

REMARKS BY SENATOR WILLIAM S. COHEN, WEHRKUNDE CONFERENCE, MUNICH, GERMANY, FEBRUARY 4, 1995

We have entered a new world of disorder and our inability to formulate coherent policies and strategies to deal with ethnic conflicts and the expansion of NATO membership has led to cross-Atlantic fear, confusion, incoherence, and recrimination—a state of affairs not unprecedented for the NATO alliance.

I would like for the moment to offer a few observations on Bosnia to see whether the present is prologue:

1. NATO cannot act unless America leads. 2. America will not lead unless it can persuade the American people that it is imperative for us to do so.

3. The conflict in Bosnia is not perceived to involve American interests that are vital. Rather, it is a quagmire where its inhabitants would rather dig fresh graves than bury old hatreds.

4. The European members of NATO were not willing to wade into the quick sand of ancient rivalries and engage in peacemaking operations so the responsibility was passed to the U.N., which has fewer divisions than the Pope and none of his moral authority.

As a result, we are all bearing witness to the decimation of a nation that was guaranteed protection under the U.N. Charter while the best we can offer is to seek to minimize the bloodshed by denying arms to the victims of aggression.

Our collective acquiescence to aggression may be the lesser of two evils—but it is nonetheless the participation in the evil of ethnic cleansing that we hoped might never again touch the European continent.

We are hesitant to take more aggressive action because the consequences of our action cannot be predicted. The absence of predictability prevents the development of consensus:

Should we do nothing militarily to stop Serbian aggression?

Lift the arms embargo unilaterally if necessary and strike?

Lift and get out of the way—if that is possible?

Time is running out on our Hamlet-like irresoluteness. Before the decision is made to lift the arms embargo, with all of its attendant uncertainties—including the fear of Americanizing the war on the part of some and the hope of doing so on the part of others—we should make an effort to establish the credibility of UNPROFOR's mission and might:

New leadership is required. General Rose has departed. General Smith has taken his place. Mr. Akashi should be asked to resign immediately.

When a no-fly zone or weapons exclusion zone has been declared, it should be enforced, not allowed to be violated with impunity.

No tribute or tolls should be paid by UNPROFOR forces to gain passage to help the victims of war.

No tolerance should be granted for taking hostages or using them as human shields.

If any harm should come to UNPROFOR forces, we should take out every major target that allows the Serbs to continue to wage war. That power should be disproportionate to the transgression and no area in Serbia ruled out of our bomb sites.

UNPROFOR should be given the heavy armor necessary to protect its forces and achieve its humanitarian mission.

If we are unable to give UNPROFOR—whose troops are trapped in the layers of a disastrous dual command structure—the authority and firepower to achieve these ends, then we should remove the forces before the U.N.'s political impotence is allowed to cor-

rode NATO's military integrity and credibility any further than it has already done so.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Thomas, one of his secretaries.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

#### MIDDLE-CLASS BILL OF RIGHTS TAX RELIEF ACT OF 1995—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—PM 17

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, transmitting, a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide tax relief for the middle-class, together with accompanying papers; which was referred to the Committee on Finance:

*To the Congress of the United States:*

I am pleased to transmit today for your immediate consideration and enactment the "Middle-Class Bill of Rights Tax Relief Act of 1995." I am also sending you an explanation of the revenue proposals of this legislation.

This bill is the next step in my Administration's continuing effort to raise living standards for working families and help restore the American Dream for all our people.

For 2 years, we have worked hard to strengthen our economy. We worked with the last Congress to enact legislation that will reduce the annual deficits of 1994-98 by more than \$600 billion; we created nearly 6 million new jobs; we cut taxes for 15 million low-income families and gave tax relief to small businesses; we opened export markets through global and regional trade agreements; we invested in human and physical capital to increase productivity; and we reduced the Federal Government by more than 100,000 positions.

With that strong foundation in place, I am now proposing a Middle Class Bill of Rights. Despite our progress, too many Americans are still working harder for less. The Middle Class Bill of Rights will enable working Americans to raise their families and get the education and training they need to meet the demands of a new global economy. It will let middle-income families share in our economic prosperity today and help them build our economic prosperity tomorrow.

The "Middle-Class Bill of Rights Tax Relief Act of 1995" includes three of the four elements of my Middle Class Bill of Rights. First, it offers middle-income families a \$500 tax credit for each child under 13. Second, it includes a tax deduction of up to \$10,000 a year to help middle-income Americans pay for post-secondary education expenses and training expenses. Third, it lets more middle-income Americans make tax-deductible contributions to Individual Retirement Accounts and withdraw from them, penalty-free, for the costs of education and training, health care, first-time home-buying, long periods of unemployment, or the care of an ill parent.

The fourth element of my Middle Class Bill of Rights—not included in this legislation—is the GI Bill for America's Workers, which consolidates 70 Federal training programs and creates a more effective system for learning new skills and finding better jobs for adults and youth. Legislation for this proposal is being developed in cooperation with the Congress.

If enacted, the Middle Class Bill of Rights will help keep the American Dream alive for everyone willing to take responsibility for themselves, their families, and their futures. And it will not burden our children with more debt. In my fiscal 1996 budget, we have found enough savings not only to pay for this tax bill, but also to provide another \$81 billion in deficit reduction between 1996 and 2000.

This legislation will restore fairness to our tax system, let middle-income families share in our economic prosperity, encourage Americans to prepare for the future, and help ensure that the United States moves into the 21st Century still the strongest nation in the world. I urge the Congress to take prompt and favorable action on this legislation.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.  
THE WHITE HOUSE, February 13, 1995.

#### ECONOMIC REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—PM 18

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; which was referred to the Joint Economic Committee:

*To the Congress of the United States:*

Two years ago I took office determined to improve the lives of average American families. I proposed, and the Congress enacted, a new economic strategy to restore the American dream. Two years later, that strategy has begun to pay off.

Together we have created an environment in which America's private sector has been able to produce more than 5 million new jobs. Manufacturing employment grew during each month of 1994—the first time that has happened since 1978. We have cut the deficit in