

The "yes, but" dichotomy persists in Bosnia today.

Yes there has been considerable progress in Bosnia since Dayton, but a huge amount remains to be accomplished.

Yes the 50 percent unemployment rate in the Bosnian Croat Federation is huge, but it has come down from 90 percent in only one year. Incidentally, it still hovers at 90 percent in the Republika Srpska, which has been denied all but a trickle of international aid because it has refused to implement the Dayton accords.

Yes, Bosnian Serbs regularly try to paralyze many of the institutions of national government created at Dayton, but the Parliament has begun to meet, and even the three-member presidency shows signs of life.

Yes, the nationalist parties representing the Serbs, Muslims, and Croats are narrow-minded and corrupt, and in many ways resemble the characteristics of the old Yugoslav league of Communists, which they supplanted.

But even in this cynical Bosnian political arena there is hope. In last month's municipal elections a non-nationalist, multi-ethnic coalition triumphed in Tuzla, one of Bosnia's largest cities.

A non-nationalist opposition also exists in the Republika Srpska. I met with three of its leaders in Banja Luka. They are confident that they—not Kardžić and his thugs from Pale, not President Plavšić—are the wave of the future.

Yes, more than two-thirds of the indicted war criminals remain at large—an international disgrace. But, ladies and gentlemen, just last week, under strong pressure from Washington, Croatia and the Bosnian Croats surrendered 10 indicted Bosnian Croats to the Hague.

Virtually every observer of Bosnia believes that Dayton cannot be implemented until indicted war criminals are indicted and transported to the International Tribunal at the Hague to stand trial.

The other major precondition for progress in Bosnia is the return of refugees and displaced persons that was mandated by the Dayton accords.

Yes, this will be the most difficult of all the Dayton tasks to accomplish.

But, contrary to popular belief, even here there has been noteworthy progress. As many as 150,000 refugees have returned to Bosnia from abroad, and another 160,000 persons who were displaced within Bosnia have returned to their homes.

Most of these have returned to areas where their ethnic group is in the majority, but an "open cities" program has induced several towns—even a half-dozen villages in the Republika Srpska—to accept returnees from other groups in return for economic assistance.

On my last trip, I visited one of these sites in a suburb of Sarajevo occupied by the Bosnian Serbs during the war and returned to the federation by Dayton. The U.S. Agency for International Development and its subcontractor, Catholic Relief Services, are helping returning refugees to rebuild their homes.

I was moved by the selfless dedication of the young Americans and Europeans working at this important task.

Finally let me address the issue of security in Bosnia today. In a country that has recently suffered some of the worst atrocities of the 20th century, the citizens need physical security. For the Muslims and Croats, who were forced into an alliance in 1994 by the United States, this means guaranteeing their ability to deter renewed Serbian aggression in the future.

Toward that end, the "train and equip" program, led by retired U.S. military offi-

cers, is molding a unified force under joint command. We have supplied three hundred million dollars worth of equipment. I visited the training center in Hadžići (haj-eech-ee), near Sarajevo, where Muslims and Croats are studying and training.

On the local level, in the Federation, multi-ethnic police forces are being formed. Believe it or not, joint Muslim-Croat police units are now patrolling Mostar, scene of some of the worst warfare in 1993 and early 1994. So there is progress here as well.

IV. NEXT STEPS

In citing these examples of progress, I do not want to suggest for a moment that conditions in the Federation, let alone in the Republika Srpska, are rosy.

They are not. But everyone to whom I spoke in Bosnia agreed on two things: First, significant progress has been made in the Federation; and second, it is absolutely essential for the international military force to remain in Bosnia after June 1998 to guarantee that progress will continue.

So what should our policy be in Bosnia in the coming months? I believe we should redouble the efforts we are already making.

Yes, I would like to see a multi-ethnic, multi-religious society re-emerge like the one that existed in Sarajevo before the war. But, I fear that too much blood has been shed and too many atrocities committed for that to happen in the near future.

More realistic, and politically feasible, is the development of a multi-ethnic state. Most likely that will mean a confederation with a good degree of de-centralization in all but foreign policy and defense.

Am I sure that we can achieve the goal of a democratic, decentralized Bosnia? No, I am not. Last year I would have rated the odds 1 in 20.

As a result of the progress made in the last 12 months, I would now estimate the odds on success at about 50-50, if we stay the course.

But 50-50 looks mighty good compared to the probable outcome if we followed the advice of those now calling for a renegotiation of Dayton and a formal partition of Bosnia. "Snatching defeat from the jaws of victory" might be a slight exaggeration, but this policy prescription tends in that direction.

Those who favor partition seem unaware of the progress already made in Bosnia and blind to the calamities that would result from scrapping Dayton.

Warfare would almost certainly erupt again, with higher casualties, given the new military balance.

But renewed fighting would only be part of the tragedy. The vile ethnic cleansers and the war criminals would see their policies vindicated. Europe's remaining anti-democratic rulers like Serbia's Milosević and Belarus's Lukashenka would be emboldened.

Moreover, if we pulled the plug on Bosnia just as international efforts are beginning to bear fruit, we could kiss goodbye American leadership in NATO. In fact, the plan to enlarge NATO, I predict, would fail in the Senate.

And soon thereafter, even the future of NATO itself would be cast in doubt. After all, if Bosnia is the prototypical European crisis of the 21st century—and if NATO is unable to solve Bosnia—then why bother spending billions of dollars on NATO every year?

So, leaving Bosnia would be a fool's paradise. Just as certainly as night follows day, an American abdication of responsibility and withdrawal from Bosnia would eventually cost us more in blood and treasure than we would ever spend in the current course.

Let me sum up: the tragedy in Bosnia and Herzegovina, although complex, ultimately boils down to old-fashioned oppression. It was preventable, and, with the requisite

American and European steadfastness, it is solvable.

By continuing to lead the effort to put Bosnia and Herzegovina back on its feet and guarantee its citizens a chance to lead productive lives, the United States will be both living up to its ideals and furthering its national self-interest. Thank you.●

NATIONAL TESTING

● Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, as you know, the Labor/HHS/Education conference committee is considering funding for national education testing. I want to make it clear where I stand on this important issue and point out to my fellow conferees the task before us.

While I support higher standards for our schools, I cannot support national testing. National testing, despite what some of its supporters might say, is the first step toward a unified national curriculum. It is my firm belief that these decisions are better left to the States and locally elected school boards.

Some might argue that testing to a national standard would not affect curriculum. However, to do well on the tests, students will have to be taught accordingly. This was pointed out by Acting Secretary of Education Marshall Smith who said: "to do well in the national tests, curriculum and instruction would have to change."

Even the Washington Post agrees that the test would be "a dramatic step toward a national guideline for what students should be learning in core subjects."

Mr. President, the schools of Idaho are doing well, and our students continually score above the national average in core subjects, without being told what and how to teach by Washington bureaucrats.

Supporters of the tests argue that a national standard would be acceptable because it would be based on standards developed by the Department of Education: the National Assessment of Education Progress [NAEP]. However, the NAEP framework is fundamentally flawed. These standards are so out-of-touch that no State in 50 has adopted them. Now we're being asked to force the States to teach within the NAEP framework.

Most offensive, Mr. President, is the fact that the NAEP framework does not measure basic skills or the student's ability to perform tasks. The NAEP framework focuses on whole language and new math concepts and awards credit for more than one response, even if the response is wrong. National testing would force local school districts to adopt these flawed strategies.

I believe that the correct course for us to take is to direct resources to the classroom instead of forcing national standards on teachers and students. Let's assist local educators and our students in rising to the existing standards—standards set and supported by local and State leaders.

Mr. President, the Senate has voted on this matter once, when the appropriations bill was on the floor. I, along with most of our colleagues, voted for the compromise offered by Mr. GREGG. This vote has been interpreted by some, including many in the administration, as Senate support for national testing. This is not the case, and I caution anyone from reading too much into that particular vote.

I voted for the compromise, and I do not support national testing in any form. The true message of the vote is the Senate's willingness to alter the President's proposal and its interest in the language included in the House version of the bill.

Finally, Mr. President, let me publicly thank my colleague, Senator ASHCROFT, for his leadership on this issue. I am pleased to cosponsor his measure, S. 1215, which would prohibit the Federal Government from developing these flawed national tests.●

A TRIBUTE TO RUTH BECKER

● Mr. KOHL. Mr. President, I rise today to honor a distinguished Wisconsinite, Mrs. Ruth (Nowicki) Becker of Altoona, WI. Mrs. Becker, who just turned 75, attended the dedication of the Memorial to the Women in Service at Arlington National Cemetery on October 18, 1997. Ruth is one of approximately 1.8 million women who have served in the U.S. Armed Forces and we honor her as does the memorial for serving our country proudly.

Mrs. Becker enlisted in the U.S. Navy in 1944 and served as a WAVE, Women's Auxiliary for Volunteer Emergency Service, during World War II. Ruth's responsibilities took her to New York City and Washington, DC where she worked in naval communications for Pacific theater operations until February 1946.

Ruth is a charter member for the women's memorial project which has transformed Arlington National Cemetery's 75-year-old main entrance gate into a shrine honoring the Nation's women veterans. The memorial will house a museum, a 196-seat auditorium, a Hall of Honor, and an education center on military history. Mr. President, Ruth Becker served our country with pride and we honor her, as we also honor all women who have served our country proudly.●

NOMINATION OF DALE KIMBALL

● Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, it is with great pleasure that I endorse the nomination of Dale Kimball, who has been nominated by President Clinton for the position of U.S. district judge for the district of Utah, and I urge my colleagues to do the same. I am acquainted with Mr. Kimball personally and know that he comes before the Senate with an already distinguished record as a lawyer and litigator, an individual demonstrably well qualified for the position of Federal district court judge.

After working as an associate and then as a partner with a leading Utah law firm, Van Cott, Bagley, Cornwell & McCarthy, for 8 years, Dale Kimball became a founding partner, and is now the senior partner, at what has become one of my State's most distinguished firms; Kimball, Parr, Waddoups, Brown & Gee.

During his 30-year career, Mr. Kimball has developed extensive expertise in various areas of civil practice, particularly the litigation in Federal and State court of complex business cases involving such matters as energy, antitrust, securities fraud, insurance, and contracts. As an experienced litigator, Dale Kimball is particularly well-qualified to serve as a trial court judge. The respect Dale Kimball has earned from the Utah legal community is reflected in his selection as Distinguished Lawyer of the Year by the Utah State Bar in 1996.

Dale Kimball's dedication to the practice of law is matched by his dedication to serving his community. He has been a member of the board of the Pioneers Theater Co., Alta View Hospital, the Desert News Publishing Co., the Jordan Education Foundation, and the J. Reuben Clark Law Society.

I am confident that Dale Kimball will be a worthy addition to the Federal district court in Utah, and I am very pleased that the Senate has confirmed his nomination.●

RETIREMENT OF WILLIAM P. CROWELL

● Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, the National Security Agency has recently lost to retirement its deputy director, William P. Crowell. As David Kahn has recently written in *Newsday*, Mr. Crowell has taken NSA and "brought the super-secret spy organization into its public, post-Cold War posture." For too long, we have been learning our cold war history from Soviet Archives. Bill Crowell set about to change that at the National Security Agency. He directed the establishment of the National Cryptologic Museum, which I have visited and commend to my colleagues, and helped to make public the hugely important VENONA project.

The VENONA intercepts comprise over 2,000 coded Soviet diplomatic messages between Moscow and its missions in North America. The NSA and its predecessors spent some four decades decoding what should have been an unbreakable Soviet code. Led by Meredith Gardner, these cryptanalysts painstakingly decoded these messages word by word. They would then pass on the decoded messages to the FBI, which conducted extensive investigations to determine the identities of the Soviet agents mentioned in the messages. The resulting VENONA decrypts detail the Soviet espionage effort in the United States during and after the Second World War.

We need access to much more of this type of information. Not only does

VENONA allow us to learn our history, but in releasing it to the public, not insignificant gaps in the government's knowledge of this material are being filled. For instance, the identity of one of the major atomic spies at Los Alamos was recently discovered by clever journalists using the published VENONA messages. Joseph Albright and Marcia Kunstel of *Cox News* and, working independently, Michael Dobbs of *The Washington Post*, identified the agent codenamed MLAD as Theodore Alvin Hall, a 19-year-old physicist working at Los Alamos. Hall provided crucial details of the design of the atomic bomb which enabled the Soviet Union to develop a replica of the bomb dropped on Nagasaki.

Bill Crowell recognized the historic value of VENONA and played an important role in getting this material released, along with Dr. John M. Deutch, and with the gentle prodding of the Commission on Protecting and Reducing Government Secrecy. Mr. Crowell should receive a medal for his work.

Mr. Crowell retires after a long career of government service. He served as a senior executive of the National Security Agency for 17 years. He was appointed Deputy Director of the agency by the President in 1994. In addition to his work which has already been described, Mr. Crowell has worked in recent years to help craft a responsible Administration policy regarding encryption technology. I ask to have the article by David Kahn in *Newsday*, which announces his retirement and highlights some of his accomplishments, printed in the *RECORD*. I salute Mr. Crowell for his dedicated service and wish him well in his future pursuits.

The article follows:

[From *Newsday*, Oct. 6, 1997]

NATIONAL SECURITY OFFICIAL RETIRES—
HELPED REFOCUS AGENCY'S AIMS

(By David Kahn)

The National Security Agency has said goodbye to its retiring deputy director, who largely brought the super-secret spy organization into its public, post-Cold War posture.

William P. Crowell was the force behind the establishment of the National Cryptologic Museum, which exhibits what had been some of the nation's deepest secrets; the revelation of the VENONA project, which broke Soviet spy codes early in the Cold War; and the National Encryption Policy, which seeks to balance personal privacy with national security.

Succeeding Crowell will be Barbara McNamara, who, like Crowell, is a career employee of the agency, which breaks foreign codes and makes American Codes for the United States government.

McNamara is the second female deputy director of the agency. The first, Ann Z. Caracristi, who served from 1980 to 1982, is the sister of the late *Newsday* photographer Jimmy Caracristi.

More than 500 present and past members of the agency attended Crowell's recent retirement ceremony at its glossy, triple-fenced headquarters at Fort Meade, Md. They applauded as he was presented with awards for his intelligence and executive services and with a folded American flag that had flown over the agency.