

that we should be required to go into a country that is not a NATO country, a country which has not been invaded by a hostile force, a country which is, in fact, in a civil war.

So, Madam President, the debate will come. And people will be very emotional about it. I am very emotional about it. I want to take my responsibility as a Member of the U.S. Senate, as a person given that responsibility by the voters of my State with obligations that are constitutional, to try to make sure that not only do our young men and women in the armed services have everything that we can give them when they chose to give their lives to protect our freedom, but that they also have the leadership that has the judgment to know that only when it is a U.S. security interest at stake is it worth the risk of their lives. And, Madam President, I hope we can make the case that that is not the situation in Bosnia.

I want to help the Bosnian people. We have done our part. We have shouldered about 60 or 70 percent of the cost of this effort so far. We have been there for the parties to come together. We have been a catalyst for the peace agreement. And I give the President credit for that. He deserves credit for bringing the people to the peace table and for hammering out this peace agreement.

But I think it is most important that we have many options to help the people of Bosnia. I do not think United States troops on the ground are among the best things that we can do for the Bosnian people, not for NATO, and not for America. It is not in our best interest to send ground troops to Bosnia. The President of the United States has unfortunately allowed our allies and others in the world to somehow argue that the only way we can show our commitment to peace is to have ground troops.

I think there are many other ways we can support this peace agreement. We can continue to provide air support. We can continue to play a strategic role. We are giving money now, and we will continue to give money. We can provide intelligence support for them, which we have been doing, and which we can do. We can arm and train the Moslems without being part of this peacekeeping force. In fact, I think that would be a far better policy. So, many options are there for us to help the Bosnian people. But placing American troops in harm's way is not an option that I think is right, not for America, not for NATO, and not for the people of Bosnia.

Thank you, Madam President.

Mr. INHOFE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. INHOFE. I ask unanimous consent I be allowed to speak in morning business.

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

BOSNIA

Mr. INHOFE. Madam President, I think what has happened today, in my own view, as tragic as it might be, is refreshing to some of the American people, the people who feel this is a partisan place up here, where there is nothing but partisan politics, that the Republicans stand for something and the Democrats stand for something. But what we witnessed a short while ago should defuse that because we now have the majority leader of the United States Senate supporting the President in his effort in sending American troops into Bosnia on the ground.

I listened briefly to the Senator from Texas, Senator HUTCHISON, and I concur in her remarks. There certainly are no two people I have higher regard for, in terms of their war record and patriotism, than the Senator from Arizona, Senator MCCAIN, and the Senator from Kansas, the majority leader, Senator DOLE. However, I think there is an honest difference of opinion here.

I think what the President has been attempting to do seems to be working. But what the President has been doing is staying out of the fray until troops can be deployed long enough and far enough into Bosnia that it puts us in the position of where we are going to have to support the effort because we are supporting the troops. I do not buy that.

I think you can support the troops—and I will always support the American troops, wherever they are, anywhere in the world. But if we have the option right now of stopping the deployment of troops into Bosnia, it is our moral responsibility to do that. And I believe that option is still there.

I said this morning on this floor that there are not going to be any free rides on this one. We are going to have a vote, not a vote on a soft resolution saying, well, we oppose the effort but we support the troops, we are going to have a vote on whether or not we send our troops into Bosnia.

The environment in Bosnia is not one the likes of which we have seen in any of the wars that we have been involved in because we have always been able to identify the enemy. You cannot identify the enemy. Sure, we have chosen sides. We have been supplying the Croats and the Bosnian Moslems against the Serbs now for quite some time. I think perhaps that was not the right thing to do, but nonetheless we have taken sides. We have taken sides through our air attacks.

Now it looks as if we are going to deploy troops over there to take sides. But who are the good guys and who are the bad guys? In this case we do not know. You might say, well, this year—any snapshot in history would give you a different answer to that question. There was a time when clearly the Croats would have been the bad guys and a time when clearly the Serbs would have been the bad guys. But here we have more than just three major factions. We have many, many ele-

ments. We have rogue elements. And some of these elements are Serb elements, some are Moslem elements, such as the Black Swans. That is a rogue element. Nonetheless, they are there.

We are sending troops into an environment where only in this morning's newspaper we see a quote from the guy who is working directly for the general with whom I have spoken in the very sector where we are proposing to send our troops, General Haukland from Norway, where they say that there are literally millions of mines all throughout that area—millions. Not 10, not 100, not 1,000—millions of mines of all sizes, all shapes. And we do not know where they are. They are now in a position where, even though they have been going centimeter by centimeter trying to defuse these mines, we are now in a position where the winter is setting in, the ground is frozen, the snows are coming, and there is not any way in the world that we are going to be able to protect our troops that are going over there from stepping on these mines.

Remember, just a short while ago we were faced with a similar situation down in Nicaragua. And what were most of the losses? They were from mines. And the amputees were the result of what was happening.

Now, that is what we are faced with again. Only in today's newspaper, this is happening right now. We have already sent troops over there. I know that the President is hiding out in Europe. He is going to stay there until we have more troops. Then he will come back and say, "Now you have to go with me because we have to protect our troops that are over there."

Madam President, our troops are not there yet. We only have a few there. But a lot are on their way. I went to the training area in Germany of the 1st Armored Division. I know they are training them to go. They are going to go up through Hungary and then come down south through the Posavina corridor and into the Tuzla area.

When you look at that area, there has never been an area anywhere in the world that is so conducive to guerrilla warfare. There has never been an area in the world that has more guerrillas in it that are not identifiable. We have identified nine rogue elements that are there that are not even related in any way to anyone who was around the table in Dayton, OH.

So, Madam President, I just wanted to be sure that it is crystal clear that I do not stand alone. There are many others who feel just as strongly as I do that we are going to do everything we can to stop this mass deployment of troops into Bosnia. It was a bad idea 2½ years ago when the President first started talking about it, when he took sides and started airdrops. It was a bad idea 1½ years ago when the President decided he was going to have airstrikes. And it is a bad idea today. And I will continue to do anything within

my power to stop the deployment of troops into Bosnia.

I yield the floor.

Mr. NICKLES addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed as in morning business.

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

Mr. NICKLES. Madam President, first I wish to compliment my friend and colleague Senator INHOFE for his statement on Bosnia. I will have a statement soon on that subject. But I compliment him, one, for his courage and conviction, and also the fact he went through the trouble of going to Bosnia recently, and I think his observations are very correct. I think we are in the process of getting bogged down in a quagmire.

So I compliment him for that. Again, I will add to my remarks at a later time.

TRIBUTE TO THE REVEREND DR. RICHARD HALVERSON

Mr. NICKLES. Madam President, I wish to make a couple of remarks concerning a very sad event that happened this week, and that was the death of our friend, Richard Halverson, the Chaplain of the Senate for the last 14 years.

I first want to express my condolences to Chaplain Halverson's family—his wife, Doris, his son, Chris and daughter-in-law Maura, his son, Steve and daughter-in-law Paula, and his daughter, Debbie and son-in-law Fred, and his nine grandchildren.

Chaplain Halverson was a friend, not only to myself but to all Senators as well the Senate staff and the entire Senate family. He certainly was a pastor of exceptional repute, a person who has been defined by many as "a man of God," as a person who certainly loved the Lord and showed that love by his words and by his actions. It was evident when he would sit in his chair in the Senate Chamber and greet people on a daily basis. This love for people was not reserved for Senators only, but it was generously given to people who sweep the floors or those who work in

the restaurant or the elevator operators. Chaplain Halverson was a friend, and he will certainly be missed.

He is loved by many thousands from his service in the pulpit and for his 14 years as Chaplain of the Senate. I really consider it a blessing to have known him, to have worked with him, to have shared many good times with him. To have been with him with families in prayer. To have worked along side him with the National Prayer Breakfast, in which he had been instrumental. He has left a very valuable mark on our lives.

A friend of mine from Oklahoma once commented to me about Dr. Halverson. He asked me if I knew him. I asked, "Why?"

He said, "I will tell you, I've had the pleasure of knowing him for years," and my friend paid him the highest compliment I ever heard paid anyone. He said Chaplain Halverson was the most Christ-like man he had ever known. I think that was an appropriate definition for a wonderful servant of God who also served this body.

So we extend our sincerest condolences to the Halverson family and we want them to know we love Chaplain Halverson and that our thoughts and prayers are with them and will continue to be.

I might mention to the Senate that it is our intention—and I am working with Chaplain Ogilvie on this—to have a memorial service for Dr. Halverson a week from Tuesday, at approximately 11:30 a.m. Once the arrangements have been finalized, I will make a formal announcement to my colleagues early next week.

Madam 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. NICKLES. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

MEASURE READ THE FIRST TIME—S. 1441

Mr. NICKLES. Madam President, I understand that S. 1441, introduced

today by Senator HELMS, is at the desk, and I ask for its first reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will read the bill for the first time.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1441) to authorize appropriations for the Department of State for fiscal years 1996 through 1999 and to abolish the United States Information Agency, the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and the Agency for International Development, and for other purposes.

Mr. NICKLES. Madam President, I now ask for its second reading, and I object to my own request on behalf of Senators on the Democratic side of the aisle.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard. The bill will be read for the second time on the next legislative day.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. NICKLES. Madam President, I further ask unanimous consent that the morning business period on Monday be amended to provide for up to 30 minutes under the control of Senator BRADLEY.

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

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1995, AT 3 P.M.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands adjourned until 3 p.m. on Monday.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 4:25 p.m., adjourned until Monday, December 4, 1995, at 3 p.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate November 30, 1995:

HARRY S TRUMAN SCHOLARSHIP FOUNDATION

LUIS D. ROVIRA, OF COLORADO, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE HARRY S. TRUMAN SCHOLARSHIP FOUNDATION FOR A TERM EXPIRING DECEMBER 10, 2001, VICE LORRAINE MINDY MEIKLEJOHN, TERM EXPIRING.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

JOHN R. LACEY, OF CONNECTICUT, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE FOREIGN CLAIMS SETTLEMENT COMMISSION OF THE UNITED STATES FOR A TERM EXPIRING SEPTEMBER 30, 1998. (REAPPOINTMENT)