

maintenance and quality of life programs. Yet, amidst the challenges of austerity, they have remained true to their convictions and determined in their vow to be the most ready when the Nation is least ready. They have always delivered on this promise, and answered the Nation's call.

Whether rescuing American citizens in Rwanda, maintaining the watch off Somalia, conducting migrant rescue and security operations in the Caribbean, and ashore in Jamaica, Cuba, and Haiti, responding to crises in the Persian Gulf, or rescuing downed pilots in the hills of Bosnia, today's Marine Corps continues to deliver on its commitment to the American people and the United States Constitution. We owe them a profound debt of gratitude.

Mr. President, in closing, I ask unanimous consent that yesterday's Washington Post oped piece by George Will be printed in the RECORD, I commend Mr. Will for his thoughtful observations on the U.S. Marine Corps, and I encourage each of my colleagues to read this article and reflect upon the service these brave men and women provide to our Nation.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE MILITARY'S COUNTERCULTURE

(By George F. Will)

QUANTICO MARINE CORPS BASE, VA.—President Truman was a former Army captain and given to pungent expression of his prejudices, one of which was against the Marine Corps, which he derided as "the Navy's police force" with "a propaganda machine almost equal to Stalin's." He said that in August 1950. Note that date.

During the postwar dismantling of the military, other services grasped for the Marine Corps' missions and budget. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Omar Bradley, a Missouriian and Truman confidant, said, "large-scale amphibious operations . . . will never occur again." He said that in October 1949.

In the summer of 1950 the Korean War vindicated the Marine Corps' vow to be the most ready when the nation is least ready. While Truman was criticizing the Corps, Marines were rushing to Pusan to help stop the North Korean sweep, then going to Inchon in September for the great amphibious landing that reversed the tide of the war. The "propaganda of deeds" was the Marines' decisive argument regarding their future.

Today, in another military contraction, there again are voices questioning the Corps' relevance. Critics should come here, to these 60,000 acres devoted largely to a stern socialization of a few young men and women. The making of a Marine officer amounts to a studied secession from the ethos of contemporary America. The Corps is content to be called an island of selflessness in a sea of selfishness, and to be defined by the moral distance between it and a society that is increasingly a stranger to the rigors of self-denial.

The commanding general here, Paul K. Van Riper, says Quantico begins by teaching officer candidates four things—discipline, drill, knowledge of the service rifle and the Corps' history and traditions. The last is not least in a small institution that subscribes to Napoleon's dictum that "In war the moral is to the material as three to one."

Marines tell young men and women thinking of joining one of the military services

that there are three choices and one challenge—that the Corps is a calling, not just a career. On this day, a cluster of young officers—from Harvard, the University of North Carolina, as well as the Naval Academy and other fine colleges and universities—eating a lunch of field rations in a grove of trees agrees. Says one, other people tell you what they do, Marines tell you what they are.

A barracks poster portraying the Trojan horse proclaims that "Superior thinking has always overwhelmed superior force," and officers are impatient with the stereotype of (as one puts it) "Marines with their knuckles dragging on the ground." "Why would the Marine Corps need a library?" asked an incredulous congressman when the Corps asked for the one it subsequently got. The answer is that this nation, with its vast human and material resources, has often waged wars of attrition, but the Marine Corps, the smallest service, must be, like Stonewall Jackson in the Valley, imaginative.

Being so is a tradition. During the 1930s the Marines refined the amphibious tactics that soon were used from North Africa to the South Pacific, and after 1945 were particularly innovative regarding the use of helicopters.

True, there has not been an amphibious assault since Inchon, and Iraqi sea mines—inexpensive leverage for second-rate nations—prevented one during Desert Storm. However, the Marine Corps, which 50 years ago was in danger of being consigned to largely ceremonial roles and embassy protection, is the service least affected by the end of the Cold War.

Lt. Col. Thomas Linn dryly estimates that about once every 11 years since 1829, someone in the White House or the other services has declared the Marine Corps dispensable. However, it is the nation's forward deployed expeditionary force and will not want for work in a world increasingly ulcerated by small, low-intensity conflicts fueled by religious, ethnic, and other cultural passions.

Speaking of cultural conflicts, what makes the Corps not only useful but fascinating is, again, its conscious cultivation of an ethos conducive to producing hard people in a soft age. Toward the end of their 10-week program, officer candidates arrive in the pre-dawn gloom at the Leadership Reaction Course—a series of physical and mental problems they must try to solve under the stress of short deadlines. The candidates arrive after a two-mile run they make after they make an eight-mile march, which they make after being awakened after just two hours sleep. What is their reward for choosing this steep and rocky path in life? Life-and-death responsibilities at age 23.

Looking for today's "counterculture"? Look here.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, JUSTICE AND STATE, THE JUDICIARY, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1996

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to set the pending amendment aside.

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

AMENDMENT NO. 2840

(Purpose: To provide funding for the U.S. Travel and Tourism Administration for implementing certain recommendations and for carrying out a transition)

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. BRYAN], for himself, Mr. BURNS, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mr. MCCONNELL, Mr. INOUE, Mr. AKAKA, Mr. GRAHAM, Mr. MURKOWSKI, Mr. REID, Mr. BREAUX, Mr. DASCHLE, and Mr. THURMOND, proposes an amendment numbered 2840.

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

UNITED STATES TRAVEL AND TOURISM ADMINISTRATION SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For necessary expenses of the United States Travel and Tourism Administration, for implementing the recommendations from the White House Conference on Travel and Tourism and for carrying out the transition of that Administration into a public-private partnership, \$12,000,000, to be transferred from the amount for deposit in the Commerce Reorganization Transition Fund (established under section 206(c)(1) of this title) that is made available in the item under the heading "COMMERCE REORGANIZATION TRANSITION FUND" under the heading "GENERAL ADMINISTRATION" under this title, notwithstanding any other provision of law.

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. President, I am pleased to report the floor manager has indicated that this amendment will be accepted. I want to acknowledge the support of the distinguished Senator from Montana, who has been most helpful in working through this amendment.

I yield the floor, if I may, to him. I made remarks earlier this morning. This deals with the USTTA. The distinguished floor managers have accommodated that.

I yield to the Senator from Montana.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana.

Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, I thank my friend from Nevada. I do not think there is anybody on the Commerce Committee who is any more dedicated to the health of the industry we call tourism. If the American people would look around, this happens to be one part of the Commerce Department that produces an export that is \$20 billion to this country in the black—not in the red. In fact, if it was not for agriculture and tourism, our balance of payments would look really bad.

But when any industry produces around \$77 billion in foreign exchange earnings every year, we have to take note, especially since this country probably makes less investment in this part of our national economy than any other part.

Mr. President, 7.7 million people visited our State of Montana. Sometimes

we think we are pretty authentic, but I also understand where the Senator from Nevada is coming from, too, because they have a very active tourism part of their State government and he has been supportive of that.

If this amendment is accepted, it is only an increase of around \$5 million, because there is already \$7 million of transition funds in there. Also, the plans and preparations are being made to privatize this department because the tourism industry wants to put together the funds. They think they can do a better job in establishing this commission than the Government can, and we agree with them. But let us give them the time, some funds, and a transition period and let them do it.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, as a former Governor of Florida, where the tourism industry is the State's largest employer, I am amazed at the fact that an industry with such tremendous economic impact can continually be so under-appreciated and misunderstood. Travel and tourism is the second largest industry in the United States behind health care, employing more than 13 million Americans both directly and indirectly. Last year, foreign spending on U.S. travel accounted for 39 percent of all service exports and 9 percent of total U.S. exports resulting in a \$22 billion trade surplus.

The work of the administration gives our country international presence. USTTA plays an important role in helping States and the private sector to develop its international travel market, a part of a coordinated national marketing and economic strategy. State governments and private industry depend on USTTA research to assist them in marketing activities and spending decisions.

In Florida, tourism represents a \$33 billion a year industry, employing 750,000 residents. International visitors, who make up 20 percent of Florida tourists, also have a regional impact. Often, tourists first visiting the United States will travel to Florida or California. On subsequent visits, however, statistics show they are likely to travel throughout the region or the country.

Yet while we are debating this issue today it is important to note that the National Governors Association at their 1995 summer meeting, adopted a resolution supporting the USTTA and their proposal to transition the agency into a public private partnership at the end of fiscal year 1996.

The resolution states:

The Governors believe that a strong public private partnership is essential to promote tourism abroad and increase visitation to the United States. The Governors also believe that in a number of areas, the federal government bears responsibility for functions that can ensure benefits for state and national economies and international visitors.

This resolution like the Bryan-Burns amendment has bipartisan support because in the final analysis international tourism promotion is an in-

vestment in economic development and job creation. The United States cannot afford to be the only one of 157 developed nations without an official National Tourism Office.

Additionally, the first ever White House Conference on Travel and Tourism will bring together the recommendations of over 15,000 travel and tourism representatives from the 55 States and territories. One of the key recommendations to be announced is the strong support for a national tourism office that will serve as a catalyst for implementing a national tourism strategy for the 21st century.

Please join me in supporting the Bryan-Burns amendment which provides one additional year of funding at the \$12 million level to allow the agency to transition itself in a businesslike and professional manner while implementing the recommendations of the first ever White House Conference of Travel and Tourism.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, I think we have worked out a good agreement here. We have decided in the committee to terminate this agency. Our dear colleagues asked for a provision that would allow them to phase it out over a year's period with a definite commitment that at the end of the year it is gone, with a transition into a private partnership program. I think it is an excellent amendment. I am happy to accept it.

I know Senator HOLLINGS feels the same way, so we are happy to accept this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate on the amendment? The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. President, I acknowledge publicly my appreciation for the response of the Senator from Texas.

I ask unanimous consent the junior Senator from California, Senator BOXER, be listed as a cosponsor.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further debate, the question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 2840) was agreed to.

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. LOTT. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

AMENDMENT NO. 2841

(Purpose: To protect the reproductive rights of Federal women prisoners)

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection the pending amendment is set aside. The clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SPECTER], for himself, Mr. COHEN, Mr. JEFFORDS,

Ms. SNOWE, and Ms. MIKULSKI, proposes an amendment numbered 2841.

The amendment is as follows:

On page 34, strike lines 1 through 7.

Mr. GREGG addressed the Chair.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I yield to my distinguished colleague from New Hampshire on the condition I do not lose my right to the floor.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I seek to propound a unanimous consent request at this time that I will present a sense-of-the-Senate amendment to this amendment that is pending, there will be 20 minutes of debate equally divided, that there will be a vote at 6 o'clock on the sense-of-the-Senate amendment.

I ask unanimous consent that be agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. SPECTER. Reserving the right to object, I am prepared to accede to the vote at 6 o'clock providing there is a consent to my amendment which I discussed with the manager.

Mr. GRAMM. Which is this?

Mr. SPECTER. This is the amendment to strike the language which prohibits the expenditure of funds to pay for abortion for a woman in prison.

Mr. DASCHLE. Reserving the right to object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader.

Mr. DASCHLE. I will not object with the understanding it has been cleared on our side. Is that the understanding of the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. SPECTER. No; it has not been cleared on that side.

Mr. DASCHLE. Then we have to object until I have had the opportunity to consult with our manager.

Mr. SPECTER. I object to the interruption of the pendency of the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, the amendment which I have sent to the desk—I had not sought clearance from Senator HOLLINGS because Senator GRAMM objected to it so there was no point in seeking clearance. But the amendment provides we strike lines 1 through 7 on page 34. The amendment would strike the following language:

None of the funds appropriated by this title shall be available to pay for abortion except where the life of the mother would be in danger if the fetus were carried to term, or in the case of rape, provided that should this prohibition be declared unconstitutional by a court of competent jurisdiction, this section shall be null and void.

Mr. President, the law at the present time is that a woman in prison may obtain an abortion under circumstances where the prison authorities think it is appropriate to do so. The use of this procedure has been very, very limited.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will please come to order.

Mr. SPECTER. The procedures have been used on a very limited basis.

From April of 1995 through July 18, only nine abortions were performed on Federal women prisoners.

The restrictions on the ban were lifted in late 1993, but when language was not included in the appropriation bill, the Bureau took more than 1 year to reestablish procedures for funding abortion services. In 1994, I am advised that there were 73 live births to Federal prisoners. In 1995 there have been 21 births.

The Bureau of Prisons advises that there are nearly 7,000 women incarcerated for Federal crimes, and about 70 percent of those are there on drug offenses.

The situation would exist, if this language were to become law, the language which I seek to strike, that women in prison who have a serious medical need would be denied an abortion. They obviously are not in the position to pay for their own abortions when they are in jail and unable to earn any money.

By way of background, in 1995, an amendment was offered to prohibit funding to the Federal prison system for abortions on pregnant inmates except when the life of the mother was in danger. A tabling motion failed on a 46 to 46 vote. Then the amendment was defeated on a constitutional point of order—may we have order, Mr. President?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct. The Senate will be in order.

The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SPECTER. I thank the Chair.

The amendment was then defeated on a constitutional point of order 47 to 48, that prisoners are legally entitled to adequate medical care when there exists a serious medical need.

The thrust of this amendment would place women in prison in a very disadvantaged position, and it is my view this language ought to be stricken.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, I am pleased to support the amendment offered by the distinguished senior Senator from Pennsylvania.

The amendment would strike from the bill before us the provision which prohibits Federal funds from being used for abortion services for women in Federal prison.

But, let me be clear. The amendment would leave intact language in the bill which provides a conscience clause for those opposed to abortion. That language, which this amendment does not touch, ensures that no person would be required to perform, or facilitate in any way the performance of, any abortion.

Let me tell you why I believe this amendment must be adopted.

The provision contained in the committee-passed bill is part of a wideranging assault on women's reproductive rights. Mr. President, it is going to be a long autumn for America's women. Let us look at what has happened already.

The Senate has voted to deny women who are Federal employees coverage

under their health plans for abortion services.

A Senate/House conference committee has voted to ban abortions for women in the military stationed overseas.

The House has voted to let States deny Medicaid abortions for victims of rape and incest.

The House version of the D.C. appropriations bill would tell the District of Columbia that it can not use its own, locally raised, revenues for abortions for poor women.

Legislation to ban certain late term abortions, even when severe fetal abnormalities are present or the woman's life or health is at serious risk, is under consideration in both the House and Senate.

And now, under the bill before us, no abortions for women in Federal prisons.

Action after action, vote after vote, we have seen yet another attack on women's reproductive rights. We are facing a full scale assault on women's constitutionally protected right to choose.

Those who oppose reproductive rights know better than to launch a direct attack. The public strongly supports the right to choose, and the antichoice forces know it.

So, instead they chip away at the right, hoping perhaps that no one will notice that yet another group of women have lost their rights.

The bill before us today picks upon a particularly vulnerable population. Women in prison. Women who are totally dependent on health care services provided by the Bureau of Prisons.

Let us be honest. There is no significant Federal expense involved in providing abortions for women in Federal prisons.

Only nine women have obtained abortions since earlier prohibitions were repealed in 1993. So this is of no real consequence to the Federal budget.

Yet, it is a huge issue for the few women who do find themselves in this desperate circumstance. These are not women who have the resources to ever afford private medical services. So by including this provision in this bill we are voting to deny these women access to a legal medical procedure.

And who are these women?

Over two thirds of the women in Federal prisons are drug offenders. Many of them are in poor health, perhaps HIV-infected, or suffering from AIDS—with all the risks this entails for a developing fetus. Many are themselves victims of abuse.

To add to all this, if these women are forced to carry a child to term, they face the certainty that the child will be taken from them. How can we force women facing these circumstances to bear children against their will?

To deny these women the right to make their own decision on abortion—a decision carefully arrived at after consultation with a physician and appropriate counseling—is unconscionable.

The provision included in this bill is bad policy. It is one more attack on women's reproductive rights.

I hope my colleagues will join me in supporting the amendment offered by the Senator from Pennsylvania.

IN OPPOSITION TO BACK-DOOR APPROACH TO UNDERMINING THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO AN ABORTION

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I rise in opposition to sections 103 to 105 of the Commerce Justice State appropriations bill. These sections would further undermine the constitutional right to an abortion.

The right to an abortion was first articulated by the Supreme Court in the 1973 Roe versus Wade decision. This decision balanced the interests of protecting the fetus with the important interests of the mother, establishing a trimester system under which the right to choice in this country was delineated. Subsequent decisions have held that the Government may not place an undue burden on the woman's right, prior to fetal viability, to make a decision whether or not to have an abortion.

There is no right to choose without access to choice. Restricting women's choice on these appropriations bills, and on other unrelated legislation, is a circumspect, back-door approach to prohibiting abortions.

For women who cannot afford an abortion on their own, for poor women, this back-door approach to limiting abortions is just one more step to a back alley abortion.

The many efforts to undercut the constitutional right to an abortion in this Congress, and earlier Congresses, have been documented by the National Abortion Rights Action League in their publication, "The Road to the Back Alley." I recommend that interested individuals consult this publication.

Efforts to undercut a woman's right to choose have included:

Blanket restrictions on Federal funding for abortions. As an alternative to unsuccessful congressional efforts to prohibit abortion outright, abortion opponents have worked to ban the use of Federal funds to pay for abortions. These restrictions, popularly referred to as "Hyde amendments," have been attached to appropriations bills ever since Roe Versus Wade. The most recent of such measures was Representative ISTOOK's amendment to give States the option of not providing funds to Medicaid recipients in cases of rape and incest.

Banning U.S. aid to international family planning groups performing abortions or abortion counseling. In June, the House approved an amendment to a foreign affairs bill that would ban U.S. aid to any international organizations that perform abortions, counsel women on abortions, or lobby on abortion issues.

Prohibiting health insurance companies from paying for abortions for Federal employees. On July 19, the House approved reinstatement of legislation

prohibiting the Federal Employees Health Insurance Program from paying for abortions, except when a woman's life is in danger. The Senate approved similar language on August 4, with exceptions for rape and incest.

Barring abortions at military hospitals, even when paid for privately. On June 16, the House voted to restore a ban President Clinton had lifted against privately funded abortions in overseas military hospitals.

Prohibiting certain types of late-term abortions. On July 18, the House Judiciary Committee reported legislation that would make it a crime for doctors to perform a late-term abortion procedure called intact D&E. This procedure is extremely rare, and almost exclusively limited to cases in which tragic fetal deformities have been detected.

This is only a partial list of the backdoor assaults on a woman's right to choose. The proposed language is just one more step in the long line of rollbacks on women's reproductive freedoms. I urge my colleagues to strike this language from the Commerce-Justice-State appropriations bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate on the amendment?

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, this is House language in the bill. The House language is very clear. We are talking about taxpayers' money. Both the House and the Senate have taken the position that when the taxpayers' money is being spent to fund abortions, that abortion should be restricted, that it ought to be restricted to rape, to incest, and to the life of the mother.

What the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania will do by striking the Hyde language from this bill is to basically give taxpayer funding for abortion on demand. I do not believe that the House or the Senate supports that action, and I am opposed to it.

Let me see if any of my colleagues want to speak on the issue. If not, we will have a motion to table.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I would like to make another attempt at propounding this unanimous consent.

I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the debate and disposal—

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, may we have order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order. Will Senators and staff please take their conversations to the cloakrooms?

The Senator from New Hampshire may proceed.

Mr. GREGG. I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of debate on the present Specter amendment, that my sense-of-the-Senate proposal—which would be to the underlying bill which will be offered and not be subject to a second degree—would be debated for 20 minutes, with 10 minutes on both sides, and that there would then be a sequence of votes should there be a vote ordered on the Specter amend-

ment. If there is not a vote ordered on the Specter amendment, then there would be just a vote that would occur on my sense-of-the-Senate amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I will agree to that time agreement, and I think 10 minutes on each side is adequate. I will only modify it with the one additional request, that the Senator from Wisconsin, Senator KOHL, be recognized to offer the next amendment following the disposition of the Specter amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. SPECTER. Reserving the right to object, I want to be sure I understand this. At the conclusion of the debate on this amendment, then the Gregg amendment would follow, and there would be back-to-back votes on my amendment and the amendment by the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GREGG. There would be 20 minutes of debate on my sense of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. DASCHLE. Reserving the right to object, is there an understanding as to how long we will be debating the Specter amendment? Could we get a time agreement on that?

Mr. GRAMM. It is our intention to move to table the amendment now.

Mr. SMITH. Will the Senator yield?

I say to the minority leader, I have no intention to debate. I am prepared to move to table. But I do not want to cut the debate off if there are others who wish to speak. At this time, if it is appropriate, I move to table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the unanimous consent offered by the Senator from New Hampshire, as modified by the Democratic leader?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I move to table the Specter amendment.

Mr. SPECTER. Will the Senator from New Hampshire hold off on that for a brief reply to what the Senator from Texas had to say?

Mr. SMITH. Yes. I withhold.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, by way of a very brief reply, the language in this bill is even more restrictive than the Hyde amendment. As the Senator from Texas has propounded, the language of the Hyde amendment limits abortion except for rape, incest, or the life of the mother, and that amendment does not even permit an abortion in the event of incest. Rather, the current language of the bill does not permit abortion even in the event of incest.

The language is that none of the funds appropriated by this title—in prison, my colleague from Texas says. But a prisoner can be impregnated as a result of incest before coming to prison. This language is even more restric-

tive than the Hyde language. This language says that none of the funds appropriated by this title shall be available for an abortion except for the life of the mother—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the Senator will withhold, the Senate will please come to order.

The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SPECTER. Except when the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term, or in the case of rape.

It is entirely possible that a woman might be the victim of incest prior to the time she is incarcerated. It still takes 9 months from the time of impregnation to give birth to a child. Incest is a distinct possibility within that time limit.

Contrary to what the Senator from Texas has said, this is not a matter of abortion on demand. This is a matter of abortion when the prison authorities permit the abortion to be carried out. It is not a matter that a woman can simply demand it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senate please come to order?

Mr. SPECTER. And if there is a case of serious medical need, a woman ought to be entitled to have an abortion. These women are in prison. They are obviously not able in most cases—in many cases—to earn enough money to have an abortion. When the matter is left within the discretion of the prison officials considering all the circumstances, it has been used on a very, very limited basis, with the statistics showing that only seven abortions were conducted in a period of several months since they were begun in April 1995 through mid-July.

I think this is a very reasonable position leaving the decision in the hands of the prison authorities, and I urge adoption of the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate on the amendment?

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, if no one seeks recognition for further debate, I move to table the Specter amendment.

Mr. FORD. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from New Hampshire is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. GREGG. I thank the Chair.

AMENDMENT NO. 2842

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. GREGG) proposes an amendment numbered 2842.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

At the appropriate place insert the following:

It is the sense of the Senate that none of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available pursuant to this act should be used for the deployment of combat-equipped forces of the Armed Forces of the United States for any ground operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina unless—

(1) Congress approves in advance the deployment of such forces of the Armed Forces; or

(2) the temporary deployment of such forces of the Armed Forces of the United States into Bosnia and Herzegovina is necessary to evacuate United Nations peace-keeping forces from a situation of imminent danger, to undertake emergency air rescue operations, or to provide for the airborne delivery of humanitarian supplies, and the President reports as soon as practicable to Congress after the initiation of the temporary deployment, but in no case later than 48 hours after the initiation of the deployment.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, the amendment which I proposed originally I had planned to offer as to the continuing resolution, as an act versus a sense-of-the-Senate, but in an attempt to accommodate my colleagues—

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, may we have order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico is correct. Staff and Members will please take their conversations to the Cloakroom.

Mr. GREGG. To accommodate my colleagues—

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, the Senate is not in order. I cannot hear the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico is correct. The Senators to the left of the Chair, please take their conversations to the Cloakroom.

The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GREGG. I thank the Senator from New Mexico for his courtesy.

Mr. President, in an attempt to accommodate my colleagues, who I understand wish to move on to other business but who I also think desire to speak on this issue in some manner before we break for a week, I have made this—

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, if I may say, there are conversations on the floor of the U.S. Senate when the Senator is trying to speak about a very crucial issue that is a matter of life and death, and I urge, if the Chair could, the Chair to be even stronger than he has been to get some order because it is hard for me to hear sitting right across from the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is attempting to be strong. I hope the Senators will be strong in holding forth their conversations elsewhere.

The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GREGG. I thank the Chair for his strength.

The purpose of this amendment is to raise the issue of how this legislative

body should address the pending potential introduction of troops into Bosnia, American troops.

The administration has stated on a number of occasions that it is a distinct possibility that up to 25,000 American soldiers will be asked to serve on the ground in Bosnia. That, of course, creates a significant issue first for those soldiers who would be putting their lives at risk but also for us as a country as to whether or not it is appropriate for us to be asking our men and women to put at risk their lives in this conflict.

It seems, when there has been such a clear statement of purpose and potential risk for American troops, it is appropriate that we as a Congress act to either approve that action or disapprove that action. Clearly, the power to undertake actions which put American soldiers' lives in harm's way lies primarily and first with the President, but obviously we as a Congress also play a major role, not only on the appropriating side but, more importantly, on the side of being concerned for our soldiers, many of whom will obviously be our constituents.

Therefore, I feel strongly that prior to the President taking this action, he should come to the Congress and ask for our approval. I believe he should meet three tests before we give him that approval.

First, he should be able to define what it is that the soldiers will be asked to undertake, what the conflict is that we will be entering and what our role is in that conflict.

Second, he should be able to explain to us the length of time and the manner in which they are going to serve when they are on the ground and what sort of risks they will be put at.

And, third he needs to be able to express to us how we will be getting our soldiers out.

I think it is very important that he define in this process what our national interest is in putting American lives at risk. That is the bottom line, I believe, that he must satisfy as President.

In addressing that issue, the appropriate body to address it to, obviously, is the American people but also the Congress of the United States as the representative of the American people. Therefore, I do feel it is absolutely critical that before troops are deployed in this region, especially in the numbers which are being considered by the administration—25,000—we have a full and open debate of the matter here in the Congress and that we get from the President a clear and precise and understandable definition of purpose in undertaking this very serious act.

So this sense-of-the-Senate resolution essentially addresses that issue. It says that the President shall come to the Congress before he sends troops into harm's way in Bosnia except in certain limited circumstances.

The language which I have agreed to is actually language which I originally

drafted and then presented to the other side, which was reviewed, and to which they made some adjustments, and I understand it is now acceptable to the Democratic leader. As such, I hope we could have strong support of this because it is clearly the role of the Congress to undertake this sort of debate and pursue this sort of action before our troops are deployed in this type of situation.

I reserve the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who controls time in opposition to the amendment?

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, I believe I am in control.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, could I be notified after 4 minutes?

Mr. President, I agree with this amendment expressing the sense of the Senate that none of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available pursuant to this act shall be used for deployment of combat equipped forces of the Armed Forces of the United States for any ground operations in Bosnia unless, and then the two conditions as set forth: Congress approves in advance deployment of such forces of the Armed Forces and the temporary deployment authority.

Mr. President, this amendment does not have the effect of law and does not tie the President's hands. It does state the sentiment and view of the Senate of the United States. If it did tie the President's hands at this critical juncture while the peace negotiations are underway, I would oppose it and vote against it. We should not tie the hands of the President at this critical juncture. If the word went out that there was going to be no U.S. participation after a peace agreement is entered into, then there likely would be no peace agreement entered into by the parties.

Mr. President, America must lead. We have seen what happens when we do not lead. We have recently seen what happens when we do lead. Our leadership must be in NATO and through NATO. Our objections to deployment, if there are objections to deployment, of troops by the United States should also be applicable to NATO troops because we are part of that alliance. It is not just the United States we are concerned about. It is also our allies and the alliance itself. Our conditions for deployment should be made known through NATO and that forum.

Before any decision is made to deploy U.S. forces or in my view NATO forces pursuant to a peace agreement, we should ask a number of questions, a very difficult set of questions, a very important set of questions regarding that deployment.

The first question that I would have—and there would probably be others that would occur to me as time goes on—are the borders between the various factions under the peace agreement both definable and defensible? Is

this a sound peace agreement? If we are deploying pursuant to a peace agreement, the key question is, what kind of peace agreement? Is it a sound peace agreement? Does it have a reasonable chance of success? And can U.S. forces and NATO forces enhance the prospects of success?

The second question I would have: Has the President clearly made the case to the American people that the deployment of U.S. ground forces is important to America's national security? That case must be made. The American people must understand this. They must support it. That is a condition that has to be fulfilled if we are going to have a sustainable position if things get rough in Bosnia. And they could get rough—no one should be mistaken about that—although the risk has gone down substantially compared to a month ago when the lines were not as clear as they have been since the recent ground action.

Mr. President, the concern I have would not be simply the rights of the Bosnian Moslems versus the Bosnian Serbs but also the rights of the Bosnian Moslems vis-a-vis the Croatian-Bosnians, if that kind of federation breaks up. And it is very important that federation not break up.

Another question, Mr. President, that I think has to be discussed by our executive branch and by Congress, do we have an exit strategy? By that I mean, do we know when the mission will be successful, when it will end and how we define success?

That involves at least deciding in advance with our allies whether we are going to arm the Bosnian Moslems before we exit—before we exit—or whether we are going to find another way to level the playing field so that the parties can defend their own territory including the possibility of a build down.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has consumed 4 minutes.

Mr. NUNN. I yield myself 1 more minute, Mr. President.

Mr. President, the other question that occurs to me at this moment is whether NATO is clearly going to be in charge. NATO must be in charge. There must be no dual key. We cannot have a repeat of what we have had in the last 2 years with the United Nations having the dual key. I believe it is also imperative, if we are going to deploy NATO forces and U.S. forces, that we deploy a robust force, a force that is big enough and tough enough and well enough equipped not to be pushed around and to defend itself in the event of any kind of conflict.

There must be clear rules of engagement. And those rules of engagement must permit a very vigorous response to any attack on U.S. forces or NATO forces.

Mr. President, these are just a few of the questions that I believe are important.

I reserve the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to add Senator LIEBERMAN and Senator DOMENICI as cosponsors.

I yield 2 minutes to Senator SPECTER.

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

Mr. SPECTER. I support this sense-of-the-Senate resolution because I think it is indispensable that advance approval be given by Congress before U.S. troops are deployed, absent the emergency situation described in subparagraph 2.

When the distinguished Senator from Georgia talks about impeding the ultimate peace agreement, it seems to me that we ought to put everyone on notice that congressional approval is required before there will be a commitment of 25,000 U.S. personnel. What we are really involved in in modern times is that the constitutional authority of the Congress to declare war has been undermined by the conflict in Korea, which was really a war without a congressional declaration, and by the Vietnam war, which was really a conflict there without a congressional declaration, the Gulf of Tonkin resolution not really being a substitute.

There was very serious debate on the floor of this body in January of 1991 when the use of force was authorized. I took the position, as did many Senators, that the President, a Republican President, George Bush, did not have the authority to go into the gulf war without congressional authorization.

The questions which have been posed by the Senator from Georgia are very important questions for congressional debate. We should not have a decision made to obligate U.S. personnel without congressional authority. And everyone who is a party to the negotiations there ought to understand that that is the position of the Congress.

Without support from the American people, the military action cannot be sustained. That support is determined by the action of the Congress of the United States. So this is a very important resolution to put everyone on notice, including the President of the United States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Who yields time?

Mr. LEVIN. Would the Senator from Georgia yield me 1 minute?

Mr. NUNN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. NUNN. I yield the Senator from Michigan 1 minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. LEVIN. I thank the Senator and I thank the Chair.

I wonder if the Senator would be willing to answer a question relative to his understanding of this resolution.

I, first of all, thank he laid out a series of very important questions, and I concur that those are critical questions that need to be answered prior to the use of ground forces in Bosnia.

But my question of the Senator is this: He pointed out this is not legally binding because it is a sense-of-the-Senate resolution. If this same language at a later time were offered without the words that it is a "sense of the Senate" so that it did then become a legally binding document or language, would it be consistent for those of us who might vote yes today to vote no at a later time because of the timing of the offer of that language or for any other of a number of possible reasons?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. LEVIN. Would the Senator yield me 30 additional seconds?

Mr. NUNN. I yield myself 30 seconds.

I will respond to the Senator from Michigan that his question should be answered, yes, it would be consistent. There is a great deal of difference in expressing to the President what the view of the Senate is and then passing a law that binds the President, particularly when this kind of negotiation is going on. So it would be consistent.

Mr. LEVIN. I thank the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. GREGG. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from South Carolina.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I went to the White House today and met with the President and Members of the Senate on this particular subject. I took the occasion at that time to make three points:

First, the American public needs to fully and completely understand what U.S. national security interests are at stake before the United States commits or sends United States service men and women to Bosnia.

Next, the President of the United States should not commit or send U.S. troops without congressional approval.

Now, if that congressional approval is given—this is the third point—any U.S. forces will have to be under the NATO operational control with robust rules of engagement. And I feel that this is such a serious situation, that these three points should be observed in considering this important matter.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Georgia. I thank the Senator from New Hampshire also for working out language with us. This is precisely the same thing we have already voted on in the Senate by 99 to 1. We basically already approved this language. It is a variation in the language here today. But it is the same principle. And the principle is very simple; that if we are going to engage in a large-scale peacekeeping effort, the country is better off and the President

is better off with approval from Congress.

I think it is very important to note that the meeting that the Senator from South Carolina just talked about today was attended broadly by House and Senate Members, bipartisan leadership.

The President made it very clear, saying that he thought President Bush did the right thing in coming to Congress to ask for approval. He thought the Congress did the right thing in giving it. But we should remember that President Bush sent 500,000 troops to the gulf prior to any approval from Congress. All he had was a sense-of-the-Senate resolution saying this was OK after the fact. The President appropriately has reserved the right with respect to constitutional power not to make a commitment. And we should not hold him to that.

So I think it is entirely appropriate here today to say that a sense of the Senate should have unanimous approval. But if this were a law tying the hands of the President, I think many Members on the other side would also join us in disapproving it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. NUNN. I reserve the remainder of my time.

How much time do I have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 1 minute 55 seconds.

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, of that time, I yield to the Senator from Illinois 1 minute and I yield to the Senator from Connecticut 55 seconds.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, I agree with everything the Senator from Georgia had to say. I reach a different conclusion. And I may be the only one voting against this. Tom Friedman of the New York Times had a column recently in which he said, "France acts like a great power but does not have the resources. The United States has the resources but does not act like a great power."

We cannot have effective foreign policy if Congress micromanages it. The Senator from Georgia asks a series of questions. I think there is one other question. Does it help peace in Bosnia to adopt this resolution? I think it unnecessarily raises questions, and I am going to vote against the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut is recognized for the remaining time.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, I rise to support the amendment. I am privileged to be a co-sponsor of it because I think it ought to be the beginning of bipartisan cooperation on this question of authorizing American troops to be part of a peacekeeping mission in Bosnia. The fact is that this amendment is consistent with what President Clinton has said. He has clearly said he expects and would welcome congressional ac-

tion prior to any dispatch of American troops to Bosnia to enforce a genuine and just peace agreement.

Mr. President, I want to make very clear that I view the exercise of American leadership to bring about the NATO strikes which have brought Bosnia now to the verge of peace as an exercise of leadership which has revived NATO's credibility.

There is no way, if there is a peace agreement, that we can maintain our credibility and NATO's if we do not contribute American troops to that peacekeeping force.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

Mr. GREGG. How much time do I have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire has 2 minutes 40 seconds.

Mr. GREGG. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Maine.

Mr. COHEN. Let me take a moment to challenge the notion that somehow the U.S. Senate is engaged in micromanagement.

We are talking about the President of the United States, who is considering deploying 25,000 troops to one of the most hostile regions in the world, that has been filled for centuries with ethnic hatred, poison and death. And we are talking about deploying those troops to that region without having any sort of defined plan presented to us, without knowing what the ground rules are going to be, so to speak, without knowing who is in charge, without knowing what the Russian role is going to be.

If ever there was a case in which we ought to be consulted and give approval, it is this one.

Let me also take issue with those who said, "Well, President Bush finally came to Congress." It was only after we insisted day in and day out and by going down to the White House, that the President finally agreed to come to Congress to get authority. Before that President Bush was determined to say, "I only have to get authority from the United Nations, that's where I get my authority." We resisted that, and we actually forced the administration to come to us. Not only was it politically wise for him to do so, but we believe he was constitutionally mandated to do so.

So the notion that somehow we are micromanaging is misconceived. We are the ones who raise and support the Army, and we have a coequal responsibility, not just the President, if we start deploying 25,000 troops to a region that has been afflicted over the centuries with hatred and conflict.

Mr. President, I support the Senator's resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire has 40 seconds remaining.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, this resolution lays down the ground rules for

any major American involvement in Bosnia, and essentially they are: The President must explain to this Congress and the American people what the national interest is which justifies putting American lives at risk, and must receive the approval of this Congress before those lives are put at risk.

That is a reasonable request in a democracy, and I appreciate the support of the Members of the Senate in this matter.

Mr. DOLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. SNOWE). The majority leader.

Mr. DOLE. Madam President, I will use 2 minutes of my leader's time to comment on the pending matter.

We had a good meeting with the President this afternoon. Many of us were there, Republicans and Democrats. I think he understands the administration needs to present their case to Congress.

I asked three questions, very short questions: How many? How long? And how much? How many American troops, men and women are going to go to Bosnia? How long are they going to be there? And how much will it cost? That is the first thing the American people want to know.

I believe we are making progress in that part of the world because of the bipartisan efforts of Members of Congress who have stood firm in support of a small nation, an independent nation, a member of the United Nations, Bosnia and Herzegovina. That plus the Croatian military action a couple of months ago, in my view, moved us along, plus the negotiating efforts by the administration.

So I think everybody can take some credit. But the case has not been made to this point. It may be made, perhaps it will be made. The view I had from the President, without quoting anything he said, is that he certainly understood that they would have to come up and make their case. They are going to ask for money, and I think they will go before the Foreign Relations Committee, maybe the Armed Services Committee and maybe make an excellent case.

I know how bitter some of the debate was during the gulf crisis, and I know many in this body said we ought to have sanctions, that sanctions would work. We still have sanctions, and Saddam Hussein is still there. It has been years and years, so that was not the right way to go.

In any event, I hope that we will do what we should do. We are talking about American lives, American young men and women, and we do need to make a very careful judgment, and I think this sends a strong signal that we will make that careful judgment. I thank my colleague.

Mr. GREGG. Madam President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. EXON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. EXON. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that I be granted 1 minute for debate before the vote.

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

Mr. EXON. Madam President, I wish to congratulate the majority leader for the remarks he just made. I thought it was an excellent meeting at the White House today.

I will simply say that I think the President unquestionably has agreed to consult with the Congress. I believe that commitment was made again today.

This is a very critical time. I hope and believe that adoption of this measure is meaningless, but I hope and think at this particular time we could do no good by adopting this once again, but, obviously, it will be adopted. I will oppose it because I think it is ill-timed for us to be stepping into this matter once again at this particular juncture.

I thank the Chair, and I yield the floor.

Mr. DOLE. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD a letter the President sent to me on October 20, 1993. Let me read one paragraph:

I also have made clear that it would be helpful to have a strong expression of support of the United States Congress prior to the participation of U.S. forces in implementation of a Bosnian peace accord. For that reason, I would welcome and encourage congressional authorization of any military involvement in Bosnia.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, DC, October 20, 1993.

Hon. ROBERT DOLE,
United States Senate,
Washington, DC.

Dear Mr. Leader:

The violent conflict in the former Yugoslavia continues to be a source of deep concern. As you know, my Administration is committed to help stop the bloodshed and implement a fair and enforceable peace agreement, if the parties to the conflict can reach one. I have stated that such enforcement potentially could include American military personnel as part of a NATO operation. I have also specified a number of conditions that would need to be met before our troops would participate in such an operation.

I also have made clear that it would be helpful to have a strong expression of support from the United States Congress prior to the participation of U.S. forces in implementation of a Bosnian peace accord. For that reason, I would welcome and encourage congressional authorization of any military involvement in Bosnia.

The conflict in Bosnia ultimately is a matter for the parties to resolve, but the nations of Europe and the United States have significant interests at stake. For that reason, I am committed to keep our nation engaged in the search for a fair and workable resolution to this tragic conflict.

In closing, I want to express my sincere appreciation and respect for the manner in which we have been able to work together on important issues affecting national security.

Over the years, the greatest successes in American foreign policy have had bipartisan support. I am gratified that we have been able to sustain that tradition and thank you for your leadership in that regard.

Sincerely,

BILL CLINTON

MAKING CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1996

Mr. DOLE. Madam President, before moving to the vote, I would like to take up the CR, which has now been cleared on each side.

I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now turn to the consideration of House Joint Resolution 108.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (H.J. Res. 108) making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1996, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

Mr. HATFIELD. Madam President, the Senate has received from the House a joint resolution to provide funding through November 13, 1995, for the continuation governmental activities carried out during fiscal year 1995.

This is a clean bill, providing funding for the activities funded in the 13 annual appropriations bills. The funding levels are sufficient to continue government activities without prejudice to the ultimate enactment of regular bills, but at levels sufficiently low to provide an impetus for successful completion of those bills.

The bill continues ongoing programs at restrictive rates that are the average—less 5 percent—of the 1996 levels in the House-passed and Senate-passed bills. For those programs that are terminated or significantly affected by either the House or Senate bills, the rate may be increased to a minimal level—which could be up to 90 percent of the current rate. In any instance where the application of the formula would result in furloughs then the rate can be increased to a level just sufficient to avoid furloughs.

I would have preferred to come here today to announce the enactment into law of the 13 regular bills, rather than to urge your support for a continuing resolution covering those 13 bills. At this point, however, non of the regular bills has been enacted into law. I am hopeful that before the end of the session we can resolve our differences with the administration and the House and have 13 bills enacted into law. The 6 additional weeks granted by this resolution will give us some breathing room for addressing some fundamental differences between the executive and legislative branches.

This joint resolution is very restrictive. This resolution is drafted so that

there is very little incentive to extend the resolution for a longer time. For example, section 114 mandates that the resolution “shall be implemented so that only the most limited funding action of that permitted in the resolution shall be taken in order to provide for the continuation of projects and activities.” In addition, section 113 mandates that, for those programs that had high initial rates of operation or completed distribution of funds to other entities at the beginning of fiscal year 1995, no similar distributions shall be made or grants shall be awarded that would impinge upon final funding prerogatives. Also, section 109 states that no provision in the fiscal year 1996 Appropriations Acts that makes the availability of any appropriation contingent upon the enactment of additional authorizing or other legislation shall be effective before the expiration date set forth in the resolution. These provisions help guarantee that neither the executive nor legislative branches will prefer continuation of this resolution to the enactment of the regular fiscal year 1996 bills.

Mr. BYRD. Madam President, I congratulate the Republican leadership in the House and Senate for working diligently over the past number of days in hammering out with the administration this continuing resolution, H.J. Res. 108. I particularly compliment the efforts of the chairmen of the Appropriations Committees of the House and Senate, Congressman LIVINGSTON and Senator HATFIELD, for their leadership in working out this agreement. These two chairmen deserve the lion's share of the credit for working day and night over the past several weeks in negotiations with the administration on this continuing resolution.

Enactment of this resolution will provide the necessary funds to continue the operations of all agencies and departments of the Federal government over the period October 1 (the beginning of fiscal year 1996) through November 13, 1995. In addition, the resolution provides that, upon enactment into law of any of the 13 regular appropriation bills for fiscal year 1996, that full year appropriation act shall supersede the continuing resolution.

This continuing resolution is necessary to enable Congress to complete its work on the fiscal year 1996 appropriation bills. To date, only two of the 13 regular appropriation bills have been sent to the President for his signature—namely, the Military Construction Appropriation Bill and the Legislative Branch Appropriation Bill.

There are a number of other bills upon which conferences either have been completed or are nearing completion. However, the President has indicated that he will veto as many as five, or possibly more of the 1996 appropriation bills. Among the bills that he has expressed his intention to veto are the Defense Appropriation Bill, which, in the President's view, provides several billion dollars above what he and the