

□ 1530

## GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. KASICH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the conference report on H.R. 2491, just considered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

## MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Lundregan, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 440) "An Act to amend title 23, United States Code, to provide for the designation of the National Highway System, and for other purposes."

## PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 2606, PROHIBITION ON FUNDS FOR BOSNIA DEPLOYMENT

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 273 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

## H. RES. 273

*Resolved*, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order without intervention of any point of order to consider in the House the bill (H.R. 2606) to prohibit the use of funds appropriated to the Department of Defense from being used for the deployment on the ground of United States Armed Forces in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as part of any peacekeeping operation, or as part of any implementation force, unless funds for such deployment are specifically appropriated by law. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and any amendment thereto to final passage without intervening motion except: (1) one hour of debate on the bill, which shall be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on National Security; (2) one motion to amend by the minority leader or his designee, which shall be considered as read, and shall be separately debatable for one hour equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent; and (3) one motion to recommit, which may include instructions only if offered by the minority leader or his designee.

SEC. 2. Notwithstanding any other provision of this resolution, if the minority leader or his designee announces that an amendment will not be offered, there shall be an additional period of one hour of debate equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on National Security.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON] is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, for the purposes of debate only, I yield 30 min-

utes to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HALL], pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consideration of the resolution, all time yielded is for debate purposes only.

(Mr. SOLOMON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.)

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 273 is a modified closed rule providing for consideration of the bill H.R. 2606, a bill prohibiting the use of funds to deploy United States ground troops in Bosnia and Herzegovina unless specifically appropriated by law.

The rule provides for consideration of the bill in the House, instead of the Committee of the Whole, without intervening point of order. The previous question is considered as ordered on the passage of the bill without intervening motion except as follows:

First, 1 hour of debate is provided, equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on National Security.

Second, one minority substitute is allowed if offered by the minority leader or his designee—debatable for 1 hour; and

Third, one motion to recommit is permitted which, if containing instructions, may only be offered by the minority leader or his designee.

Finally, the rule provides that if the minority substitute is not offered, there shall be an additional hour of debate on the bill, equally divided between the chairman and ranking minority member of the National Security Committee.

Mr. Speaker, let me conclude this procedural discussion of the rule by thanking the ranking minority member, Mr. MOAKLEY, for suggesting the option of an additional hour of debate if the minority chooses not to offer a substitute.

I thought, as did my majority committee colleagues, that this was an excellent idea because it will allow this House to have the kind of serious debate that this issue deserves, regardless of whether there is any alternative proposal from the minority side.

Moreover, I would point out that the right of the minority to offer a further amendment in the motion to recommit with instructions is still preserved by this rule. That would be debatable for the usual 10 minutes.

On the bill itself, Mr. Speaker, I would like to express my complete support for Mr. HEFLEY's responsible attempt to induce the President of the United States to consult Congress before he sends American ground troops into Bosnia.

Let me be clear: this legislation does not bar the President from sending troops to Bosnia. What it does is assert the constitutional prerogative of the Congress when it comes to the power of the purse.

This legislation requires the President to come to Congress, make his

case for the mission, and gain favorable approval of the appropriation of funds for the mission.

Mr. Speaker, this is not only constitutional, but it is wise policy.

We need more debate here in Congress on the vital issue of Bosnia, because once again, (as has been the case several times since this administration took over) we stand on the verge of putting our young men and women in harm's way in a civil war where America has no vital national interest.

Mr. Speaker, American soldiers should only be deployed to zones of conflict when and if vital American national interests are at stake.

Mr. Speaker, American foreign policy has always been to come to the defense of sovereign democratic allies that came under external military attack. Bosnia does not meet this test.

Despite instigation and support from Serbia & Russia, the Bosnian tragedy is essentially a civil conflict.

And Members of this House, we should not get directly involved in a civil conflict—especially one that is so complicated and ancient as the one in Bosnia—and which occurs in a place where America has no vital interests such as oil supply lines or shipping lanes.

As heart-wrenching as this tragedy has been, and as despicable as the Serb aggression and tactics have been, this conflict does not justify the loss of American lives, not even one.

It is certainly not something I can justify to my constituents, who have sons and daughters that may not come home.

Mr. Speaker, the answer to this conflict today, is the same as it has always been: to lift the arms embargo, and let the Bosnian victims defend themselves against the Serb aggression.

The problem since 1991 has been a military imbalance of power in favor of the Serbs.

Mr. Speaker, the arms embargo froze the balance in favor of the aggressor.

This was a strategic and moral blunder.

Only when the Serbs are confronted by an equally capable armed force will they negotiate in good faith. Then, the Bosnians, Serbs, and Croatians will work out their own deal.

And in fact, both the Bosnians and the Croatians have proved of late that this is the correct strategy.

Both Bosnia and Croatia have recently scored impressive gains on the ground, made possible by weapons they have received through holes in the embargo, when we looked the other way, proving that they can take care of themselves, if we let them.

But what does the President want to do? Rather than following this scenario to its logical conclusion, and enabling the Bosnians to score even more gains, this administration now seeks to rein in the Bosnians, lock in the current status quo, which still favors the Serbs, and send young Americans to enforce an unjust and inherently unstable "peace."

And American men and women will be in the middle of this hornet's nest, courtesy of the Clinton administration.

Mr. Speaker, peace could be near in Bosnia. The Bosnians, with a little outside support in the form of lifting the embargo, could be a match for the Serbs, whose strength has been massively overestimated.

Let us allow the Bosnian people to do the job that they want to do and can do better than we can.

There is a lot at stake here. If we intervene in this kind of affair, what will stop us from doing it again in places like Chechnya, in places like even Northern Ireland?

Ladies and gentlemen, American foreign policy, I will repeat one more

time, has always been to encourage, support and defend our democratic treaty allies around this world against outside military aggression. That is what we need to continue to do and not get into this business of Nation building and country building. We have no business risking American lives doing that.

THE AMENDMENT PROCESS UNDER SPECIAL RULES REPORTED BY THE RULES COMMITTEE,<sup>1</sup> 103D CONGRESS V. 104TH CONGRESS

[As of November 17, 1995]

Rule type	103d Congress		104th Congress	
	Number of rules	Percent of total	Number of rules	Percent of total
Open/Modified-open <sup>2</sup>	46	44	54	65
Modified Closed <sup>3</sup>	49	47	20	24
Closed <sup>4</sup>	9	9	9	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>100</b>

<sup>1</sup>This table applies only to rules which provide for the original consideration of bills, joint resolutions or budget resolutions and which provide for an amendment process. It does not apply to special rules which only waive points of order against appropriations bills which are already privileged and are considered under an open amendment process under House rules.

<sup>2</sup>An open rule is one under which any Member may offer a germane amendment under the five-minute rule. A modified open rule is one under which any Member may offer a germane amendment under the five-minute rule subject only to an overall time limit on the amendment process and/or a requirement that the amendment be preprinted in the Congressional Record.

<sup>3</sup>A modified closed rule is one under which the Rules Committee limits the amendments that may be offered only to those amendments designated in the special rule or the Rules Committee report to accompany it, or which preclude amendments to a particular portion of a bill, even though the rest of the bill may be completely open to amendment.

<sup>4</sup>A closed rule is one under which no amendments may be offered (other than amendments recommended by the committee in reporting the bill).

SPECIAL RULES REPORTED BY THE RULES COMMITTEE, 104TH CONGRESS

[As of November 16, 1995]

H. Res. No. (Date rept.)	Rule type	Bill No.	Subject	Disposition of rule
H. Res. 38 (1/18/95)	O	H.R. 5	Unfunded Mandate Reform	A: 350-71 (1/19/95).
H. Res. 44 (1/24/95)	MC	H. Con. Res. 17	Social Security	A: 255-172 (1/25/95).
H. Res. 51 (1/31/95)	O	H.J. Res. 1	Balanced Budget Amdt	A: voice vote (2/1/95).
H. Res. 52 (1/31/95)	O	H.R. 101	Land Transfer, Taos Pueblo Indians	A: voice vote (2/1/95).
H. Res. 53 (1/31/95)	O	H.R. 400	Land Exchange, Arctic Nat'l. Park and Preserve	A: voice vote (2/1/95).
H. Res. 55 (2/1/95)	O	H.R. 440	Land Conveyance, Butte County, Calif	A: voice vote (2/1/95).
H. Res. 60 (2/6/95)	O	H.R. 2	Line Item Veto	A: voice vote (2/2/95).
H. Res. 61 (2/6/95)	O	H.R. 665	Victim Restitution	A: voice vote (2/7/95).
H. Res. 62 (2/6/95)	O	H.R. 666	Exclusionary Rule Reform	A: voice vote (2/7/95).
H. Res. 63 (2/8/95)	MO	H.R. 667	Violent Criminal Incarceration	A: voice vote (2/9/95).
H. Res. 69 (2/9/95)	O	H.R. 668	Criminal Alien Deportation	A: voice vote (2/10/95).
H. Res. 79 (2/10/95)	MO	H.R. 728	Law Enforcement Block Grants	A: voice vote (2/13/95).
H. Res. 83 (2/13/95)	MO	H.R. 7	National Security Revitalization	PQ: 229-100; A: 227-127 (2/15/95).
H. Res. 88 (2/16/95)	MC	H.R. 831	Health Insurance Deductibility	PQ: 230-191; A: 229-188 (2/21/95).
H. Res. 91 (2/21/95)	O	H.R. 830	Paperwork Reduction Act	A: voice vote (2/22/95).
H. Res. 92 (2/21/95)	MC	H.R. 889	Defense Supplemental	A: 282-144 (2/22/95).
H. Res. 93 (2/22/95)	MO	H.R. 450	Regulatory Transition Act	A: 252-175 (2/23/95).
H. Res. 96 (2/24/95)	MO	H.R. 1022	Risk Assessment	A: 253-165 (2/27/95).
H. Res. 100 (2/27/95)	O	H.R. 926	Regulatory Reform and Relief Act	A: voice vote (2/28/95).
H. Res. 101 (2/28/95)	MO	H.R. 925	Private Property Protection Act	A: 271-151 (3/2/95).
H. Res. 103 (3/3/95)	MO	H.R. 1058	Securities Litigation Reform	
H. Res. 104 (3/3/95)	MO	H.R. 988	Attorney Accountability Act	A: voice vote (3/6/95).
H. Res. 105 (3/6/95)	MO			A: 257-155 (3/7/95).
H. Res. 108 (3/7/95)	Debate	H.R. 956	Product Liability Reform	A: voice vote (3/8/95).
H. Res. 109 (3/8/95)	MC			PQ: 234-191 A: 247-181 (3/9/95).
H. Res. 115 (3/14/95)	MO	H.R. 1159	Making Emergency Supp. Approps	A: 242-190 (3/15/95).
H. Res. 116 (3/15/95)	MC	H.J. Res. 73	Term Limits Const. Amdt	A: voice vote (3/28/95).
H. Res. 117 (3/16/95)	Debate	H.R. 4	Personal Responsibility Act of 1995	A: voice vote (3/21/95).
H. Res. 119 (3/21/95)	MC			A: 217-211 (3/22/95).
H. Res. 125 (4/3/95)	O	H.R. 1271	Family Privacy Protection Act	A: 423-1 (4/4/95).
H. Res. 126 (4/3/95)	O	H.R. 660	Older Persons Housing Act	A: voice vote (4/6/95).
H. Res. 128 (4/4/95)	MC	H.R. 1215	Contract With America Tax Relief Act of 1995	A: 228-204 (4/5/95).
H. Res. 130 (4/5/95)	MC	H.R. 483	Medicare Select Expansion	A: 253-172 (4/6/95).
H. Res. 136 (5/1/95)	O	H.R. 655	Hydrogen Future Act of 1995	A: voice vote (5/2/95).
H. Res. 139 (5/3/95)	O	H.R. 1361	Coast Guard Auth. FY 1996	A: voice vote (5/9/95).
H. Res. 140 (5/9/95)	O	H.R. 961	Clean Water Amendments	A: 414-4 (5/10/95).
H. Res. 144 (5/11/95)	O	H.R. 535	Fish Hatchery—Arkansas	A: voice vote (5/15/95).
H. Res. 145 (5/11/95)	O	H.R. 584	Fish Hatchery—Iowa	A: voice vote (5/15/95).
H. Res. 146 (5/11/95)	O	H.R. 614	Fish Hatchery—Minnesota	A: voice vote (5/15/95).
H. Res. 149 (5/16/95)	MC	H. Con. Res. 67	Budget Resolution FY 1996	PQ: 252-170 A: 255-168 (5/17/95).
H. Res. 155 (5/22/95)	MO	H.R. 1561	American Overseas Interests Act	A: 233-176 (5/23/95).
H. Res. 164 (6/8/95)	MC	H.R. 1530	Nat. Defense Auth. FY 1996	PQ: 225-191 A: 233-183 (6/13/95).
H. Res. 167 (6/15/95)	O	H.R. 1817	MilCon Appropriations FY 1996	PQ: 223-180 A: 245-155 (6/16/95).
H. Res. 169 (6/19/95)	MC	H.R. 1854	Leg. Branch Approps. FY 1996	PQ: 232-196 A: 236-191 (6/20/95).
H. Res. 170 (6/20/95)	O	H.R. 1868	For. Ops. Approps. FY 1996	PQ: 221-178 A: 217-175 (6/22/95).
H. Res. 171 (6/22/95)	O	H.R. 1905	Energy & Water Approps. FY 1996	A: voice vote (7/12/95).
H. Res. 173 (6/27/95)	C	H.J. Res. 79	Flag Constitutional Amendment	PQ: 258-170 A: 271-152 (6/28/95).
H. Res. 176 (6/28/95)	MC	H.R. 1944	Emer. Supp. Approps	PQ: 236-194 A: 234-192 (6/29/95).
H. Res. 185 (7/11/95)	O	H.R. 1977	Interior Approps. FY 1996	PQ: 235-193 D: 192-238 (7/12/95).
H. Res. 187 (7/12/95)	O	H.R. 1977	Interior Approps. FY 1996 #2	PQ: 230-194 A: 229-195 (7/13/95).
H. Res. 188 (7/12/95)	O	H.R. 1976	Agriculture Approps. FY 1996	PQ: 242-185 A: voice vote (7/18/95).
H. Res. 190 (7/17/95)	O	H.R. 2020	Treasury/Postal Approps. FY 1996	PQ: 232-192 A: voice vote (7/18/95).
H. Res. 193 (7/19/95)	C	H.J. Res. 96	Disapproval of MFN to China	A: voice vote (7/20/95).
H. Res. 194 (7/19/95)	O	H.R. 2002	Transportation Approps. FY 1996	PQ: 217-202 (7/21/95).
H. Res. 197 (7/21/95)	O	H.R. 70	Exports of Alaskan Crude Oil	A: voice vote (7/24/95).
H. Res. 198 (7/21/95)	O	H.R. 2076	Commerce, State Approps. FY 1996	A: voice vote (7/25/95).
H. Res. 201 (7/25/95)	O	H.R. 2099	VA/HUD Approps. FY 1996	A: 230-189 (7/25/95).
H. Res. 204 (7/28/95)	MC	S. 21	Terminating U.S. Arms Embargo on Bosnia	A: voice vote (8/1/95).
H. Res. 205 (7/28/95)	O	H.R. 2126	Defense Approps. FY 1996	A: 409-1 (7/31/95).
H. Res. 207 (8/1/95)	MC	H.R. 1555	Communications Act of 1995	A: 255-156 (8/2/95).
H. Res. 208 (8/1/95)	O	H.R. 2127	Labor, HHS Approps. FY 1996	A: 323-104 (8/2/95).
H. Res. 215 (9/7/95)	O	H.R. 1594	Economically Targeted Investments	A: voice vote (9/12/95).
H. Res. 216 (9/7/95)	MO	H.R. 1655	Intelligence Authorization FY 1996	A: voice vote (9/12/95).
H. Res. 218 (9/12/95)	O	H.R. 1162	Deficit Reduction Lockbox	A: voice vote (9/13/95).
H. Res. 219 (9/12/95)	O	H.R. 1670	Federal Acquisition Reform Act	A: 414-0 (9/13/95).
H. Res. 222 (9/18/95)	O	H.R. 1617	CAREERS Act	A: 388-2 (9/19/95).
H. Res. 224 (9/19/95)	O	H.R. 2274	Natl. Highway System	PQ: 241-173 A: 375-39-1 (9/20/95).
H. Res. 225 (9/19/95)	MC	H.R. 927	Cuban Liberty & Dem. Solidarity	A: 304-118 (9/20/95).
H. Res. 226 (9/21/95)	O	H.R. 743	Team Act	A: 344-66-1 (9/27/95).
H. Res. 227 (9/21/95)	O	H.R. 1170	3-Judge Court	A: voice vote (9/28/95).
H. Res. 228 (9/21/95)	O	H.R. 1601	Internatl. Space Station	A: voice vote (9/27/95).
H. Res. 230 (9/27/95)	C	H.J. Res. 108	Continuing Resolution FY 1996	A: voice vote (9/28/95).

SPECIAL RULES REPORTED BY THE RULES COMMITTEE, 104TH CONGRESS—Continued

[As of November 16, 1995]

H. Res. No. (Date rept.)	Rule type	Bill No.	Subject	Disposition of rule
H. Res. 234 (9/29/95)	O	H.R. 2405	Omnibus Science Auth	A: voice vote (10/11/95).
H. Res. 237 (10/17/95)	MC	H.R. 2259	Disapprove Sentencing Guidelines	A: voice vote (10/18/95).
H. Res. 238 (10/18/95)	MC	H.R. 2425	Medicare Preservation Act	PQ: 231-194 A: 227-192 (10/19/95).
H. Res. 239 (10/19/95)	C	H.R. 2492	Leg. Branch Approps	PQ: 235-184 A: voice vote (10/31/95).
H. Res. 245 (10/25/95)	MC	H. Con. Res. 109	Social Security Earnings Reform	PQ: 228-191 A: 235-185 (10/26/95).
		H.R. 2491	Seven-Year Balanced Budget	
H. Res. 251 (10/31/95)	C	H.R. 1833	Partial Birth Abortion Ban	A: 237-190 (11/1/95).
H. Res. 252 (10/31/95)	MO	H.R. 2546	D.C. Approps.	A: 241-181 (11/1/95).
H. Res. 257 (11/7/95)	C	H.J. Res. 115	Cont. Res. FY 1996	A: 216-210 (11/8/95).
H. Res. 258 (11/8/95)	MC	H.R. 2586	Debt Limit	A: 220-200 (11/10/95).
H. Res. 259 (11/9/95)	O	H.R. 2539	ICC Termination Act	A: voice vote (11/14/95).
H. Res. 261 (11/9/95)	C	H.J. Res. 115	Cont. Resolution	A: 223-182 (11/10/95).
H. Res. 262 (11/9/95)	C	H.R. 2586	Increase Debt Limit	A: 220-185 (11/10/95).
H. Res. 269 (11/15/95)	O	H.R. 2564	Lobbying Reform	A: voice vote (11/16/95).
H. Res. 270 (11/15/95)	C	H.J. Res. 122	Further Cont. Resolution	A: 229-176 (11/15/95).
H. Res. 272 (11/16/95)	MC	H.R. 2606	Prohibition on Funds for Bosnia	

Codes: O-open rule; MO-modified open rule; MC-modified closed rule; C-closed rule; A-adoption vote; D-defeated; PQ-previous question vote. Source: Notices of Action Taken, Committee on Rules, 104th Congress.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Mr. HALL of Ohio asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 273 is a modified closed rule which will allow consideration of H.R. 2606, a bill to prohibit funds appropriated to the Department of Defense from being used to deploy United States ground forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina for peacekeeping operations.

As my colleague from New York, the chairman of the Rules Committee, Mr. SOLOMON, described, this rule provides 1 hour of general debate, equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on National Security.

Under this modified closed rule, the minority leader or his designee may offer one motion to amend, debatable for 1 hour.

Mr. Speaker, this is more than a vote on sending troops overseas. It is a vote on whether this Nation stands behind a peace process that has a chance to stop the terrible war in Bosnia which has raged for 4 years.

Now is not the time to take up this issue. As we speak, the leaders of Croatia, Bosnia, and Serbia are engaged in peace talks at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base outside Dayton, OH. These talks, under the sponsorship of the U.S. Government, are the best and last chance for peace in the Balkans.

This bill, coming at this time, will seriously undermine the peace negotiations in Dayton and could lead to renewed bloodshed in Bosnia.

Securing peace in Bosnia is in the national interest. The conflict in this region represents the most dangerous military threat to Europe in the last 50 years. Two world wars during this century were the result of failing to secure the peace in Europe and we must take every reasonable step to prevent this from happening again for the sake of our own national security.

Earlier this year, I traveled to Bosnia and Herzegovina and saw first hand the savage war that is tearing that region apart. I met women and children who were forced out of their homes and who were petrified that their missing fathers, husbands, and sons had ended up in some mass grave. I saw pain, suffering, and tragedy. That trip convinced me more than ever the importance of establishing peace in the region and the possibility of the United States serving as an essential link in the peace process.

It also convinced me that the United States can play a pivotal role in establishing humanitarian assistance to the people of this region as part of a negotiated peace settlement.

Nobody denies that Congress has a critical role in approving use of United States Armed Forces for peacekeeping in the Balkans. We have found from experience that a successful U.S. military action requires the approval of the American people and their representatives in Congress.

The President shares this view. In a November 13, 1995, letter to Speaker GINGRICH, the President promised that he will ask Congress for an expression of support for United States participation in a NATO-led implementation force in Bosnia promptly if and when the parties have initialed a genuine peace agreement. After initializing an agreement, he assured us and I quote:

There will be a timely opportunity for Congress to consider and act upon my request for support before American forces are deployed in Bosnia.

During my term as a House Member, one of the great moments in this Chamber was the debate over sending U.S. troops to participate in the Gulf war. After lengthy and sincere debate, the House supported President Bush's request.

The House action came in response to a specific request by President Bush for congressional approval after the President had developed his objectives in the Gulf. Congress didn't jump the gun by forcing a vote before the President was ready.

Congress did not even take up the issue until President Bush had already deployed a half million U.S. troops to the Persian Gulf. Congress waited. Congress gave the President a chance. Congress even let the President send a half million troops, ready to fight a war, and then and only then did Congress debate the issue. We waited because we didn't want to tie the President's hands.

By contrast, President Clinton has promised Congress that he will come back to us before any troops are deployed.

We need to wait until the President has had time to reach a peace agreement. Then and only then can we carry out the kind of serious debate of which this body is capable.

I have faith in the President and his negotiating team led by Assistant Secretary Richard Holbrooke. I believe that a peace agreement can be reached. But that won't happen if Congress gets in the way too early.

Passage of this bill will hurt the peace process. If we pass this bill now, we will tie the President's hands and reduce his ability to negotiate a peace with the warring factions.

My community of Dayton, OH, has a special interest in this process. I represent a portion of Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, which is the site of the proximity talks between the Balkan leaders.

We are honored that the State Department chose our community as the site of the talks. We have a great deal of pride in hosting the talks. We would like the Dayton talks to be remembered as a pivotal moment in world peace, not a footnote to the history of warfare in this turbulent region.

Mr. Speaker, the modified closed rule sets fair conditions for debating this critical issue of war and peace. My objection is directed toward the bill and its consideration at this time.

We must vote to give peace a chance. We must not jeopardize the opportunity to end the fighting. Vote against the bill, against the suffering and tragedy in Bosnia.

FLOOR PROCEDURE IN THE 104TH CONGRESS; COMPILED BY THE RULES COMMITTEE DEMOCRATS

Bill No.	Title	Resolution No.	Process used for floor consideration	Amendments in order
H.R. 1*	Compliance	H. Res. 6	Closed	None.
H. Res. 6	Opening Day Rules Package	H. Res. 5	Closed; contained a closed rule on H.R. 1 within the closed rule	None.
H.R. 5*	Unfunded Mandates	H. Res. 38	Restrictive; Motion adopted over Democratic objection in the Committee of the Whole to limit debate on section 4; Pre-printing gets preference.	N/A.
H.J. Res. 2*	Balanced Budget	H. Res. 44	Restrictive; only certain substitutes	2R: 4D.
H. Res. 43	Committee Hearings Scheduling	H. Res. 43 (OJ)	Restrictive; considered in House no amendments	N/A.
H.R. 2*	Line Item Veto	H. Res. 55	Open; Pre-printing gets preference	N/A.
H.R. 665*	Victim Restitution Act of 1995	H. Res. 61	Open; Pre-printing gets preference	N/A.
H.R. 666*	Exclusionary Rule Reform Act of 1995	H. Res. 60	Open; Pre-printing gets preference	N/A.
H.R. 667*	Violent Criminal Incarceration Act of 1995	H. Res. 63	Restrictive; 10 hr. Time Cap on amendments	N/A.
H.R. 668*	The Criminal Alien Deportation Improvement Act	H. Res. 69	Open; Pre-printing gets preference; Contains self-executing provision	N/A.
H.R. 728*	Local Government Law Enforcement Block Grants	H. Res. 79	Restrictive; 10 hr. Time Cap on amendments; Pre-printing gets preference	N/A.
H.R. 7*	National Security Revitalization Act	H. Res. 83	Restrictive; brought up under UC with a 6 hr. time cap on amendments	N/A.
H.R. 729*	Death Penalty/Habeas	N/A	Closed; Put on Suspension Calendar over Democratic objection	None.
S. 2	Senate Compliance	N/A	Restrictive; makes in order only the Gibbons amendment; Waives all points of order; Contains self-executing provision.	1D.
H.R. 831	To Permanently Extend the Health Insurance Deduction for the Self-Employed.	H. Res. 88	Open	N/A.
H.R. 830*	The Paperwork Reduction Act	H. Res. 91	Restrictive; makes in order only the Obey substitute	1D.
H.R. 889	Emergency Supplemental/Rescinding Certain Budget Authority	H. Res. 92	Restrictive; 10 hr. Time Cap on amendments; Pre-printing gets preference	N/A.
H.R. 450*	Regulatory Moratorium	H. Res. 93	Restrictive; 10 hr. Time Cap on amendments	N/A.
H.R. 1022*	Risk Assessment	H. Res. 96	Open	N/A.
H.R. 926*	Regulatory Flexibility	H. Res. 100	Restrictive; 12 hr. time cap on amendments; Requires Members to pre-print their amendments in the Record prior to the bill's consideration for amendment, waives germaneness and budget act points of order as well as points of order concerning appropriating on a legislative bill against the committee substitute used as base text.	1D.
H.R. 925*	Private Property Protection Act	H. Res. 101	Restrictive; 8 hr. time cap on amendments; Pre-printing gets preference; Makes in order the Wyden amendment and waives germaneness against it.	1D.
H.R. 1058*	Securities Litigation Reform Act	H. Res. 105	Restrictive; 7 hr. time cap on amendments; Pre-printing gets preference	N/A.
H.R. 988*	The Attorney Accountability Act of 1995	H. Res. 104	Restrictive; makes in order only 15 germane amendments and denies 64 germane amendments from being considered.	8D; 7R.
H.R. 956*	Product Liability and Legal Reform Act	H. Res. 109	Restrictive; Combines emergency H.R. 1158 & nonemergency 1159 and strikes the abortion provision; makes in order only pre-printed amendments that include offsets within the same chapter (deeper cuts in programs already cut); waives points of order against three amendments; waives cl 2 of rule XXI against the bill, cl 2, XXI and cl 7 of rule XVI against the substitute; waives cl 2(e) of rule XXI against the amendments in the Record; 10 hr time cap on amendments. 30 minutes debate on each amendment.	N/A.
H.R. 1158	Making Emergency Supplemental Appropriations and Rescissions	H. Res. 115	Restrictive; Makes in order only 4 amendments considered under a "Queen of the Hill" procedure and denies 21 germane amendments from being considered.	1D; 3R
H.J. Res. 73*	Term Limits	H. Res. 116	Restrictive; Makes in order only 31 perfecting amendments and two substitutes; Denies 130 germane amendments from being considered; The substitutes are to be considered under a "Queen of the Hill" procedure; All points of order are waived against the amendments.	5D; 26R.
H.R. 4*	Welfare Reform	H. Res. 119	Open	N/A.
H.R. 1271*	Family Privacy Act	H. Res. 125	Open	N/A.
H.R. 660*	Housing for Older Persons Act	H. Res. 126	Restrictive; Self Executes language that makes tax cuts contingent on the adoption of a balanced budget plan and strikes section 3006. Makes in order only one substitute. Waives all points of order against the bill, substitute made in order as original text and Gephardt substitute.	1D.
H.R. 1215*	The Contract With America Tax Relief Act of 1995	H. Res. 129	Open	N/A.
H.R. 483	Medicare Select Extension	H. Res. 130	Open; waives sections 302(f) and 308(a) of the Congressional Budget Act against the bill's consideration and the committee substitute; waives cl 5(a) of rule XXI against the committee substitute.	N/A.
H.R. 655	Hydrogen Future Act	H. Res. 136	Open; pre-printing gets preference; waives sections 302(f) and 602(b) of the Budget Act against the bill's consideration; waives cl 7 of rule XVI, cl 5(a) of rule XXI and section 302(f) of the Budget Act against the committee substitute. Makes in order Shuster substitute as first order of business.	N/A.
H.R. 1361	Coast Guard Authorization	H. Res. 139	Open	N/A.
H.R. 961	Clean Water Act	H. Res. 140	Restrictive; waives cl 2(1)(6) of rule XI against the bill; makes H.R. 1391 in order as original text; makes in order only the Dingell substitute; allows Commerce Committee to file a report on the bill at any time.	1D.
H.R. 535	Corning National Fish Hatchery Conveyance Act	H. Res. 144	Open	N/A.
H.R. 584	Conveyance of the Fairport National Fish Hatchery to the State of Iowa.	H. Res. 145	Open	N/A.
H.R. 614	Conveyance of the New London National Fish Hatchery Production Facility.	H. Res. 146	Open	N/A.
H. Con. Res. 67	Budget Resolution	H. Res. 149	Restrictive; Makes in order 4 substitutes under regular order; Gephardt, Neumann/Solomon, Payne/Owens, President's Budget if printed in Record on 5/17/95; waives all points of order against substitutes and concurrent resolution; suspends application of Rule XLIX with respect to the resolution; self-executes Agriculture language.	3D; 1R.
H.R. 1561	American Overseas Interests Act of 1995	H. Res. 155	Restrictive; Requires amendments to be printed in the Record prior to their consideration; 10 hr. time cap; waives cl 2(1)(6) of rule XI against the bill's consideration; Also waives sections 302(f), 303(a), 308(a) and 402(a) against the bill's consideration and the committee amendment in order as original text; waives cl 5(a) of rule XXI against the amendment; amendment consideration is closed at 2:30 p.m. on May 25, 1995. Self-executes provision which removes section 2210 from the bill. This was done at the request of the Budget Committee.	N/A.
H.R. 1530	National Defense Authorization Act FY 1996	H. Res. 164	Restrictive; Makes in order only the amendments printed in the report; waives all points of order against the bill, substitute and amendments printed in the report. Gives the Chairman en bloc authority. Self-executes a provision which strikes section 807 of the bill; provides for an additional 30 min. of debate on Nunn-Lugar section; Allows Mr. Clinger to offer a modification of his amendment with the concurrence of Ms. Collins.	36R; 18D; 2 Bipartisan.
H.R. 1817	Military Construction Appropriations; FY 1996	H. Res. 167	Open; waives cl. 2 and cl. 6 of rule XXI against the bill; 1 hr. general debate; Uses House passed budget numbers as threshold for spending amounts pending passage of Budget.	N/A.
H.R. 1854	Legislative Branch Appropriations	H. Res. 169	Restrictive; Makes in order only 11 amendments; waives sections 302(f) and 308(a) of the Budget Act against the bill and cl. 2 and cl. 6 of rule XXI against the bill. All points of order are waived against the amendments.	5R; 4D; 2 Bipartisan.
H.R. 1868	Foreign Operations Appropriations	H. Res. 170	Open; waives cl. 2, cl. 5(b), and cl. 6 of rule XXI against the bill; makes in order the Gilman amendments as first order of business; waives all points of order against the amendments; if adopted they will be considered as original text; waives cl. 2 of rule XXI against the amendments printed in the report. Pre-printing gets priority (Hall) (Menendez) (Goss) (Smith, NJ).	N/A.
H.R. 1905	Energy & Water Appropriations	H. Res. 171	Open; waives cl. 2 and cl. 6 of rule XXI against the bill; makes in order the Shuster amendment as the first order of business; waives all points of order against the amendment; if adopted it will be considered as original text. Pre-printing gets priority.	N/A.
H.J. Res. 79	Constitutional Amendment to Permit Congress and States to Prohibit the Physical Desecration of the American Flag.	H. Res. 173	Closed; provides one hour of general debate and one motion to recommit with or without instructions; if there are instructions, the MO is debatable for 1 hr.	N/A.
H.R. 1944	Recissions Bill	H. Res. 175	Restrictive; Provides for consideration of the bill in the House; Permits the Chairman of the Appropriations Committee to offer one amendment which is unamendable; waives all points of order against the amendment.	N/A.
H.R. 1868 (2nd rule)	Foreign Operations Appropriations	H. Res. 177	Restrictive; Provides for further consideration of the bill; makes in order only the four amendments printed in the rules report (20 min each). Waives all points of order against the amendments; Prohibits intervening motions in the Committee of the Whole; Provides for an automatic rise and report following the disposition of the amendments.	N/A.
H.R. 1977 *Rule Defeated*	Interior Appropriations	H. Res. 185	Open; waives sections 302(f) and 308(a) of the Budget Act and cl 2 and cl 6 of rule XXI; provides that the bill be read by title; waives all points of order against the Tauzin amendment; self-executes Budget Committee amendment; waives cl 2(e) of rule XXI against amendments to the bill; Pre-printing gets priority.	N/A.
H.R. 1977	Interior Appropriations	H. Res. 187	Open; waives sections 302(f), 306 and 308(a) of the Budget Act; waives clauses 2 and 6 of rule XXI against provisions in the bill; waives all points of order against the Tauzin amendment; provides that the bill be read by title; self-executes Budget Committee amendment and makes NEA funding subject to House passed authorization; waives cl 2(e) of rule XXI against the amendments to the bill; Pre-printing gets priority.	N/A.

FLOOR PROCEDURE IN THE 104TH CONGRESS; COMPILED BY THE RULES COMMITTEE DEMOCRATS—Continued

Bill No.	Title	Resolution No.	Process used for floor consideration	Amendments in order
H.R. 1976	Agriculture Appropriations	H. Res. 188	Open; waives clauses 2 and 6 of rule XXI against provisions in the bill; provides that the bill be read by title; Makes Skeen amendment first order of business, if adopted the amendment will be considered as base text (10 min.); Pre-printing gets priority.	N/A
H.R. 1977 (3rd rule)	Interior Appropriations	H. Res. 189	Restrictive; provides for the further consideration of the bill; allows only amendments pre-printed before July 14th to be considered; limits motions to rise.	N/A
H.R. 2020	Treasury Postal Appropriations	H. Res. 190	Open; waives cl. 2 and cl. 6 of rule XXI against provisions in the bill; provides the bill be read by title; Pre-printing gets priority.	N/A
H.J. Res. 96	Disapproving MFN for China	H. Res. 193	Restrictive; provides for consideration in the House of H.R. 2058 (90 min.) And H.J. Res. 96 (1 hr). Waives certain provisions of the Trade Act.	N/A
H.R. 2002	Transportation Appropriations	H. Res. 194	Open; waives cl. 3 Of rule XIII and section 401 (a) of the CBA against consideration of the bill; waives cl. 6 and cl. 2 of rule XXI against provisions in the bill; Makes in order the Clinger/Solomon amendment waives all points of order against the amendment (Line Item Veto); provides the bill be read by title; Pre-printing gets priority. *RULE AMENDED*.	N/A
H.R. 70	Exports of Alaskan North Slope Oil	H. Res. 197	Open; Makes in order the Resources Committee amendment in the nature of a substitute as original text; Pre-printing gets priority; Provides a Senate hook-up with S. 395.	N/A
H.R. 2076	Commerce, Justice Appropriations	H. Res. 198	Open; waives cl. 2 and cl. 6 of rule XXI against provisions in the bill; Pre-printing gets priority; provides the bill be read by title..	N/A
H.R. 2099	VA/HUD Appropriations	H. Res. 201	Open; waives cl. 2 and cl. 6 of rule XXI against provisions in the bill; Provides that the amendment in part 1 of the report is the first business, if adopted it will be considered as base text (30 min); waives all points of order against the Klug and Davis amendments; Pre-printing gets priority; Provides that the bill be read by title.	N/A
S. 21	Termination of U.S. Arms Embargo on Bosnia	H. Res. 204	Restrictive; 3 hours of general debate; Makes in order an amendment to be offered by the Minority Leader or a designee (1 hr); If motion to recommit has instructions it can only be offered by the Minority Leader or a designee.	ID
H.R. 2126	Defense Appropriations	H. Res. 205	Open; waives cl. 2(f)(6) of rule XI and section 306 of the Congressional Budget Act against consideration of the bill; waives cl. 2 and cl. 6 of rule XXI against provisions in the bill; self-executes a strike of sections 8021 and 8024 of the bill as requested by the Budget Committee; Pre-printing gets priority; Provides the bill be read by title.	N/A
H.R. 1555	Communications Act of 1995	H. Res. 207	Restrictive; waives sec. 302(f) of the Budget Act against consideration of the bill; Makes in order the Commerce Committee amendment as original text and waives sec. 302(f) of the Budget Act and cl. 5(a) of rule XXI against the amendment; Makes in order the Biely amendment (30 min) as the first order of business, if adopted it will be original text; makes in order only the amendments printed in the report and waives all points of order against the amendments; provides a Senate hook-up with S. 652.	2R/3D/3 Bi-partisan.
H.R. 2127	Labor/HHS Appropriations Act	H. Res. 208	Open; Provides that the first order of business will be the managers amendments (10 min), if adopted they will be considered as base text; waives cl. 2 and cl. 6 of rule XXI against provisions in the bill; waives all points of order against certain amendments printed in the report; Pre-printing gets priority; Provides the bill be read by title.	N/A
H.R. 1594	Economically Targeted Investments	H. Res. 215	Open; 2 hr of gen. debate. makes in order the committee substitute as original text .....	N/A
H.R. 1655	Intelligence Authorization	H. Res. 216	Restrictive; waives sections 302(f), 308(a) and 401(b) of the Budget Act. Makes in order the committee substitute as modified by Govt. Reform amend (striking sec. 505) and an amendment striking title VII, Cl 7 of rule XVI and cl 5(a) of rule XXI are waived against the substitute. Sections 302(f) and 401(b) of the CBA are also waived against the substitute. Amendments must also be pre-printed in the Congressional record.	N/A
H.R. 1162	Deficit Reduction Lock Box	H. Res. 218	Open; waives cl 7 of rule XVI against the committee substitute made in order as original text; Pre-printing gets priority.	N/A
H.R. 1670	Federal Acquisition Reform Act of 1995	H. Res. 219	Open; waives sections 302(f) and 308(a) of the Budget Act against consideration of the bill; bill will be read by title; waives cl 5(a) of rule XXI and section 302(f) of the Budget Act against the committee substitute. Pre-printing gets priority.	N/A
H.R. 1617	To Consolidate and Reform Workforce Development and Literacy Programs Act (CAREERS).	H. Res. 222	Open; waives section 302(f) and 401(b) of the Budget Act against the substitute made in order as original text (H.R. 2332), cl. 5(a) of rule XXI is also waived against the substitute. provides for consideration of the managers amendment (10 min.) If adopted, it is considered as base text.	N/A
H.R. 2274	National Highway System Designation Act of 1995	H. Res. 224	Open; waives section 302(f) of the Budget Act against consideration of the bill; Makes H.R. 2349 in order as original text; waives section 302(f) of the Budget Act against the substitute; provides for the consideration of a managers amendment (10 min) If adopted, it is considered as base text; Pre-printing gets priority.	N/A
H.R. 927	Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act of 1995	H. Res. 225	Restrictive; waives cl 2(l)(2)(B) of rule XI against consideration of the bill; makes in order H.R. 2347 as base text; waives cl 7 of rule XVI against the substitute; Makes Hamilton amendment the first amendment to be considered (1 hr). Makes in order only amendments printed in the report.	2R/2D
H.R. 743	The Teamwork for Employees and managers Act of 1995	H. Res. 226	Open; waives cl 2(l)(2)(b) of rule XI against consideration of the bill; makes in order the committee amendment as original text; Pre-printing get priority.	N/A
H.R. 1170	3-Judge Court for Certain Injunctions	H. Res. 227	Open; makes in order a committee amendment as original text; Pre-printing gets priority ....	N/A
H.R. 1601	International Space Station Authorization Act of 1995	H. Res. 228	Open; makes in order a committee amendment as original text; pre-printing gets priority ....	N/A
H.J. Res. 108	Making Continuing Appropriations for FY 1996	H. Res. 230	Closed; Provides for the immediate consideration of the CR; one motion to recommit which may have instructions only if offered by the Minority Leader or a designee.	
H.R. 2405	Omnibus Civilian Science Authorization Act of 1995	H. Res. 234	Open; self-executes a provision striking section 304(b)(3) of the bill (Commerce Committee request); Pre-printing gets priority.	N/A
H.R. 2259	To Disapprove Certain Sentencing Guideline Amendments	H. Res. 237	Restrictive; waives cl 2(l)(2)(B) of rule XI against the bill's consideration; makes in order the text of the Senate bill S. 1254 as original text; Makes in order only a Conyers substitute; provides a senate hook-up after adoption.	1D
H.R. 2425	Medicare Preservation Act	H. Res. 238	Restrictive; waives all points of order against the bill's consideration; makes in order the text of H.R. 2485 as original text; waives all points of order against H.R. 2485; makes in order only an amendment offered by the Minority Leader or a designee; waives all points of order against the amendment; waives cl 5© of rule XXI (¾ requirement on votes raising taxes).	1D
H.R. 2492	Legislative Branch Appropriations Bill	H. Res. 239	Restrictive; provides for consideration of the bill in the House .....	N/A
H.R. 2491	7 Year Balanced Budget Reconciliation Social Security Earnings Test Reform.	H. Res. 245	Restrictive; makes in order H.R. 2517 as original text; waives all pints of order against the bill; Makes in order only H.R. 2530 as an amendment only if offered by the Minority Leader or a designee; waives all points of order against the amendment; waives cl 5© of rule XXI (¾ requirement on votes raising taxes).	1D
H.R. 1833	Partial Birth Abortion Ban Act of 1995	H. Res. 251	Closed .....	N/A
H.R. 2546	D.C. Appropriations FY 1996	H. Res. 252	Restrictive; waives all points of order against the bill's consideration; Makes in order the Walsh amendment as the first order of business (10 min); if adopted it is considered as base text; waives cl 2 and 6 of rule XXI against the bill; makes in order the Bonilla, Gunderson and Hostettler amendments (30 min); waives all points of order against the amendments; debate on any further amendments is limited to 30 min. each.	N/A
H.J. Res. 115	Further Continuing Appropriations for FY 1996	H. Res. 257	Closed; Provides for the immediate consideration of the CR; one motion to recommit which may have instructions only if offered by the Minority Leader or a designee.	N/A
H.R. 2586	Temporary Increase in the Statutory Debt Limit	H. Res. 258	Restrictive; Provides for the immediate consideration of the CR; one motion to recommit which may have instructions only if offered by the Minority Leader or a designee; self-executes 4 amendments in the rule; Solomon, Medicare Coverage of Certain Anti-Cancer Drug Treatments, Habeas Corpus Reform, Chrysler (MI); makes in order the Walker amend (40 min) on regulatory reform.	5R
H.R. 2539	ICC Termination	H. Res. 259	Open; waives section 302(f) and section 308(a) .....	
H.J. Res. 115	Further Continuing Appropriations for FY 1996	H. Res. 261	Closed; provides for the immediate consideration of a motion by the Majority Leader or his designees to dispose of the Senate amendments (1hr).	N/A
H.R. 2586	Temporary Increase in the Statutory Limit on the Public Debt	H. Res. 262	Closed; provides for the immediate consideration of a motion by the Majority Leader or his designees to dispose of the Senate amendments (1hr).	N/A
H. Res. 250	House Gift Rule Reform	H. Res. 268	Closed; provides for consideration of the bill in the House; 30 min. of debate; makes in order the Burton amendment and the Gingrich en bloc amendment (30 min. each); waives all points of order against the amendments; Gingrich is only in order if Burton fails or is not offered.	2R
H.R. 2564	Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995	H. Res. 269	Open; waives cl. 2(l)(6) of rule XI against the bill's consideration; waives all points of order against the Istook and McIntosh amendments.	N/A

FLOOR PROCEDURE IN THE 104TH CONGRESS; COMPILED BY THE RULES COMMITTEE DEMOCRATS—Continued

Bill No.	Title	Resolution No.	Process used for floor consideration	Amendments in order
H.R. 2606	Prohibition on Funds for Bosnia Deployment	H. Res. 273	Restrictive; waives all points of order against the bill's consideration; provides one motion to amend if offered by the Minority Leader or designee (1 hr non-amendable); motion to recommit which may have instructions only if offered by Minority Leader or his designee; if Minority Leader motion is not offered debate time will be extended by 1 hr.	N/A

\* Contract Bills, 67% restrictive; 33% open. \*\* All legislation, 56% restrictive; 44% open. \*\*\* Restrictive rules are those which limit the number of amendments which can be offered, and include so called modified open and modified closed rules as well as completely closed rules and rules providing for consideration in the House as opposed to the Committee of the Whole. This definition of restrictive rule is taken from the Republican chart of resolutions reported from the Rules Committee in the 103rd Congress. \*\*\*\* Not included in this chart are three bills which should have been placed on the Suspension Calendar. H.R. 101, H.R. 400, H.R. 440.

□ 1545

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GOSS], an outstanding Member, who has not only served with the Central Intelligence Agency in a former career, but has also been an important Member in intelligence matters in this House.

(Mr. GOSS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Rules from Glens Falls, NY, Mr. SOLOMON, for yielding me this time, and for his very strong leadership on this issue.

Mr. Speaker, today we have seen history made when Congress voted to balance the budget for the first time since the first year of the Nixon Presidency. However, as extraordinary as that is, H.R. 2606 is perhaps more immediately important. I say that because this legislation directly concerns the lives of 25,000 Americans, their families, and friends.

More than any other issue that has come before this Congress, the question of whether or not we send troops to Bosnia has evoked a spontaneous and heartfelt response across America and from my district in southwest Florida. The message is clear, and the message is, "Do not send our young men and women to Bosnia," and I agree strongly.

This Member has not forgotten that just over 1 year ago the administration brought us to the brink of war in Haiti, a tiny, friendly Caribbean neighbor, before cooler heads outside the administration prevailed. And while I now applaud the efforts to reach a diplomatic solution to the war in Bosnia, I wish the President had learned from his earlier disaster in Somalia and near disaster in Haiti, you cannot put troops in harm's way in a foreign country without a clear, achievable objective and a clearly defined exit strategy. It is a recipe for disaster. We certainly cannot put those lives on the line without an American chain of command in a European country whose intense internal feuds date back to before our country was even founded.

The former Secretary General of NATO, Willie Class, has not been replaced since his indictment, in part because of some clumsy diplomacy on our part, I believe.

Last night in the Committee on Rules we heard testimony further on

what some would call the Michael New issue or the chain of command issue, concerning the uniform to be worn by American soldiers serving in missions overseas. I agree that this is part of our no-foreign-chain-of-command issue that needs to be debated and needs attention, but I do not think today is the day for it.

Mr. Speaker, we have a good rule before us, it is fair. We have a mightily important subject before us, and I urge support for the rule and support for the very important bill behind it.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. SKAGGS].

Mr. SKAGGS. Mr. Speaker, I have serious doubts, and many of us have serious doubts, about sending troops to Bosnia. But I do not want to do anything to get in the way of peace. And this bill would certainly do just that.

After years of conflict and atrocities, it is hard to see how the parties to the Bosnian war find the ground for an enforceable peace. Any agreement coming out of the Dayton talks will require careful scrutiny and debate before we make the decision about sending troops.

But this is not the day for that debate or decision. We will have that day, if and when there is an agreement. The President has made it clear there will be a vote.

The President deserves a chance now to move ahead on the road toward peace. This proposal is nothing but a transparent effort to embarrass the President in that effort and to make political points, while putting the peace talks at grave risk.

Defeat the rule, defeat the bill.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from San Diego, CA [Mr. CUNNINGHAM].

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, there are almost as many African-Americans murdered on the streets of the United States as are being killed in Bosnia today. That does not make it less of a problem. But I would ask and the real question is, Would it be more harmful for this body to vote today or tomorrow?

I contend that it would be much worse. Do I want this President to be President? Absolutely not. But I think it would be more harmful for this country and for the President if we waited. If we vote today, I would tell my friend that it would send a message to Ohio that the agreement should not include American troops. It does not mean that they cannot still have an agreement. But if we wait until after, or if

an agreement is signed, then can you imagine how it would embarrass the President and the leadership prestige of this country?

I think it would be devastating, and I do not think most Members of this House would be willing to do that. We would have to do that. Why? It would cost, and it has been given in testimony, over \$3 billion for 1 year. We just talked on this floor about a balanced budget, Mr. Speaker. We would, and General McKenzie and General Boyd, who are in charge of forces over there, said we will lose troops.

I take a look at what our history has been. Look at Somalia, look at Haiti. Those are small areas. This area since 600 years ago in the time of Yugo, and then look at World War II, when the Chetniks were controlled by Maholovich and the partisan with Tito and the Ustasa with Nazi Germany.

This is a question about nationalism, and if you take a look, since the beginning of this time, Belgrade had all the cards. That has changed a little bit, in the fact that most of the fundamentalist Moslem groups like Iran and Pakistan, and so forth, have been funneling arms into that portion of the world. That allowed them to execute the latest offensive. Belgrade knows it is going to get a bloody nose if it engages. It would bring them closer to the peace table.

I ask for the vote today, Mr. Speaker. I think it is very important for this country and the lives of our men and women.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. LEVIN].

(Mr. LEVIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I am going to vote against the Hefley proposition. It is not a vote to send troops, it is a vote to let the parties in Dayton develop a peace agreement, if they can, and then we will take a look.

I voted to lift the arms embargo. I voted twice, as I remember, maybe it was three times. I felt, like those who voted to lift the arms embargo, deeply about what was happening there, not to send American troops, but to take steps that we could to try to help end the conflict there.

I do not understand really how people could vote for lifting the embargo and now vote for Hefley. If we had succeeded at that point and arms had been sent there, no one thought that it was likely that the Moslems would overcome and win on an unconditional basis.

We thought there would be a negotiation eventually if the Moslems could defend themselves, and if we had succeeded and there had been a negotiation, then they probably would have said to NATO, we need somebody to enforce it, and they would have said, "Look, you sent us arms. Now help us enforce it." We would not have been a neutral party then under those circumstances. We are not one now.

□ 1600

So, look, my colleagues, let us give negotiations a chance and then take a look. Do not pull the rug out from under those negotiations.

We have been on this floor talking about the tragedy, the tragedy of Bosnia, and that it is. Do not make that tragedy worse.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WISE].

Mr. WISE. Mr. Speaker, I do not think I take a back seat to anybody in this Chamber for speaking out against the introduction of United States troops in Bosnia. I voted to lift the arms embargo. I voted for the resolution 2 weeks ago putting the President on notice that this Congress would not automatically presume to send troops whatever the outcome of peace talks. I have written letters to the White House, and two times in the last 2 days I have talked directly to White House and State Department officials raising my objections.

But, Mr. Speaker, I oppose this resolution. I oppose it because today there are delicate negotiations in Dayton, OH, that may bring peace. To go further in this unprecedented matter pulls the rug out from under those negotiations. I am not aware of previous attempts in the history of this body to so bind a President's hands.

Furthermore, the President of the United States has pledged in writing to every Member of Congress and the Speaker of the House that before he will commit troops to Bosnia he will come to this House to seek approval. This Congress will have a chance to have its final say.

I did not vote in any way to undercut President Reagan in delicate negotiations such as this; I did not vote in any way to undercut President Bush in delicate negotiations such as this; and I will not vote to undercut President Clinton in delicate negotiations such as this.

Two weeks ago this House sent a powerful message to the President of the United States and to the warring parties negotiating saying do not presume there will be troops. We cannot get much louder than that. It was an overwhelming majority. The President of the United States has pledged that he will come to this House to seek approval before he commits troops.

Mr. Speaker, I would just urge the warring parties are doing the talking right now. That is who should be doing the talking today and not the Congress

of the United States. We have enough to be talking about in the well of this House.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WISE. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman is making a good statement but it is completely off the mark. The President did not say he will come to Congress and ask for a vote.

Mr. WISE. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, the President has written and said exactly that.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. CLEMENT].

Mr. CLEMENT. Mr. Speaker, we have a real opportunity for a peace settlement. These peace talks in Dayton, OH, are a major breakthrough for all of us.

I know all of us have had the opportunity to watch TV at night and see the atrocities and see the children and the families and the civilians being destroyed. So many people in my district and all over the United States have said what can we do to help; how can we help? What can we do to really make a difference? Well, we can make a difference by supporting our President and by supporting the peace policy.

We are not declaring war. We are not going through the process of what we did in World War I and World War II. What we are saying is we want peace to have an opportunity to work. I do not think that is too much for our President to ask. All he is saying to us is that let us give these peace talks an opportunity. Do not interfere with the process prematurely.

We have already voted once and we should not have voted then, and now we are having to walk the plank once again. I hope all of us, whether we be Democrat or Republican, will vote no on the Hefley amendment. It serves no useful purpose, it complicates the process, and it surely does not bring about peace in the area.

We want peace. Sure, these people have been fighting for thousands of years and maybe they want to fight that much longer, but maybe not. I think a lot of the leaders that are meeting in Dayton, OH, have realized maybe we have gone too far, maybe we have seen too much, maybe this is an opportunity for peace once and for all. So when we vote in just a little while, I hope we will all consider all those factors before we vote for the Hefley amendment.

Give the peace process a chance because the President has already said we will have another opportunity to participate and vote once and for all.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. ROHRBACHER], a member of the Committee on International Relations, someone who has served on the Committee on National Security for many years, and who is one of the most knowledgeable Members of this House.

Mr. ROHRBACHER. Mr. Speaker, the Bosnians are not asking for the deployment of American troops. They never have asked for the deployment of American troops. The Croatians are not asking for the deployment of American troops. They have never asked for if deployment of American troops. Whose nutty idea is this to send 25,000 Americans into a meat grinder down in the Balkans? It is the same global strategists who formulated our failed policy that has turned the Balkans problem into a holocaust of historic significance and a nightmare to the people of Bosnia. Their policy was an arms embargo which left the victims totally at the mercy of a heavily armed aggressor.

This body voted, and we have spoken time and again and pleaded to lift the arms embargo because it does nothing but hurt the victim. Those people that turned down our request, turned a blind ear to our cries as well as the cries for help in Bosnia, are now telling us we are going to send 25,000 Americans there. That is our only option. Baloney. And we should not let it happen. It is a sin against our own people and it is not even what the Bosnians and the Croatians want.

Do not tell me give peace a chance. We are playing a game, a cruel game with those people in Dayton if we are letting them move forward on their negotiations based on the idea that 25,000 American young people are going to be deployed there. We should make it clear right now to those people that they should negotiate, they should do whatever they can to bring peace, but in an atmosphere of reality.

What if somebody was telling us that the peace plan depends on \$250,000 grants to each and every citizen of the Balkans from the people of the United States? Would we be pulling the rug out from under peace negotiations by saying we are not going to give those grants? Well, we are not going to give those grants and we are not sending those young people there. And we are the ones for reality and peace in the world.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. GEJDENSON].

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, those in this chamber who claim that there can be no peace in the Balkans have clearly been in isolation over the last year and a half. At the White House Yasser Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin shook hands over a chasm that lasted for 5,000 years, speaking of peace and having the courage to take a step forward.

It takes some courage here today as well, because, yes, there is a risk out there, Mr. Speaker. Casualties are very tough, tough on the families, tough on the politics of America. None of us want to take that risk. On our side we have always been resistant to the use of force. But to take this action today is an outrage. It is not about the politics of the Presidency, it is not about

whether this President succeeds or not, it is about what happens in the Balkans.

Now, for a moment there is not a lot of fighting going on there. Some of the graves of children are now being uncovered. Let me tell my colleagues what happened to my family as the world debated about whether this was a regional problem or an international problem. This is the story of my father's village in World War II. This paragraph was written by a Nazi, not by some pacifist sympathizer or those who were victims.

Early the next morning we suddenly heard the ghetto was surrounded by the SS. The Jews were herded together, forced out of the ghetto into an open area. There they had to take off their shoes, their coats and their jackets. They began to weep loudly. A boy of 14 tried to run away but was shot immediately. In response, a Jewish man became extremely angry and rebuked the SS. However, he was brutally beaten on the spot so that he had to be transported in a vehicle. The men of the village were forced to dig a large hole. Everyone, children and women, young and old, had to lie face down. Among these miserable creatures there was a woman who had only the day before given birth to a child. That woman was the first who had to stand up and go to her grave and the grave of all. I saw how this woman tottered and reeled, clutching her almost naked infant and crying bitterly, asking for her life. She was pushed brutally into a hole and then shot.

For one moment, the killing has stopped. To give the President and the peace process the patience of several weeks is not too much to ask. To end this brutality that has killed children and women is not too much to ask. Give this peace process some time. The solution is not to rearm people and start the fighting on an even keel so more children and more women will die.

This is a simple request. The President has assured the Speaker he will give him a vote before he asks Americans to risk their lives. Have the courage to give him some time, I would say to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON], have the courage to give this President time to achieve peace.

Mr. Speaker, I include the document I quoted from for the RECORD.

#### CHAPTER 9—SMALL HILLS COVERED WITH TREES

Rudolf answers my ad in the local newspaper: "Children whose parents witnessed or took part in the persecution or extermination of Jews and/or Gypsies and who are willing to participate in a research project by an Israeli psychologist at the local university, please . . ." He calls and says he will speak only to the Israeli interviewer. We set up a time for the interview, and I agree to meet him at the bus station.

Compared to the interviewees I seek out, about whose parents, and their role during the war, I have detailed information, the ad respondents are a mystery to me until they tell their stories. I usually reach the meeting place a few minutes ahead of time in order to see the person arriving—how he approaches the station, what he looks like, if he seems troubled or at ease, if his expression changes when he recognizes me. But Rudolf is already waiting, glancing impatiently at his watch

(although I am not late). He is tall and looks like a manager in some local firm. A strong handshake. I can sense his excitement. He starts talking immediately, but I steer him into small talk because I want to reach my office, where the tape recorder is set up. When we finally reach my room and I invite him to sit down, he pulls a yellowed sheaf of papers from his briefcase.

R: I was born April 4, 1930, in Wuppertal, the son of an unemployed textile worker. My father was out of work at the time. Before he lost his job, he was employed as a master craftsman in a textile plant. But there was a great deal of unemployment in the area, and he was laid off too.

B: Are you the only son?

R: I was the only son until 1940, when my brother was born. He's still alive. He was born on January 14, 1941, in Wuppertal. I spent those very early years more or less pleasantly until my dad found work again. He found a job later, I'm not sure exactly when. We were living in quite a primitive little house. Although he was out of a job, my father built himself a small house in a garden. He was very enterprising, but the thing about him—right up until he died he was a very pious and believing Christian. And that has accompanied me through my entire life—Christianity, being a Christian. At home we would pray—have a Bible hour and sing together. There were also others who'd come over to our place in order to read the word of God together.

I experienced National Socialism right from the start. OK, not from the very beginning, the years before 1930, but after Hitler came to power in 1933 it began to be a reality for me. For me it was something I was born into, I couldn't question it. It was something quite normal. When I'd see the soldiers marching outside, the Hitler Youth marching past, for me that was something; I wanted to march too. My mother would say to me, "Just wait, see what happens, you don't know . . ." "Mama, I'd like to be in the Hitler Youth too!" "Just wait and see first." Well, I joined the Hitler Youth in 1940. The war had already begun. I advanced through the ranks very quickly, went to a leadership school, and became a squad leader (Jungenscharführer). Later I became a platoon leader with a group of thirty boys under my command. That's one side of it. I experienced all that directly and with a feeling of joy. Now I finally had what I'd been longing for. Now I was a leader, I was able to command, although I was still just a child.

There is something very theatrical in his way of talking. I wonder if this is his usual manner or if it is due to his excitement in recalling and relating the events of the past.

B: How old were you then?

R: I was only eleven when I went to the course where young leaders were trained. I was twelve when I became a squad leader and thirteen or fourteen when I made platoon commander. In any event, something very peculiar happened at that time . . . well, not peculiar, but something that had a powerful formative influence on me. My father had found work again even before that, but he wasn't happy. He tried to find a position that was more challenging. So he went to work with the railroad. It was called the Reichsbahn then. He laid track at first, then he was a station conductor, and later on he worked with the signal box. He always felt attracted to the track gang, the guys who laid track, but he was also preaching sermons as a member of a Protestant congregation of the Free Church, a congregation that was independent but still Protestant. So he was a preacher. The railroad was his job and being a preacher his love. And his family—his children—were his pride and joy, his great love. He did a lot of Sunday school les-

sons with small children, taught them about the Bible. Actually he lived just for the family, for his congregation.

Naturally he had to work, and he had this enormous garden. My father was a very believing and religious person, as I said, and he was filled with a great deal of love. I felt protected in his love. Whatever my father said was right. Then the day came when my father was approached by the Nazi Party, by the National Socialist German Workers' Party. He was already a member of the NSV, the National Socialist Welfare Association. He collected money for the Party and distributed ration cards—those cards were quite common at that time. So he was already active in the NSV and was asked to join the Party. I can recall that this had been discussed once at home. I had listened and thought about it. I myself was in the Hitler Youth and my view was "Dad, you have to join the Party!" First he resisted. Then he thought that maybe it would be a good idea after all if he joined up: maybe he could advance more quickly, make headway in his profession and—just maybe—be in a position to shield his congregation. At that time, they didn't want such Christian congregations—I think it was a passing phase for National Socialism at the time. After the war they would have done away with the church congregations anyhow. I oscillated back and forth between the Hitler Youth and the congregation. I was undecided and psychologically unfulfilled. I loved the Hitler Youth more and more. Religion became more and more unimportant to me. I felt invigorated and full of life. They knew how to do that. The Hitler Youth leaders were good at animating young people, motivating and preparing them psychologically for tasks they would carry out later on. It went without question in my eyes that what the Führer said and did, that was the truth. He was almost more of a god for me than the real God . . .

B: Could you give an example of how the leaders did that?

R: We used to have evening get-togethers when all the boys would sit in a large room. The room had black wallpaper, completely black. The benches were dark red. Up front there was a picture on the wall, not of the Führer but of a famous Germanic king, along with two lamps that shed a dim light on the picture. It was quite dark in the room. Then we were told stories about the ancient Germans, our Germanic forefathers. The Aryan race, which has the sole right to lead. We would sing songs in a minor key. It penetrated very deeply into our souls. We felt this very deeply. We believed everything, and we were very proud to be members of this Germanic race and leaders to boot. Young leaders, tribal leaders within this race, this new Germanic race. Young people who were not setting out to rule the world—they really wanted to rule the world. So for us what was predominant was what engaged our feelings. That wasn't the only thing though, not just such evening gatherings. Marching out on the street, marching like soldiers . . . we youngsters already felt like grown-up soldiers. The music that accompanied us, played by the Hitler Youth, with flags and drums through the streets—everyone had to salute our flags, and we were proud to be full members! The fact that we were children was used to prepare us for what was to come. I say for what was to come, but what was that going to be? We were as yet unable to grasp what "later on" might be. We didn't know what was really involved. Who had told us? No one spoke about it.

[Sighs] But now I have to return to the subject of my father. My father was inducted

as a railroad man and sent to Russia, to Poland. To be more precise, my father was sent to Parafianovo.<sup>1</sup> That's between Vilna and Smolensk. He worked as—what they called during the war an adjunct work-squad leader. He had a section of track to take care of. It was between Parafianovo and Smolensk, maybe three hundred to five hundred kilometers. I can't give you a definite figure. It was his job to maintain this section of track, which was frequently attacked by partisans. They blew up the tracks so the trains would be derailed. But the most important thing, the thing that had such a formative influence on him—which is why I'm here—and on me, was an experience he told me about after he returned. He came back earlier than expected. There was a Jewish ghetto in Parafianovo. A lot of Jews had been brought together and concentrated there in one area, where they were allowed to live. These Jews also worked for the German railroad. A large number were used to help maintain the tracks. For example, there was—I just can't forget their names—there was Aaron Katz, Maria, and the cook for the men my father worked with. This cook was Jewish. I can't recall her name. I think Dolla was her first name, or people called her that. My father could go into the ghetto and speak with the Jews there.

Since he was a convinced and religious Christian, he also spoke with them about the Talmud and the Scriptures, our Holy Bible. And they saw that they both believed in a common God, except that, for the Jews, Jesus is a kind of strange chapter inserted in between. In any event, they understood that they were equal. And basically, we Germans are also a tribe of Israelites. If you assume that certain tribes developed up north and that the Germanic tribes, the so-called Germanic tribes, are a conglomerate of many peoples, they are also a tribe of Israelites. Not that this is important, it's something secondary. [Very agitated] Well, the day arrived when the ghetto was surrounded by the SS. They asked my father, "How many do you need?" And he told them, "I need all of them." "No, I need a few heads," the officer said, "they're all to be shot." So now you have this Christian, with a soft and childlike heart. He stands there and can do nothing! What should he say, "Shoot me too"? He had children and a wife of his own . . . What was he to do? [almost shouting at me] He didn't have such great courage. He couldn't resist. He was unable to save his Jews—after all, they were his brothers, he had lived with them. First, a woman was shot. She had given birth the day before. She was tossed down into the grave. [Crying] Whether they also shot the baby, he doesn't know, he didn't know that. Then he ran away and cried bitterly. And a young SS soldier ran after him and said, "I can't go on either! I've killed so many, I just can't go on!"

In any case, he was criticized after that. I could read you a letter written by my father to make things clearer, a letter he wrote right after the end of the war. He became very ill and was released from service too, following this experience. He wrote the letter only after the war because he was afraid to put anything at all down in writing during the war, during the National Socialist period. Let me show you. It's an old letter, and here is also the confirmation that my father was in the east and had been given an early release.

His hands shaking, Rudolf hands me the two documents he has brought with him. He is sweating. I can see that the documents are old and have been carefully kept in a nylon

bag. I can also see that they are written in an old-fashioned hand and that on one, the words *Our Guilt* appear at the top. I offer Rudolf a glass of water and suggest that he read the documents to me himself, since I would have difficulty with his father's handwriting. He starts with the one that carries the swastika, a former certificate of the Nazi railroad authority. Then he reads his father's letter, dated May 16, 1945.

#### OUR GUILT

Finally now, after many weeks of a serious illness that almost robbed me of my senses, I find myself able to commit to writing those things that (so soon) made me ill and have so completely shattered my nerves. I intend to narrate events one after the other in the course of writing and to present a reason for having chosen the above title.

Until 1941 I had been active for many years as the director of a Sunday school for children. Our parish served in external and internal missionary activities in China. It was my favorite task to be involved in service to children. Since I generally had a great many friends (through my work with the children), the Party believed it had found the right man for its National Socialist Welfare Program (NS-Volkswohlfahrt, NSV) activities. At the same time I was working for the National Railways (Reichsbahn) and had a very low income. On the basis of my work as block chairman of the NSV and as an employee of the Reichsbahn, I became a member of the National Socialist German Workers' Party on June 1, 1941.

I was also promised that I could retain my faith, but shortly after I became a member of the Party, I was forbidden to hold Sunday school classes. That was the first blow. I had to keep silent and put aside my favorite activity.

I was transferred to the town of Parafianovo in Poland to work as head of an auxiliary work squad on February 9, 1942. Among others, there were also some 247 Jews—men, women, and children—living in the town. The Jews were put to work at all kinds of jobs but generally lived in a closed ghetto. We Germans (four men) were assigned a Jewish cook by the name of Dolla, a sweet young girl with red hair, who was very, very clean. My fellow soldiers did not treat her with much respect, since she was, after all, Jewish. But she soon noticed that there was someone there who treated her with love, and we became friends, though no one was supposed to notice. I became sick one week, a bad cold, and Dolla called the Jewish pharmacist Belzik, who procured excellent medicines for me. My fellow soldiers began to taunt me about this friendship with a Jew, and even started to criticize and complain. When I regained my health, I visited the ghetto for the first time. Visiting the ghetto was forbidden and a punishable offense. Due to my illness, I was allowed to go to the pharmacy that was located in the ghetto.

So I visited the pharmacist in the ghetto for the first time, and I was pleased to meet several wonderful human beings: the Jewish women Maria (Mr. Belzik's daughter), Rita (a teacher), and Lilli (a piano teacher), as well as the Aaron K. family. These people proceeded to tell me all their cares and worries. I was confronted with one tale of woe after another. These Jews, whether young or old, were each given a ration of three hundred grams of bread week after week, this and nothing else, month after month. The great misery among these poor people now became evident to me. I then tried in every possible way to help them, and since I knew that they were God's own people, I began to beseech him and to help where I could.

I was very happy when we were joined by a new fellow soldier who shared my view, Mr.

S. from Munich, who faithfully pitched in, helping these poor people wherever help was needed. We had to go about it very cautiously and could only pay visits to people late in the evening, though each time, the Jews were overjoyed when we came. I noticed, however, that their troubles were growing from day to day, because everywhere there was talk about Jews being shot. Their questions became ever more pressing and urgent: What will become of us? I tried then to explain to them that the living Lord would not abandon them, and at home, in my room, I myself engaged in a fervent struggle with God and asked him for help. Yes, in my distress I said, "Lord, I will serve you faithfully forever, but please let these people live." As a result of this terrible distress and misery, our relationship became very, very close. It went so far that we even knelt down together to ask our Father for strength in all these matters. One evening, when I was visiting them again and we were all sitting together, I quietly sang the song "Gutten Abend, gut, Nacht" [Brahms's Lullaby], accompanied on the guitar. When we came to the words "Tomorrow, God willing, you'll be awakened once again . . ." Rita broke out in sobs and said, "I feel so strange." The rest of what she said was lost in sobbing. That was the last night of her young life.

Rudolf is crying and searches desperately for his handkerchief while continuing to read.

Early the next morning, we suddenly heard that the ghetto was surrounded by the SS. The Jews were herded together and forced out of the ghetto into an open area. There they had to take off their shoes, coats, and jackets, and they began to weep loudly. A boy of about fourteen tried to run away but was shot immediately. In response, a Jewish man became extremely angry and began to rebuke the SS; however, he was brutally beaten on the spot, so that he had to be transported in a vehicle. The men of the village were forced to dig a large hole, and everyone—children and women, young and old—had to lie down face to the ground. Among these miserable creatures there was a woman who only the day before had given birth to a child. That woman was the first who had to stand up and go to her grave (and the grave of all). I saw how this woman tottered and reeled, clutching her almost naked infant and crying bitterly, asking for her life. She was pushed brutally into the hole and then shot.

Rudolf is unable to go on reading and sobs heavily. I am stunned, distressed, and wait until he regains enough control over his tears to continue.

I went as fast as I could to my room, heard shots again and again, and collapsed at the foot of my bed. Now I lost everything. I had followed the Lord faithfully for twenty-eight years, and now this horrible thing occurred. I had believed right to the last hour that the Lord would preserve these people as a result of my prayer, but then I cursed God and all men.

Rudolf stops again, bursting into tears.

I wanted total oblivion (*ich wollte von nichts mehr wissen*). Apparently abandoned by God and all of humankind, I carried out my duties in total apathy and hardly knew in subsequent days what was happening.

My fellow soldiers—except for S.—called me a coward and a "lover of Jews." Jews were being shot everywhere, in Glubokoe, Dokshitsy, Vileika, Budslav, and Krulevshchyzna. I had one small consolation when I came to Dokshitsy ten or twelve days later and met the captain. His first question was, "Where is Maria?" (Maria was the pharmacist's daughter in Parafianovo, liked everywhere as a result of her universally respected love for human beings.) I said,

<sup>1</sup>Placenames appear in their Russian form; these are small villages in Belorussia, between Vilna and Smolensk.

"Maria is dead." The captain began to cry. He grabbed my hand and said, "It's a rotten shame!" (Schweineerei). I didn't see him again after that, but I knew that his heart was also bleeding with grief. Eighteen hundred Jews had been shot in this village. There was great commotion and shouting. I ran over to see what was happening, and to my horror I saw Jews emerging from subterranean caves, some eighty to a hundred people, a terrible picture of misery and suffering. They were crying for water, emaciated, their faces white as chalk. Hardly able to utter a sentence, they dropped to their knees and begged for their lives. Without receiving anything, they were pushed and herded into a barn. I watched as a girl about the age of ten, who had hidden herself in a hay shed and was now almost completely emaciated, was carried past me. This poor girl looked more like a pile of bones than a human being, and this bundle of misery and agony, it too was carried into the barn. As long as I live, come what may, I will never forget this horrible sight. I can't help myself. It was just too horrible and made me sick for the rest of my life. I just can't comprehend how human beings can be such beasts. These images haunted me day and night.

After a few weeks I was sent to a field hospital in Vileika because of hypertension. But then I collapsed completely, since I was not allowed to tell anyone of my suffering. And this suffering became even more intense when I realized that I was a member of such a band of murderers and criminals, a band that would not have spared my life if I had objected. So I got sicker and sicker and was sent to Vilna. There, for the first time, I had fainting spells and mental disturbances. They didn't know the cause, and they asked me all kinds of questions, but I didn't tell them a thing, since I couldn't trust anyone, including the doctors. After that I was released and sent home to Germany accompanied by a soldier. Back home my condition got worse, to the point that I could hardly walk without someone to accompany me, since I was suffering from the enormous weight of the events I had experienced. After some time, I was reproached by the local section of the Party for not having (as they saw it) a National Socialist outlook on things. My general outlook was more religious in orientation than anything else. When I subsequently wanted to talk about my experiences, I had to be so careful and cautious (pretending as if I thought this and not that) that I became very sick and Dr. D. considered it advisable for me to be placed in an institution. I was afraid they were going to get rid of me there. Shortly after this, I had to enter City Hospital for observation. It was there that I revealed all my suffering to Dr. L. and explained everything to him. Dr. L. did not belong to the Party. He understood me completely and advised me to try to forget things—something that was, and is, impossible.

On April 14, 1945, I was suddenly approached by a man in the street, who came up to me and said, "We know who you are. You've been undermining the work of the Party now for some time. You're a dirty saboteur and that's going to cost you your life!" I didn't know what was happening. What had I done? I took a few steps and must have collapsed on the spot. Witnesses say I was going on about "common murderers, brown bandits, and shootings of Jews." People thought I was insane. I remained in this condition for several days. I had, in any case, been sick and unable to work since December 17, 1944, but now I was completely finished. Dr. G. and Dr. S. were at my bedside. When I regained my senses a bit, I asked myself, "What have I done!"

I had confided in several families and told them about this crime in Russia. Whether they remained silent I don't know. In addition, I had also not given away the presence of a man who had been living away from his unit for a year and a half, about whom I was often questioned. I covered for him whenever I could. I couldn't allow him—someone who quite early on had seen through all the lies—to fall into the hands of that pack, who wanted to build a so-called "workers' paradise" on the blood and bones of the dead.

I can't understand that there are those who wish to kill me because of this, since anyone who has a fairly just view of things must admit that if we had won the war, then there couldn't be a just God in heaven, one who could give his blessing to such bloody deeds.

On May 3 or 4 when he visited me I told Dr. S. about everything, particularly about Russia. And I can say that he cried bitterly and was ashamed of his \* \* \* [document illegible]. When I asked him, "Can God \* \* \*" [document illegible], he replied resolutely and with determination: "Never!"

I doubted God in Parafianovo, but ask him today for forgiveness. He was not on the side of those who perpetrated such injustices, and he expiated those bloody deeds.

R: So that is the end of the letter. That was the experience. And let me tell you that this man suffered right up until the end, until he died, and if you want to know when that was, I can tell you. He's been dead now some eight years. He wasn't able \* \* \* and was given early retirement. He was a bit absentminded. But you must understand: the thing that shaped and molded me, what influenced me, was that I was unable to comprehend what my father was talking about. I had been so fanatic about this idea of National Socialism \* \* \* But when he returned from Poland and told me these things—I was able to understand various things by this time—I was unable to go on believing in it. A cause I was ready to sacrifice my life for—these people had done such a thing? First I accused him of being a deserter! I did not believe his story, I could not believe it. [Agitated] So then I was bothered by doubts. What should I do? I was a leader in the Hitler Youth, but what should I do? I lived in a constant state of inner tension. I didn't know what I should do. Though I must say that in the course of time, that feeling disappeared, it dissipated. My father spoke less and less about it, he withdrew more and more into himself. More and more, the only person he spoke to was my mother. He turned away from me, because I was unwilling to take off that uniform. He turned away from me, and I could see that he was extremely ill, seriously so, because of it. Yet I couldn't follow in his direction. But then there was an experience that actually opened up once again the wound he caused in me by what he'd said.

B: What was that?

R: Well, it was in '43 or '44 I think. They showed the movie *Jud Süß*. It was a film against the Jews, but I didn't recognize it as an inflammatory film. For me it was a simple fact: that's how Jews are. The film portrayed them as the dregs of humanity. So there was this contradiction in my mind. There was "*Jud Süß*," this carefully polished character in this horror film—that's the expression you could use today—which destroyed young people spiritually and prepared them to \* \* \* something they could never vindicate: to pass judgment on a people I had never experienced directly or seen. [Gets up and walks around restlessly] OK, I had seen some Jews with yellow stars. For me they were just people wearing a yellow star—the Poles had a P and the Ukrainians a U—for me these were second-class people. And I used to hear remarks, during those

years you could hear again and again shouts of "Jew!" "Lousy Jew!" "Criminals!" "Vultures!" "Bloodsuckers!" Or "The Jews are responsible for the war!" The Jews were guilty of everything. There was nothing the Jews weren't responsible for. Then this film *Jud Süß* was made.

I forgot one thing: *Kristallnacht* in 1938. I hadn't been a witness to that. I didn't see what happened, I only heard about it. I heard them talking about a shoe store, a Jewish shoe store—I think it was called *Rosenthal's*—and that it had been smashed and shoes were lying all over the street. They carried out a child wrapped in a lamp shade. Everything was gone, the Jews were gone. But those events occurred on the periphery of things as far as I was concerned. At that time, for me the Jew was someone so small and inconsequential \* \* \* They weren't an independent people, didn't have an independent state. Jews were nothing, just nothing.

Once my father came to me and said, "Rudolf, Rudolf, listen." He noticed that we were drifting farther and farther apart. I was also aware that we were growing more and more distant. Then he said, "Rudolf, we have to sit down and have a serious talk." That was during the war, but at times he had very clear, sane moments (*lichte Momente*). "We've talked so often about the Bible. You've read the Bible yourself, and I've read both the Old and New Testaments. You know that the Jewish people are in fact a people in their own right, God's chosen people. It is so and will remain that way. You can't, we can't deny that. No matter how many Christians curse them, the Jews are the chosen people. The Jew is the hand on the clock of history: whatever happens to him, from that you can read the course of history and time. Just remember one thing: if you lift a finger against the Jews, you can cut off that finger because you are going to lose it! Never attack a Jew. Be careful, cautious, and have respect for the Jews." Then he told me a few more things from Jewish history, from the Old Testament. After that I was filled with a sense of fear. He said to me, "Do you believe in Jesus?" I said, "Yes, Dad, I do believe in Jesus Christ." "But you know who he was, don't you?" and I said, "Yes, he was a Jew, right?" "OK, so do you believe in Jews now?" and I said, "Yes, Dad, I do. I'm sorry." And then I started to cry. I cried a lot. I was so sorry that I had been so blinded by this idea, that I had been led astray, led astray again and again. But even what my father said to me—said to me in tears, and I noticed that he was sick—even what he said to me, I didn't believe, so profound was the influence of the National Socialists, of their propaganda.

A long pause. Rudolf sits down and wipes his forehead with a handkerchief.

And then I was apprenticed in 1944, I got an apprenticeship in the railroad, the *Reichsbahn*. I wanted to be a locomotive engineer and in '44, I was sent as an apprentice to a plant where locomotives were repaired. This plant had its own fire brigade, since such plants were often attacked and bombed during the war. Now because I was the only one who had been in a leadership position in the youth movement—I was the only Hitler Youth leader among the sixty apprenticed trainees—I was given the job of getting them to assemble in formation in the early morning; I had leadership status once again. I also had to join the fire brigade at the same time and went out with this brigade a few times after heavy air raids.

I was involved during the last big raid—it was the end of '44 or the beginning of '45, I can't remember. There was a raid and we were called out to see what we could save. The buildings were on fire. And then I saw something. As a young man, I was a runner,

a messenger—we didn't have any radio equipment. I had to supervise the inspection of hoses, make sure the hoses were laid properly and weren't leaking. And I noticed that under a hose lying on top of some debris, there was something dark red, shining there underneath. I said, "Mr. B."—he was the chief at the time—"Mr. B., there's something over there!" He had the debris cleared away and I could see a woman lying there. She had run downstairs and out the front door, and a bomb had exploded right in front of her. Shrapnel and a lot of debris went flying, and this woman was killed. They lifted her out, and then I felt sick; her lower body was ripped open, and everything inside came tumbling out. Now I had seen a great many dead people those months, but this was the worst thing I'd witnessed. I started to feel sick, and Mr. B. said to me, "OK, go on home." Well, that was the end of my activity in the fire brigade. That was shortly before the end of the war. What I did after that was . . . But I was no longer filled with such conviction. Now I understood what my father had told me at the end: you can't justify and accept it.

During the last half hour, Rudolf has been very agitated, and I actually start to worry. But he wants to go on, as if a hidden volcano has finally erupted.

R: Though I must admit that I felt split and divided. After the Americans marched in, people said, "Now the Hitler Youth is finished." I felt a certain sadness, not because of the fact that the Hitler Youth was done for, but because I was no longer able to meet all my friends. That camaraderie was something I missed.

Those were actually the main experiences. I wanted to tell you that, well, that a family can be destroyed during a war by these things. My father passed away, but before he died, he lived in a kind of twilight, a constant twilight, psychological and mental. He would only work with clay. He used to have this clay brought in and . . . Now I want to mention something that once again concerns those two religions, where you can see the schizophrenia . . . He had a board, and on this board he fashioned and shaped mountains and small hills covered with trees. Down below, at the foot, he made a crèche with Jesus lying there inside, and there was a path that led up to a synagogue above. So he wanted to make this connection (in his unconscious) between Christianity and the Jews. He was unable to cope with the notion that a Christian had been able to do such things against a Jew. In his state of mental twilight, he wanted to restore this connection. And he died with that. He didn't die as a Christian or as a Jew: He was something in between.

In front of me I see the son of an exceptional father, the only person I've heard of who lost his mind because he could not go on living a normal life after he witnessed the massacre of Jews. I hug Rudolf and thank him for talking with me. As we walk out, he says that he has never told anyone about it before, but when he was the ad in the newspaper, he knew the time had come to bring his father's letter out into the open, to tell his father's story—which is now his own.

We arrange to meet again a few days later. Rudolf arrives with two heavy folders in which he has carefully collected the songs from his days in the Hitler Youth. He looks more relaxed, ready to go on.

R: I had certain other experiences in the Hitler Youth that were especially memorable and important for me—for example, when I was promoted. Those were moments when my soul was lifted up again. They'd make a campfire in the evening, although it was prohibited on account of the air raids, but they would let us know: OK, no enemy

aircraft in sight. Promotions were usually announced on Hitler's birthday, April 20, and on November 9.<sup>2</sup> It was all done in a very military atmosphere, with torches and songs . . . [Singing] "Holy Fatherland in danger, your sons gather in around you . . ." And this was sung in a minor key, which makes you feel a bit melancholy, and it would rouse our spirits. Then they would announce the promotion: Comrade so-and-so is now promoted to the rank of squad leader, effective as of such-and-such a date. They would pin on the special ribbon, and you'd go home through the streets swelling with pride. You already felt like a young representative of National Socialism.

Later on—I have to say, not at that time but later on—I had this thought: What would have happened if my generation had been sent to carry out these murderous acts? OK, people were killed during air raids, but we never killed, we didn't get that far, thank God. But just imagine, what if this generation, which had been psychologically trained and geared up for it, what if this generation had been let loose on mankind? Then what occurred with the Jews, why it would pale in comparison—it would have been nothing. So that's what I have to tell you: we would have been worse. We could have done it without any doubts whatsoever. [Agitated] We were trained to hate from a very early age.

B: Did you have any friends at school who were Jewish, or were there any Jews in your school?

R: No, no, none. Wait a second, there was one: she was half-Jewish. I started school in 1936, and there was a girl—we didn't know this at first—who was half-Jewish. She told me after the war that they had—I was no longer at that school then—that the other children had stripped her naked in the street, because they heard she was half-Jewish. Even young children had been indoctrinated to the point where they could pull the clothes off a classmate and shout, "Jew! Jew! Jew!" She told me this after the war. She still lives here. She's married to an Englishman. She said she wouldn't want to marry a German.

And there was something here in town, not very long ago, at the zoo. I don't know whether you heard about it. There's a large hall at the zoo where meetings are held, and it was hired out by the police. The police had a celebration there, and a police officer, who was functioning as a kind of master of ceremonies, said, "What do you answer to 'Sieg'?" And a few young men shouted, "Heil!" That was the salute the Nazis used to use. The policeman really didn't mean any harm by it, I know that. They had all been drinking a little . . . But this Jewish woman was there and she filed a complaint against the policeman. He was temporarily suspended from service, and then there was some sort of punishment. I don't know exactly how it turned out. Anyhow, it was in the paper. She was a classmate of mine. Her brother and father—or her brother and mother, one of them died before that—were murdered in the camps. Aside from that, I had no other Jewish classmates. There weren't any left. It is astonishing, but I didn't actually have any direct experience of Jews being sent to concentration camps. I didn't know about it. I only knew that Jews had to wear a yellow star—I knew that later on—a yellow star. They were marked and singled out so that you could recognize them as Jews. Though I must emphasize again and again, it was also true for the Poles, the Ukrainians . . . it wasn't anything . . .

B: After your father told you his story, did you ever discuss it with friends?

R: I wasn't able to discuss it with my friends. That would have endangered my father.

B: What happened between you and your friends after your father came back?

R: Actually, there was no break, no rupture between me and my friends. I think you have to view it in this way: the overriding, all-embracing concept was the Hitler Youth. National Socialism was a phenomenon that accompanied this organization. Only in a subconscious way was all this hammered into us: National Socialism and Adolf Hitler. Basically, in terms of our behavior, we remained young children, only that, via our subconscious, they attempted to prepare us for the later phase. After all, we were still immature, still under the age of eighteen. You couldn't get rid of our childlike character. That was something that remained.

Maybe I should tell you about one more experience. I told you that I was a trainee with the Reichsbahn, and that I was a youth leader there. I wasn't all that good as a student, and I wasn't the best among the apprentices, but I was the leader. So we young guys—you can see from this just how young we still were—we got up on a hill during recess and started throwing stones, as boys sometimes like to do, a kind of game. There were two sides, two groups, and we were throwing stones at each other. The winner was supposed to get a bottle of soda water or something. So I heaved a heavy stone and hit a boy right in the stomach. He got really angry, and he shouted, "You goddamn Nazi pig!" And that was during the war! I ran over to him and said, "What did you say?" "You goddamn Nazi pig!" Whammo, I gave him a left and right to the nose, and he dropped to the ground. Then I told him, "Just you wait. I won't forget this." I told this kid, "You watch out!" Now what comes is like the seed that has been sown in a child and begins sprouting unconsciously . . . [Stands up and walks around the room waving his arms] I threw a stone at him and hurt him, he felt pain and shouted at me, "You Nazi pig!" His father had been in a concentration camp as a Communist, and he always stressed the fact that he wasn't a Nazi. He said this spontaneously, even though the Nazis were in power. And I told him, "Just you wait, I won't forget this!" Now that tiny seed began to sprout. It was still very small. But if it had grown, I probably would have turned out to be one of those who could have killed someone for saying such a thing . . .

[Sits down again, trying to calm himself] I recall that when I was a leader in the Hitler Youth, I . . . in Germany we have people who, as you would say in slang, are "brown noses," people who want to make trouble. Well, I loved to go around dressed in my uniform. I even went to school in uniform, to work—I was very proud. And at that time Russian civilian laborers weren't allowed to drink any alcohol. Then an incident occurred that I have to tell you about. There was this Russian civilian laborer. I was out with a lot of boys, and this drunken Russian laborer came along. I asked him, "Where are you coming from?" Me, just a child. And he stammered something in his drunken stupor. I said, "Do you want to have a fight?" He said, "Yeah." So I slugged him. He smashed his face into the big window of a grocery store. There was a pointed grille covering it, and his whole face was cut and scratched. No one did anything to me, though. After all, they couldn't hit me. If anyone had done such a thing to me while I was wearing that uniform, he'd have ended up in concentration camp. Terrible, right? Anyhow, my father found out about this incident and he gave me

<sup>2</sup>November 9 marked the anniversary of the failed 1923 Munich Putsch; it was a sacred day on the National Socialist calendar.

the worst spanking I ever had. He really walloped me! It was the right punishment. But, as I said before, the small seed had started to germinate, to grow and sprout: "I won't forget that, you'll see!" "You Russian, listen, you're not worth a damn thing! I can do something to you, even though I'm much smaller, and you can't defend yourself, you can't do anything!"

Rudolf is in a kind of trance. He is staring at the ceiling, trying to bring out the memories that have plagued his conscience all these years. I listen carefully, wishing I had a camera to film this interview. The stories continue to pour forth, however disjointedly, one after another.

R: Then there was this Frenchman . . . My uncle lived between Brandenburg and Berlin, and he had a fruit farm—he made a living growing strawberries, apples, and tomatoes—and a Russian, a Pole, a Serb, a Frenchman . . . these were the people who had to work for him. Early in the morning there was the "funeral procession." That's what we called it. There was this old German soldier who could hardly stand on his legs, and he led the French POWs off to the various fruit farms. And when they would pass a farm where one of them worked, he'd leave the group and go on in. They walked very slowly, took a lot of time, this German soldier and that French POW. Once I spoke with the Frenchman, whose German was rather good. I was actually quite surprised that I didn't react differently. We were sitting together between the rows of strawberries, and he told me something about his attitude toward the German people and National Socialism. I let him talk and didn't react at all, although I was very bothered by what that Frenchman was saying. He said, "Pay attention to your own history, the history of Germany. Don't always go on carping about the Jews, the French (because the French had been our archenemies). Just take a long, sober look at your own history, without rose-colored glasses. Take your history as it really is, what really happened, and then form an opinion. How much hatred do you Germans have in yourselves? How far do you expect to go with it? How many more do you plan to exterminate in the name of this hatred?"

So, as you can see, that idea stayed with me, what he said, though I myself was deeply indoctrinated. OK, if you place all these little piles of impressions one next to the other, you can understand my reaction—the way I experienced it later on, the way I reacted to myself. I almost felt like Judas in the Bible, that disciple who committed suicide. Yes, well, more than that I . . . I have such a modest heart, wouldn't harm a fly . . . But they had swelled up my heart. They were able to deform a person's heart.

Then the war ended. If it hadn't ended, I don't know, I'm not sure I would have forgotten all that. I mean, it's especially easy to manipulate children at that age, and where you can get at the children, that's where—at least this is what I think—that's the history of the people. If you can drill the notion into their heads: you are from a tribe, a race that is especially valuable. And then you tell them something about the Germanic tribes, their loyalty, their battles, how Germanic women let themselves be hitched up to carts to fight against the Romans. You, you're a child of this race, a people that dealt the Romans a destructive blow in the year 9 A.D., all that sort of thing. Then there were the songs. I'm especially affected by songs. When they would sing those songs glorifying the deeds of the Germanic tribes, such as [singing] "The sons of the people ride on silvery stallions, born from a divine multitude, warrior of the Nordic people, they ride in silence to the far fields of the Northern lights, on se-

cret paths they greet elves at the shore of the pounding sea." Or "Holy Fatherland, your sons crowd in around you." How does it go on? "What we swear is written in the stars, he who directs the stars will hear our voice . . . before the foreigner robs you of your crown, O Germany, we would prefer to fall side by side." Or "The flag is dearer than death." Death was nothing. The flag, the people—they were everything. You are nothing, your people everything. Yes, that's how children were brought up, that's how you can manipulate a child . . .

He is singing, talking, and crying, shifting back and forth between one memory and another.

We meet again a year later. Rudolf is willing to be interviewed on videotape: he will do it for me, for the research; for humanity. When he reads his father's letter during the filming at the studio, he cries again, and this time too, he does not seem able to find his handkerchief.

We walk out together when the taping session is over, and I thank him for coming. He tells me that his own children did not want him to come. They do not want to have anything to do with this chapter of the family's past. Their motto is "past is past." They want a life of their own. Outside the studio, we shake hands warmly, and Rudolf walks slowly away into the darkness. I suddenly realize how lonely he must be, carrying his father's letter: "Our Guilt."

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 15 seconds to say, yes, there are many tragic stories and our hearts go out to people. If we had not put the embargo there in the first place, none of this would have happened. Lift the embargo and let those people protect themselves and they will do it. That is what they want.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the very distinguished gentleman from Colorado [Mr. HEFLEY], a member of the Committee on National Security, who is the sponsor of this legislation.

Mr. HEFLEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON] and commend the President on getting these combatants together to talk about this and to try to strike a deal. That is important and that is his role. That is the role that the President of the United States should play.

But the President should not commit U.S. forces without Congress' approval, except in unusual circumstances. And what are those unusual circumstances? They are circumstances where we need secrecy, for instance. Or they are circumstances where there is an emergency. And this is neither of those. The President committed these forces 2 years ago, in an offhand manner. Committed these forces without knowing what kind of peace agreement there would be. Just offered 25,000 troops 2 years ago.

We had Ambassador Kirkpatrick before our Committee on National Security a few days ago, and let me quote from her statement on page 5. She said when asked if we should send 25,000 troops there, she said, "Not unless President Clinton makes a persuasive case for this deployment." She further went on to say, "Bill Clinton should make his case to the people and take his case to the Congress."

Now, there will be a lot of people today talking about the fact that the President said he will come to the Congress. Just moments ago, on the telephone in the Cloakroom, when I asked the President if we postpone this vote and he brings his case to the Congress, will he abide by the will of the Congress, he said, no, no, I would not give up the prerogative that I have.

I do not know that I blame him for telling me that answer, but I just want to put it in perspective that, yes, he will bring the case to the Congress, but the further along we go down the road, the more difficult it will be, if we decide to say no. We do not know we will say no. Maybe he will make a persuasive case, as the Ambassador said. Telling the President that we want and need careful consideration before we take action that will cost American lives seems intimately reasonable to me. We want answers.

Mr. Speaker, we tried the soft approach. We gave the resolution that says do not make troops a part of the agreement. The next day Secretary Christopher was saying we do not care what Congress says, we are going to do it anyway.

So this says to the President to include us in this situation before the fact and not after the fact, if he really wants the Congress and the American people behind him on this. This is an important thing. We should be a part of it up front not after the fact.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON] once again, and the Committee on Rules for this rule. This is something that I think all of us feel on both sides very passionately about, and I appreciate the amount of time that they allotted for this very important debate this afternoon.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New Mexico [Mr. RICHARDSON].

(Mr. RICHARDSON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, let me read the language of this provision. "It will prohibit the use of funds appropriated to the Department of Defense from being used for the deployment on the ground of United States forces in Bosnia as part of any peacekeeping operation, unless such funds or such deployment are specifically appropriated by law."

Do my colleagues know what this means? This means no support for the peace process. It means no money and it means no troops. But this is not a vote about troops. This is a vote that signals the end of bipartisanship in our foreign policy.

Mr. Speaker, this weekend there may be a peace agreement in Dayton, yet here we are taking a vote like this that could totally derail that effort. It is as if Begin and Sadat were at Camp David, and the weekend that they are negotiating a peace agreement, the Congress passes an initiative saying,

"No matter what you do, we are not going to support you." We never did that under Presidents Reagan and Bush, yet precisely 1 day before a potential peace agreement, we are taking this action.

If I were Milosevic, Izetbegovic or Tudjman, I would say, "What gives? Is the United States behind us?"

Mr. Speaker, this is irresponsible. It is a destructive amendment. We should vote it down on a bipartisan basis.

There is a lot to be determined in these peace talks. The status of Sarajevo, the composition of the government, access to the sea for landlocked Bosnians, the width of the corridor connecting Serb-held territories, the removal of the leadership of Milosevic and Karadzic, possibly training the Bosnians, refugees, and a massive number of human rights issues.

Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that the reason we are here a few days before a peace agreement is that there are some who do not want to see the President of the United States succeed in a foreign policy initiative.

Two months ago, this policy was not working. Two months ago, this policy was not working, and the President and his negotiators came up with a plan, and this plan may work. This President is not going to commit any U.S. troop unless there is a peace agreement. Let us give him a chance to have a peace agreement. Let us wait and see what this peace agreement says.

The President, in a letter to the Speaker, has stated that he will come to the Congress for an expression of support. Why do we have to have this vote today? Why can it not be a day after, if there is such urgency for a peace agreement?

Mr. Speaker, the news out of Dayton makes this the absolutely wrong time to vote on this bill.

Reports coming out of Dayton indicate that an agreement could be reached as early as this weekend.

Congress should not undercut the administration at this sensitive stage. Within the next few days opportunities exist for progress in some of the most difficult areas of negotiation. The warring parties have indicated they will not sign a peace agreement unless they believe the United States will help implement it. If this bill passes, the negotiations could break down and this real opportunity for peace would be lost.

Congress should wait until it is asked to appropriate money before it prohibits the appropriation of money. Congress should not interfere in the peace talks at this critical juncture. The time to vote on sending troops to Bosnia is after a peace agreement has been reached.

If this bill passes, the peace talks could fail. That would be a tragic occurrence since the Dayton peace talks represent the best opportunity to achieve peace in nearly 4 years of war.

Several of you who support this bill have been critical of the administration in the past for not taking action on Bosnia. Now that it has taken decisive action, we should not tie the hands of the administration as it works to find a solution to this nightmare.

We should give the administration our support to negotiate peace. Presidential politics should never jeopardize the future of stability in Europe.

Many say that the United States does not have a vital national security interest in Bosnia. I disagree. The United States has seen the consequences of turning its back on Europe twice this century with tragic consequences for the United States. The future security of the United States depends on a NATO that continues to remain strong and unified. If the United States does not act with its NATO allies to enforce a peace in Bosnia, the NATO alliance itself is placed in jeopardy, and consequently the security of the United States.

Let me stress this most important point: The United States will not commit troops to Bosnia unless and until there is a strong commitment to peace by all the warring sides. Once a peace agreement is reached, President Clinton has said he will come to Congress to request an expression of support.

There has already been significant progress at the peace talks. The leaders of Croatia and Serbia have reached an agreement on the contentious issue of control of Eastern Slavonia. Further the Federation between Bosnian Moslems and Bosnian Croats has been implemented. Both of these occurrences are major steps along the way to a full peace.

Passage of this bill seriously undermines the ability of the administration to work with the parties involved. It says that the United States is not prepared to be a leader in the peace process or in NATO. This is the wrong time to be considering this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I oppose this bill because it is premature and seriously undermines the ability of the President to carry out foreign policy.

Mr. Speaker, I submit the following for the RECORD:

[From the Washington Times, Nov. 17, 1995]

BOSNIA: A VOTE TOO FAR

If ever there was a need for Solomonic wisdom, it would have to be in Dayton, Ohio. Negotiations are not going smoothly, nor would one expect them to after the horrors of four years of warfare. It is doubtful that Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who is rushing back from Japan and will likely be monumentally jet-lagged, will be able to resolve the current impasse. And what will surely not make the negotiations any easier are the votes coming up in Congress today on troop deployment.

What's more, with delicate negotiations on-going, with most of official Washington in the grips of a massive migraine headache and general pique over the federal budget battle, and with relations between Capitol Hill and the White House as poisonous as can be, this is simply the wrong time and the wrong way to make decisions about the most pressing foreign policy issue of the day.

The Republicans used to know this. From Richard Nixon to Ronald Reagan, they complained bitterly about Democratic interference with the prerogatives of the president as commander in chief. Principled Republicans tried earlier this year (but failed) to repeal the unconstitutional War Powers Act. A more responsible course would have been for the Republican leadership to hold off this vote until there was actually something like a Bosnian peace plan that could be judged on its merits. There is, after all, a great deal more at stake here than one-upmanship.

Two bills will come up for vote today. The House bill, introduced by Rep. Joel Hefley,

could not be more unambiguous and straightforward. It will "prohibit the use of funds appropriated to the Department of Defense from being used for the deployment on the ground of United States Armed Forces in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as part of any peacekeeping operation, unless funds for such deployment are specifically appropriated by law." No support, no money, no troops—that is what this boils down to. Chances are that this bill will pass and be promptly vetoed by the president.

The other bill will be offered in the Senate by Majority Leader Bob Dole, and will apparently take a less drastic approach. The Dole bill instead will contain a set of conditions to be met before Congress approves funding for troop deployment. At least this bill provides a way for Republicans to influence the process and the decision made in the White House.

Now, there are very good reasons to be skeptical that anything viable will come out of Dayton, no matter how much pressure is applied by Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke, a man who may himself be driven by the biggest migraine of them all. The differences over issues are daunting—the status of Sarajevo, the composition of the government, access to the sea for the landlocked Bosnians, the width of the corridor connecting Serb-held territories, the removal from leadership and prosecution of Serbian war criminals Ratko Mladic and Radovan Karadzic, etc., etc. It is by no means a foregone conclusion that the end result is something that the American Congress will want to support. Nor should President Clinton expect Congress to follow blindly in any direction he chooses to march.

Nonetheless, to vote preemptively, before there is even something to vote on, is inappropriate. The fact is that the United States, which is bigger than this administration, has committed its prestige to an effort to halt the Balkan tragedy. Abandoning that commitment in this way will have repercussions among our allies, our foes and our trading partners. The Republicans should ask themselves, is that really what they want?

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 15 seconds to say it once. No one on this side of the aisle is accusing the President of partisan politics, but we have heard now two speakers from the other side of the aisle make that claim. That does not improve this debate.

Let us keep it the way we had it during the Persian Gulf, and I would admonish the gentleman from New Mexico who happens to be a friend of mine, to let us keep it on the issue.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Mexico [Mr. SCHIFF].

Mr. SCHIFF. Mr. Speaker, in 1993, as a Reserve Air Force officer, I served at Aviano Air Base for a number of days on a reserve assignment. It is in northern Italy next to Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is where our military action started from against the Serbs recently.

I want to say, I rise in support of the rule and the bill. I am not an isolationist. European events can affect Americans; in fact, they already have. But, although I support logistical support for allies, there is no justification at all for thousands of U.S. ground troops to be placed on the ground in Bosnia.

There is no reason why the Europeans cannot provide themselves all of

the ground troops we need, and I believe it is a mistake to let the negotiations proceed without putting the negotiators on notice about our feelings in regard in this effect. Saying that we are a superpower should not make us a superpaty to do the Europeans' job for them.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. REED].

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the Hefley amendment. The most charitable thing I can say about this amendment is that it is ill-timed.

Mr. Speaker, today we are hosting the peace negotiators from the various factions in the United States. Because of diplomatic activities, and these peace negotiations, we have seen the level of violence in the former Yugoslavia decrease immensely. Now is not the time to derail that process or to take up these issues.

Now, there are significant issues to be debated prior to the commitment of American forces in the former Yugoslavia. I have visited Yugoslavia, Sarajevo, the Krajina, Macedonia. There are difficult issues we must address. The first issue is whether any agreement that is reached in Dayton is worthy of enforcement. We will not know that until the details have been hammered out and announced.

The second issue is whether or not our participation with NATO requires the commitment of American ground forces. Is there some other significant contribution we can make that will aid NATO without committing ground forces?

These are all legitimate questions. These are questions that should be debated, but now is not the time nor is this resolution the appropriate vehicle to do that.

Mr. Speaker, we have to, I think, give the negotiators a chance to reach an agreement and then consider our participation.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REED. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask the gentleman, is it better for these negotiators that we are trying to protect, and I will assume that the gentleman is absolutely sincere when he says he wants these negotiations to succeed, is it better to have them negotiating on grounds that have nothing to do with reality?

Mr. Speaker, if the American people are not willing to send 25,000 troops, does it not hurt the peace process for them to go on and on talking about an agreement predicated on that?

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, I think the most critical aspect of this vote today is that it would derail that process, because the interpretation of the negotiators would be not that there will be fair consideration of our involvement, but that this Congress preemptorily shut down the negotiations. I think that would be wrong.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER].

(Mr. HOYER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I agree with the Chairman of the Committee on Rules. This is not a partisan debate. In fact, the Washington Times today, which is not known as a partisan advocate of the President's position, said in an editorial today, "A vote too far." They said about this bill that is before us, "This is simply the wrong time and the wrong way to make decisions about the most pressing foreign policy issue of the day." They then went on to say, "The Republicans used to know this."

Mr. Speaker, this is a nonpartisan debate. Jeane Kirkpatrick testified before the Committee on National Security, and at page 36 of the Reuters transcript, so that all of my colleagues will not think I selectively quote, in answer to a question by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MCHALE], Jeane Kirkpatrick, in the Reagan administration our ambassador to the United Nations, an advocate, with me, of lifting the arms embargo said this: "I guess I think that the President's initiative, or his response in this letter," referring to the November 13 letter to the Speaker, "makes it unwise for the Congress to pass a binding resolution in advance of the completion of an agreement."

In a bipartisan way, I ask my colleagues to reject this rule, so that we do not debate the substance of this, but say that this rule ought to be rejected because the timing is not now, as the Washington Times so aptly stated.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BUYER].

Mr. BUYER. Mr. Speaker, I say in response to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER], I was there to listen to Jeane Kirkpatrick in her testimony, and the gentleman is accurate when he quotes her as saying that it was not wise for us to move prior to a product.

She was also then went on in the testimony, and I do not know how much of it the gentleman has there, but she went on to say, "I cannot believe I am saying that." She said she could not believe she was saying that, because she knows what the end product is going to be, that this body voted overwhelmingly, 315 to 103, to say, do not use troops as the precondition. We know what the product is going to be.

Mr. Speaker, I just wanted to share that with the gentleman.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman would yield, but the quote was accurate. Am I correct?

Mr. BUYER. Mr. Speaker, the quote was accurate; I just wanted to give "the rest of the story."

Mr. HOYER. Thank you, "Paul."

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, how did Paul Harvey get into this?

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Ms.

MOLINARI], one of the very, very distinguished Members of this body. We all greatly admire and respect her, because the gentlewoman is one of the most level-headed people that I know in this body.

Ms. MOLINARI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the rule and in support of the amendment. Up until this week, I was going to oppose it. I have always questioned ground troops used as peacekeepers in this region, but I, too, did not want to be accused of jeopardizing peace talks. These peace talks are moving in a dangerous direction and they are revealing just how tenuous this pending agreement may be.

Mr. Speaker, let me begin at the beginning. I have been to the region twice, and I do not believe this is a civil war. I believe it is, and has been, a war of terror and of land-grabbing and undocumented atrocities. I have historically advocated air strikes against the Serbian guerrillas and believe that we still have the need to end the arms embargo against the Bosnians and the Croats. I believe we have a moral obligation to stop the Nazi-like reign of terror that has occurred to innocent victims.

But, Mr. Speaker, the question is: Does sending peacekeepers do this? Right now, today, the answer appears to be no. The peacekeepers cannot erase the pain of torture and of concentration camps and killings and rapes. Peacekeepers cannot keep the peace currently being discussed at Dayton.

President Milosevic of Serbia has asked as a precondition of peace that General Mladic and Radovan Karadzic be allowed to leave office through the electoral process. Mladic and Karadzic have been indicted as war criminals, criminals who authorized mass executions and mass rapes, buried people alive, and killed children before their mothers, and forced a grandfather, reported by The New York Times, to eat the liver of his own grandson.

Milosevic, a party at the peace table, refuses to turn these men in. Peace in the region is important, but peace without justice is impossible. Maybe I am wrong; maybe justice will be served at Dayton, but I must be convinced first. I must be educated first. I must be so sure that I can look a parent in the eye and promise them that their children are fighting for a noble cause and not justifying a three-year reign of terror, not protecting boundaries drawn with the blood of innocent children.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. PETERSON].

Mr. PETERSON of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the Hefley amendment. The question is: Why now? Why now?

Mr. Speaker, I am not convinced that we need to send troops to Bosnia. I do not think the case has been made for that yet. But I think we are going down an interstate right now and we are getting off at the wrong exit.

Mr. Speaker, we do not have all of the signs yet. We do not know what this peace process is going to give us. We have already had success in the peace talks. East Slovenia has been solved, and we may not actually have hostilities there. They are making progress.

But one thing is certain. We should not be doing anything in this body to destabilize those peace talks. It does not make any sense. What do we get out of it? What is constructive about it? What is the end product? What is the message?

Mr. Speaker, let us give peace a chance. Let us gamble. Let us gamble on peace. Is there any cost to that? Absolutely not.

Mr. Speaker, we have before us today a resolution whose time has not come. There will be a time. Let the President, let the administration, let our negotiators, let them work for peace.

Mr. Speaker, I have been in combat. I know the alternative here. I did not fight for war. I fought for peace.

□ 1630

Let us let those negotiators fight for peace. Let us not derail this process. Vote no on this rule. Vote no on this resolution.

Mr. HALL of Ohio, Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. SKELTON].

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, there is an old saying, the more emotion the less reason. Today I call for reason and I call for defeating this rule and put an end to the discussion of a very difficult issue whose time has not come.

I do not speak today of sending troops. I am not yet convinced that that is the case. I have serious reservations. As a matter of fact, I have told the administration that I have eight specific conditions before I would even consider it, not the least of which is whether there will be training of the Moslems and equipment and ammunition given to them.

What we are doing today is completely out of context. It is untimely. It is premature. Let us look at the history of this body.

This body, when it comes to foreign affairs, matters of national security, other countries, we have stopped at the water's edge and spoken through the administration, whoever the President may be. Both sides of the aisle have spoken together, worked with the administration and said to all people from other countries, we are Americans. We believe in cooperation; we believe in working together. We speak with one voice.

I was here. I had the first 2 hours of the debate in my control on the resolution to send the troops to the gulf. That was a bipartisan effort. As a matter of fact, the President, at that time a Republican, requested of this Democratic-controlled Congress that we not take up the issue prematurely. We did not.

This rule should be voted down so we may not prematurely take this issue

up. We must do this in reasoned manner and in a timely manner. Let us not rush to judgment. Let us do what is right for our country. Let us do what is right for foreign affairs. Let us do what is right for the Americans.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, when I came here 17 years ago, I came with this next speaker. He is from Green Bay, WI. He is an outstanding member of the Committee on International Relations for many years.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ROTH].

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

The question comes up repeatedly, why now? Let me tell my colleagues why now. This is the last chance we have, all of us in this body, to vote on whether we want to send troops into Bosnia. Why? Because we have all read this letter from the President, a nine-page letter to the Speaker. I want to read to my colleagues just two sentences, because we have to read this carefully.

The President says, "There will be timely opportunity for Congress to consider and act upon the request to send troops into Bosnia."

But, listen to this next sentence: "However, there is a requirement for some early prepositioning of small amounts of communication and other support personnel."

The news media tells us it is 2,000 people. My friends, my friend from Florida, the next time you come into this well and this is up for a vote, it is not whether you want to send troops to Bosnia. It is whether you are going to support the 2,000 troops that are there. That is the issue.

Read this letter and read this carefully, because that is the issue. Today you are going to vote whether you are going to send troops to Bosnia or not. This is the Gulf of Tonkin resolution here in this particular war.

Mr. WISE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROTH. I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. WISE. Mr. Speaker, is the gentleman aware that during the Persian Gulf lead-up that we prepositioned 500,000 troops before that took place?

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, the point is that we are voting today on whether we are going to put troops into Bosnia.

Santayana said those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it. When President Clinton sent Christopher to Capitol Hill, he said there are four questions that have to be answered before we send troops overseas. The first question: Is there a clear mission?

I want to ask my colleagues, is there a clear mission in Bosnia? If there is, I would like to hear about it. I hear all these emotional speeches about the peace process in Dayton. We are not stopping them from having a peace process in Dayton.

There are four questions, and those are the questions we have to consider today.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. GILCHREST], a former marine and a great Congressman.

Mr. GILCHREST. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the rule and the Hefley resolution.

Does the United States have a responsibility in the international arena? The answer is yes. Does the United States have a role to play, a significant role to play in the Bosnia crisis? The answer is yes. Do the warring parties in Bosnia have a responsibility to come to a peaceful resolution? The answer is yes.

Can and should the United States with NATO forces bring to an abrupt end the butchery that we have witnessed over the past so many years? Should we support the peace process? We must.

But consider, was Congress fully informed of the consequences of the Tonkin Gulf resolution in 1964, of Somalia, of Haiti, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera? Should we commit troops before we are fully informed? The answer is no.

I urge support of the rule.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, there are a lot of good Democrats. I used to be one. One of those is GENE TAYLOR.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. TAYLOR].

Mr. TAYLOR of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, when I was a Mississippi State Senator, our secretary of the senate was a former Congressman by the name of Charlie Griffin who served up here during the Vietnam years. And I remember asking Charlie, how could you serve up there during the whole Vietnam war and there was never an effort made to declare it a war? How can you send kids off to what you know will be a war and not vote on war?

Charlie's in heaven. And Charlie, I want you to know that I remember that conversation. I want you to know that we are getting ready to send kids into what is clearly a war. I am going to demand that we vote on it, because that is our job. Read the Constitution. It is not the President's. It is our job. We cannot run away from it.

If you think we ought to do it, vote for it. I think we should not do it. I am going to vote against it.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. KINGSTON], another outstanding Member of this body.

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, the folks back in my district do not understand all the history of the Balkans. They do not understand everything that is going on in Dayton, and they do not understand all the boundaries and all the players. But they do understand the many questions that we have to answer to them, and I think the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. ROTH] alluded to these.

Is there a clear peril, an American peril? Is there a clear mission? Is there

a clear plan to achieve it? How will we accomplish it? Who will help us with it and to what extent? Who are our allies, who will be in the foxhole with your sons and daughters? What will determine when the mission is accomplished? How will we withdraw once that mission is accomplished? And what will we do to keep a lasting peace?

Winston Churchill said nothing that ever starts in the Balkans ever ends there. Bismarck said, there is nothing that could happen in the Balkans that is worth one drop of German blood. That was before World War I.

This is not a peace process. This is a war process. I do not think at this time we should send our sons and daughters to Bosnia, and I am going to support the rule and vote no on sending troops there.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BUYER], an outstanding member of the Committee on National Security, a veteran of the gulf war.

Mr. BUYER. Mr. Speaker, most of us here today are in agreement. Three weeks ago 315 of my colleagues joined in a bipartisan manner to urge the President not to send ground troops to Bosnia. Ground troops were a bad idea then, and it is a bad idea today. Some of my colleagues disagree with this next step that we have here right now to cut off the funds for a troop deployment to Bosnia before a peace agreement is in fact signed. I can understand that. I think we should probably perhaps wait to see what the President's product is. But let us not kid ourselves. We know what that product is.

Based on all of the hearings and all of the meetings that I have attended, those of us that have taken interest in this issue have attended, the troops, it is down range. It is happening. It is in a plan of action. Do not kid yourself. If you are going to just sit back here today and wait, and say, well, I just want to see the product, I am going to vote against this today but I do not want to send troops, you are only kidding yourself. The troops are going. It is a serious and valid question, though, and I believe we should ask it.

Significant questions though remain about the purpose and execution of the President's plan. That is the clear and concise mission? What is the desired end state? How do we define success? What is our exit strategy, based on that definition of success? How can we maintain our neutrality while we arm and equip and train Bosnian Moslems? What are the vital national security interests? Are they at stake?

If we are going to go in because of vital national security interests, do not say we will only be there for a year because a date certain is not an exit strategy. If you have vital national security interests to go in, then they must match your success. And that depends on how long you stay.

Mr. President, you should not hide from the tough questions for fear of the

answers. Mr. President, the only thing I ask is, please remove the blinders and listen and see what you will see and what you will hear is that the American people, through this Congress, disagree that U.S. ground troops should be used as a precondition or a predicate to a peace agreement.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. BARTLETT].

(Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I rise against sending troops to Bosnia without congressional approval and against requiring our military to wear U.N. insignia.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this rule, however, I am very disappointed that the Rules Committee did not make my amendment in order. Today, this House will vote on whether or not we send young American men and women as ground soldiers in Bosnia. While I do not believe the President has made a sufficient case for us to send our troops into harm's way, I do believe there is another side issue which needs to be addressed and that this bill is the proper vehicle.

No doubt you have heard the story of our brave soldier, Army Specialist Michael New. Specialist New is an Army medic serving his country while stationed in Germany. He was recently told that his unit would be ordered to serve as part of the U.N. operation in Bosnia and would be required to wear blue berets and a U.N. insignia on their uniforms. As I am sure you are aware, Specialist New has refused to wear a U.N. uniform and is now awaiting court martial for disobeying an order.

I fully understand that Specialist New will face the charges because he disobeyed an order. I do not mean to imply that soldiers should be free to disobey their commanders. But there is an overriding issue: Specialist New believes this order was unlawful.

Specialist New as well as a large number of Members of this body believe that our young men and women who serve our country take an oath to honor and defend the Constitution of the United States. They do not take an oath to defend the Charter of the United Nations, and they believe that when they wear the insignia of the U.N. that they transfer their allegiance to the U.N. Charter.

The amendment that I intend to offer today is of great importance and is very timely. If this House is going to debate whether to send troops to Bosnia, we must raise the issue of whether U.S. troops should be required to wear a uniform that signifies allegiance to the United Nations.

My amendment is very simple. It would not have prevented the U.S. military from participating in U.N. activities but it would have prohibited the requirement of the Armed Forces to wear the uniform or any insignia of the United Nations. This amendment will in no way affect Specialist New's case because it only applies to the future wearing of such uniforms. The language of my amendment is identical to H.R. 2540 which was introduced by the House majority whip, TOM DELAY.

The timing of this issue could not be any more appropriate. Specialist New will be arraigned today for his court martial. This House should send the message that it will not toler-

ate our soldiers being given which may be unlawful orders. It is my sincere hope that this House will bring H.R. 2540 to the floor in the very near future.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield the remaining 3 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. DELLUMS], former chairman of the Committee on Armed Services.

Mr. DELLUMS. Mr. Speaker, there are those rare moments in this body that require the best of us, that require that we rise above our ideological perspectives, beyond partisanship, that lift us to a very high place. I think this is one of those moments.

Mr. Speaker, before he died, Prime Minister Rabin said to a number of us on the Committee on National Security that peace is a very difficult proposition. You do not have to make peace with your friends. Peace is difficult. The context of this debate is going forward in an era that has now been referred to as the post-cold war era, where I believe the enemy is war itself and the great challenge of the post-cold war is indeed peace.

□ 1645

Mr. Speaker, Members of the House, just a few short months ago many of my colleagues in the highly charged debate, with a great deal of hand wringing, suggested that the slaughter and the ethnic cleansing, the savagery that was taking place in former Yugoslavia needed to end, and there was a great deal of frustration, and people decided that the moral thing to do was to lift the arms embargo and put more arms into that part of the world and allow the savagery, the death and the destruction to continue on moral grounds.

But now we find that this moment, Mr. Speaker and Members of this House, that that was not the only option. People are now at this very moment, in a Herculean effort, moving from the bloodiness of the battlefield of Bosnia to the negotiating table in the United States, trying to achieve that difficult thing called peace.

Now whether one is for or against the American involvement and implementing such a peace plan is a legitimate question; and we should, because I stand second to no one in this institution, jealously guarding the prerogatives of the Congress of the United States when it comes to the deployment of troops overseas. I went to the courts of the United States to take that stance. So we have a right to debate that, should be involved as a practical, political, moral and philosophical issue.

But this is not that moment. We must be rational, intelligent, and responsible human beings. There is a time and a moment for everything. This is not such a moment. To make a decision before we see a plan is absurd, ludicrous, ridiculous, premature, and I would suggest to my colleagues, Mr. Speaker, potentially devastating. What then becomes the moral implications

of our action if based on this prematurity that the peace talks fall apart, and the ethnic cleansing, the death, the destruction and the savagery go forward? We then have unclean hands.

I would suggest, Mr. Speaker, that we rise to this lofty moment. At the end of the day, whether one is for or against the President, take that stance, but do not perpetrate this kind of effort that would prematurely deal with this issue. I underscore the challenge of the post cold war. The challenge is one of peace.

Mr. SOLOMON. My Speaker, I yield myself the balance of the time and say there are three issues at stake here. One is cost. We cannot drain our military of billions of dollars annually which causes massive layoffs of our military personnel. That is not right.

Second, American foreign policy has always been to defend our treaty allies against outside military aggression. That is not the case here. We cannot now begin to participate in a NATO event that is going to go out of area, go away from this concept and start trying to settle internal issues of civil strife. We must not do that; that is wrong.

Third and most importantly, my colleagues say, "Why do it today?" Because it may be our last chance to save the lives of American soldiers and Marines that might have to go in there and lose their lives in a place they have no reason being.

Lift the embargo, give them money, give them weapons, and let them defend themselves without putting an American serviceman in harm's way.

Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 239, nays 181, not voting 12, as follows:

[Roll No. 813]

YEAS—239

Allard	Bilbray	Buyer
Archer	Bilirakis	Calvert
Arney	Bliley	Camp
Bachus	Blute	Canady
Baker (CA)	Boehlert	Castle
Baker (LA)	Boehner	Chabot
Ballenger	Bonilla	Chambliss
Barr	Bono	Chenoweth
Barrett (NE)	Brownback	Christensen
Bartlett	Bryant (TN)	Chrysler
Barton	Bunn	Clinger
Bass	Bunning	Coble
Bateman	Burr	Coburn
Bereuter	Burton	Collins (GA)

Combest	Hoekstra
Condit	Hoke
Cooley	Horn
Cox	Hostettler
Crane	Houghton
Crapo	Hunter
Creameans	Hutchinson
Cubin	Inglis
Cunningham	Istook
Davis	Jacobs
Deal	Johnson (CT)
DeLay	Johnson, Sam
Diaz-Balart	Jones
Dickey	Kasich
Doolittle	Kelly
Dornan	Kim
Dreier	King
Duncan	Kingston
Dunn	Klug
Durbin	Knollenberg
Ehlers	Kolbe
Ehrlich	LaHood
Emerson	Latham
English	LaTourrette
Ensign	Laughlin
Evans	Lazio
Everett	Leach
Ewing	Lewis (CA)
Fawell	Lewis (KY)
Fields (TX)	Lightfoot
Flanagan	Linder
Foley	Livingston
Forbes	LoBiondo
Fowler	Lucas
Fox	Manzullo
Franks (CT)	Martini
Franks (NJ)	McCollum
Frelinghuysen	McCrery
Frisa	McDade
Funderburk	McHugh
Galleghy	McInnis
Ganske	McIntosh
Gekas	McKeon
Geren	Menendez
Gilchrist	Metcalf
Gillmor	Meyers
Gilman	Mica
Goodlatte	Miller (FL)
Goodling	Molinari
Gordon	Moorhead
Goss	Morella
Graham	Myers
Greenwood	Myrick
Gutknecht	Nethercutt
Hall (TX)	Ney
Hancock	Norwood
Hansen	Nussle
Hastert	Oxley
Hastings (WA)	Packard
Hayes	Parker
Hayworth	Paxon
Hefley	Peterson (MN)
Heineman	Petri
Herber	Pombo
Hilleary	Porter
Hobson	Portman

NAYS—181

Abercrombie	Costello	Gonzalez
Ackerman	Coyne	Green
Andrews	Cramer	Gunderson
Baessler	Danner	Gutierrez
Baldacci	de la Garza	Hall (OH)
Barcia	DeFazio	Hamilton
Barrett (WI)	DeLauro	Hastings (FL)
Becerra	Dellums	Hilliard
Beilenson	Deutsch	Hinchey
Bentsen	Dicks	Holden
Berman	Dingell	Hoyer
Bevill	Dixon	Jackson-Lee
Bishop	Doggett	Jefferson
Bonior	Dooley	Johnson (SD)
Borski	Doyle	Johnson, E. B.
Boucher	Edwards	Johnston
Browder	Engel	Kanjorski
Brown (CA)	Eshoo	Kaptur
Brown (FL)	Farr	Kennedy (MA)
Brown (OH)	Fattah	Kennedy (RI)
Bryant (TX)	Fazio	Kennelly
Bryant (TX)	Filner	Kildee
Cardin	Flake	Klaczka
Chapman	Foglietta	Klink
Clay	Ford	LaFalce
Clayton	Frank (MA)	Lantos
Clement	Frust	Levin
Clyburn	Furse	Lewis (GA)
Coleman	Gejdenson	Lincoln
Collins (MI)	Gephardt	Lipinski
Conyers	Gibbons	Lofgren

Longley	Orton	Slaughter
Lowe	Owens	Spratt
Luther	Pallone	Stark
Maloney	Pastor	Stenholm
Manton	Payne (NJ)	Stokes
Markey	Payne (VA)	Studds
Martinez	Pelosi	Stupak
Mascara	Peterson (FL)	Tanner
Matsui	Pickett	Tejeda
McCarthy	Pomeroy	Thompson
McHale	Poshard	Thornton
McKinney	Rahall	Thurman
McNulty	Rangel	Torres
Meehan	Reed	Torricelli
Meek	Richardson	Towns
Mfume	Rivers	Velazquez
Miller (CA)	Roemer	Vento
Minge	Rose	Visclosky
Mink	Roybal-Allard	Ward
Moakley	Rush	Waters
Mollohan	Sabo	Watt (NC)
Montgomery	Sanders	Waxman
Moran	Sawyer	Williams
Murtha	Schroeder	Wilson
Nadler	Schumer	Wise
Neal	Scott	Woolsey
Serrano	Serrano	Wynn
Obey	Sisisky	Yates
Olver	Skaggs	
Ortiz	Skelton	

NOT VOTING—12

Brewster	Hefner	Neumann
Collins (IL)	Hyde	Smith (MI)
Fields (LA)	Largent	Tucker
Harman	McDermott	Volkmer

□ 1708

Ms. KAPTUR changed her vote from "yea" to "nay."

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Ms. HARMAN. Mr. Speaker, I was on an official excused absence earlier today to attend a funeral, and would like to indicate at the proper points in the RECORD how I would have voted on the earlier recorded rollcall.

On rollcall 810, I would have voted "no." On rollcall 811, I would have voted "present." On rollcall 812, I would have voted "no." And on rollcall 813, I would have voted "no."

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. SABO. Mr. Speaker, for some reason, my vote was not registered on rollcall vote No. 809, the final passage of the H.R. 250, the Congressional Gift Reform Act as amended. Had my vote been properly recorded, it would have appeared as "aye" on agreeing to the resolution.

REMOVAL OF NAME OF MEMBER AS COSPONSOR OF H.R. 528

Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my name be removed as a cosponsor of H.R. 528.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Nebraska?

There was no objection.