

The other thing that I would point out is that, as the gentleman from Indiana will recall, we did in fact raise taxes on the quote so-called rich in the summer of 1993. We changed the marginal tax rate with a 10-percent surtax on the rich, people making a million dollars or more with a 10-percent surtax, so it went from 36 to 39.6 percent.

Now let me ask a rhetorical question. If we wanted to cut taxes on the rich, if that is really what Republicans were all about, then would it not make sense that we would repeal that 10-percent surtax? Would that not be the first thing that we would do? I would think that somebody that wants to cut taxes on the rich, it would be. Did we do that? Is that in this plan? Is there any repeal of that 10 percent, notwithstanding the fact that it was a stupid thing to do in the first place? We should not have raised that tax. We should not have done it because it actually—it works perversely. It does not increase revenues. It actually discourages working, but nonetheless did we do that?

No, we did not do that. We clearly did not do that, and we are not going to do that. It is a middle-class tax cut. What it does is it puts more money in the hands, in the pockets, in the wallets and the purses of the men and women who earn it for their families, and it is for families.

Mr. Speaker, at this time I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON].

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HOKE] for this special order. I think it has been very enlightening, and I know many Americans watching it had a lot of their questions answered.

Mr. Speaker, how much time do I have remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina). The gentleman is recognized for 8 minutes.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. That should be sufficient, Mr. Speaker.

You know one of the problems you have when you are in public life is sometimes you are misquoted, and yesterday I was on CBS' morning show along with Senator MCCAIN, and I was on CNN "Talkback Live," and last night I was quoted on NBC News, Tom Brokaw's news report, talking about my opposition, unequivocal opposition, to sending our troops to Bosnia. But one of the reporters from the AP wire service took one line out of my statement on CBS news which said, you know, "He's hell-bent"; I was referring to the President, "He's hell-bent to send our troops there, and, if he does that, we must support them," is what I meant to say, but we were running out of time, and I said "him." And so they put that on the AP wire, and it went all over the country, and in every major newspaper in the country I was quoted as saying, "He's hell-bent to do this, and, if he does, we must support him." Mr. Speaker, it made it look like I was in favor of sending our troops to

Bosnia, which is 180 degrees from the truth. I am absolutely and unequivocally opposed to sending our troops to Bosnia, and I want to tell you, Mr. Speaker, and the people who may be paying attention to this special order exactly why.

I met today with the Prime Minister of the Bosnian Moslem Republic, Mr. Silajdzic, and we had a nice long talk with other members of the Committee on International Relations talking about whether or not there were perils involved for our troops in Bosnia. I also had an intelligence briefing along with members of our committee, some of which I cannot go into here tonight because it was a closed briefing, and it was an intelligence briefing, and it is not for public consumption. But the bottom line is, things that I can say that need to be reported to my colleagues and to the American people, is there are 6 million land mines over there, and a number of our troops are going to be blown apart, or lose their arms and legs by stepping on these mines. They cannot be detected by metal detectors, many of them, because they are made out of plastic, they are very cheap, and they blow off the feet, and some of them jump up and will blow off legs and even kill people, but they are designed to maim. Six million of them. They only know where there are about 100,000 to 1 million of them. That means that at least 5 million of them are not known where they are, so that is a real peril to our troops.

Our troops are going to be on a corridor that runs many, many, many miles, probably from around Sarajevo up to Tuzla, and we are going to have troops in a 2½ mile wide corridor, and they will be subject to terrorist attacks, a terrorist, a Bosnian Serb, a Moslem from Iran, a number of people who are disenchanted with the peace accord, maybe some people who live around Sarajevo who fear they are going to lose their homes when the Bosnian Moslems return. These people may perpetrate a terrorist attack on our troops. They could put a truckload of dynamite, just like they did in Beirut back in the early eighties, and drive it through a barrier and blow up a lot of our young men and women. They are being put in harm's way with no end in sight.

The President said they will be brought home in 1 year, but in 1 year will we resolve this problem? After having talked to the leaders of these various countries and these various sects over there, I am convinced that there is not going to be a solution to this. These hatreds go back hundreds of years, and these people do not like each other at all, and it is my feeling that in 1 year we will still be mired down in this quagmire. The only difference is we are probably going to have an awful lot of our young men and women maimed or killed unnecessarily.

I do not think anybody knows for sure how many are going to be lost, but

make no mistake about it, there will be many. All those land mines, all of these age-old hatreds, putting our troops in between warring factions, hoping that things will work out even though some people who were supposed to be included in the negotiations have not yet agreed to them. As a matter of fact, the Bosnian Serb leaders are still trying to renegotiate part of the agreement that deals with Sarajevo and the property around that.

So, Mr. Speaker, I am very concerned about sending our troops. I oppose sending our troops. Every time I get more information from the intelligence community or from the leaders of that part of the world, the former Yugoslavia, I become more concerned about the safety of our troops and am more convinced that this will not be a solution to these age-old hatreds.

The solution is to embargo products that are going into the warring factions, to force them to the conference table, to make them sit down and work out an agreement without outside forces being involved because, if they really reach an agreement and they really want peace, they are going to work it out and have troops there of their own to be a barrier between the warring factions. To put our troops, and the British troops, and the British troops, and other troops in between all these warring factions is a recipe for disaster, and I think the President is making a very, very major mistake.

I see my colleague from California here who shares my views. He is going to be taking, I believe, the next hour to talk about this issue. But I wanted to make very, very clear to AP and to the people across this country who may have been misled by that AP story that I am unalterably opposed to sending our troops, I think it is a tragic mistake, I think the President is leading us down the road to a real possible disaster, and I think that the American people ought to know there is a better way to skin this cat than putting American young men and women at risk.

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REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 1788, THE AMTRAK REFORM AND PRIVATIZATION ACT OF 1995

Mr. LINDER, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 104-370) on the resolution (H. Res. 284) providing for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 1788) to reform the statutes relating to Amtrak, to authorize appropriations for Amtrak, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

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COMMUNICATION FROM CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORTATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina) laid before

the House the following communication from the chairman of the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, which was read and, without objection, referred to the Committee on Appropriations:

COMMITTEE ON TRANSPORTATION  
AND INFRASTRUCTURE,  
Washington, DC, November 16, 1995.

Hon. NEWT GINGRICH,  
Speaker of the House, House of Representatives,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR NEWT: Pursuant to the provisions of the Public Buildings Act of 1959, I am transmitting herewith the resolutions approved today by the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

Sincerely,

BUD SHUSTER, *Chairman.*

There was no objection.

#### WHY WE SHOULD NOT BE IN BOSNIA

The Speaker pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. DORNAN. I did not realize your time was wrapping up, Mr. BURTON. I just wanted to, in a colloquy with you, underscore what you said about the targeting of Americans by people from outside Bosnia. The MOIS, the secret police of Iran, have people in all the areas in Bosnia and around there. They are the security for shipping arms to the Moslem Bosnians through Zagreb with the complicity, the tolerance of the Croatian Government, all the way up to President Franjo Tudjman. They have targeted Americans for over a year.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. And they are having Americans killed, you might add.

Mr. DORNAN. Yes.

Now here is what adds a dimension to this today. Someone who has told me who I trust—now this makes it hearsay and puts it in the category of rumor for our friends in the dominant media culture. The liberals will go wild here, but a meeting took place at the White House, all the key players from Defense and from the State Department and security agencies, and Clinton himself expressed concern and asked many questions about the mujaheddin from Iran, the bad mujaheddin, just like we had good and bad in Afghanistan—the Hamas, some of the groups you have named, and the secret police, the terrorist secret police of Iran. He asked about them targeting Americans. He has known about this for a year.

□ 1645

The President is purported to have said, looking at Leon Panetta, my classmate from 1976, "Do not let the Congress get fired up on this. Downplay this when you talk to the Congressmen and the Senators."

In other words, instead of telling the American people the danger that we are in, and, to quote his own words

which I will do in a minute, he is asking them to downplay the threat to our Americans.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. If the gentleman will continue to yield, the fact of the matter is we know there are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Moslem terrorists from Iran who are in the Bosnia area right now. We do not know how many. We have no idea. The fact of the matter is that some of those people were involved in such tragedies here in America as the World Trade Center bombing. They do not like our policies, they do not like America very much.

When you put troops, American troops strung out between, say, Sarajevo and Tuzla, that long corridor 2½ miles wide, you are leaving them open for an attack anyplace among that line. That means that you are probably going to have, anyplace along that corridor for Sarajevo to Tuzla that there could be a bomber, there could be a mortar attack, there could be any kind of attack on our troops and they will not know when it is coming.

I remember when President Clinton had a number of us in the White House when we were in Mogadishu, in Somalia. The President came up with a new policy. He said he was going to billet our troops on the tarmac at the airport there in Mogadishu. He said they would be safe. They would be there as a security measure, but they would not be involved in any combat or other operations. This was after we started nation building, we quit the food handling over there.

Two days later the Aided forces, the terrorist tribal leader over there, lobbed mortars into the exact spot where our soldiers were going to be billeted. That was not anything like Bosnia, yet if we had had troops in that area where the President said they were going to be, and they found out about it, there would have been many of them killed. Think about that when you talk about a corridor between Sarajevo and Tuzla, 2½ miles wide with 25,000 American troops in there. They could pick any spot along there, any time day or night, attack our troops and kill hundreds, maybe thousands of them. This is a recipe for disaster.

I appreciate the gentleman for yielding to me. The President should reconsider, and he should come clean with the American people. If he said what you alleged he said to Leon Panetta, you know, we do not let the Congress get into this thing, then he should be taken to task. I do not know if he said it or not.

The American people need to know the risks. There are going to be young women lose their legs, their arms, their eyes from these land mines, but even a greater risk is the possibility of a terrorist attack from possibly Bosnian Serbs who are going to be upset about losing their homes and the problems around Sarajevo, or possibly Moslem terrorist from Iran. There are a number of people who do not like what is going on over there. They do not like

anybody very much. I think our troops are really at risk. It is a mistake to get into this quagmire.

Mr. DORNAN. DAN, stay with me just a minute here, because I have been to Central America with you several times, we have both been to Haiti and been very concerned about what is happening there. We both have taken a personal interest in the calls that are coming into our offices from families of men who are in active duty in Germany and who resented Clinton referring to them as volunteers.

One mother said to one of my staffers,

My son is not a French legionnaire or a mercenary, he did not join the military to fight under any flag, he joined and took an oath to defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic.

And he did take a follow-on order that we do not take as Congressmen NEWT would like this probably at this point, that we will obey all lawful orders of our commander. But it is coming down to the word "lawful."

Because you suffered through Mogadishu and spoke so forcefully and eloquently on the floor, I want to share something with you. When I was in my thirties I produced my own TV show. We had, the year I started, just gotten state-of-the-art close-up lenses where we could go in on an ant on the set and fill someone's television screen at home with that ant. Here we are, 27 years later, since I first started in December of 1967 28 years later, and we cannot call for a close-up with these good Americans down in the control room a couple of floors below us, and it is too bad. I think the day is going to come, just like some day we will have color in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. I would like for them to see this map.

Mr. DORNAN. If they can see this Posavina corridor that we are supposed to widen by the Dayton-Wright Patterson treaty, widen and enforce—

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. If the Americans could see the corridor we are supposed to try to defend—

Mr. DORNAN. Hold that steady and maybe the camera here in the southeast corner of the House could come in, point with your finger—

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. It is going to run all the way this way.

Mr. DORNAN. Take it from there at the top. The little pink strip there, between the part of Serb-held Bosnia that is against Milosevic's Bosnia-Serbia proper and Montenegro, and this huge glob in the northern part of what is Bosnia, this little, tiny Posavina corridor, 2½ miles, is supposed to be expanded to five.

Keep in mind the Israelis were properly always exercised about the distance from the furthest west point of the West Bank, Judea, from Natanya, by the sea, was 18 miles. They say that is an artillery-lobbed shell. This is 2½. Our men—

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. You have been in the military you might tell our