

education policies of the last two decades and desert public education or desert higher education.

All of these draconian moves are being made by people who have a vision of America which is an incorrect vision, a vision that is not the vision of the majority of the people. The caring majority knows that their welfare and their best interests lie in rejecting these cuts.

That is why the polls clearly show that at least 60 percent of the American people want the cuts to be vetoed and rejected. At least 70 percent of the American people do not want Medicare and Medicaid cut.

If we were to follow the common sense of the American people, they would make the budget cuts in the areas where there is real waste instead of insisting that the defense budget be increased by \$7 billion while we are cutting the education budget by \$4 billion. They would insist that we cut the CIA and obviously wasteful agencies instead of making the cuts in the area of Head Start, summer youth employment programs, and Medicaid.

The current majority knows that the Medicaid entitlement means exactly what it says. People are entitled to health care if they are poor; if they pass a means test and they qualify for the service, they are entitled to health care, the legislation that is before the President now. The appropriations bill before the President will take away that entitlement.

We have already almost lost the entitlement for Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and now on the chopping block we have the entitlement for Medicare. We should not surrender that entitlement. Everything possible should be done. Everybody should make certain that they register their opinions and that they communicate with their Congressmen and the President and the White House, everybody, to let it be known that one clear indication of a giant step backwards that cannot be accepted by the American people is a surrender of the entitlement for Medicaid. We will not surrender that entitlement.

However, even if there should be a catastrophe happening and we have a loss of that entitlement, I am here to say that it is only a setback, it is only a retreat. The majority will win in the end. We should get our forces and begin to reassemble and march on toward the dream.

America can have universal health care; America can have a budget which is a budget which seeks to take care of the interests of all of the people. This is the richest nation that ever existed in the history of the world. There is no reason why every American cannot have opportunity and decent health care, and we dedicate ourselves to that purpose, no matter what happens on December 15.

#### BOSNIAN CONFLICT IS CIVIL WAR

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. SOUDER] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. SOUDER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to discuss my opposition to sending our troops to war in Bosnia. As one of the new freshman Members, I do not pretend to have the experience of our earlier speaker, the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN], who has traveled to many of these areas and has much knowledge about our military.

I am a country boy from a small town in Indiana of 700. I come here on behalf of common-sense Hoosiers who are very concerned about what our President has committed us to do. I want to make a couple of general comments first before plunging into some specifics.

The first and core question is, is sending ground troops in our vital national interest? I think not. The primary question regarding the United States role in Bosnia is whether this is a civil war or is an act of aggression between two sovereign nations.

This conflict is a civil war because the Bosnian Serbs are fighting with the Bosnian Moslems and the Bosnian Croats over political control, power and authority. Since the conflict is a civil war, there is no legal obligation for the United States to get involved.

President Clinton even admitted the conflict in Bosnia is a civil war in an interview with Rita Braver of CBS News on April 20, 1994, stating the President of the United States as follows: "I think this is a civil war in the sense that people who live within the confines of the nation we have recognized are fighting each other for territory and power and control. It is clearly a civil war." That is not a Republican stating that; that is the President of the United States.

Although the United States has numerous interests in a peaceful resolution of the Bosnian war, for example, ending the atrocities, preventing further human rights abuses and ending the suppression of minority groups. Much of this, I think, is coming out of a heartfelt concern for those who are hurting in other nations and watching the terrible torture. The conflict does not in fact threaten our national security.

Given the terrible nature of war, I am supportive of sending troops into combat situations only when there is a vital national security interest at stake and when a clear military objective is achievable.

So then the next question is, has the President provided a clear mission or exit strategy, which will place our troops in imminent danger because he has not provided such a mission or strategy. He has promised to commit at least 20,000 troops. We have heard 30,000, but it appears to be 20,000 here at the beginning, before an agreement was reached, instead of designing a

plan that could coordinate troops with this specific goal. In other words, it was a mission looking for a purpose.

Clinton's implementation force has no clear mission. In theory, they are poised to act as buffers between warring sides, and in reality, they are targets for snipers. His is an arbitrary time period for exit and not a national exit strategy, which means anybody who wants to wait out the last months can do that. The potential for United States troops becoming targets for those who have no interest in bringing peace to the area is simply far greater than any national security interest in Bosnia.

Mr. Speaker, let me tell a local story that has ties to northeast Indiana. Marine Lance Corporal Jeff Durham of Fort Wayne, who graduated from Blackhawk High School, was involved in the rescue of Air Force Captain Scott O'Grady. The 20-year-old Durham and other members of the 24th Marine Expeditionary Unit were awakened on board a carrier in the Adriatic Sea around 3 a.m., were briefed, and departed for a mission 2 hours later.

Jeff was on board a backup helicopter which was prepared to defend the rescue team against the enemy if things went wrong. Their mission was to get between the rescue chopper and the enemy. Fortunately, O'Grady made a clean escape and the Marines did not have to get out of the chopper.

We may have a voluntary army, but it is wrong to view our troops as missionaries or use them in missions that do not have clear American interests at stake.

I know that the people of Fort Wayne and Jeff's family do not consider him a disposable asset, a mercenary just to be thrown around in the process of pursuing whims by our President. I also believe we have shown that there is strong congressional and public opposition to sending ground troops.

The House has voted on three separate occasions in opposition to United States involvement in Bosnia. In the DOD appropriations bills, the original House-passed bill contained the Neumann amendment by MARK NEUMANN, a fellow freshman from Wisconsin, which will restrict the use of funds for deployment of United States forces in Bosnia without the prior approval of Congress. It passed by a vote of 294 to 125 on January 7, 1995. In conference, this was modified twice to become a nonbinding provision and then was dropped completely.

By the way, many of us who opposed that DOD Conference Report the first time, one of the three main criteria that we opposed it on was the pulling of that Bosnia language.

Part of the agreement that came out of that was H. Resolution 247, which expressed the sense of the House that there should be no presumption by the parties to any peace negotiation that the enforcement of any peace agreement will involve the deployment of U.S. forces and emphasized that no

U.S. troops should be deployed to the region without prior congressional approval. This passed by 315 to 103; that is, no troops should be deployed to the region without prior congressional approval. Clearly, this has been ignored.

H.R. 2606 prohibited the use of funds appropriated to the Department of Defense to be used for the deployment or implementation of United States ground forces to the Balkans as part of a peacekeeping operation unless such funds have been specifically appropriated by Congress for that purpose. That passed by a vote of 243 to 171.

□ 2045

We have made our will known. We are not being heeded.

Hoosiers in northeast Indiana do not support sending the ground troops to Bosnia, either. Ninety-four percent of those contacting my offices have expressed strong opposition to the President's plan. We have hundreds of calls, up to three times as many as we normally get. We have letters.

In the last week I was on three different talk shows where 80 percent of the calls were on Bosnia. Outrage is being expressed by the people in Indiana that this President could ignore the will of the American people and to send our boys at risk of a potential war.

I also wanted to show, I know that Congressman DORNAN showed this map earlier, of a couple of noteworthy geographical points that have probably been made a number of times but I want to make them again.

First of all, the so-called Dayton line named after Dayton, OH—talk about interjecting ourselves in international foreign policy, we now have the line between the nations being named after an American city—snakes around making Vietnam look clearly defined. It goes for over a thousand miles. We are not quite sure because they are still sorting out these borders how many miles exactly, but it snakes around all over the place.

Then I asked in one of our briefings, I am on the oversight subcommittee over the Defense and State and CIA, chaired by the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. ZELIFF]. This is Croatia around in a U.

Is there anywhere else in the world where you have a nation with a U around another nation? The answer is no. You have Pakistan, it has been divided, it and Bangladesh, and you have other situations but no U situation like this.

Another core question is, since this part is tied with the Serbs, which is over on this side, what would have happened if we had not gone in? We were told that most likely Croatia would have drawn a line somewhere like this. Well, these yellow pockets are where Croatia had already advanced, that clearly the Serbs were vulnerable in this area, and that if this was what would have logically happened and if Croatia is in a situation like this U,

what exactly do we feel is going to keep Croatia from doing a fairly logical geographical move over time?

Well, there are supposedly a couple of different arguments. One is that these areas are Moslem and that while they are working with the Croats, although they were just fighting them, now they are working with them apparently again, that there was more concern by Croatia that this area would be taken over by the Moslems than the Serbs.

This is what you call to some degree hopefulness, because these areas have been fighting all between themselves and partly what we are banking on is that Croatia will not do the logical geographical close because all of a sudden they are going to decide, well, maybe we don't want to fight the Moslems anymore or the Serbians anymore even though we have been doing so for hundreds of years and we view them as occupying our nation's land.

It is a little bit hopeful thinking to think that when one army probably was going to win, when one army still has that incentive through history of many years of war, to suddenly say, "Oh, we think now they're going to be good" and maintain this kind of unusual geographical layout. Anybody who looks at this goes and say, "Why exactly are we putting our troops in here?"

One other thing that is kind of interesting. We were told, and this map may be slightly different because there were two things still being negotiated. As is apparent, there is a very narrow part in here between the two parts of the areas controlled by the Serbian Bosnians, and the two areas that were still being debated and which are going to be the most difficult are this area right in here and Sarajevo. So the two places they have not defined are the two most difficult and the two most strife-ridden.

The Russian troops are going to be somewhere in here and the American troops are up here. This is a very difficult region to monitor. It is where the Germans were when they came down and lost so many troops, 70,000, trying to subdue this region. They came down through this area. We are putting ourselves right across from the Russian troops in an area where we are still negotiating the borders, where the narrow strip is, very narrow connecting, and you look at this and say, if you already have not established a compelling national interest and you already have a bunch of difficulties with this, would just logic not tell you in looking at this map that you are walking into an unbelievable potential nightmare of a situation for the U.S. Armed Forces?

In the briefings that we have had, a number of other things have been interesting talking about the mines that are there and the question of why are Americans going to be involved in taking out these mines?

Well, partly apparently we are going to ask all those who had been combat-

ants in this to take out the mines first, but there are a couple of problems. One is that they do not exactly know where the mines are. Second, they do not have the equipment to detect the mines.

So since we have the equipment and since our troops are going to have to go through these areas as well as France and Britain, we are going to wind up having to go through the mines, and that is probably what the President was warning us, that we are going to lose lives trying to locate these mines that we do not know where they are and we do not exactly know how to find them, although, quote, they are in logical places. In other words, it is not as though they are randomly sorted. They are at where the front lines were, but since the front line has moved all over the place on this map, it is very difficult for us to know where the mines are. So we are going to have deaths related to the mines. There is no question of that.

Another question is whether or not the American troops will be targets. After all, it was the American Air Force that bombed many of these cities.

One of the things that was kind of enlightening to me was, is that one of the reasons the administration is apparently arguing that our American troops may not be targets is very simple. We are going to rebuild their country. And so if they think that we are going to rebuild the buildings that we bombed out and helped build their nation again, then maybe we will not be targets because the Americans are nice guys and if they shoot us, we will not give them money.

We have heard \$60 million, then we have heard \$600 million. Estimates have certainly been floating around on the floor of the House as high as \$6 billion. At a time when we are trying to figure out how not to cut the budget, to respond to the earlier Speaker, but how to slow the growth of the budget, it is pretty tough to go back to Indiana and say, "Oh, by the way, we're having to slow down a little bit of the growth in these different programs, we're having to do this, we're having to do this but we're going to rebuild everything we just bombed over in Bosnia." It is a very tough sell on one hand to say we are tight on the budget, and on the other hand where there is not a clear compelling national interest that we are spending all this money rebuilding it.

Plus I just thought this quote was kind of interesting. It was in the New York Times, Friday, December 1. This was a young lady, when asked what she thought about the troops coming in, when asked what she thought of the Americans arrival, she said, "It's cool. It's great. All the Bosnian boys are going to be very jealous. We don't date them anymore. We met some Swedish soldiers but these American soldiers will have everything. Cars and money."

This ought to do great relations. We have already bombed their country. We

are coming in there rebuilding it, and now their young soldiers who are coming back and having to supposedly lay down their arms are finding that their girlfriends are all interested in the American soldiers, which is certainly going to lead to extra peace. It is not a major item, but it is just every single thing you hear is not working in our direction.

I read the book "Balkan Ghosts," which I recommend to others to read. It is very interestingly written about this whole region. What strikes you is the violence that has occurred here over many, many centuries between the different nations, the different backgrounds, and the deep-seated hatred.

I think what struck me most is that so many times, in one case, I cannot remember what century or what war, one of the nations in overpowering the other basically slaughtered all the young children below 2 years old, much like King Herod did in Biblical times. In other cases they took groups into slaughterhouses, an actual butcher place, and butchered them, cutting off their legs and arms and heads and hung up the severed limbs like it was a meat locker.

Well, those memories are in these different nations. And often when they go to battle, they will go into their churches, whether it is a Catholic church or an Orthodox church or a Moslem church or some blend thereof because this is a holy war. The enemy that they are fighting has murdered their children, has murdered their grandfathers, it has been in a brutal way, and it is not going to all of a sudden be solved by a 1-year cease-fire if indeed it ever turns into a cease-fire completely, but it is not going to be solved because underneath it there are centuries of very emotional religious and ethnic conflict.

Another thing that I never really fully understood until I read that book and got some briefings is why do all of these countries fight over some of these areas?

Croatia at its peak went way down this way. Serbia at its peak came way over this way. Hungary came down, Bulgaria at its peak, Romania at its peak, Greek at its peak, the Ottoman Empire at its peak, all at one time or another claimed a bunch of this territory. When they would expand in, they would plant people from their nations to plant seeding in those different areas, so you have mixed nationalities in there to boot.

Basically to summarize the battlegrounds, every country merely wants back what they once had. It is impossible to meet that goal. It is much like the Russians saying when they were Communists that they only wanted the land next to theirs. Each of these countries want to go back to maps that overlap and which are not going to be resolved by some kind of miraculous agreement in Dayton, OH.

One other thing. In hoping to go over to Bosnia, which we instead got to stay

here in Congress over the weekend which was about as bad as going over to Bosnia, that we had a luncheon where the Speaker was at as well, with the President of Montenegro and a representative from Croatia as the Speaker, Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina asked, because we heard that it was critical, that we put backing behind this or there would be no peace agreement. You asked whether or not we could do this with air and naval power, and he basically said yes, probably could.

I asked the question in one of our briefings why we could not just do that. They first said, and I do not believe they were supposed to say this, retreated, I do not think it is classified or anything, "Well, it's because this was an American agreement, and the European forces said since this was an American agreement that, therefore, we had to put ground troops in."

"Wait a minute. What do you mean this is an American agreement?"

"Well, this was made in Dayton, OH. This was the American President's agreement."

They do not think, for example, we should be rearming the Bosnian Serbs. So we are having to put ground troops in because our President brought the peace treaty process to America, it is called the Dayton line, it is an American agreement, that made us put ground troops in, not because they are essential to the peace there but they are essential to the American version of the peace because we may have needed to have some firepower behind it, which is still debatable, but we would not have necessarily had ground troops.

There is one other thing that I had learned and kind of reinforced what I had been hearing was we heard a very compelling story from people from Montenegro and it was very impressive how they were getting along and how they had taken things. Then it came around to the representative from Croatia who absolutely ripped into Montenegro how they had pillaged their museums and raped their women and so on.

And the response was, "Yeah, but this happened before 1992," which showed me the intensity here even though that apparently was, if I recall correctly, a 1991 incident, that the intensity between these countries is not just going to go away because we wished it to go away and temporarily put some troops there.

I also wanted to insert a couple of articles for the RECORD and I want to read a couple of quotes from this.

I was very impressed by an op-ed article on Tuesday, November 28, by James Webb, a former Assistant Secretary of Defense under Ronald Reagan and Secretary of Navy in the Reagan administration.

He reiterates a couple of points out of the Nixon doctrine that we have apparently drifted away from not only quite frankly under this President but

under our last one, that we honor all treaty commitments in responding to those who invade the lands of our allies. That is one reason that we would put our own troops in.

Second, that we provide a nuclear umbrella to the world against the threats of other nuclear powers.

The third reason would be, finally, provide weapons and technical assistance to other countries where warranted, but do not commit American forces to local conflicts.

Bosnia fits none of these. There is no NATO treaty agreement. They are not part of NATO. There is no threat of nuclear war in this situation.

Finally, it is indeed a local conflict, so maybe we provide technical assistance but we certainly do not provide ground troops.

Another point in this article, it says that we are told, and this is what I alluded to earlier in another context,

We are told that other NATO countries will decline to send their own military forces to Bosnia unless the United States assumes a dominant role, which includes sizable combat support and naval forces backing it up. This calls to mind the decades of over-reliance by NATO members on American resources, and President Eisenhower's warning in October 1963 that the size and permanence of our military presence in Europe would, quote, continue to discourage the development of the necessary military strength Western European countries should provide for themselves.

NATO has substantially changed since there was a direct Communist threat. We have to always be on guard. Russia could be immediately another Communist power and we would be back in the Cold War. But things have changed and other nations around the world need to take more responsibility. We cannot be a policeman everywhere.

I also wanted to read a couple of quotes from Friday, December 1, Washington Times article by Thomas Sowell referring to the lapse of historic savvy by our President.

He takes a couple of quotes. For example, the President said, "Bosnia lies at the very heart of Europe." Not if you know any geography. It is basically on the fringes of Europe. It is not primary in either importance or geography. It has been a place where there have been battles where other powers have chosen to get themselves involved as we are but it is hardly central to Europe in either geography or politics.

I was very disturbed, for example, when the President at the tail end of his speech made a quote that I have no doubt is accurate from the Pope which was that this century started with a war in this area and we do not want it to end with a war in this area.

□ 2100

The question is what is the best way to keep us from not having a war? I do not have a lot of confidence that quote was used in context.

If these countries are fighting among themselves, it could get very messy; for example, if Serbia loses control of

this area and moves over to here, there may be centuries of conflict between Serbia and Croatia over where this line could be, and lot of lives unnecessarily lost. If the Moslems are overrun in these areas, in a sense persecuted by either Croatia or by Serbia and flee to other nations, they could be at risk of what they could do. They could be much like the Palestinians and be wandering, searching for a place to land. It is a messy area.

But if you put Russian troops right here and American troops right here and you have a change of power in Russia and you have a conflict where this group are allies of Russia and this group, with their more Catholic tradition, are allies of the United States, you are looking at the potential for war. That is how you get into world wars, not by letting these countries fight over their battles and the terrible things that may happen to those countries but by putting two major nuclear powers right across from each other in a very tense situation in defending potential client states. That is how you get a war, and the way to avoid ending this century with a nuclear war is not by us going in there, it is by us staying out.

As Thomas Sowell points out, that first off, Yeltsin is at best lukewarm with this. Furthermore, anybody who watches the news realizes the government in Russia is not necessarily stable. Part of their challenge is they are not being aggressive enough and nationalistic enough in approaching relations with our country, that any notion that all of a sudden we are going into Bosnia because there was this peace accord is belied, as Thomas Sowell points out, that Mr. Clinton advocated such action years before the Yugoslav leaders even set foot in Dayton and even before he became President.

He is depending on us to forget what he said before. Obviously, he depends on that many weeks out of the year. In this particular case, he has advocated this policy. He has now made it come to fruition and dragging all of America along with him under the guise of something totally different. Our claim that our mission is clear and limited, to quote Thomas Sowell again, as Mr. Clinton put it, is true only if everything goes according to plan. The same would have been true in Vietnam if everything had been according to plan. We would have simply defended the existing government until they got on their feet and then pulled out.

You know, many of us and a lot of the media have asked why are so many of the freshman conservative Republicans so upset about this war. Many of us who came through the Vietnam era reacted in different ways. I was a conservative during that period, as were many others, but we did not really like how the war was being fought either. We saw a lot of our friends being killed over something where we basically abandoned later on and learned some

lessons there. That is pick you fights, have a clear mission, back up your troops, do not get in situations where you are the sitting ducks, and some people say, and this is a core question and I am going to touch on this for a minute, is this like Vietnam or is this like Afghanistan or is this like Lebanon or is this like Korea?

Let me suggest, first of all, on Korea, the line in Korea does not wander around in different angles, coming back like an odd-shaped "U" or a "V." And the reason the line in Korea held is because we went all the way up to the Chinese border. The Chinese and the North Koreans were afraid that at any time the American military might again invade North Korea or into China, therefore, they dug in behind the line to keep us from advancing. It was not an arbitrary line put on by our Government in peace negotiations.

In Vietnam, when we tried to do that, it failed.

The case, and some Marines have compared this to Lebanon, more like we are supposed peacekeeping troops, sitting down basically in valleys and mountainous regions where our guys are sitting ducks for land mines, occasional snipers and random people who have not disarmed, maybe like Lebanon. There can be a case like Afghanistan; Russia went in trying to subdue a rebellion. The rebellion had been going on between different forces for many years. Some of the troops fighting in Afghanistan are now in this area, as we learned by the CBS, I believe, TV commentator captured by some of them the other day, almost shot, that there are roaming bands in this same area of Afghanistan fighters. You see many of the logistics.

For me, since I most relate to Vietnam, it sure seems a lot like Vietnam.

I heard the President say the other night, "My fellow Americans." A chill goes up my spine because many of us heard "My fellow Americans" once too many times already. I now, for the first time, understand how some of those liberal Democrats who I did not like at the time felt when they felt they were pulled into Vietnam under votes in their protest, and all of a sudden their patriotism was challenged because they were questioning a war they did not want to get in in the first place. We in Congress have voted three times we did not want this war.

At what point do you say, "Look, we are elected by the American people as well; at what point is there a joint government?" You do not have an immediate threat to the security of United States. It is not as though we have troops already in combat in threat of being killed and the President has to go in. You can argue Nixon went into Cambodia because he was protecting troops on the ground. You can do a number of arguments the President has to have flexibility. Does he have to have flexibility to start us into a potential Vietnam?

One of the things he said, partly, I think, to shore up his conservative

base, if any of our people get killed, we are going to go after them with everything we have. He said that to the troops the other day as he was launching them on their mission. The question is: Is that not what happened in Vietnam? We were there to support Vietnamization, help stabilize the southern, pretty soon, 20,000 troops are not going to be able to stabilize this area, maybe we will need 38,000; someone gets killed, we will have to go up in the mountains. The guys in the mountains, particularly, Afghan Moslems and others who are going to flee into the mountains, Hitler took tons of troops until he finally gave up trying to subdue them. Pretty soon, we are up to 75,000, 100,000 not because we are trying to start a war, but because we are chasing people who killed American soldiers, and we are demanding retribution. This leads to bigger battles. This is how wars start. It is not how wars are avoided, because we are in an extremely vulnerable situation in an area that has had conflict for hundreds and hundreds of years.

I also really resented the President's comments about the Olympics in Sarajevo, talking about how peaceful it used to be. It used to be a Communist country. It was hammered together by Tito. None of us voted to elect President Clinton the new Tito. It is not his job to hammer this nation back together through the force of gunpower, which is how this nation was put together in the first place. You can have different views on Tito. Clearly, one advantage of Tito was he provided stability. That is not the mission of this U.S. Congress, this House, this Senate, or this President, to be the new Tito, and I urge our President to lose his Tito complex.

I also listened to his tortured logic to try to address why we are getting into this war. Roughly, it went like this: Europe is essential to our stability, NATO is essential to Europe, we are essential to NATO; therefore, we have to put ground troops in. First off, it does not establish the Balkans are essential to Europe. Second, he did not make a very good case that at this time Europe is essential or that Europe is threatened. Third, he did not establish that we have to have ground troops as part of NATO to be supportive of NATO.

Maybe because of the peace agreement he agreed to, there is pressure now for us to put ground troops in, but maybe we should have let the Europeans negotiate the agreement that is in Europe. Let them figure out how to do it, and we back them up rather than us being the world policeman who brings them to Dayton OH, and then has all the obligations to be the policeman of Europe. I do not think his logic worked in any way.

I also want to read a little bit of a letter that I got from Ralph Garcia. He is the chairman of my veterans' affairs advisory panel. He is president of the Vietnam Veterans' Chapter 698 in

northeast Indiana and on the State council of Vietnam veterans. He said to me that the entire group adamantly agrees that we should not send U.S. troops into Bosnia. He also said that he described, as a Vietnam veteran, as a former CIA employee, that this looks like Vietnam all over again. "We all agree that is no clearly defined national interest. Bosnia is a European problem. Nor is there a clear, quantifiable objective or mission statement. We will have casualties. The slowing of the Bosnian war process is not worth the cost of U.S. lives or scarce fiscal resources, because peace cannot be enforced."

I hear this most intensely from veterans in my district. As I look at what happened in Vietnam and as I look now at our young American men and women going into a war-torn land in the middle of winter, feeling doubt about going in, it has to be discouraging to them to hear us fighting among ourselves, of questioning their mission, and that is not what we are trying to do here. I honestly believe we need in this House to cut off funding now before there lives are lost.

I believe I am defending those American men and women by pushing before any of them are killed. Once the gunshots start, we have got to rally behind our troops. I understand that. I am going to fight every day up until gunshots start. Even if it is embarrassing for us to withdraw, better to have the embarrassment than to get caught in a long war with many American lives, and I believe that is defending our troops.

But what we need to remember is, just like in Vietnam where our leaders messed up and where our leaders are tripping over themselves apologizing for this and apologizing for that, it should take nothing away from those troops who go in to defend American honor, who do what they are asked to do in service of their country. We need to be supportive of them. Our leadership maybe should hang their head, but our soldiers should hold their heads up high and know they are doing what they are being asked to do and they are doing their best jobs.

When I was a student in high school at the little high school of Leo High School, and my high school class had 68 members, that shows how little the school was, we did a chain letter to those who graduated from our little school who were over in Vietnam. One of the commitments I made in my district, I hope other Members will as well, anybody who can get me the address of anybody from our region of, for that matter, Indiana, who is in Bosnia. I want to write them a personal note of support to them individually. I hope others will.

If I cannot get the Armed Services to give me who is there, I need people to let me know who is there.

Another thing we will do is we will collect letters, particularly over the Christmas season, particularly from

people from northeast Indiana, to send them. If nothing else, we will give them to the Armed Forces so they can send them to the troops there. This is not a question of supporting our men and women who are serving our Nation with courage, bravery, at high risk, separated from their families. This is a question of trying to protect them, protecting our national interest, to keep us from bogging down in another war where literally there is terrible tragedy all over the world. We can go into almost every country any time. We can go into our American cities that have terrible tragedies. The question is: What is the role of our Armed Forces of the United States?

It is a travesty of justice, an embarrassment to our country, to see this President use it like it is the Arkansas State Police trying to put down rebellions all over the world. I am very disappointed at our inability in the House to bring this up to another tough vote now. We have got to cut this money. We are the last line of defense for our troops where their lives are being put at stake during this tough season. Unless we can chop off the money here in the House and try and get the Senate to go along, unless the American people will rise up and speak out and tell their Representatives they do not want their supposed peace mission to turn into a major war, it is very difficult. As I used to sit home before I ran for Congress and then I also was growing up, I used to say, "Boy, you know, it is really frustrating being out here in Indiana, not being able to influence things and not being able to change." Then you come to Washington. You get in there and you see us bail out in Mexico and not be able to stop it. You hear all of this baloney about cuts and how we are gutting Medicare and gutting social security and gutting student loans, all of which are not true, and you think how can I combat this. Then you see our troops going into what I believe will be a war, and we are not able to stop it.

I do not feel a whole lot different than I did back in Indiana. Only now I am a Member of Congress. That is really a sad commentary on our political system.

I remember in reading Barry Goldwater's memoirs, talking about a conversation he had with Richard Nixon, who said he thought, after having been a House Member and a Senate Member, finally became President of the United States, he could ultimately make these decisions. What he found was he could not even get the type of pencil he wanted. Haldeman would go to the staff and say he would forget about it next week. He could not get the pencils he wanted. It is very frustrating being here, trying to change this, knowing the American people are outraged. They want a change. We are your elected Representatives. There are many of us here who are going to continue to battle, not because of any disrespect to our Armed Forces but because of great

respect of our Armed Forces, because we want them to be served in the most important things, which are to defend our Nation, defend our national interests, and when it is unnecessary, to be able to spend their time with their families and have their full lives to look forward to.

LAPSE OF HISTORIC SAVVY

(By Thomas Sowell)

Bill Clinton's speech on Bosnia was an insult to the intelligence of the American people. Virtually every point made in that speech depended on being able to take advantage of ignorance, amnesia, or an inability to deal with simple logic.

"Bosnia lies at the very heart of Europe," said the president. That claim can be taken seriously only by those ignorant of geography. The Balkans are on the fringes of Europe, geographically and otherwise.

Sarajevo is less than 600 miles from the Bosphorus, where Asia begins. It is farther than that from Berlin or Paris, and more than a thousand miles from London.

Mr. Clinton's geographical fraud was not incidental. It was part of a whole false picture he painted, in which we must intervene in order to prevent the war in Bosnia from spilling over in the rest of Europe around it. Not only is Bosnia not in the heart of Europe, its many wars over many centuries have not spilled over into other countries.

On the contrary, it was the intervention of other countries in the Balkans that turned a local assassination in Sarajevo in 1914 into the First World War. Today, it is our intervention that risks creating another international confrontation, if Russia resumes its historic role as an ally of the Serbs.

The fact that Russian president Boris Yeltsin has gone along grudgingly with Western policy in the Balkans thus far is no guarantee that he will continue to do so, as events unfold next year—which is an election year in Russia, as well as in the United States. Moreover, either another candidate or another heart attack can take Mr. Yeltsin completely out of the picture.

There are far more belligerent Russian politicians waiting in the wings, eager to restore Russia's power and its historic role as a force backing the Serbs in the Balkans. What would we do then, with 20,000 young American soldiers as sitting ducks in Russia's backyard?

We have a huge national interest in avoiding any such situation.

We have no other national interest in that part of the world. Not one American's safety will be endangered if we stay out. Not one American's livelihood will be jeopardized.

The notion that we are going into Bosnia because of a "peace" accord reached recently in Dayton is falsified by the simple fact that Mr. Clinton was urging such action years before any Yugoslav leaders ever set foot in Dayton, and even before he became president. Again, Mr. Clinton is depending on our forgetfulness.

Other gambits in the president's speech include picturing the Dayton accords as some kind of achievement "as a result of our efforts." Nothing has been easier than to get agreements in the Balkans—and nothing harder than getting the parties to live up to them. Calling this latest accord "a commitment to peace" is another reliance on amnesia.

One of the few claims with any semblance of fact or logic behind it is that, if the United States pulls out of its own commitments, this will make our word less reliable in the future. The larger question, however, is: Reliable for what purpose?

Do we want people to rely on us to run around the world engaging in these military adventures?

The need to back up the president's words with American troops cuts two ways. We can either sacrifice young lives for the sake of presidential rhetoric or the president can learn to keep his big mouth shut, in order to spare those lives until they need to be risked for something that truly threatens the American people.

If this president can't keep his mouth shut, then we need one who can.

There is a far greater danger to the people of this country from terrorists from the Balkans striking in the United States, as a result of our intervention, than from the war in that region spilling over the Atlantic Ocean. Thinly-veiled threats of this sort have already been made.

The claim that "our mission is clear and limited," as Mr. Clinton put it, is true only if everything goes according to plan. The same would have been true in Vietnam if everything had gone according to plan: We would have simply defended the existing government until they got on their feet and then pulled out.

But wars that go strictly according to plan are the rare exceptions. The big question is: What is our Plan B? What if we can't put the genie back in the bottle and just get caught in the crossfire?

The haste with which the Clinton administration is getting ready to put its troops in place suggests that they will deal with that question by relying on the American tradition of supporting our soldiers, once they have been committed. In other words, Plan B is to present us with a fait accompli, so that it will be considered unpatriotic to fail to back up the president as he flounders in another quagmire.

[From the New York Times, Nov. 28, 1995]

#### REMEMBER THE NIXON DOCTRINE

(By James Webb)

ARLINGTON, VA.—The Clinton Administration's insistence on putting 20,000 American troops into Bosnia should be seized on by national leaders, particularly those running for President, to force a long-overdue debate on the worldwide obligations of our military.

While the Balkan factions may be immersed in their struggle, and Europeans may feel threatened by it, for Americans it represents only one of many conflicts, real and potential, whose seriousness must be weighed, often against one another, before allowing a commitment of lives, resources and national energy.

Today, despite a few half-hearted attempts such as Gen. Colin Powell's "superior force doctrine," no clear set of principles exists as a touchstone for debate on these tradeoffs. Nor have any leaders of either party offered terms which provide an understandable global logic as to when our military should be committed to action. In short, we still lack a national security strategy that fits the post-cold war era.

More than ever before, the United States has become the nation of choice when crises occur, large and small. At the same time, the size and location of our military forces are in flux. It is important to make our interests known to our citizens, our allies and even our potential adversaries, not just in Bosnia but around the world, so that commitments can be measured by something other than the pressures of interest groups and manipulation by the press. Furthermore, with alliances increasingly justified by power relationships similar to those that dominated before World War I, our military must be assured that the stakes of its missions are worth dying for.

Failing to provide these assurances is to continue the unremitting case-by-case debates, hampering our foreign policy on the

one hand and on the other treating our military forces in some cases as mere bargaining chips. As the past few years demonstrate, this also causes us to fritter away our national resolve while arguing about military backwaters like Somalia and Haiti.

Given the President's proposal and the failure to this point of defining American stakes in Bosnia as immediate or nation-threatening, the coming weeks will offer a new round of such debates. The President appears tempted to follow the constitutionally questionable (albeit effective) approach used by the Bush Administration in the Persian Gulf war: putting troops in an area where no American forces have been threatened and no treaties demand their presence, then gaining international agreement before placing the issue before Congress.

Mr. Clinton said their mission would be "to supervise the separation of forces and to give them confidence that each side will live up to their agreements." This rationale reminds one of the ill-fated mission of the international force sent to Beirut in 1983. He has characterized the Bosnian mission as diplomatic in purpose, but promised, in his speech last night, to "fight fire with fire and then some" if American troops are threatened. This is a formula for confusion once a combat unit sent on a distinctly noncombat mission comes under repeated attack.

We are told that other NATO countries will decline to send their own military forces to Bosnia unless the United States assumes a dominant role, which includes sizable combat support and naval forces backing it up. This calls to mind the decades of over-reliance by NATO members on American resources, and President Eisenhower's warning in October 1963 that the size and permanence of our military presence in Europe would "continue to discourage the development of the necessary military strength Western European countries should provide themselves."

The Administration speaks of a "reasonable time for withdrawal," which if too short might tempt the parties to wait out the so-called peacekeepers and if too long might tempt certain elements to drive them out with attacks causing high casualties.

Sorting out the Administration's answer to such hesitations will take a great deal of time, attention and emotion. And doing so in the absence of a clearly stated global policy will encourage other nations, particularly the new power centers in Asia, to view the United States as becoming less committed to addressing their own security concerns. Many of these concerns are far more serious to long-term international stability and American interests. These include the continued threat of war on the Korean peninsula, the importance of the United States as a powerbroker where historical Chinese, Japanese and Russian interests collide, and the need for military security to accompany trade and diplomacy in a dramatically changing region.

Asian cynicism gained further grist in the wake of the Administration's recent snubs of Japan: the President's cancellation of his summit meeting because of the budget crisis, and Secretary of State Warren Christopher's early return from a Japanese visit to watch over the Bosnian peace talks.

Asian leaders are becoming uneasy over an economically and militarily resurgent China that in recent years has become increasingly more aggressive. A perception that the United States is not paying attention to or is not worried about such long-term threats could in itself cause a major realignment in Asia. One cannot exclude even Japan, whose strong bilateral relationship with the United States has been severely tested of late, from this possibility.

Those who aspire to the Presidency in 1996 should use the coming debate to articulate a world view that would demonstrate to the world, as well as to Americans, an understanding of the uses and limitations—in a sense the human budgeting of our military assets.

Richard Nixon was the last President to clearly define how and when the United States would commit forces overseas. In 1969, he declared that our military policy should follow three basic tenets:

Honor all treaty commitments in responding to those who invade the lands of our allies.

Provide a nuclear umbrella to the world against the threats of other nuclear powers.

Finally, provide weapons and technical assistance to other countries where warranted, but do not commit American forces to local conflicts.

These tenets, with some modification, are still the best foundation of our world leadership. They remove the United States from local conflicts and civil wars. The use of the American military to fulfill treaty obligations requires ratification by Congress, providing a hedge against the kind of President discretion that might send forces into conflicts not in the national interest. Yet they provide clear authority for immediate action required to carry out policies that have been agreed upon by the government as a whole.

Given the changes in the world, an additional tenet would also be desirable: The United States should respond vigorously against cases of nuclear proliferation and state-sponsored terrorism.

These tenets would prevent the use of United States forces on commitments more appropriate to lesser powers while preserving our unique capabilities. Only the United States among the world's democracies can field large-scale maneuver forces, replete with strategic airlift, carrier battle groups and amphibious power projection.

Our military has no equal in countering conventional attacks on extremely short notice wherever the national interest dictates. Our bases in Japan give American forces the ability to react almost anywhere in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, just as the continued presence in Europe allows American units to react in Europe and the Middle East.

In proper form, this capability provides reassurance to potentially threatened nations everywhere. But despite the ease with which the American military seemingly operates on a daily basis, its assets are limited, as is the national willingness to put them at risk.

As the world moves toward new power centers and different security needs, it is more vital than ever that we state clearly the conditions under which American forces will be sent into harm's way. And we should be ever more chary of commitments, like the looming one in Bosnia, where combat units invite attack but are by the very nature of their mission not supposed to fight.

#### RULES OF PROCEDURE FOR THE COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE FOR THE 104TH CONGRESS

(Mr. WALKER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to rule XI(2)(a) of the Rules of the House of Representatives, I submit for the RECORD the amended Rules Governing Procedure for the Committee on Science for the 104th Congress.