

order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. THOMPSON).

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, let me suggest the absence of a quorum for just a moment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

The majority leader is recognized.

RECESS UNTIL 5 P.M.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I think most of our colleagues know there is a meeting in Senator DASCHLE's office underway to see if they can make headway on two or three issues on reg reform so we can make a determination whether to have the third cloture vote tomorrow or do something else, maybe Bosnia.

But the Presiding Officer is one of the principal Members of that negotiating team. And so he may go back and help the negotiation—I guess dealing with the judicial review section—I think it is in the best interest of all of us that the Senate stand in recess until 5 p.m.

I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess until 5 p.m.

There being no objection, at 4:32 p.m., the Senate recessed until 5 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. SANTORUM).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is recognized.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there now be a period for the transaction of morning business, with Members permitted to speak therein for 5 minutes each.

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

COMPREHENSIVE REGULATORY REFORM ACT

Mr. DOLE. Let me indicate that I understand a number of our colleagues are still meeting in Senator DASCHLE's office on regulation reform. We hope to find out here before too long whether we will proceed with the bill or lay it aside, or just what may be developing. We would like to, obviously, finish the bill. It may not be possible.

BOSNIA

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, following whatever disposition of regulatory reform, we will take up the resolution on Bosnia. We were visited today by Secretary of State Christopher and General Shalikashvili, and they made their pitch about how bad the Dole-

Lieberman resolution would be on Bosnia, as far as lifting the arms embargo.

Somebody asked the question, if it is so bad, what is so good about what is happening in Bosnia now? Obviously, we did not have an answer. There is not any answer.

Today I received from Lady Margaret Thatcher a letter which I think is probably the best summation I have read about Bosnia and the tragedy there. I placed a copy on everyone's desk, but I will read it for the record.

The letter is as follows:

JULY 18, 1995

DEAR SENATOR DOLE: I am writing to express my very strong support for your attempt to have the arms embargo against Bosnia lifted.

I know that you and all members of the United States Senate share my horror at the crimes against humanity now being perpetrated by the Serbs in Bosnia. The UN and NATO have failed to enforce the Security Council Resolutions which authorized the use of force to defend the safe havens and to get humanitarian assistance through. The safe havens were never safe; now they are falling to Serb assault. Murder, ethnic cleansing, mass rape and torture are the legacy of the policy of the last three years to the people of Bosnia. It has failed utterly. We owe it to the victims at last and at least to have the weapons to defend themselves—since we ourselves are not willing to defend them.

The arms embargo was always morally wrong. Significantly, it was imposed on the (then formally intact but fragmenting) former Yugoslavia at that regime's own behest. It was then, quite unjustly and possibly illegally, applied to the successor states. Its effect—and, as regards the Serbs, its intention—was to ensure that the proponents of a Greater Serbia, who inherited the great bulk of the Yugoslav army's equipment, enjoyed overwhelming military superiority in their aggression. It is worth recalling that the democratically elected, multi-faith and multi-ethnic Bosnian Government never asked for a single UN soldier to be sent. It did ask for the arms required to defend its own people against a ruthless aggressor. That request was repeatedly denied, in spite of the wishes of the US administration and of most leading American politicians.

There is no point now in listing the failures of military policy which subsequently occurred. Suffice it to say that, instead of succeeding in enforcing the mandates the UN Security Council gave them, UNPROFOR became potential and then actual hostages. Airpower was never seriously employed either. The oft repeated arguments against lifting the arms embargo—that if it occurred UN troops would be at risk, that the enclaves like Srebrenica would fall, that the Serbs would abandon all restraint—have all now been proved worthless. For all these things have happened and the arms embargo still applies.

Two arguments are, however, still advanced by those who wish to keep the arms embargo in place. Each is demonstrably false.

First, it is said that lifting the arms embargo would prolong the war in Bosnia. This is, of course, a morally repulsive argument, for it implies that all we should care about is a quick end to the conflict without regard to the justice or otherwise of its outcome. But in any case it is based on the false assumption that the Serbs are bound to win. Over the last year the Bosnian army has grown much stronger and the Bosnian Serbs weaker. The Bosnian army has, with its

Croat allies, been winning back crucial territory, while desertion and poor morale are badly affecting the over-extended Serb forces. What the Bosnian government lacks however are the tanks and artillery needed to hold the territory won and force the Serbs to negotiate. This lack of equipment is directly the result of the arms embargo. Because of it the war is being prolonged and the casualties are higher. Lifting the arms embargo would thus shorten not lengthen the war.

Second, it is said that lifting the arms embargo would lead to rifts within the UN Security Council and NATO. But are there not rifts already? And are these themselves not the result of pursuing a failed policy involving large risks to outside countries ground troops, rather than arming and training the victims to repel the aggressor? American leadership is vital to bring order out of the present chaos. No country must be allowed to veto the action required to end the present catastrophe. And if American leadership is truly evident along the lines of the policy which you and your colleagues are advancing I do not believe that any country will actually try to obstruct it.

The West has already waited too long. Time is now terribly short. All those who care about peace and justice for the tragic victims of aggression in the former Yugoslavia now have their eyes fixed on the actions of the US Senate. I hope, trust and pray that your initiative to have the arms embargo against Bosnia lifted succeeds. It will bring new hope to those who are suffering so much.

With warm regards,

Yours Sincerely,

MARGARET THATCHER.

Mr. President, having read the letter, I think it says it all. I know the administration has said we will finally have a policy. It will not be business as usual. After 30 months, we will do something.

No one is talking about committing American ground troops. In fact, just the opposite. Lifting the arms embargo keeps America out of any engagement. It seems to me that is something that should have been done a long time ago. We have waited almost a year. A year ago August we had our last vote on this important issue. Mr. President, 58 out of 100 Senators voted to lift the embargo—Democrats and Republicans, bipartisan.

This is not an initiative by Senator DOLE or Senator LIEBERMAN, though we are working together. This is an initiative of the U.S. Senate, in a bipartisan way, to address a very serious problem.

The President has made two promises. One, to commit 25,000 American forces, if, in fact, there is a peace settlement, to keep the peace. More recently, commit 25,000 Americans to extricate members of the U.N. protection forces in case of withdrawal.

I am advised by the Bosnian Foreign Minister today that only 30 U.N. protection force members are in occupied Serb territory today. And he asked the question, why would it take 25,000 Americans to extricate 30 members of the U.N. protection forces? He says very clearly that there will be no interference on the part of Muslims with any withdrawal of U.N. protection forces.

No question about it, this matter is very, very important. It is very serious, as Secretary of State Christopher told Members today at noon. It has been serious if you are the ones doing the dying—or even the killing. But one side has done nearly all the dying, and one side has done nearly all the killing.

Those doing the dying do not have tanks or heavy weapons or artillery to defend themselves. They have rifles. In many cases they surrendered their heavy weapons because they were told they would be safe in these safe havens. So they surrendered their heavy weapons, their only means to defend themselves, and notified, in the case of Zepa, Medjedja, Gorazde, that the safe havens—that Lady Thatcher points out in the letter were never safe—and now they are falling to Serb assault.

This debate will begin, if not today, hopefully tomorrow. I hope we will have broad bipartisan support, unanimous support. I know the Secretary of State told Members at the Democratic policy lunch today that timing is everything, "This is a terrible time to bring up this resolution."

We have been told that at every turn. It is always a bad time. We thought, ourselves, it was a bad time to bring up the resolution, when you had U.N. Protection Forces chained to poles and held as hostages so there would be no more air strikes, and used as human shields. So we deferred consideration of the resolution. And we have waited and waited, hoping something good might happen. But nothing good has happened.

Again, the Foreign Minister of Bosnia, who will be here, I guess, for several days, and has met with a number of Senators in both parties, indicates clearly that the U.N. Protection Forces should go.

So I hope in the next 24 hours we will be able to move to the resolution. I hope my colleagues on this side will listen carefully to many on this side who are cosponsoring this resolution, and colleagues on the other side will listen carefully to Senator LIEBERMAN and others who will be leading the effort. The point I wish to make is this is not a partisan effort. It is not an effort aimed at President Clinton. I complained—or criticized the Bosnian policy during the Bush administration. So it is not something that we have discovered because we now have a Democrat in the White House.

So for 30 months, many of us originally supported Candidate Clinton, who said we ought to lift the arms embargo and have air strikes. We supported him. I remember meeting in the White House in 1993, in the spring, and we were talking about lifting the arms embargo. Most of us there supported the President's desire at that time to lift the arms embargo.

Then, for some reason—it has never been fully understood by this Senator—it just sort of went off the radar screen. Bosnia was forgotten. It is as though the President never said anything

about Bosnia, never said anything about lifting the arms embargo. Then we were told a year ago, in April, if we would just wait—and there was a resolution offered by the then Democratic leader, Senator MITCHELL, and Senator NUNN, that they would go to the United Nations and make a plea that the British and the French also lift the arms embargo. That was one way to stall any action on the other resolution.

The trouble is, they had never gone to the United Nations and asked for that, asked that the embargo be lifted. So we are back. We believe it is critical. We believe it is crucial. If anybody has any doubts, watch the television tonight, read the paper in the morning.

Again, to make it very clear to some who always feel it is going to Americanize the war, we have already Americanized the war. Scott O'Grady is an American, last time I checked. And he was shot down because we had not been notified that there were SAM sites in the area.

So American pilots are part of NATO. Lifting the arms embargo, removing the U.N. Protection Forces—and I commend the bravery and courage of all those who are engaged in the U.N. Protection Forces. But the problem is, they cannot protect themselves and they cannot protect the safe havens and they act as a buffer for the aggressors, the Serbs. Whether they intend it or not, they have been, in effect, an ally of the aggressors. And many of us do not believe that was ever intended.

Again, let me make a distinction between the Serb people and Milosevic and Karadzic and some of the others who are dedicated to ethnic cleansing, murder, butchery—whatever it takes to eliminate Bosnian Moslems. I know the Serb people are just as tired of the fighting, and the mothers are just as tired of sending their sons to face possible death, as anybody on the other side.

So we are going to be on the Bosnian resolution. I hope, on the matter of timing, it seems to me the best thing that could happen for this administration is for the Senate to pass with a big, big vote, our resolution. That would give the President and the Secretary of State or whomever they designate to negotiate with the British and the French and others a great deal of leverage. Because at that point they could say, "The Senate has acted. The House has acted. It is time to go. It is time to go."

Then we would turn the fighting over to the parties who are directly involved. Give the Bosnians a chance. They are a member of the United Nations. They are an independent nation. They have lost—70 percent of their land has been taken; 70 percent. And we are saying, "Oh, wait. Wait. We want to wait a while." Will we wait until 80 percent is taken?

All they want is a right they believe they are entitled to, which we believe in this country is an inherent right,

the right of self defense. They would hope for the same as a nation, the right of self defense as a nation.

In my view, they are entitled to that right. I think most of us agree they are entitled to that right. Take a look at the casualty figures. Who has been doing the dying? Who has been doing the killing? Who has been involved in that? I must say, in some cases it is probably hard to differentiate, because there has been a lot of treachery and tragedy on all sides. But for the most part, there is no question about who the aggressors have been. I just believe it is time for us to stand up.

This is a moral issue, one that should have been addressed a long time ago. It can be addressed without committing American forces. All we need to do is say we are going to lift the arms embargo and as an independent nation you are going to have a right to defend yourself—which does not seem to me to be a very difficult decision. We are not going to defend them. If we lift the embargo, it is not we defending them. If we lift the embargo, you defend yourself.

So I hope my colleagues will be prepared for debate on this very important issue, and that we can take final action before the week is out.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ABRAHAM). The Senator from Wisconsin.

THE BOSNIAN SITUATION

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I will take just a moment to comment on the leader's remarks. I believe that the leader's remarks are totally appropriate with regard to the Bosnian situation, and I feel that this should not be a partisan issue. This is a moral issue that appeals to a strong feeling throughout the country. I think, that something has happened here in Bosnia that goes against the very nature of the way we believe countries should be treated.

In my view, what the majority leader has said about the right to self defense is the key to this issue. There are a number of arguments that are going to come up that this will Americanize the war, to lift the arms embargo; that it is better to do it multilaterally versus unilaterally. But that all is to the side of the central issue, which the majority leader has pointed out, and that is: How in the world can we say that a country cannot defend itself? What would give us that right?

A terrible mistake was made in putting an arms embargo in a situation where one side had all the armaments and the other side was very poorly armed. I think we have to do everything we can to have a debate that does not make this a partisan issue. And to reiterate what the majority leader has said, all the arguments that are made have been made time and time again to justify delaying lifting the arms embargo. But he correctly points out that there is never a good time. No matter