

The United States, France and the United Kingdom each anticipate providing roughly a division sized combat force. Each nation will tailor that force to reflect the specific geographic and ethnic characteristics of the region in which they will operate. Other nation's will contribute units ranging from company to battalion size, based on mission requirements.

For the United States, the call-up of approximately 1,500 to 2,000 reserve component personnel is likely. These units will participate primarily in combat support, service support, medical, civil affairs and military police functions. The reserve components have been heavily taxed over the past three years supporting U.N. and humanitarian relief missions in Rwanda, Somalia, Haiti and now Bosnia. Air Force Reserve and Air National Guard units are an essential element of the on-going airlift to support the Bosnian people.

#### COST ESTIMATES

Officials at the U.S. European Command were unable to provide any specific estimate on the cost of U.S. operations. Discussions with senior officials at the Department of Defense indicate that the likely incremental cost for fiscal year 1996 of the ground force component of a NATO peace implementation force will total approximately \$1.5 to \$2.0 billion. This amount does not address the costs of the on-going "no fly" enforcement mission or the naval embargo in the Adriatic Sea.

More detailed estimates are expected upon completion of the peace agreement, and the finalization of NATO operational plans.

#### TIMETABLE FOR POTENTIAL DEPLOYMENT

Officials at the U.S. European Command estimated that NATO force would be tasked to deploy to Bosnia and Croatia within 96 hours of the formal adoption of a peace settlement. What will constitute the "formal adoption" of an agreement is not yet known. NATO leaders concurred with this estimate.

NATO leaders had not yet defined what mechanism would trigger the Alliance's participation in the mission, and the timetable for consideration by the North Atlantic Council of a request for NATO involvement. NATO officials anticipated that the military mission would be predicated on a United Nations Security Council resolution, authorizing such a mission pursuant to Chapter 7 of the U.N. Charter.

NATO officials did not articulate the mechanism by which individual nations would determine and affirm their participation in the mission.

#### COMMAND AND CONTROL/RULES OF ENGAGEMENT

Central to the role of U.S. military forces in a deployment to Bosnia will be the command relationships and the rules of engagement that would govern their participation. In every discussion, the Delegation found that all parties believed the utilization of NATO would obviate the problems encountered by the United Nations command structure. The flawed "dual-key" control by the United Nations of military force limited the usefulness of that force, and caused all the combatant parties to doubt and mistrust the commitment of the United Nations to securing peace in Bosnia.

U.S. military officials stated categorically that U.S. forces would serve under the command of U.S. military officers through the NATO chain of command. They affirmed that the rules of engagement will provide wide latitude to respond with disproportionate force to any attack or threat to U.S. or NATO personnel.

Less clear is how those rules of engagement will deal with threats to local populations, whether Bosnian Muslim, Croat or

Serb, by any military, guerilla or terrorist force. Again, the peace agreement is expected to provide guidance on the role of the military peace implementation force, and how they might respond to such situations.

#### PARTICIPATION OF NON-NATO FORCES

A point of sensitivity and uncertainty in discussions with U.S. military, NATO, Bosnian and Croat leaders was the participation of non-NATO military units in a peace implementation force. This applied both to the potential role for Islamic nations and Russia.

NATO leaders believed that the inclusion of Russian military forces would contribute to the stability and likely success of the mission. Officials in Croatia and Bosnia believe that the Serb parties will insist on a Russian presence. U.S. military officials stated that on-going discussions with the Russian military were addressing command, control and funding issues associated with any Russian participation. U.S. officials anticipated that each participant in the NATO-led peace enforcement mission would pay their own costs. Again, this issue is expected to be addressed in the anticipated peace settlement.

#### CLOSING OBSERVATIONS

While reaching no conclusion about what action the Senate might take regarding the potential deployment of U.S. military forces to Bosnia as part of a NATO peace implementation force, the Delegation believes that several critical and vital issues must be resolved before a full and complete understanding of the mission can be reached.

From the perspective of the use of U.S. military units, the following issues must be addressed:

- (1) The end state or "exit strategy" for U.S. forces.
  - (2) Funding for U.S. operational costs.
  - (3) Funding for non-NATO participants.
  - (4) Demarcation of U.S. and allied zones of deployment.
  - (5) Composition of U.S. and allied military forces.
  - (6) Logistics support for U.S. and allied military forces.
  - (7) Transit/air access in Bosnia.
  - (8) Air defense responsibilities.
  - (9) Transition for current U.N. mission to NATO control.
  - (10) Rules of engagement.
  - (11) Transition to civilian aid/recovery program.
  - (12) Specific tasks U.S. forces will perform.
- These outstanding issues are not intended to negatively reflect the discussions and meeting by the Delegation—they simply represent the unknown factors surrounding this mission.

#### FLAG DESECRATION CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now resume consideration of Senate Joint Resolution 31, which the clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (S.J. Res. 31) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to grant Congress and States the power to prohibit the physical desecration of the flag of the United States.

The Senate resumed consideration of the joint resolution.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for 12 minutes in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THOMAS). Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### PERCENTAGE DEPLETION ALLOCATION

Mr. MURKOWSKI. I thank the Chair. I will share with my colleagues a little known fact concerning the effect of the Clinton administration's new proposed 7-year balanced budget and the effect it will have for thousands of working men and women in Western States, those men and women working specifically in the mining industry.

This is a \$1 billion budget bombshell that will cost thousands of domestic jobs, and it will increase our domestic balance of payments, because buried in the details of the Clinton budget alternative is a provision that would hike taxes on many mining operations on Federal land.

The administration is proposing an elimination of the percentage depletion allowance for nonfuel minerals mined on public lands where mining rights were obtained by the patent process. "Patent process" can be construed to mean patents, as well as the process of applying for a patent.

This is extraordinarily far reaching, Mr. President. According to the administration, this would save—they use the word "save"—\$954 million over 10 years, placing a \$1 billion burden on our Nation's miners.

You can imagine the significance of trying to be competitive in a world market, suddenly faced with a reality of losing the depletion allowance, which in many cases allows our mining industry to be competitive internationally.

Why the White House has singled out the mining industry for punishment is anyone's guess. It appears to be the latest assault by Secretary Babbitt, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Clinton administration on the West.

The administration seems to want to paint the miners as some kind of corporate guru, the exception rather than the rule as far as the reality is concerned, because many of the operations are small mom-and-pop operations that are clearly in jeopardy by this proposal.

It would provide a war on hard-working people and their jobs. Why they are singled out as the only industry for termination, one can only speculate.

Oil, gas and coal jobs are not put in jeopardy by this move by the administration to lose the depletion allowance. However, one should reflect on the fact that this may be the camel's nose under the tent. It is only a matter of time until this administration will again use the Tax Code to go after oil and gas and the coal industry.

Having heard my friend from North Dakota express his concern over the deficit balance of payments, I again remind the President and my colleagues, this Nation grew strong on the development of our natural resources, our oil, our coal, our gas, our timbering industry, our mining industry, our grazing industry. All these appear to be put in jeopardy. In fact, the development of resources from all public lands appears to be on the administration's blacklist.

The rationale of how they could see the tremendous decline in these high-paying blue collar jobs and the reality that they seem to think it is better to import is beyond me. That is specifically exporting our dollars and our jobs overseas.

I remind our colleagues, the hard rock mining industry provides approximately 120,000 direct and indirect jobs nationwide. This proposal of the administration could eliminate 60,000 to 70,000 jobs. It is shortsighted and, once again, the White House seems to be proving it really does not care about the men and women working in America's resource industries. When we import more minerals, again, we are exporting jobs and exporting dollars. Unfortunately, the administration seems to be putting politics before policy. It may look good in the press but it would simply destroy America's mining industry by putting a billion-dollar burden on their backs and still expect them to be competitive internationally.

#### THE FOREST SERVICE GRINCH STEALING CHRISTMAS IN ALASKA

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I have one more short statement relative to another policy of the administration. I want to speak briefly on an issue that affects my home State of Alaska. It is coming to a head during this holiday season, but unfortunately, unless there is a legislative solution the problem will not end with Christmas but it will be a gift that will keep on giving throughout the year 1996.

The gift is the policies that promote unemployment. The bearer of this unwelcome present seems to be the U.S. Forest Service. In fact, it is not too strong to say that in the small community of Wrangell, AK, a town I once lived in, the U.S. Forest Service is truly becoming the Grinch that stole Christmas and is stealing the hopes and dreams of many of the people in that community.

The Forest Service, under the Clinton administration, has canceled the contract that provided timber to the town's only year-round industry, a small sawmill. The Service has also been unresponsive in putting up independent sales to permit the sawmill to operate. For that reason, the timber industry in southeastern Alaska, an industry dependent upon wood from the Nation's largest national forest, the 17-million-acre Tongass National Forest, is being destroyed.

People live in the forest. Unlike in many areas where you have State and private timber, in our part of the country, towns such as Ketchikan, Wrangell, Petersburg, Juneau, and so forth, are all in the forest.

We have the situation, since the Clinton administration came to power more than 3 years ago, that more than 1,100 direct logging jobs have been lost, cutting timber employment by 42 percent. Environmental groups earlier

this year claimed loudly that the economy in southeastern Alaska did not need a timber industry, that everything was doing fine. They should tell the folks back in Wrangell, that 2,500 population town. The local newspaper a week ago filed for bankruptcy. This would end a continuous publication, for 93 years, of the Wrangell Sentinel, the longest continually published newspaper in our State. The paper is only the latest victim of the revenue loss caused for all businesses when the sawmill closed, costing more than 200 jobs in the community.

Besides the newspaper, there have been jobs lost in the machine shop, the transportation company, the markets, even the fixture of the community bar, the Stikine Bar. The unthinkable has happened. The bar is shut down, putting 12 people out of work.

This is the real result of the shortsighted Forest Service policies. These are not policies that will help the environment. According to the Forest Service draft of a revised Tongass Land Management Plan in 1993, enough timber could have been cut in southeast to keep all these people working with little effect, if any, on the environment. We are only seeking to harvest just 10 percent of the Tongass over a 100-year regrowth cycle, while nearly half the forest old growth is fully protected. Alaskans are seeking just to log 1.7 million acres of that forest—while nearly 7 million acres are fully protected in wilderness or other restricted areas.

We are currently working on a temporary fix that may help Wrangell and other southeast towns that depend on timber to have a hope of a brighter future. Hopefully, Congress will approve the fix and I pray that the President will sign it in the Interior appropriations bill later this week.

It will present a hope during the holidays for the thousands whose future depends on some level of logging in southeastern Alaska in the Tongass.

But the real solution, if residents of southeastern Alaska are to dream of brighter days ahead, is for the Clinton administration to begin to think about the real pain they are causing real people in my State and to permit a rational, environmentally sound logging policy to resume in the Tongass National Forest. Logging is a renewable resource if properly managed. I remind the Forest Service that they said this set of circumstances would never happen; they would be able to maintain a modest supply of timber to allow the industry to sustain itself. That has not happened.

If the Forest Service insists on stealing the Christmas of the people in Wrangell, and other towns in 1995, then in 1996 a bill that I have been working on all year with Senator STEVENS and Representative YOUNG to honor the terms of the 1990 compromise over logging in the Tongass is going to be back before this body. It is a present I intend to deliver to Alaskans before another Christmas passes.

Mr. President, I thank the Chair for the time allotted me. I wish the President a good day.

#### FLAG DESECRATION CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the joint resolution Mr. BIDEN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the Senator will withhold we are returning to Senate Joint Resolution 31.

Mr. BIDEN. That is what I wish to speak to, Mr. President.

Mr. President, we have had some discussion this morning, we will have some more discussions this afternoon, and some discussion tomorrow as well, on a constitutional amendment to protect the flag.

Nothing symbolizes what we might call our national spirit like the flag. In times of crisis it inspires us to do more. In times of tranquility it moves us to do better. And, at all times it unifies us in the face of our diversity and of our difference.

There are those who believe that we should not, under any circumstances, and no matter how it is worded, write an amendment into the Constitution to protect the flag because they believe there is no way to do that without damaging an even more cherished right, our right to say whatever we wish to say when we wish to say it without the Government acting as a censor, without the Government choosing among our words, which are appropriate and which are not.

I understand their view and I respect it. I believe, as strongly as I believe anything about this debate, that those against the amendment in question are no less patriotic, no more un-American, no less American, no better, no worse than those who share the view that the amendment in question is an appropriate way to protect the flag, which really means to speak to our national spirit and consensus that exists in America about what we stand for. The so-called culture norms people often speak to.

I respect their motives and I respect their views. But they are not mine. Although it is arguably not necessary to enshrine in the Constitution a way of protecting the flag, I believe that written properly, I believe stated properly, it can in fact legitimately be placed in the Constitution without doing damage to any of the other elements of our Constitution. But I should say up front that the amendment in question, in my view, does not do that. I say this as one who has made it his business here on the floor, along with my friend from Vermont, whom I see on the floor, and others, of sometimes being out of step in the minds of many people in terms of protecting the civil liberties of persons in this country to say what they wish to say, to publish what we do not wish them to publish, and to take actions we find reprehensible. But the Senator from Vermont, myself, and