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## House of Representatives

The House met at 9 a.m. and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore [Mr. CLINGER].

### DESIGNATION OF THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Speaker:

WASHINGTON, DC,  
August 1, 1995.

I hereby designate the Honorable WILLIAM F. CLINGER, JR., to act as Speaker pro tempore on this day.

NEWT GINGRICH,  
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

### MORNING BUSINESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the order of the House of May 12, 1995, the Chair will now recognize Members from lists submitted by the majority and minority leaders for morning hour debates.

The Chair will alternate recognition between the parties, with each party limited to 25 minutes and each Member other than the majority and minority leaders limited to 5 minutes, but in no event shall debate continue beyond 9:50 a.m.

The Chair now recognizes the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. NORWOOD] for 5 minutes.

### ARMS EMBARGO ON BOSNIA

Mr. NORWOOD. Mr. Speaker, today's vote to lift the arms embargo on Bosnia is undeniably an important one. But I would ask my colleagues to take a long, hard look at the bigger picture. Lifting the arms embargo is an important step and a step that I will support, but I believe we should not miss this opportunity to stand up for what we believe in and state clearly what we think America's role should be in the Balkans.

Mr. Speaker, it is my belief that at the current time we have no useful role in Bosnia. The fighting is escalating between the various parties. The relative calm in eastern Bosnia has now become a war zone. The so-called safe havens have proven to be no such thing, and only serve to embarrass the United Nations. Leadership has been completely vacant during this crisis. Machiavelli said that it is better for a leader to be feared than loved. The United Nations has been an utter failure every step of the way trying to get the parties to love each other. NATO, including the United States, has failed in trying to threaten the parties into behaving. And now we want the Bosnian Serbs to believe we will bomb them if they do not behave. We have given them no reason to believe that we will back up any threat with action. It is time for us to pull out before we sacrifice American lives to show we mean business.

How can we let the carnage continue? How can we sit idly by and let the ethnic cleansing continue? I hear those concerns over and over again, but I must ask in response: What can we do to truly stop the fighting? I will make one suggestion, if we, along with our European allies, land 500,000 to 750,000 troops in Bosnia and threaten to shoot anyone who gives someone a dirty look or uses harsh language we might be able to stop the fighting. Is anyone in this Chamber ready to support that action? Neither am I, but I do believe anything short of massive action is doomed to failure.

With that in mind, I would make one further recommendation to my colleagues, if a U.N. pullout can be accomplished with the use of only 25,000 American troops then it can be accomplished without any American troops. No mother or father or wife or husband should be forced to grieve for a loved one who died because the United Na-

tions was an utter and complete failure.

In my view, we must lift the arms embargo and encourage the United Nations to leave Bosnia. We should take every action to limit the fighting in the former Yugoslavia. The United Nations, NATO, the European Community, and yes, the United States, must provide the warring parties every opportunity to reach a negotiated peace. I would like to see the fighting stopped, but I do not feel it can be stopped without massive intervention.

Mr. Speaker, I received my foreign policy training in Vietnam in 1968 and 1969. I know how costly a limited American commitment can mean in terms of the lives of young men and women. I know the cost of doing things halfway. We have the opportunity to do just that in Bosnia. We can take limited actions here and there, and that will be a tragic mistake. I would encourage my colleagues to act today and in the future to prevent American soldiers from dying because we decided to do something halfway.

### CONCERNS REGARDING EFFECTS OF LABOR-HHS APPROPRIATIONS BILL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. KILDEE] is recognized during morning business for 5 minutes.

Mr. KILDEE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express some very grave concerns regarding the devastating effects that the Labor-HHS appropriations will have on public education in America, and that despite the great efforts of my good friend, Chairman JOHN PORTER.

Since November of last year, we have been engaged in a robust and very healthy debate about the proper role of the Federal Government in the economic and social life of our country. In

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.



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that debate, I continue to be guided by the words of one of this Nation's great humanitarians, the former Vice President of the United States, Hubert Humphrey, who said, "The moral test of government is how it treats those who are in the dawn of life, the children, those who are in the twilight of life, the elderly, and those who are in the shadows of life, the sick, the needy and the handicapped."

This bill, which we will take up this week, Mr. Speaker, I believe represents a monumental failure of this test. Over the next 7 years, it will cut education and training \$36 billion.

Now, my Republican friends are fond of saying that this is a plan that will reward future generations. But what about this generation, the children in Head Start, the children in title I, the children in the kindergartens and first grades of this country? What price will they pay, Mr. Speaker? And what price will we as a nation pay for this failure of vision?

Mr. Speaker, I have served on this committee with responsibility for the children and workers of this country for 18 years, and during that time, particularly in the field of education, Republicans and Democrats have worked together on common ground to strengthen the basic fabric of this complex and diverse Nation. We have worked to provide opportunities for those willing to use the tools of education and work to achieve the rewards of American citizenship.

Education has always risen above partisanship as a shared priority, and it is sad, Mr. Speaker, to say that I believe this bill breaks that covenant between Democrats and Republicans.

#### WHAT IS NEXT IN HAITI?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GOSS] is recognized during morning business for 5 minutes.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I think it is very important on a day when we are going to devote in this chamber very serious deliberative debate on the subject of whether we are going to get involved and to what degree in a hostile situation in a place called Bosnia, that it is important that we also review where we have troops now that are somewhat in harm's way and doing American business overseas in another area where we have a major investment that has been very, very troublesome, although not as attention-getting because the atrocities are nowhere near as bad as the genocide we are seeing in Bosnia, the former Yugoslavia.

The place I speak of is Haiti, of course. I was there for the 25th of June elections and for the International Republican Institute as the chairman of the Election Observation Team, and I was personally much maligned for the way that we operated down there, and the IRI was much criticized for the re-

port we issued as a result of those elections.

Curiously enough now, all the observers who have watched those elections and judged what is going on in Haiti have come over to the report that we issued and basically been much harsher and critical about the process in Haiti than even the IRI report. I guess it is difficult to be out in front of the pack sometimes, but what is important now is to find out where we are going next.

The commentary in the Washington Post yesterday, which I will quite because it is notable that the Washington Post has come around to this point of view, says, quote, "Early hopes, including our own, that Haiti was getting up momentum and building an electoral system turn out to have been wrong." That is a very strong admission from the Washington Post, which generally is very favorable to the Clinton administration's policy games.

It follows a little bit after the OAS commentary that came last week that said that it would be hard to call what happened in Haiti full, fair, free election. Larry Pasullo, who used to work for the Clinton administration as their top expert on Haiti, who was fired because they did not like the message he was bringing back, has made comment recently after looking at what happened in Haiti that there has been no real change there. We still have one-man rule. It is just a different man, and we are not sure we have democracy blooming at all.

Dr. Pastor of the Carter Institute, who has recently come back, I think put the final nail in the coffin. Quoting from the New York Times of last week, the Carter Center, normally a strong supporter of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide of Haiti, said today that last month's elections in Haiti were riddled with fraud and that the Clinton administration should not back a series of reruns and runoffs that many Haitian political parties are threatening to boycott.

So it seems that just about everybody who gave it a fair assessment understands there is a mess.

Now, we have sent a very high-level delegation down to Haiti. It is curious they would be going to Haiti rather than Bosnia, where the trouble seems to be a little more intense. But, nevertheless, we have sent the first team apparently down to Haiti to negotiate.

Again, what has happened is that observers are saying we are acting with a very heavy hand. This is supposed to be a democratic nation emerging in democracy, making its own decisions with all the institutions of democracy, including a fair, free, political program and election process.

Even the Washington Post has come up, and I will quote again yesterday's editorial, "Hence, the dispatch of a high-level American team the other day to move Haitian electoral reform along." It is an intrusive way to do delicate business, but the alternative is worse. To say that it is intrusive to go

down there and tell the Haitians how to run their own country is a bit of an understatement, even for the Washington Post.

What has happened in Haiti is that, finally, they have fired the incompetent who was running the electoral council down there, and the opposition parties have all called for the removal of the total election council and replaced them with nonpartisan people.

Unfortunately, President Aristide has not listened to the other political parties in the country. He has only listened to his own party, and he has replaced the president of the election council with one of his party partisans, who has no credibility with the others, and, consequently, nothing has happened except we have changed seats one more time.

We have now still got all of the people except the Aristide people calling for a totally new electoral council and totally new elections. That is not a step forward by any means.

On other fronts down in Haiti where we have invested over \$2 billion, \$2 billion of American taxpayers' money in the last year or so, we have found that things are not going well either.

We had a delegation of business people who came to my office and the office of many others last week, and they said that, basically, there is nothing conducive to economic development going on. All of the money we are sending is just being squandered away one way or another. It is not going to meaningful programs.

We are still pouring money in, but the good things that need to happen, the reform of the judiciary system, the encouragement for business, the regulations that allow for stability and certainty in the banking sectors, those types of things are not happening at all. So, consequently, the score card is not good, and it is a dim situation.

This is not an "I told you so." But it is a good question for the administration. Where are we going and what is next in Haiti?

#### CUTS IN LABOR-HHS APPROPRIATIONS BILL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentlewoman from California [Ms. PELOSI] is recognized during morning business for 2 minutes.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, today, when the leadership brings to the floor the Labor-HHS bill, or maybe it will be tomorrow, it will bring a bill to the floor which has declared war on the American worker. The cuts contained in the bill add up to nothing more than total disregard for the morale and working conditions of the American worker.

Just to review some of the cuts, at a time of globalization, technology causing a reduction in the work force as well as downsizing in corporate America, at a time when the American worker is faced with that uncertainty,