

Even though I have steadfastly opposed the introduction of ground forces in Bosnia, I think the British and the French are on fairly solid ground when they chastise the United States for trying to tell them how to conduct themselves there. And they remind us periodically, that we have not been facing the same kind of threat they have. They are the ones who have had their troops taken hostage. They are the people who have had people killed. We have not.

If it is determined that we are going to withdraw the UNPROFOR forces from Bosnia, then I think the United States has a role to play. I am not sure, and I am not prepared today to define it in any detail, but certainly in my opinion we have a financial role to play.

We have been neglecting our dues to the United Nations because there is a trend in this country that thinks that somehow or another the United Nations is subversive.

I watched some of that militia hearing the other day. I never heard as many cockamamie theories in my life in such a short period of time about what a terrible Government we have. I wanted to ask, why is everybody in the world scratching and clawing and swimming the ocean to try to get here, if it is such a terrible place?

Back to Bosnia. We have an obligation. We are part of NATO. We are part of the United Nations. We have not been nearly as diligent as we should be in our commitment to our dues to the United Nations, or paying for the peacekeeping operation.

I think the Senator from New York will be much more familiar with this than I am, but as far as I know, the part of our dues we are furthest behind on is in the peacekeeping area. Yet we have championed all of these peacekeeping operations.

I spent a day at the United Nations a couple of years ago, and at that time I was shocked to find the United Nations has something like—I hesitate to say—20, 25 peacekeeping operations going on in the world right now.

We only know about the Golan Heights, and Bosnia, and some of the more visible areas, but the United Nations has peacekeeping operations all over the world, trying to keep people from fighting. A very laudable undertaking.

Let me remind those people who always want to denigrate the United Nations and the whole concept of world cooperation that time and again on this floor I have applauded President George Bush for going to the United Nations and getting that body's approval of Desert Storm and for recruiting a lot of the countries in the United Nations to assist in that operation. It was essentially a U.S. effort, but we had tremendous help from other nations because we were operating as a group of nations that the United Nations had endorsed for this operation.

Now, I have about reached the conclusion. About the time I wrote an op-

ed piece in my own State newspaper, I read an article by Tom Friedman in the New York Times. Tom Friedman had been in Lebanon and wrote a magnificent book called "From Beirut to Jerusalem." A magnificent book.

He pointed it out in this New York Times piece last week, that in Bosnia, as in Lebanon, we have religion as one of the centrally dividing issues—they are not different ethnically.

It is my understanding during the Ottoman Empire the Turks said to the Bosnians, "You may be blond and blue-eyed but you will be Moslem."

I can tell the Senator from New York is not agreeing with me on that. He is the Ottoman, so it must not have been the Ottoman Empire. It may have been later.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Will the Senator yield for a question? Sharing his great regard for Tom Friedman's comments in this respect, I think the Bosnians were of a religious group within the Catholic Church which was being excommunicated, and they chose to affiliate with Islam in that setting.

Mr. BUMBERS. I was not quoting Tom Friedman on that point.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. It was, in a certain sense, a voluntary conversion.

Mr. BUMBERS. Perhaps so. But his bottom line was when the Serbs and the Bosnian Moslems tire of fighting each other, they will reach some kind of an accord.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. And then the United Nations might be able to help.

Mr. BUMBERS. And while I want to support the foreign policy of the President and the Secretary of State, we may very well have reached the time—the President made a compelling point the other day in support of his position. Everybody says our policy in Bosnia now is an unmitigated disaster.

The President responds by saying, in 1993, I guess it was, 92,000 people were killed in Bosnia. In 1994, 3,000 were killed. So it is difficult to say the policy is an unmitigated disaster when that many lives are being saved.

But there is not any question, the six Bosnian Moslem enclaves, are threatened. They are going to starve. Something is going to happen. Some of them have not been resupplied in months, and something is going to have to give.

I am almost of the opinion that perhaps we should withdraw. While we might not be, as a nation, actively involved in arming Bosnian Moslems, other nations are perfectly willing to do that if we can figure out a way to get the weapons to them. That does not mean that war is going to reach a stalemate. It does not mean the Bosnian Moslems are going to be winners ultimately. But at least it would help equalize the sides. The thing is totally unfair now to them.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. BUMBERS. I will be happy to.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Bosnia is a member of the United Nations. It has been invaded by another country and in sup-

port of an internal dispute. The Yugoslavian Army, out of Belgrade, is clearly involved. We now learn that it was computers in Belgrade that brought down Captain O'Grady's F-16. Under the United Nations Charter it is elemental that Bosnia has the right of self-defense. And for the United Nations to impose an arms embargo on a member state which has been invaded is to put the charter in jeopardy. Would the Senator not agree?

Mr. BUMBERS. Absolutely. The Senator makes a very, very compelling point that I should have started off with.

So, to allow a member nation to be systematically choked to death while other U.N. members, as well as NATO, essentially look on and allow it to happen is totally unacceptable. Either we get involved or we get out. I doubt very seriously the people of this country would stand very long for our entry into the war. I saw a poll last week that said 61 percent of the people in this country are now saying they would not oppose the introduction of American ground troops in Bosnia. I do not happen to be a member of that 61 percent, because I realize what a sticky wicket this can be. But I was shocked by that number.

Mr. President, I found the Senate in a quorum call and I thought I would just make these few comments regarding those two issues.

I thank the Senator for the time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

#### NATIONAL HIGHWAY SYSTEM DESIGNATION ACT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I want to assure the Senator from Arkansas we are not closing up right now. If the Senator has nothing further to say, we will go into a quorum call unless the Senator from New York has something to say. The majority leader will be closing up the Senate a little later. He has a statement he wishes to make.

In connection with the bill before us, the highway bill, we have done as much of our work as we can do today, so I will be leaving. But the place will remain open until the majority leader comes in, sometime not to long, I guess.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ABRAHAM). The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED DURING RECESS

Under the authority of the order of January 4, 1995, the Secretary of the