legislation like this; way back in 1978, it has been held up all this time.

Last year, as majority leader, Senator Mitchell indicated to me that he wanted us to move this, if we possibly could, out of committee and the best bill we had was the Grassley-Lieberman bill. We worked with them on that and we put it in the form that was passed here this evening. I am proud to have worked with them on that and to be part of the team that got it together.

But I want to particularly give them credit for it, as well as the other people who worked so hard on the staff through this.

On our staff of the Governmental Affairs Committee, Larry Novey, who is with me right here, has done yeoman's work on this. Len Weiss, who is our minority staff director, worked on this, but Larry, in particular, really has dedicated himself to this and did a terrific job on this. So I want to give him credit for working out a lot of the details on this and making it into what I think is a very important piece of legislation that says now for the first time we treat our people here on Capitol Hill with the same fairness, the same rights, that we have thought in the past were important enough to apply to all the rest of the country.

And now we have some 36,000 employees here—I just received a rundown on that a moment ago—36,000 employees total on Capitol Hill or in the instrumentalities that work for the Senate here and the House of Representatives. Those people now have the same protections and same rights under the law, through a different appeals process that we worked out here.

But I just wanted to give credit to those who worked out all these details. I think it is a great step forward.

Thank you very much and I yield the floor.

Mr. LOTT addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I wish to associate myself with the remarks that have already been made here. And also on behalf of the majority leader and, I am sure, the membership on both sides of the aisle, I wish to congratulate them on the outstanding job that has been done on this legislation.

The distinguished Senator from Iowa has certainly done an outstanding job. He has been patient. Amendments have not just been brushed off. They have been considered. But all of them were put aside, at least for the time being, so we could have a good, clean bill that does what everybody really wants it to do.

I think the evidence of the good job that has been done was the vote we just saw, 98 to 1. I do think that it is important that this is the first bill of the year; that we have congressional accountability; that we have these laws apply to ourselves. And I think that it is an important message to the American people that they will agree with.

So I just wanted take a moment to commend Senator GRASSLEY; and Senator GLENN, who has done yeoman's work on this legislation over a long period of time and did a lot of good work last year. He certainly worked very closely with Senator GRASSLEY. Both of them did a great job and I think they should be commended for it.

So let us just go forward and do this again on the next bill and see if we cannot complete it in a little less time.

With that, Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. GRASSLEY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Mississippi for his kind remarks.

Reflecting upon the 98-to-1 vote, I can just simply say the feeling of this body has dramatically changed toward this legislation, because I remember the first time I introduced an amendment on this and got it through on a voice vote. There were just a few Members here at that particular time. One Member was so mad at me after I got it passed that the individual said to me, ''GRASSLEY, I hope you are the first one sued.''

Well, we have to keep diligent to get things done. And I think that one of the things that I have learned to do is to stick to your guns.

Basically, Prime Minister Disraeli, in the second half of the last century, had this to say as a way to determine success. ''Constancy of purpose is the secret of success,'' is what Disraeli said. I think that that is a very good rule for anybody who wants to get anything done in the congressional system that we have in this country. If you stick to it and if you are on the right track, you will eventually accomplish your goal. I think that even Senator GLENN has a longer view toward that end than I do, because, as I stated before, he was involved in this before I ever got involved in it.

I yield the floor.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I also remember something Benjamin Disraeli said when a young member of Parliament walked up to him one evening—as you know, better than I, the Parliament meets in the evening. He walked up to Benjamin Disraeli, his party leader, and he said, ''Mr. Prime Minister,''—there was a particular bill on the floor—he said, ''Mr. Prime Minister, such and such a bill is on the floor tonight. I wonder whether you think I should speak tonight on this bill.'' And Disraeli looked at the young member and said, ''Sir, I think it better that the House of Commons wonder why you did not speak than why you did.''

And occasionally I think we are going to find Disraeli's admonition, not as it relates to this particular bill, I suspect we may find his admonition may be well placed in terms of how we conduct ourselves the remainder of this session.

But I want to make it clear for the record, I am not referring to the Senator from Iowa or anyone in particular. But I just hope that on some of the legislative initiatives I have heard about, other than the one I have seen tonight, that we follow Disraeli's advice: Sometimes it is better not to speak than to speak.

But I am going to break that admonition myself right now and I am going to ask unanimous consent that I be able to proceed for 10 minutes as if morning business.

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

PARTIAL LIFTING OF SANCTIONS AGAINST SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I rise this evening to urge the United States to vote at the United Nations against renewing the partial lifting of sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro in return for their alleged blockade against the Bosnian Serbs.

The 100-day probation period for blockade enforcement expires tomorrow, January 12, 1995. A positive action in the U.N. Security Council is necessary to renew the waiver. The language of the U.N. resolution granting the waiver stipulates the need for effectively implementing the closure of the border between Serbia and Montenegro and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. I repeat, effectively implementing—not trying in a half-hearted way or even trying with good intentions. Mr. President, the standard of effectively implementing simply has not been met.

On November 18, 1994, I sent a detailed letter to Secretary of State Christopher in which I outlined my concerns on this issue. Yesterday—nearly 8 weeks later—I finally received an answer from Assistant Secretary of State Sherman. I hope that this inexcusable tardiness in responding to my request and desire is not indicative of a desire on the part of the State Department to keep this vital issue out of the public eye.

Mr. President, the contents of Assistant Secretary Sherman's letter have only increased my fear that the administration is allowing a new overall concept for Bosnia—with which I profoundly disagree—to dictate its interpretation of the facts on the ground.

What about the stipulated U.N. standard of effectively implementing the border closure? Assistant Secretary Sherman writes:

> On the whole, looking across the 100-day period, we believe it legitimate to say that the border has been effectively closed in the sense that it has become steadily less porous as loopholes were identified and sealed.

That, Mr. President, is a remarkably creative definition of ''effective implementing.''

I remember back in the early 1980's, we went from talking about tax increases to revenue enhancements. This

makes that euphemism sound ridiculous. It says ''effectively implementing,'' and he writes, ''On the whole, looking across the 100-day period, we believe,'' and the key point is ''that it has become steadily less porous.'' I assume that means therefore it has been effectively implemented, in their view. The fact is that the border is more than 300 miles long. It traverses some of the most rugged, mountainous country in Europe, and it would be difficult to police even with a large force of monitors.

In actuality, however, Mr. President, fewer than 200 monitors have been deployed. Assistant Secretary Sherman admits the monitoring mission ''is still not staffed as fully as we would like.''

Most of the crossing points are not monitored 24 hours a day. Controls on so-called ant trade—carried on by private vehicles that smuggle in fuel for a Bosnian Serb war machine—are, quite frankly, laughable.

Perhaps the most ridiculous piece of information is that along parts of the Montenegro-Bosnian border, the United Nations has been relying on the Yugoslav Army, that is the Serbian Army troops, to monitor the so-called blockade. Now, call me cynical, Mr. President, but I am uncomfortable with involving Mr. Milosevic's troops in the honor system.

The ultimate proof of the ineffective closure of the border is that the Bosnian Serb aggressors have had no difficulty in securing fuel with which to continue their attacks, such as last month's offensive in the Bihac area.

Even the price of fuel on the civilian market in Serbian-controlled parts of Bosnia has not risen appreciably, an indication that there are no serious shortages of fuel. It is still coming in.

Mr. President, the whole blockade charade has proven once again that Mr. Milosevic is the shrewdest politician in the former Yugoslavia. Through his blockade gambit he hopes to weaken the Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic, but not significantly to hamper the Bosnian Serb Army. Our British and French allies and the Russians, eager for peace in Bosnia at any time, want to throw Milosevic a bone of renewed sanctions relief, perhaps even to lessen the sanctions further.

Worst of all, it now appears the United States is sliding toward the appeasement position of the British and the French. Assistant Secretary of State Holbrooke, speaking 2 days ago in Sarajevo, indicated that we have retreated from holding the Bosnian Serbs at the ladder of the contact group's peace plank. Now, apparently, we see the plan only as a basis for negotiation. That is, we have prepared to allow the Bosnian Serbs to hold on to some of the fruits of their military aggression and the vile ethnic cleansing they have been undertaking.

Mr. President, we should have none of this. The United States should vote against the extension of the U.S. sanctions waiver. Or, put another way, we should keep the sanctions on, the economic sanctions. Such a vote would not only be a moral statement but also a proper reaction to this nonexistent blockade that has provided cover for Milosevic and our European allies.

Mr. President, although I do not have any real expectation that the administration is going to listen to me any more than they have listened to me in the past on this, or to Senator DOLE or to Senator LIEBERMAN or others, I do want the RECORD to show that there is no serious implementation of the blockade on the part of the Serbian Government; no cooperation from the Government of Serbia, Mr. Milosevic's government; no effective means to monitor whether it is underway; and no proof based upon the availabilities of the commodities that are supposedly being blocked, such as fuel for the war machine, that suggests that it is working, it is being tried, it is being implemented, it is effective.

Therefore, it seems to me, Mr. President, the only logical and consistent vote we should cast in the United Nations Security Council tomorrow is one that eliminates the extension of the waiver and puts back in place the full economic blockade on Serbia.

Mr. President, I thank my colleagues for their willingness to give me this time. I yield the floor.

APPOINTMENTS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, and upon the recommendation of the majority leader, pursuant to Senate Resolution 4 (95th Congress), Senate Resolution 448 (96th Congress), Senate Resolution 127 (98th Congress), and Senate Resolution 100 (101st Congress), appoints the following Senators as the majority membership of the Select Committee on Indian Affairs: The Senator from Arizona [Mr. MCCAIN], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. MURKOWSKI], the Senator from Washington [Mr. GORTON], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. DOMENICI], the Senator from Kansas [Mrs. KASSEBAUM], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. NICKLES], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. THOMAS], the Senator from Utah [Mr. HATCH], and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. COVERDELL].

Mr. LOTT. Mr. 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. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

AUTHORITY TO REPORT

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Governmental Affairs Committee have until 8 p.m. tonight to file a report to accompany S. 1, the unfunded mandates bill.

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

MAJORITY PARTY APPOINTMENTS TO ETHICS COMMITTEE

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I send a resolution to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 46) making majority party appointments to the Ethics Committee for the 104th Congress.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 46) was agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the following shall constitute the majority party's membership on the following Senate committee for the 104th Congress, or until their successors are appointed:

Ethics: Mr. McConnell (Chairman), Mr. Smith, and Mr. Craig.

MINORITY PARTY APPOINTMENTS TO ETHICS COMMITTEE

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Senate Resolution 42, relating to minority party appointments to a Senate committee; that the resolution be agreed to; and that the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table.

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

So the resolution (S. Res. 42) was agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the following shall constitute the minority party's membership on the Ethics Committee for the 104th Congress, or until their successors are chosen.

Select Committee on Ethics: Mr. Bryan, Vice Chair, Ms. Mikulski, and Mr. Dorgan.

DESIGNATING CHAIRPERSONS OF SENATE COMMITTEES

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I send a resolution to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 47) designating the chairpersons of Senate committees for the 104th Congress.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 47) was agreed to, as follows: