

Mr. GLENN. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. MCCAIN. I have the floor. I will be glad to yield.

Mr. GLENN. I want to ask a question of Senator DOMENICI. Would he be willing to enter into a time agreement?

Mr. DOLE. Will there be any second-degree amendments on Domenici?

Mr. DOMENICI. Let me say to Senator LEVIN, this has nothing to do with toxic matters, nothing to do with that part.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, if the Senator from Arizona will yield to me a moment, we would like to get a time agreement on the Domenici amendment and then whatever we work out on the Lautenberg amendment. We would like to have a window of opportunity from 7 until 8 where there will be no votes. So if we can have one vote before 7, and then any other votes will be after 8 o'clock. Maybe we can work that out during the 10 minutes.

Mr. BYRD. Will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona has the floor.

Mr. MCCAIN. I will be glad to yield to the Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. I wanted to ask the distinguished majority leader why we could not just work ahead and not have a window of opportunity?

Mr. DOLE. You mean work right on through?

Mr. BYRD. Yes.

Mr. DOLE. We will both be here. That will be all right with me. I think it is going to work out that way. I do not know how much time the Senator from New Jersey would want. If we reach an agreement, I think it is going to be about an hour on each amendment. I am perfectly willing to continue to operate without any window, but a number of my colleagues have obligations away from the Capitol. Obviously, the important thing is to finish the bill. That is the most important thing.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, will the distinguished majority leader yield?

Mr. MCCAIN. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. BYRD. Without the time being charged to the distinguished Senator from Arizona, without his losing his right to the floor.

I can understand the desire of Senators to have a window, but there are some of us who understand that we have to stay here. We do not have any obligations away from the Hill. I have a wife and my little dog, Billy, at home. I would like to get home a little more often a little earlier. These windows of opportunities keep us here, those of us who are willing to, they keep us here in order to accommodate a few who want to run hither, thither, and yon, perhaps for good reason. But it delays the rest of us from getting the work done and getting home.

At the same time when we have these windows of opportunities, who stays around here and listens to the Senators talk? This is a poor way to do business. I do not say this critically of the majority leader, because I have been the

leader on previous occasions. I just hope we would not fall into a habit here of having these windows of opportunities and keeping others here who are willing to stay here and work and get home and know what is being said by Senators who take the floor for debate.

Mr. DOLE. I appreciate the comments of the Senator from West Virginia, my friend. I think someone said 2 hours would do. I said, no, an hour should be adequate. Maybe that will not happen. Obviously, the important thing is to finish this bill. I think we have made some progress here, hopefully, this afternoon. If we can have time agreements, if they are less than an hour, there will be less than an hour window. I will work with the Senator from West Virginia. My little dog, Leader, misses me and your old dog Billy, we have not gotten them together yet.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, if the leader will yield, Senator LAUTENBERG has a request for a 1-hour time agreement. That would be a good 1-hour window right there.

Mr. HATCH. Will Senator DOLE under the same unanimous consent agree to another comment? Will the leader yield? We also have Senator FEINGOLD. I just want to get it out so people know how many possible votes we have. Senator FEINGOLD has an amendment. We have a couple of other Senators who may want to bring up amendments tonight.

Mr. GLENN. Senator PRYOR has one also.

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. President, I have one.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona has the floor.

Mr. HATCH. I just want everybody to be aware.

Mr. DOLE. If the Senator from Arizona will yield to me one additional moment.

Mr. GLENN. Could I have 20 seconds here? All of these agreements on who is going to come up with whatever, all the agreements on time are going to be contingent on not having second-degree amendments. I think we can work out time agreements or an agreement not to have second-degree amendments.

Mr. DOLE. I cannot speak for anybody on that. I do not have any amendments. Others on either side may wish to reserve that right. It is my understanding the other side cannot agree to any vote before 7:15. Somebody on that side must already be out the window.

So we would be happy to try to work it out. We can have two votes at 8 o'clock. If we can get agreements on the Domenici and Lautenberg amendments, we can do it at 8 o'clock.

Mr. GLENN. Senator LAUTENBERG can accept a time agreement, but not if there is restriction on second-degrees.

Mr. DOLE. As I understand it, we cannot give that assurance.

Mr. GLENN. OK. So there will not be any time agreement.

Mr. DOLE. What about Domenici, is that subject to second-degree?

Mr. GLENN. We are still going through Domenici to see what is in it.

Mr. DOLE. Why do we not let Senator MCCAIN proceed? I think he has a very important statement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona has the floor.

ATROCITIES IN BOSNIA

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I do not know how many of my colleagues saw the picture on the front page of the New York Times this morning. It is an unusual and historic picture. When you first look at it, all you see is a group of refugees. If you look a little closer, you will see men in military uniform. Those men are part of what has been called the U.N. Protection Force. They are standing by observing men being taken out of Srebrenica who are suspected, by Bosnian Serb forces of "war crimes," young women being taken out for purposes that I cannot describe, old women and children who are starving to death and being forced to walk unknown distances.

Rather than describe it in my words, let me just read:

In what has been a ritual of previous "ethnic cleansing" campaigns by the Bosnian Serbs to rid territories of Muslim populations, the Serbs who took Srebrenica separated the military-age men from the refugees and said they would be "screened for war crimes," a United Nations spokesman here said. The air was filled with anguished cries as the Bosnian Serbs loaded the first 3,000 women, children and elderly . . .

Mr. President, we have gone from a situation where the Europeans were supposed to be protecting people to now sitting by and watching atrocities and war crimes being perpetrated before their very eyes. And they stand by helpless. What could possibly be the effect throughout the world of scenes such as this?

Mr. President, as Senator DOLE said in his recent statement, it is over. It is over, Mr. President.

"It was quite a horrifying scene," said Steven Oberreit of Doctors Without Borders. "There was screaming and crying and panic. They didn't know where they were being taken to."

The refugees fled to Potocari on Tuesday night after Bosnian Serb troops swept into the town of Srebrenica, the heart of the United Nations safe area . . .

Today, 1,500 Bosnian Serb troops, backed by tanks . . . overran the base with no resistance after they threatened to shell the refugees and kill the Dutch peacekeepers they were holding hostage if NATO warplanes intervened.

Mr. President, we have crossed the line from danger to humiliation. We have crossed the line from attempts to do the right thing to degradation and dishonor.

Mr. President, we cannot allow this to continue. And if events follow unchecked, next will be the enclave of Zepa, and then Gorazde, and next

maybe even Sarajevo. Mr. President, it is time they got out, and it is time we helped them out, and it is time we help the Bosnian Muslims defend themselves.

Mr. BIDEN. Will the Senator yield for an observation?

Mr. MCCAIN. Yes.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I am glad to hear the Senator on the floor speaking to this. Would the Senator acknowledge what everybody forgets? I know the Senator is angry about it, as well. I want to remind everybody that the reason why the U.N. observers are there is that the United Nations went in and disarmed—disarmed—not only did we fail to allow the Bosnian Government to get arms, the arms that existed, we went into Srebrenica—the United Nations did, with our support—and disarmed the Bosnian Government, disarmed the Muslims, disarmed the Croats, in return for a promise that we would protect them. And when, in fact, it was clear and the Dutch were called in for air strikes by NATO, Mr. Akashi said no.

I want everybody to remember what the Senator from Arizona is saying here. Not only did we not protect, we affirmatively—the United Nations and the West—disarmed those safe areas, took their weapons and said, "We promise you in return that we will keep the Serbs from the door." But they knocked on the door, knocked it down, and there was nothing there for them to defend themselves with.

Now, as the Senator from Arizona said, they stand by and watch. And it is not the fault of those Dutch blue helmets. It is the fault of the contact group. It is the fault of the West for failing to intervene, at a minimum with air power, significant air power. But I think the Senator is absolutely correct. This is an atrocity. We should lift the embargo immediately and we should make available what, under the law, the President is allowed to do.

Two years ago, this Senate and Congress passed a piece of legislation authorizing the President, in his discretion, to make available up to 50 million dollars worth of weapons off the shelf now for those people.

I stood in Tuzla the last time this happened and watched trucks come into Tuzla loaded with women and children, and I thought they were celebrating when I first saw them because they were holding up children in these dump trucks above their heads. As they unloaded the dump trucks, I understood why the children were being held above their heads and held outside of the dump truck. Do you know why, Mr. President? Because when they opened the gate and got out, there were three children smothered to death in the bottom of those 1995 versions of cattle cars being dragged into Auschwitz. If these were not Moslems, the world would be reacting, just like if it were not Jews in the thirties, the world would react. Shame on the West.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be granted an additional 5 minutes.

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

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I appreciate the emotion of my friend from Delaware. I appreciate his compassion. I think the challenge before us now is to try to devise, working with the administration, a way to end this tragedy as quickly as possible for a minimum loss of human life, recognizing at this point that there are no good options. There are no good options in Bosnia today. What we need to do is choose the least bad option if we expect to stop this ongoing tragedy.

The reason I pointed out this picture again—this is the first time, I think, in history we have ever seen a picture of people who are in uniform, designated as peacekeepers, standing by and watching people being ethnically cleansed, mass rape, and, of course, the arrest and probable torture of young men. That is what the U.N. Protection Force has been reduced to. That is why, in my view, this was ill-conceived and flawed from the beginning—because it was an attempt to keep peace where there was no peace.

I wanted to give some facts as to how bad the situation is. Let me point out that I believe the United States should be prepared to assist in the effort to help remove the United Nations protection force and remove U.N. and allied forces from Bosnia. I want to just lay out the criteria. I hope at some time we can have a significant debate and discussion of this issue, possibly as early as next week. But I want to lay out the following criteria, because we have to be clear.

The operation must be conducted under U.S. or NATO command. It must have a clear mission objective, precluding any danger of mission creep, and the operational rules of engagement must be established and approved by NATO. Under no circumstances should the United Nations be permitted to participate in any way in the planning or implementation of a withdrawal operation. To allow any U.N. influence would be to risk the same failed policies from which UNPROFOR so clearly suffers. To allow U.N. participation in command decisions would be to risk repeating the gutless refusal to destroy Serb air defenses, a U.N. decision which led to the shootdown of an American F-16 last month.

Mr. President, the administration has committed 25,000 U.S. forces as part of an evacuation force. Once again, we must recognize that we must be willing to devote whatever forces in support that are necessary to successfully complete the mission—an overwhelming force to guarantee the safety of our men and women in uniform and those of our allies.

Finally, Mr. President, clear warnings must be issued to all parties involved in the Bosnian conflict.

Should one American be injured or killed while participating in a withdrawal operation, the United States will not hesitate to use its military might to punish such aggression.

I would like to be specific. If the Bosnian Serbs harm Americans while this rescue operation is going on, I suggest the most punishing air strikes imaginable, and going as far away as Belgrade, if necessary.

Mr. President, it is our obligation morally to rescue the U.N. Protection Forces. It is also our moral obligation to do everything necessary to protect the lives of our young men and women who are involved in that operation, and make the cost so extremely high that we can guarantee to a significant degree the safety of those men and women.

Every day UNPROFOR stays, every hostage that is taken, every attack on the safe areas, every strategically ineffectual air strike and every sortie that has no mission but returns safely to base, creates the perception of a feeble Western alliance.

Every day UNPROFOR is in place is another day that the Bosnian Government forces are precluded from protecting themselves against Serb aggression. Remove UNPROFOR, lift the arms embargo and allow the people of Bosnia to fight for their future.

Unfortunately, harsh, cold, military facts will resolve this conflict. One side will prevail. I hope it is the lawful government of Bosnia. I find it very troubling that we have interfered with these realities to the benefit of the aggressor, by imposing an arms embargo on the victim. If we are unwilling to commit American forces to defend Bosnians, we cannot in good faith prevent the Bosnians from defending themselves.

I want to thank Senator DOLE for his proposal on this issue. I hope that next week we will take up this issue as soon as possible. Every hour that we delay, more innocent people will die. Every hour that we delay, will mean more humiliation and degradation of the United Nations and NATO. The repercussions of this kind of dishonor will reverberate around the world. We must bring it to a halt.

I appreciate the indulgence of my colleagues.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, first let me commend my colleague from Arizona for his eloquent statement and my colleague from Delaware, Senator BIDEN. I certainly share the views they both expressed this evening.

This is a tragedy I do not believe we will be able to measure for a long, long time. It will have an impact on the West for decades. I hope we can take up the Bosnia resolution as early as next Wednesday or Tuesday.

COMPREHENSIVE REGULATORY REFORM ACT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.