resolutions come over under the rule, the call of the calendar be dispensed with, the morning hour be deemed to have expired, and the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, and the Senate then begin consideration of S. 1028, the Health Insurance Reform Act of 1996.

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

PROGRAM

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, on behalf of Senator DOLE, for the information of all Senators, the Senate will begin the health insurance reform bill tomorrow morning. Amendments are expected to be offered to that legislation. Therefore, Senators can expect rollcall votes throughout the day, and a late session is anticipated. The Senate may be asked to turn to any other legislative items that can be cleared for action.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask that the Senate stand in adjournment under the previous order following the conclusion of the remarks that I shall make as in morning business.

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

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I seek recognition to comment on a number of subjects. The Senate has been in session for the last 2 days continuously on the terrorism bill, and there are a number of subjects that I have sought recognition to speak about at this time.

As we say, the Senate is on "automatic pilot," so when I conclude my remarks, the Senate will be in adjournment.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following remarks appear under a caption of "Foreign Travel, April 2 through April 5, 1996."