

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. LOTT. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the previous vote be reconsidered.

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. LOTT. I observe the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. THURMOND. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent now to bring up the nomination of General Shalikashvili for reappointment as general. Today is the last day. We have to act on it now.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to bringing up the nomination in executive session?

Mr. KOHL. Objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. FORD. Regular order, Madam President.

Mr. KOHL. Objection withdrawn.

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. THURMOND. Madam President, I move we go into executive session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from South Carolina.

Is there any objection?

There is a unanimous consent order to recognize Senator KOHL for an amendment. Is there an objection to going into executive session?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

The assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Gen. John M. Shalikashvili for reappointment as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and reappointment to the grade of general.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination?

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, today the Senate is considering the nomination of Gen. John M. Shalikashvili for reappointment as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and for reappointment to the grade of general.

We all know General Shali very well. His record is exemplary. General Shali was only a young lad when he came to this country with his family as they immigrated from Poland. He began to excel almost immediately.

General Shali graduated from Bradley University receiving a degree in mechanical engineering. Later he received a Master's degree in international relations from George Washington University.

General Shali entered the Army as an enlisted man in August 1958. Later, he was commissioned as a second lieutenant in the field artillery. He served in the United States, Germany, and Vietnam rising to the rank of general, the highest rank attainable. He commanded a division. He was the deputy commander-in-chief of the U.S. Army in Europe. He also commanded Operation Provide Comfort, feeding and preserving the freedom of the Kurds in northern Iraq.

Not only did General Shali rise from the lowest enlisted rank to the highest grade possible, he was selected to succeed Gen. Colin Powell as the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. As such, he became the principal advisor to the President on military matters. To say that this is a significant achievement is an understatement. His accomplishments represent what is right and good about America. General Shali is an outstanding soldier and an outstanding American. Through hard work, dedication and professionalism, he became the most important military officer in our Armed Forces.

Last week, the Armed Services Committee held a confirmation hearing at which General Shali testified. He responded fully and completely to every question, many of which focused on current and potential operations in Bosnia. Following the hearing, the committee unanimously voted to favorably report General Shali's nomination to the Senate.

I point out to my colleagues that General Shali's current appointment expires at the end of September. In order to ensure there is no gap in his appointment, the Senate will have to act on this nomination before the end of the month.

I urge my colleagues to vote to confirm General Shali's nomination.

I thank the Chair.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FAIRCLOTH). The Senator from Colorado.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, I rise not to object. I simply wish to make a brief statement on this nomination.

I believe that the vast majority of the Members of the Senate are committed to confirming the very distinguished general. I, however, have some concerns. Let me be specific.

I believe that part of the reason for America's military failures—and they have been few—has been a failure of leadership, not a failure of the American will, the American spirit, or the American fighting men and women.

This country has an extraordinary record in combat, and it has an extraordinary record in peace. But when you look at our failures—and there have been few—you are struck by the

fact that we have had a failure of leadership at times. In Lebanon, President Reagan committed United States troops and literally left the guards at the gate without bullets for their guns. The decision was made because of diplomatic concerns, but resulted in the loss of hundreds of American lives, of Marines who never had a chance to defend themselves.

That was a failure of leadership, Mr. President. It was not a failure of the men and women who sacrificed their lives. It was a failure of leadership to commit to their troops and ensure that they were never put in harm's way without a way to defend themselves.

This country's failure in Vietnam was a failure of leadership. American troops were committed to combat. They were asked to risk their lives. They were asked to fly missions, they were asked to commit their very lives to that combat. But our leadership was not committed to them. This country followed a course of putting men and women in harm's way, of risking their lives, but it was not important enough for our leadership to stand behind them and stand with them.

I believe with all of my heart that it is a mistake to use military force other than to fight and to win a war. It is a mistake to use them as social workers. It is a mistake to use them as policemen. It is a mistake to have them remove garbage in Haiti. It is a mistake for them to serve as a local police force. Our men and women in the Armed Forces are willing to risk their lives for us, and they deserve to have this United States stand behind them when they are committed to combat.

Mr. President, in 1993, October 5th to be exact, the administration came forward and talked about their commitment of United States fighter aircraft to maintain a no-fly zone over Bosnia. I specifically questioned those testifying along this line: Was the administration willing to stand behind the pilots that they sent into harm's way over Bosnia? I asked for specific assurances that they would not do what they did in Vietnam.

For those who may not recall our actions in Vietnam, the United States sent planes into hazardous areas where we knew there were ground-to-air missiles. We sent them on restricted courses, without the ability to defend themselves and without the necessary rules of engagement that would have allowed our pilots to have a fighting chance to defend themselves. We even sent them at times into situations without any ability to retrieve them if they were shot down.

During the October 5 hearing, I was assured specifically that the mistakes of Vietnam were not to be repeated. I specifically questioned several times whether U.S. planes that were attacked would be permitted to retaliate and whether the retaliation would not be limited only to the SAM that fired at them. In Vietnam, the United States response to enemy fire was limited in