

not stand up in time 50 years ago and too many innocents perished as a result. We must not repeat this mistake.

The United States is the leader of NATO. NATO functioned as an extraordinarily successful defensive military alliance against the Soviet Union throughout the cold war. There are those post-cold war who have asked, what is NATO's purpose? But remember, NATO is the strongest functioning military alliance among nations in the world. The NATO powers gathered at our urging to fight alongside us in the gulf war to bring about that magnificent post-cold-war victory. Clearly, NATO will not be willing to play the role of peacekeeper or keeping the peace that may be achieved in Dayton, OH, unless the United States is part of that peacekeeping force. I think we have to be honest about that. If we are not part of that force, NATO will not go in, there will not be peace in the Balkans, and we have only more aggression, more instability, and perhaps more genocide to look forward to.

Beyond that, Madam President, I would say this. The relationship in NATO works both ways. Our allies in Europe are asking us to be part of this. Our friends in Bosnia are saying they will not trust the peace unless we are part of policing it.

But what is the next crisis going to be in which we will not want to carry the burden alone, in which we are turning to our allies in NATO and saying, "Help us"? What will they say if we say to them in this case, "Sorry, folks, you take care of it"?

So I say to my colleagues in the Senate, there is a lot on the line here. That is why I say that the resolution passed in the House last night was untimely and unhelpful. I support the policy of American forces being part of a NATO force to police a peace treaty that is agreed upon in NATO. Are there questions to ask? Yes, there are. Should the administration consult with Congress? Of course it should. And it has been. But this is a time for questions, not resolutions.

Let me also say I support the second part of the House resolution, which says troops should not be dispatched without congressional authorization. But let us remember this: So does President Clinton. He said to Senator BYRD in his letter he would welcome, encourage, and at the appropriate time request an expression of support by Congress. That is what I anticipate.

President Clinton has already begun the important process of consultations with Congress. Key senior officials—Secretary of State Christopher, Secretary of Defense Perry, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Shalikashvili—have all come to Congress to explain the why and how of this proposed undertaking. Everyone understands that there are many important questions which remain unanswered. Some of these answers will depend on the outcome of the negotiations in Dayton. Some will depend on ongoing NATO military planning. Some will depend on decisions to be

made by the North Atlantic Council. But the President and other administration officials have made clear that the United States will participate in implementing a peace settlement only if several nonnegotiable conditions are met.

The operation must be a NATO operation, with full NATO command and control and no U.N. dual key arrangements.

The mandate for U.S. forces and their missions must be clear.

The forces must be large enough and the rules of engagement sufficiently robust for the NATO force to carry out its mission and to defend itself from any attack.

President Clinton and his Cabinet officials have promised to continue their close consultations with the Congress and to explain their proposals to the American people in order to assure that the President has their support.

This process of consultation should continue in a meaningful, bipartisan way. The President needs the support of Congress and the American people if this mission is to be successful. Just as President Bush recognized the need for congressional support before combat began in the Persian Gulf war, President Clinton realizes the importance of congressional support. Thus, he has said, in words nearly identical to those used by President Bush in January 1991, he "would welcome, encourage and, at the appropriate time, request an expression of support by Congress promptly after a peace agreement is reached."

So I hope that my colleagues in both Chambers will give the negotiators some room, ask questions, but hold the resolution until a much more appropriate and constructive time.

I welcome the coming debate. The stakes are too high for the people of Bosnia, for our men and women in uniform, for the position of America in the world of the next century and for all Americans for us not to engage in this debate.

Just as in those early days of 1991 when I joined a majority of the Senate in supporting George Bush's use of force in the gulf war, we are at a turning point in our history. When His Holiness Pope John Paul II was recently in the United States, he spent a short period of time with President Clinton. The President reports that the Pope said to him at the end of that conversation, "Mr. President, I am not a young man. I have a long memory. This century began with a war in Sarajevo. We must not let this century end with a war in Sarajevo."

If we believe in the hope expressed by the Pope and in the important role which America must play in the world, we must be involved in implementing peace in Bosnia. Without us there will be no involvement by NATO. Without NATO there will be no peace to implement. Without peace in the Balkans, there will be no peace and no stability in Europe, and there will be a continuation of murder and genocide. I am not prepared to accept this outcome for America or the world.

I thank the Chair and I yield the floor.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. KERRY addressed the Chair.

What is the business before the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The conference report on transportation appropriations.

Mr. KERRY. Is there any time limit at this point in time?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes. The previous order was to recess at the hour of 12:30 p.m. until 2:15 p.m.

Mr. KERRY. I ask unanimous consent that I be permitted to proceed for such time as I might consume. It will not be long. I assume the Senator from Minnesota wants time.

Mr. WELLSTONE. I ask unanimous consent for 5 minutes before we close, if that would be all right.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KERRY. Madam President, I thank you very much. I shall not be long.

BOSNIAN PEACE POLICY

Mr. KERRY. I listened with interest to the comments of the Senator from Connecticut, with whom I worked on this issue, and others. He is correct that certainly the resolution passed by the Senate with respect to the arms embargo sent a message. But the truth is that the policy that has been put in place in Bosnia that has been successful was the opposite of what that resolution called on the Senate to do. People should reflect on that. The resolution that was passed so dramatically by the Senate said, "Let's abandon the place and basically just arm them and let them fight." Many of us argued that that would have been a disastrous event for the world, for the United Nations, for NATO, and that everybody would have been left asking who was responsible for this extraordinary mess if that had, indeed, been the policy of this country.

Courageously, the President pursued a different policy. The different policy that he pursued was to finally elicit from our friends and allies in Europe a willingness to do what the President had been asking them to do for some period of time, which was to be willing to take certain risks, use the power of NATO, and try to force the process to peace talks.

There is less killing in Bosnia today than there would have been if the policy of the United States Senate had been pursued. There is less killing today because the President and NATO and the European leaders undertook a policy, which I will agree was one that

many of us would have liked to have seen put into place some time previously, but nevertheless, a policy different from that espoused by the Senate. It is a policy which now, hopefully, could conceivably result in a peace, though I think Secretary Holbrooke is accurate to say this is a gamble. There are huge variables, and I do not think expectations ought to be high, though obviously hopes ought to be high.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1996.

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. KERRY. Madam President, I rise today in support of the conference report on the Transportation appropriations bill. I would just like to take a moment to acknowledge the exceptional work of Senator LAUTENBERG and Senator HATFIELD in developing this compromise approach that is now on the floor.

This is a critical time for our public infrastructure investments. There are many of us here in the Senate who are deeply disturbed by the level of reduction on the investment side of the ledger, not just in public infrastructure, but in human beings. I am convinced we will pay a price for that. But measured against the overall choices that we are making in the Senate right now, this transportation bill, I think, has done its best, and Senators HATFIELD and LAUTENBERG have done their best, to strike a balance between transit and passenger rail and highway construction programs.

I would have liked to have seen that balance be a little bit different, but I still am heartened by the fact that they held onto important initiatives and, I might add from a parochial point of view, some important initiatives for New England and for Massachusetts. I commend them for doing that.

I am particularly pleased that the conference report recognizes the significance of multimodal and fixed guideway transportation projects as well as the need to maintain Federal support for Amtrak and the Northeast Corridor Improvement Program. I am concerned that operating subsidies for mass transit are significantly reduced and in some places, particularly in rural or outlying areas, we are going to see reductions that have a dramatic impact on low-income, disabled, and senior citizens' ability to be able to get to work, to get to shopping places, to move around the community. And while it may look OK on the short-term ledger of a budget, those things build community as much as a lot of other things that we care about. When people cannot get somewhere, storeowners lose, community centers lose, and the people lose.

So not having a vibrant transit system is not somehow going to be made up, we know, by the private sector because the bottom line has always been

that the private sector cannot make money at it. That is why we have the public transit in the first place.

I must express my serious disappointment in the severe reductions in transit operating assistance that will likely mean a reduction of some \$3 million for Massachusetts.

The conference report reflects the crossroads at which Congress finds itself with Amtrak. Despite the many benefits of passenger rail, some Members do not consider investment in passenger rail an appropriate use of taxpayer dollars. Others—and I count myself among this group—know from previous experience both here and abroad that the capital-intensive nature of passenger rail makes it unlikely to survive as a viable transportation mode without some form of Government support. Indeed, the U.S. ranks 35th among the nations of the world in per capita spending on passenger rail—behind such countries as Belarus, Botswana, and Guinea. In appropriating \$635 million for Amtrak, which is about \$160 million less than the fiscal year 1995 funding level, the conferees anticipate enactment of legislation to reform Amtrak. As a member of the Senate Commerce Committee, which has reported legislation to restructure Amtrak so as to place it on a path toward greater fiscal stability and accountability, I pledge to help move this bill forward as soon as possible.

My concern for passenger rail is particularly keen when it comes to the Northeast corridor and the need to move ahead with track work, upgrading maintenance facilities and completion of the electrification of the northern section as soon as possible. This project is vital to reducing congestion in the corridor, which in turn will result in important environmental, energy and employment benefits. The \$115 million the conference report provides for NECIP, some \$85 million less than in fiscal year 1995, will enable work to move forward, albeit more slowly.

Another area of special importance to Massachusetts is mass transit. I am frankly disappointed and disturbed by the significant reduction in funding agreed to by the conferees for mass transit operating assistance. From \$710 million in fiscal year 1995 down to the \$400 million contained in the conference report, this severe cut in funding will have a devastating effect on mass transit systems, particularly in the Pioneer Valley, Worcester, Attleboro, and the Lawrence-Haverhill areas. For Pioneer Valley alone, this means a \$1 million reduction, or a cut of more than 47 percent in Federal funds. A reduction of this magnitude will most certainly force the transit authorities to curtail service and raise fares, creating significant hardship for those who depend on mass transit—such as the elderly, disabled, and low-income riders—for basic shopping needs, and to commute to work and to school. It is my hope that this sharp

downward trend in critical mass transit funding will be reversed next year.

I am grateful to the conferees for including in their report more than \$20 million for the south Boston Piers Transitway. The transitway is a critical component of the State implementation plan, and is anticipated to serve 22,000 daily riders. This construction project has stayed on schedule and on budget, and has an impressive cost-effectiveness index of \$9 to \$16 per new passenger trip.

Another important project that will receive \$2 million through the Federal Transit Administration's bus and bus facilities account in fiscal year 1996 is the Worcester Intermodal Center. The center, in a renovated Union Station in Worcester, MA, will provide convenient access to commuter rail, buses, and taxis to Worcester County's 710,000 residents.

I have heard some concerns expressed about the provisions of the conference report relating to reform of the Federal Aviation Administration, FAA, and particularly to those sections dealing with the rights of workers to organize and bargain collectively. As a member of the authorizing committee that oversees the FAA, I intend to monitor closely the FAA's personnel reform plan to assure that the labor rights of FAA workers are fully protected and will keep the statement of the conference managers to this effect in mind as the Commerce Committee considers legislation to restructure the FAA.

Another area about which I am concerned is funding for the U.S. Coast Guard. The Coast Guard is vital to my State of Massachusetts, with its hundreds of miles of coastline, harsh weather conditions, bustling maritime industry, hearty fishing industry, and thriving recreational boating population.

Indeed, the Coast Guard is vital to the safety and well-being of citizens in every coastal State, and in every State with navigable waters. Today, over 50 percent of the U.S. population lives within the coastal zone, and directly benefits from the services the Coast Guard provides. But, indirectly, the Coast Guard, in the performance of its mission, protects every American. In fact, more than two-thirds of the total budget for the Coast Guard goes to operating expenses to protect public safety and the marine environment, enforce laws and treaties, maintain aids to navigation, prevent illegal drug trafficking and illegal immigration, and preserve defense readiness.

With this high demand for services I am amazed that the Coast Guard would consider reducing its operations but in response to our budget dilemma that is exactly what it is doing. The Coast Guard is in the process of an internal downsizing and streamlining program which in 4 years will reduce its size by 12 percent or 4,000 people, and cut \$400 million. However, despite these cost cutting efforts, the funding for the