

necessary health and safety regulations but imposing it in a way that thwarts the very purpose of the rule in the first place.

Mr. President, I hope that we are not derailed in the process of responding to the very clear call of the American people that we clean up the act of the Federal Government here in Washington. We have been given a somewhat historic opportunity to do that. Items that Americans, our constituents, have been complaining about for decades now have an opportunity to be vented in this Congress and reformed in this Congress.

People have lost faith in our ability to apply commonsense solutions to the problems that they face. They have seen an insensitive, uncaring, ineffective government impose law after law, and regulation after regulation on their livelihoods, on their businesses, on their families, and on society as a whole.

They have lost faith in government which reaches into every corner of their lives, stealing from them the very hard-earned wages that they have worked so long to accumulate. They have lost faith in a government that is suffocating their access to opportunity and to the American dream, the hope of starting and running a successful business, the opportunity to benefit from the jobs of a strong economy, the opportunity to pass along to their children the hope of a better life than they have had.

This legislation does not accomplish all that we must. But it is a critical start. If we cannot reform the regulatory process that is suffocating America, there is little that we can do to respond to the very genuine calls for a reformed Congress and a reformed way of doing business.

Mr. President, I hope we can move forward. We spent a week now, long days and long nights with no end in sight, with amendment, after amendment, after amendment. But I hope we can expedite this process and move forward. This is an important piece of legislation. It has been discussed, deliberated, and talked about for years. Now is the time that we need to move forward and enact it.

Mr. President, I urge my colleagues to bring this debate to a reasonable close so that we can exercise our final vote on whether or not we believe that the regulatory process needs to be fixed, needs to be reformed, needs to be made more efficient and effective for this Nation.

Mr. President, with that, I yield the floor.

Mr. WELLSTONE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CRAIG). The Senator from Minnesota.

BOSNIA

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I want to take a few moments to take the floor. I do not know quite how to

do this. I may not do it very well. I do not know whether my words will accomplish anything. But sometimes, you know, you just feel like you should speak on the floor of the Senate. That is what comes with the honor of being a U.S. Senator.

Mr. President, on the front page of the Washington Post today—this just needs to be recognized on the floor of the Senate—there is a headline, "For Ousted Bosnians, a Trail of Tears."

Under that headline, "Serbs Force Thousands of Muslims in Harrowing Journey."

Then there is a picture of older men, women, and children, a Bosnian woman wheeling what I gather would be, Mr. President, her elderly father in a wheelbarrow. And the first paragraph reads, "Bedraggled, hungry and scared, thousands of Bosnian Muslims flooded into a swelling makeshift refugee camp with little food, water or medicine today after a harrowing journey into Muslim-held territory from the fallen town of Srebrenica, now occupied by Bosnian Serbs reveling in their victory."

Mr. President, another article in the Washington Post is headlined, "Serbs Start Expelling Muslim Civilians From Seized U.N. Conclave," with pictures of women and children herded into refugee camps.

Mr. President, these pictures send chills down my spine. I am the son of a Jewish immigrant born in Odessa in the Ukraine who lived in Siberia in Russia. I am an American Jew, and these pictures send chills down my spine, along with the reports that the Serbs are taking all young men, boys 16 years of age, away from their families. I do not know where they are taking them to. But they are taking them away to find out whether they are guilty of "war crimes."

Mr. President, I do not know exactly what it is the international community should do. But I am convinced the international community has to do something.

Mr. President, it is as if the world has not learned anything in the last half a century. We really are talking about genocide of people.

I will not talk about the position a number of Senators took several years ago in calling for action. I took such a position. Normally, I do not talk about intervention, international military intervention, but several years ago several of us came to the floor and said it had to happen. That is beside the point.

Mr. President, I was thinking about this this morning, and I was talking to my wife, Sheila. We have been debating the regulatory reform bill, and it is extremely important. I have been involved in the debate about the rescissions bill. All of us care about our work, and all of us give everything we have, whether we agree or disagree. The Presiding Officer and I, who are good friends, are good examples; we do not agree on all issues. But I am trying to figure out, for God sake, what in the

world is the world going to do? What is the civilized international community going to do? We see people just expelled, expunged, young men taken away from families to see whether they are "guilty of war crimes." Elderly and children, 1-year-olds put on trains—to go where? What is going to happen to these people?

Sometimes, in the history of humankind, silence is betrayal. I do not think we can be silent about it. I wish to God I knew exactly what the international community could do. The fact that there are no good choices does not mean we still should not choose some course of action. I do not mean any easy fix, Mr. President. I do not mean something where we essentially turn our gaze away from the rape and torture and murder of innocent people.

So, Mr. President, I just wanted to take a few minutes to speak to these pictures. If my father, Leon, was alive—he is no longer alive—he would say that there exists on the part of humankind an enormous capacity for good but also, unfortunately, an enormous capacity for evil. It is that parallelism that makes it all so complicated.

I assume that next week in this Chamber we will be talking about what is now happening in the former Yugoslavia. I do not know what the focus of the debate will be. I know there are several resolutions, but I think it has to be more than resolutions and amendments. The international community cannot turn its gaze away from this. This is genocide. We should have learned some lessons over the last half a century. I do not think we can go about our normal business just because it is long distance, somewhere away. These are all of God's children.

I yield the floor.

INHUMANITY IN BOSNIA

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I am on the floor for the same reason that my colleague from the State of Minnesota is here. I have stood silently by for a long time now because I have the same feeling that a lot of us have, one of desperation, despair. I was forced to think about this as a result of the statement given yesterday by the Senator from the State of Arizona [Mr. MCCAIN] a man who understands war, a man who spent more than 5 years as a prisoner of war in Vietnam, a man who spent more than half that time in solitary confinement. So I figure that when Senator MCCAIN talks about war, I should listen. Senator MCCAIN did not use the Washington Post. He used the New York Times as an illustration. I went and looked at the New York Times after he brought it to my attention. It showed a mass of humanity, but if you looked closely at the picture there were uniformed troops in there. Who were those troops? They were U.N. troops. My friend from the State of Minnesota today made the same statement.

Mr. President, each day now brings a whole new series of horrible stories of the inhumanity in Bosnia. I did not know Leon Wellstone. Obviously, with the sensitivity that the Senator from Minnesota has about issues generally, I am sure that Mr. Wellstone was a good teacher and certainly had some wisdom and philosophy about the nature of man as imparted by the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. Wellstone would, I am sure, stare in amazement, with each day bringing a whole new series of horrible stories of inhumanity in that part of the world. The Bosnian Serbs are conducting offenses on one U.N. safe haven after another, and doing it with remarkable speed, reminding me of the blitzkrieg of 50-odd years ago. Why should they not move with remarkable speed? It is just like 50-plus years ago when Hitler moved into those areas; he had no opposition basically. They have no opposition basically. So why should they not move quickly?

The safe haven's only protection—and I use that word very loosely—is a small number of lightly armed U.N. troops who are quickly forced to surrender their positions. I think most of the time they are not asked to surrender; they wave the white flags very early, leaving Bosnian civilians defenseless to these aggressors. Srebrenica has fallen and has been ethnically cleansed, by their definition. Zepa is under heavy artillery fire and troops there were given an ultimatum to put down their weapons by what was 8 o'clock this morning local time. The Bosnian Serbs have openly declared that the safe area of Gorazde will be next. And 40,000 civilians were forced out of Srebrenica—40,000, as many people as watched the all-star game. Where were they forced? Anyplace they could go. We have reports of murder, rape, torture. The men are lined up, and those that are of military age are taken one place, the old and infirm are taken someplace else. Women are lined up, some taken away for obvious reasons.

These pictures, stories of human suffering, are heart wrenching. Families are torn apart. We have reports of mothers searching for their children, the elderly succumbing to exhaustion from the heat and lack of water as they are forced to leave on foot.

And we do not see all the pictures. We do not know what else goes on. We can only imagine what else goes on. Given the past cases of ethnic cleansing, atrocities committed by the Bosnian Serbs that have already been documented by human rights groups in Bosnia, we can believe the reports are certainly true; that our imagination is certainly without bound. What is next?

There are about 16,000 civilians in Zepa, civilians who now, no doubt, will undergo the same inhumane treatment that we have seen the last week, the last month, the last several years.

And what about Gorazde? It is the most highly populated area of all, with

as many as 60,000 civilians. Are we going to stand by and watch these people fall victim to their captors, just as the people of Srebrenica fell victim?

The United Nations officially declared and demilitarized the safe areas, promising to protect civilians and provide aid. But, surely, no one believes anymore that the United Nations has any hope of protecting safe havens anywhere in Bosnia. News reports, and TV news reports in particular, show the anger of the Bosnian Moslems forced out of Srebrenica at the promises made to them by the United Nations and the West.

A United Nations official is quoted in a New York Times article today:

We are at that point in the war where there is no peace to keep. We were never equipped or given enough troops to protect these enclaves. The Serbs have called our bluff.

Mr. President, certainly they have called our bluff. The United Nations is not a peacemaker—they are a peacekeeper; they were sent in to keep the peace—and that is something they cannot do and should not be asked to do. The Serbs, in the New York Times article today, certainly have called the United Nations' bluff. The will of the West to take definitive action is weak, and the Bosnian Serbs know it.

Time and time again, United Nations officials have rejected NATO's offer to conduct air strikes. The NATO alliance itself shows signs of disintegration as the alliance members disagree on a course of action and find the U.N. troops are used as tools to blackmail the United Nations and NATO into promises not to conduct the strikes.

And the world watches, as U.N. troops watch, while the Bosnian Moslems fall victim. The United Nations cannot protect the men carted off to an unknown fate. They cannot help those women taken from the group. They cannot help the injured and the dying, and they cannot help mothers find their children.

It is a pitiful sight to see the U.N. forces standing in the background as hundreds of thousands of people have been inhumanly herded away like animals. You would not treat rodeo animals the way these people are treated. Animal rights groups would rise up in anger. Animal protection groups would rise up in anger if you treated animals anywhere like these people are being treated.

The President said yesterday that if the United Nations does not get its act together, its days are numbered in that area. The contact group is formulating a regrouping of U.N. forces, consolidating them in Sarajevo. You can move the players around the board all you want, like chess or checker moves, but they will be no more effective if they cannot do something more than what they have done. The U.N. force has already been badly routed. It has failed to influence any peaceful solution, and it has failed to protect civilians.

The present policy of international reliance on continued peace negotia-

tions and containment has only prolonged Serb aggression against the Bosnians. We must lift the arms embargo.

Mr. President, for me to come on the floor and talk about lifting the arms embargo is not easy. I met with a large group of Pakistani physicians 1½ years ago. They asked me, "What about lifting the arms embargo?"

I said we cannot have more military, that is what caused the problems in the world today. I spoke to those people, who were so agitated about what was going on, and said we should not lift the arms embargo. Well, I was wrong. There is nothing else we can do. It will cause more bloodshed, but what else can we do?

We must allow the Bosnians to defend themselves and defend their families. Frankly, most military experts say it is too late, that by the time they get their act together with new arms, a military force, the Serbs will have run over them.

I do not know if that is the case, but at least they need a chance to defend their families. The U.N. forces should withdraw so they no longer can be used by the Serbs to facilitate Serb goals.

The U.N. forces have not helped the Bosnians. They have helped in recent months the Serbs. The Serbs have confiscated arms, they have taken humanitarian aid and money from U.N. forces. They have taken U.N. troops hostage. We all remember the pathetic pictures of U.N. troops chained to poles. It is time for the United Nations to stop aiding the Serbs in this ruthless pursuit. The Bosnian Serbs hold no regard for the U.N. mission or for finding a peaceful solution to the war.

Mr. President, there is no pain-free solution to what is going on now, but we can predict with more certainty what the future brings. The Serbs will continue their aggression. The Serbs will continue ethnic cleansing. The Serbs will attack U.N. safe havens, and they will respond only to a real threat of force. U.N. forces will not alter this course and may only advance the Serbs' cause by serving as hostages, by supplying the arms that they steal and by surrendering their supplies. The arms embargo should be lifted and the Bosnian people allowed to determine their own fate.

The ranking member of the Armed Services Committee, the former chairman from Georgia said in a recent statement, and I quote: "There will be a high price to be paid once the U.N. forces are withdrawn from Bosnia."

As usual, the senior Senator from Georgia is right. There is no easy way out of this conflict. The Bosnians are aware of the high price to be paid, and they are willing to pay it for the right to defend their country and their families. To them, the status quo is far worse than any alternative brought on by lifting the embargo and, if necessary, withdrawing U.N. troops.

Mr. President, I also say this. I say the United States should send no

troops to that part of the world. Why not call upon the nations that have influence in that part of the world? That is in their sphere of influence. Where is France? Where is England? France wants to be a superpower. They are setting off tests in the middle of the ocean. Let them bring in their troops and do something rather than talk. It is in their sphere of influence.

The United States, I say, should, at the most, supply air power and have the troops withdrawn. I do not think we should commit troops to that part of the world, even though my colleague, the majority leader from Kansas, has said that there should be U.S. troops supplied to help withdraw the U.N. troops. I do not think I can go that far, Mr. President.

What has gone on there is something that should have the world community saying, "At least let's get the U.N. troops out of there, they are only serving the Serbian forces." I say let us have France and England and the European nations join together and let them bring troops into that area. We have done Somalia; we have done Haiti. Have we not done enough, Mr. President? We have done the gulf war. It is time for the United States to step back and let other countries do their share for a change.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. SPECTER. I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to speak as in morning business for 5 minutes.

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

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE RUBY RIDGE INCIDENT

Mr. SPECTER. I thank the Chair. Mr. President, I have just received a release from the Federal Bureau of Investigation advising that the FBI Director is transferring Mr. Larry A. Potts from the position of Deputy Director to a position within the FBI's training division.

I have just had an opportunity to discuss this briefly with FBI Director Louis Freeh. I think that this is a very wise move in light of all of the developments on the Ruby Ridge incident, especially the most recent disclosure of this week that documents were destroyed by one of the FBI agents who was involved in the Ruby Ridge incident.

There is a very substantial question, Mr. President, about what was done at Ruby Ridge with respect to the use of deadly force and also with respect to the rules of engagement with Special Agent Glenn, the special agent in charge at the present time of the Salt

Lake City office having been at the scene, saying that there had been changes in the rules of engagement, and Mr. Potts having said that there was no change in the rules of engagement and no change on the use of deadly force.

That is a matter of considerable importance. Also, disclosed in the Washington Post yesterday was the task force report of the Department of Justice, indicating that there was excessive force used within the definition of constitutional parameters, and also with the task force exposure as printed in the Washington Post yesterday about the recommendation for consideration of prosecutions, which was rejected by the Department of Justice.

I have raised the issue of the promotion of Mr. Potts with Attorney General Janet Reno when she testified recently at general oversight hearings before the Judiciary Committee, and had raised the issue as to why Mr. Potts was promoted in light of the outstanding questions about Ruby Ridge. The Attorney General was further questioned about the possibility of a criminal prosecution by the prosecuting attorney of Boundary County, ID, of an official whom I talked to had made comments on the Senate floor some time ago. Attorney General Reno said she would not speculate about what local law enforcement would do and was not going to get involved in any way in hindering local law enforcement which was hardly responsive to my question as to why there was a promotion, in light of these issues which were very much in the public domain.

Mr. President, it is my hope that there will yet be oversight hearings by the Senate. I made an extensive statement about this yesterday, calling for those hearings and, in fact, had pressed the issue in a resolution calling for a Senate vote in May, understanding full well that it was highly unlikely to be accepted, considering the prerogatives of chairmen under our Senate procedures. I think it continues to be a matter of the utmost importance. We have had an enormous growth of the militia, as I commented on more extensively yesterday. I can understand and sympathize with people in the United States who are unhappy with what is going on in Government because of the need to hold people accountable at the highest levels.

I think with the reassignment of Mr. Potts today, it has extra emphasis on the need for hearings. Mr. Potts, for one, is entitled to his day in court or his time to have a hearing to see precisely what it was that he did. There is a cloud hanging over Mr. Potts at this time. There is a cloud hanging over the FBI and a cloud hanging over the Department of Justice, as long as these questions remain unanswered. It is the responsibility of the Congress of the United States to have oversight hearings. We are the proper institution to undertake those hearings, and I renew

my request that these hearings be held at the earliest possible time.

I note that the Presiding Officer, the senior Senator from Idaho nodding. I will not make any interpretation from his nods of the head, but I do think this is a matter of great importance. And the reassignment of Mr. Potts today underscores the necessity for prompt hearings on this important matter.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

COMPREHENSIVE REGULATORY REFORM ACT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. CHAFEE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I would like to ask the managers of the bill a question. I would like to make about a 5-minute statement. If you are in the midst of some procedure here, I am reluctant to interrupt it.

Mr. LEVIN. We are very close, we believe, to working something out on the Hutchison amendment. That is not quite ready. So I have no objection, and I do not believe Senator HATCH would either.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island is recognized.

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, during consideration of this regulatory reform bill, we have heard a litany of horror stories about silly regulations, costly regulations, and useless regulations. Many of these stories have focused on rules and laws that are designed to protect the environment.

It must be remembered, however, that tales of environmental excess do not present the complete story.

I have spoken many times about the tremendous progress we have made in cleaning up our environment over the past 25 years. I think the last 25 years, starting in about 1970, 1972, those were the glory years of environmental legislation. As a result of that legislation, our Nation is far cleaner in its waters and in the air, and far ahead in the preservation of endangered species than we otherwise would have been. In just about every instance, that progress can be attributed directly to environmental rules and regulations and laws that were passed. Surely, there are examples of overly rigid applications of specific rules. But there is no doubt that the world is a better place today precisely because we have stepped in and forced industry to clean up its act.

In today's Washington Post, on page A3, there is a good news, pro-environmental success story. It is a story about environmental "regulation"—that word that everybody seems to rebel against around here. The headline reads, "A Threat to Ozone Layer Diminishes."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the story from the Washington Post be printed in the RECORD.