

Mr. President, as of the close of business, Wednesday, December 13, the total Federal debt stood at exactly \$4,988,313,115,981.39 or \$18,935.72 per man, woman, child on a per capita basis. *Res ipsa loquitur*.

THE USE OF TROOPS IN BOSNIA

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I rise to explain why I reluctantly supported last night the resolution written by Majority Leader DOLE and Senator MCCAIN of Arizona, which authorized the use of American troops to implement the Dayton Framework Agreement.

I did so with some apprehension. I have no illusions about how difficult this mission could be. Bosnia is a country deeply divided by 4 years of warfare and centuries of turbulence. The terrain is rough and the weather fierce. Much of the land is sown with mines.

So why do I—with some apprehension—support the DOLE resolution? I do it because I believe implementing the Dayton Agreement is the best option in a very bad situation.

Our decision would be easier if we could roll back the clock. If President Bush had used air power to punish Serbian aggression in 1991, we might not be here today. If President Clinton had persuaded our allies, over the past 2 years, to lift the arms embargo against Bosnia, we might now have the balance of power in Bosnia that the Dayton Agreement seeks to create. That is why I voted to lift the arms embargo so that Bosnia could defend itself.

But we cannot roll back the clock; 4 years of war have passed, and the parties are now exhausted. Our allies opposed lifting the embargo. So President Clinton began a diplomatic campaign this past summer to broker a peace settlement. The President's leadership and American-led NATO air strikes produced the Dayton Agreement. President Clinton deserves congratulations for this historic achievement.

Last night the Senate had to decide whether to authorize the use of troops to implement that agreement. Many North Dakotans have shared their concerns about this mission with me. So I want to take a moment to explain my vote to them by describing the decision that the Senate faced and the Dole resolution.

Let me put my vote in the context of what is happening in Bosnia. Since the war began, 250,000 people have lost their lives. Two million people have become homeless. Innocent civilians have been slaughtered, and no one has been spared—not the young, not the infirm, not the elderly. Ethnic cleansing has raged across the land of Bosnia. Atrocities have been committed, by both sides. And we have reliable reports of horrors that we thought we had banished from Europe 50 years ago, such as concentration camps and mass graves.

I agree with Senator DOLE's assesment that the President has the constitutional authority to commit

these troops for a peacekeeping mission. While I have serious reservations about it, it seems to me we ought to, as the President commits these troops, by resolution, support the troops themselves and create narrow restrictions under which the President can keep them there—that they are going only in a peacekeeping role.

The President argues that other countries are sending more troops per capita than we are to carry out this mission. He points out that England is sending three times as many troops, relative to their population, as we are. I understand why it was difficult for the President to withhold a commitment of American troops to keep a peace that he helped negotiate and to keep a peace that will be monitored by virtually all other countries that belong to NATO.

But that does not eliminate the deep reservations I have about the risks of this mission, and about the dangers of changing the mission once our troops are in place in Bosnia.

It is true, I believe, that America is looked upon as a world leader that is not seeking to gain territory but is helping to promote peace. It is also true that with that leadership comes responsibilities. But our country has, in so many ways, for so many years, had to bear the brunt of that responsibility—to pay for the defense of Western Europe and to provide international leadership when others would not.

I would have much preferred, in this circumstance, that the European Community would have been willing to step forward and broker a peace and keep the peace without having the United States expose our ground troops to the kind of risks we will face in the Balkan region. But the President has committed our country to helping to secure peace. And it seems to me we are in a position now where we must tell the President these are the conditions under which you can meet that commitment, which is what the Dole resolution attempts to do.

I am not, by supporting the Dole resolution, saying that I believe the President made the right commitment for our country. But rather, I am expressing support for the troops, acknowledging that the commitment was made and saying that our country must now proceed to keep its word.

Because I have real concerns about this mission I want the President and my colleagues to know that if a change of mission occurs in Bosnia, if the peace does not hold, and there is a decision our soldiers should become peace-makers instead of peacekeepers then I will be among the first in Congress to call for the immediate withdrawal of the American troops and to vote for a cut-off of funding, if necessary, to accomplish that withdrawal.

Finally, Mr. President, let me highlight a few aspects of the Dole resolution that I think are important to my vote. First, the resolution expresses

the unequivocal support of Congress for the work of our troops. It commends their professionalism, their bravery, and their sacrifice. It expresses the commitment of Congress to give them the tools they will need to do their job.

Second, it states that the United States will lead an international effort to arm and train the Bosnian Moslems. That is important. American troops will be able to leave if the Bosnian Moslems are able to defend themselves.

Third, the Dole resolution recognizes that American troops are going to Bosnia to enforce a peace agreement. They are not there to make the peace. The leaders of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia have decided that peace is their policy, and they have again attested to that decision by signing an agreement today in Paris. If the parties themselves abandon peace, then our troops should depart.

Fourth, the resolution supports a truly multilateral operation. The Dayton Agreement's implementation force will be composed of 60,000 troops from about 30 different countries, including non-NATO nations such as Russia, Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary.

This is my thinking on Bosnia, Mr. President, and these are the reasons why I voted for the Dole resolution last night. I hope and pray that my vote will help our troops fulfill their mission and will help speed them safely home.

UNITED STATES DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES CONCERNING WAR CRIMINALS AND EVIDENCE OF WAR CRIMES IN THE UNITED STATES ZONE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I rise today to discuss a matter that has not received much public attention during the course of our discussions of the United States role in the Balkans and specifically in Bosnia. While administration officials have discussed how we would respond if we encountered indicted war criminals in Bosnia, they have been silent on the equally important question of collecting and protecting evidence of violations of international humanitarian law.

This is a very basic point. You can indict and arrest suspects, but for convictions, you need solid, admissible evidence. The International Criminal tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia has been doing excellent work, considering the resource limitations it operates under and its lack of direct access to many crime scenes. It now lies within the power of the United States to advance the tribunal's work and the cause of justice in the former Yugoslavia.

The United States has supported the Tribunal's efforts to acquire more resources. Now, the United States and our NATO allies in the implementation force will have direct access to the scenes of the alleged crimes. The question we face is what do we do with this access?