

PROGRAM

Mr. DOLE. Let me again just quickly recap: The legislative branch appropriations. We hope we can get a waiver on the military construction appropriation bill. We hope that we will be closer to some agreement on S. 343. I know there have been good-faith negotiations throughout the day by different groups, and we hope that could be concluded successfully.

As I indicated earlier, I visited with the President by telephone about Bosnia, and I indicated to him I would discuss that with the Democratic leader tomorrow morning and see if we could not reach some agreement.

For the information of all Senators, it is my intention to turn to the consideration of H.R. 1854, the legislative branch appropriations, at 10 o'clock tomorrow, unless there is objection.

ORDER FOR RECESS

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess under the previous order following the remarks of the Senator from Wisconsin, Senator FEINGOLD.

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

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA SELF-DEFENSE ACT

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, my comments are about support of this resolution concerning the arms embargo. I know the hour is late, but this is a very, very important subject that has concerned me, as it has concerned so many Members of the Senate, for several years. I am hoping that we come to some resolution of this matter on this occasion.

I understand the majority leader's desire to consider the President's request. I look forward to the results of that discussion and the decisions that come from it. But I do rise tonight in support of the Dole-Lieberman resolution. Let me begin by mentioning three reservations I have about taking this position.

First of all, I think the truest words of the day were those of Senator COHEN of Maine who said, "No one can predict with complete confidence whether our action in this case or inaction in this case will turn out the way we want." This is a situation that requires the greatest humility on the part of a Senator because we cannot know for sure and because it does involve what is obviously life or death for many, many thousands of people in the former Yugoslavia. The facts are about as complex as they can get in a foreign policy situation.

My second reservation in supporting the resolution is that basically I think the President should be our leader in conducting foreign policy, with the assistance of Congress in certain cases; in

some cases only with congressional approval. I happen to believe, under the War Powers Act, and article I of the Constitution, that we have a pre-eminent role in making sure that we do not commit troops without congressional approval. But, generally speaking, I prefer to defer to the President, especially Democratic Presidents, on this kind of an issue.

Third, although I have tremendous respect for the majority leader, I have generally preferred the foreign policy approach of our current President. This President has kept American youth out of wars. He has resisted the temptation to send us into adventures and to take every opportunity to police the world as, unfortunately, other Presidents have failed to do. The President has shown a steady hand and does not believe that we can afford or want to shed the blood to be the policemen of the world.

But, despite these reservations, and while I think the majority leader is a great Senator and I hope he continues in that capacity for many, many years, I have long supported his view that we should lift the arms embargo on Bosnia and we should do so unilaterally, if necessary. I do think it is necessary, and I do think the time is now.

In fact, my hope has been and continues to be that this will truly be a strong bipartisan vote. In fact, when I first got here, Mr. President, long before I realized the majority leader's position, before he was the majority leader, my first resolution as a United States Senator made one simple request: That the arms embargo be lifted for the Bosnian people. That was in March 1993.

Even prior to the election in 1992, before I was a Member of this body, I followed the work of the Senator from Delaware, Senator BIDEN, who had already, before almost anyone else, understood that the key to this situation was not talking about certain American air raids or sending American troops to Bosnia, but giving them the ability to defend themselves.

One of the most stimulating comments of the day, and I listened to a lot of the debate, was that of the Senator from Massachusetts, Senator KERRY, who spoke of lifting the arms embargo, and indicated, as I have heard him say on many occasions, that he supports lifting the arms embargo if we can. But the Senator from Massachusetts indicated that lifting the arms embargo is not a policy.

I am not so sure. In fact, after scores of conversations with people, experts in foreign policy, and the military, my constituents, and especially the leaders of Bosnia itself, I feel, with all due respect, that all signs point to the conclusion that lifting the arms embargo unilaterally is not only morally right, but a very sensible policy, both for the United States and for Bosnia.

I am sure the opposition to lifting is in good faith. But after 2½ years I almost stopped asking questions on the

committee where we serve together, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. I grew weary at the committee meetings and the briefings of the constantly shifting series of excuses for not doing what is right in Bosnia.

The opposition to lifting the arms embargo has been done in a very clever way. It is opposition by question, hundreds of questions, hundreds of scenarios, always the worst-case scenario. It is the most amazing variety of reasons I have ever seen. There are too many reasons being given, too many shifting back and forth, and sometimes contradicting each other. It does not seem credible.

We even heard in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee at a hearing the claim that lifting the arms embargo would lead to an Islamic jihad. Some of these arguments are just way beyond the pale. We are subjected to an astonishing parade of "horribles." But, Mr. President, what is actually happening—not what is projected—is what is horrible and actual unending inhuman horror.

We are urged on the floor today to try one last time. We are told that lifting the arms embargo is just like giving up. But to many Americans, it just makes sense. It looks like to many Americans that we never even got started helping the Bosnians if we could not do the most simple thing, which is to lift the arms embargo. We have never taken the first step and the most important step. We have never lifted the arms embargo so that we have the opportunity not to work with a captive and defeated Bosnia, but with an increasingly viable country, an increasingly viable military, working to defend itself and working perhaps to push back the Serbians to the lines where they were before.

In fact, Mr. President, the comments that I have heard most from all of my constituents is, "Why in the world don't we simply let these folks try and defend themselves?"

Mr. President, other Members of this body did a very good job today answering some of these objections. But I think we ought to reiterate it a little bit. I want to give again the scope of all of the excuses being given for not lifting the arms embargo. Naturally, we have a tendency to want to defer to those who have military expertise. But in some of these cases the answer is very easy and obvious.

For example, there is the claim that lifting the arms embargo will mean that the United Nations will be put in a position where none of its resolutions will be respected; the claim that this is, in effect, thumbing our nose at the United Nations and the Security Council. But the Senator from New York has made the point well that no other situation, no other resolution is in this status. This one involves the violation of article 51 of the U.N. Charter which calls for the right of self-defense for all countries. That is legally superior