

issue—if he signed the Defense appropriations bill and did it very quickly and sent the appropriate signal that he was not going to weaken our defense in any way.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WARNER). The Senator from Arizona.

Mr. MCCAIN. Before the majority leader leaves the floor—and I know he is involved in very delicate negotiations in trying to get our Government running again—I express my appreciation for again what is clearly a balanced statement. It is one that clearly recognizes the constitutional authority of the President of the United States. But the majority leader's statement also clearly recognizes the constitutional responsibility of the Congress of the United States, and there is nothing in the majority leader's statement nor anything that has been done in this body that would be in abrogation of that constitutional authority the President has. But at the same time, as the majority leader said, we have no greater responsibility than to ensure that if our young men and women are sent into harm's way, we have exercised our responsibility in our role as those who provide the funding and the approval or disapproval.

I think also Senator DOLE's statement clearly sends a signal to the President of the United States that he can send troops, and he does have that constitutional authority, but without the approval of the Congress and the American people that exercise is doomed to failure. When we express our concern about the fragility or the permanence of NATO, nothing could be more damaging to NATO and the Atlantic Alliance than the dispatch of troops and some casualties taken by Americans because it was a peace agreement that did not meet the criteria just laid out in the majority leader's statement, and therefore the American people demand, as they did in Somalia and as they did in Beirut—only this time that crisis would be magnified by a thousandfold—that our American troops be withdrawn because it was a peace that could not be kept. Then I would suggest to our supporters of NATO—and the majority leader and I are members of that group—there is no greater damage that could be done to the Atlantic Alliance than that scenario. So before we send troops, I would hope there would be debate on this floor, debate and discussion, as there was concerning the Persian Gulf.

Again, I recognize how great are the responsibilities the majority leader has at this moment. They are intense and severe. But I think it is very important, since we may be going out of session for this week, that the majority leader make this statement. He reflects the views of the overwhelming majority, I believe, of Members of both sides of the aisle. This statement may be lost in the short term, but we will be balancing what agreement is made, if an agreement is made, with the majority leader's statement, the criteria

and the provisions which were laid out which I think are not only unreasonable but a bare minimum as the criteria for any agreement and any possibility it may have of being permanent.

Again, I do not know exactly how to express the appreciation of lots of people for the role that the majority leader has played in this crisis, especially in his effort to lift the arms embargo. I do not believe we would have lost the tens of thousands of innocent lives if the arms embargo had been lifted at the time the majority leader first tried to achieve that goal, but now we are where we are. Now we are playing the hand we are dealt. I believe that if in the formulation of a peace agreement the criteria and provisions that the majority leader outlined are adhered to, we may have an opportunity to receive the approval of the Congress and the American people and prevent what could possibly be a very serious confrontation between the two branches of Government.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, again let me thank the Senator from Arizona for his constant assistance and leadership on this issue. I think he is correct. I think we speak for Senator LIEBERMAN and countless Senators on the other side of the aisle. If they were here at this point, they would be speaking out. So this is not a partisan issue. It never has been a partisan issue. It is about what steps should be taken before we decide to commit American forces anywhere under any condition. There are many concerned parents and grandparents around the country as well as young men and women themselves. I think we owe it to them and to their families and anybody in the future to make sure that certain criteria have been met. In my view, these are reasonable. I hope the President will find the criteria outlined in the statement to be reasonable. We will be furnishing a copy to Mr. Lake, the President's security adviser, within the next few moments.

(Mr. MCCAIN assumed the chair.)

Mr. DOLE. We are still working on the agreement. We are very hopeful. So I think unless there is somebody wishing to speak, I would ask we stand—does the Senator from Virginia wish to be recognized?

Mr. WARNER. Yes.

Mr. DOLE. Then would the Senator then go into recess subject to call.

SIGNING OF APPROPRIATIONS BILLS

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I indicated earlier the President was about to sign legislative and Treasury. I am now informed he has signed the legislative appropriations bill and the Treasury, post office appropriations bill. So that brings it to a total of six that have been signed, two or three that are still in conference, and one still has not passed the Senate because of objections on the other side, the Labor-HHS bill.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I assume, I say to the distinguished majority leader, if the message has come down those two bills have been signed, that still casts doubt as to the Defense appropriations bill, and both the majority leader and the distinguished Presiding Officer and the Senator from Virginia send this urgent message to the President to sign that key piece of legislation.

UNITED STATES TROOPS IN BOSNIA

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I just wish to supplement my remarks by once again commending the Presiding Officer and, indeed, the distinguished majority leader for their leadership on this issue throughout. But I do recall so vividly at the time that President Bush was dispatching our troops into the gulf region he specifically came to Congress. I recall the debate, a very thorough and careful debate went on for 2 days in the Senate, and the final vote was but five votes apart; by a bare margin of five votes the Senate gave its approval, I would say—under the Constitution, of course, the President has the right, but the Senate gave its approval of the President exercising his constitutional right to use the troops that were then already deployed in the gulf region in a role which could involve the use of force of arms.

That same type of resolution—very simple, very straightforward—should be employed in this case if it is the desire of the President to go forward. I am hopeful, as the distinguished majority leader said, that there could be other options. People should recognize that the United States is heavily involved in the air missions.

The PRESIDING OFFICER has given detailed accounts many times on the floor of the Senate of the involvement of the men and women of our air arm and the risks that they have taken. Likewise at sea, the United States is providing the principal naval units for the purpose of the enforcement of certain embargoes that are now in place. And likewise, we have on duty in the Adriatic often a carrier and often other ships supporting the helicopters that are needed for backup for rescue operations, should that be necessary. We saw that, of course, at the time the distinguished Air Force officer was shot down and then eventually rescued.

So, Mr. President, the United States is very heavily engaged at this time. Also, the American taxpayers have footed a bill that exceeds \$1 billion, as we would want to do for humanitarian and medical and other types of humanitarian assistance to people of that war-torn region.

So, I hope tonight we urge upon the President to reflect very carefully before he makes a final decision, and that he regards it essential to come to the Congress, as did President Bush. And, lastly, once again, I am hopeful that he will sign the Defense appropriations