

Milosevic did it to enrage his population, to play on centuries-old fears and divisions, and it worked. But the vast majority of the Serbian people are good, honorable, and decent, but they do not know the truth.

In the Government-controlled portion of Bosnia, there is an organized Bosnian Serb political opposition to Mr. Karadzic and his fellow thugs in Pale. There are many Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats serving in the army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including the Government army's deputy chief of staff who is a Bosnian Serb.

Indeed, there are thousands of decent, moral Serbs in Sarajevo, Belgrade, and elsewhere whose personal values rise above the primitive, provincial racism of Karadzic, Milosevic, and company.

Despite the almost unbelievable privations endured by Sarajevans, the Bosnian capital's Moslem, Orthodox, Catholic, and Jewish citizens are still living together, hoping against hope that their sophisticated city can receive the basics—food, water, and medicine—currently denied them by the Serbian bullies in the hills who cowardly snipe at their children and indiscriminately lob shells at innocent civilians.

I have already outlined the legal basis and moral imperative for giving the Bosnian Government the means to defend itself. Now I would like to address the tactical arguments often given against lifting the arms embargo.

Some critics assert that the Bosnian Serbs would react by overrunning the eastern enclaves of Srebrenica, Gorazde, and Zepa. I would remind those critics, first of all, that the Serbs have been attacking Gorazde for weeks without success. More importantly, the U.N. Security Council has called for defense of the safe areas with air power, if necessary, and with vigorous American leadership, NATO could do so.

A second criticism is that lifting the arms embargo would induce UNPROFOR to pull out. But I regret to say, Mr. President, that UNPROFOR troops have become the world's most expensive hostages and have ceased to be able to carry out their mandate. UNPROFOR has publicly abandoned its attempt to protect Sarajevo from bombardment of heavy artillery. On June 17, a U.N. spokesman admitted: "The policy of weapons-collection points has now been abandoned."

Moreover, the United Nations is manifestly unwilling to honor its commitment to use all necessary means—that is what the U.N. resolution says—all necessary means to bring supplies to the desperate civilian populations of Sarajevo, Bihac, and the eastern enclaves.

Mr. President, UNPROFOR is now mainly in the business of protecting itself, which I do not blame it for doing, but that is all it does. It has outlived its usefulness and should be withdrawn, independent of whether or not we lift the arms embargo.

Another frequently heard criticism of lifting the arms embargo unilaterally is that it would cause a rift in NATO. Mr. President, in case anyone is not looking, there is already a rift in NATO, and it is going to get bigger as the American people think over why we spend \$110 billion a year, every year, for NATO. For what purpose? For what purpose? If they cannot affect events in Bosnia, for what purpose are our American taxpayers spending \$110 billion a year?

Mr. President, I step back to no man or woman in this Senate in being a supporter of NATO. I respectfully suggest that I have been one of its strongest advocates for more than 20 years. But it seems to me that if we do not move and do something, NATO will be split and fractured more than by our unilaterally lifting an arms embargo.

NATO will be signing its own death warrant by a continuation of its ineffectual response in Bosnia, hobbled as it is by incomprehensible U.N.-controlled rules of engagement.

Some critics claim that lifting the arms embargo would automatically lead to spreading of the conflict to other parts of the Balkans. Mr. President, this assertion flies in the face of the facts by ignoring the example of the deterrence policy already employed by the United States on Serbia's southern border.

There, an outstanding success story of the Clinton administration's Balkan policy has been the sending of several hundred American troops to join the Nordic U.N. contingent in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Combined with our warning to Milosevic not to even dream of attacking, this action—not the existence of the arms embargo—is what has kept Belgrade's hands off the fledgling Macedonian State.

He knows we mean it there and he has not moved. We should extend the warning to Milosevic that any intervention of his army in the conflict in Bosnia, either to aid the Bosnian Serbs after the lifting of the embargo or to harass the evacuation of UNPROFOR troops, would result in massive, disproportionate retaliation against Serbia proper.

Finally, some opponents of lifting the embargo foresee a dire precedent for unilateral embargo-breaking elsewhere, such as those currently in effect against Iraq and Libya.

The line goes, "If we unilaterally lift the arms embargo against Bosnia, won't our allies lift the arms embargo against Iraq and Libya?" But surely, Mr. President, one can point out even to the most disingenuous foreign politician that there is a world of difference between sanctions against Bosnia, the victim of international aggression, on the one hand, and an embargo against Iraq, a notorious international aggressor, on the other hand. We can and should use our considerable leverage against countries who would

threaten deliberately to ignore this obvious and fundamental distinction.

In conclusion, Mr. President, in actuality, opponents of lifting the illegal arms embargo against Bosnia ignore a much more ominous precedent than breaking the U.N. sanctions.

The geostrategic reality of the future is that the primary danger to peace will much more likely come, not from nuclear missiles, but from regional crises, often in the form of ethnic conflicts and oppression of minorities.

In that context, therefore, the more dangerous precedent would be to reward an aggressor for his cold-blooded invasion, vile ethnic cleansing, murder, rape, pillage, and starvation by blockade. Europe, unfortunately, has other potential Milosevics and Karadzics. That is the sad reality to which we must adjust as we prepare to enter the 21st century. That, Mr. President, is not feel-good idealism. It is nuts-and-bolts realpolitik, and we should begin to practice it.

I yield the floor.

OFF-SHORE OIL AND NATURAL GAS DRILLING

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I rise today to commend the House Appropriations Committee for its vote yesterday to restore the moratorium on off-shore oil and natural gas drilling. A bipartisan coalition of coastal State members led the successful fight to rightly reverse the subcommittee's recommendation to lift this needed ban.

Mr. President, our Nation's coastline is perhaps our most beautiful and cherished natural resource. With the Fourth of July weekend fast approaching, many American families are planning to head to the beach to escape the heat, walk along the boardwalk, and swim in our oceans. When they look out to sea, the only sight should be the Sun melting into an endless horizon. They do not want to see gigantic oil and gas drilling rigs and most importantly they do not want to expose their children to pollution.

Mr. President, for 14 years the Congress has stood behind the off-shore ban, which strikes a fair balance between the need for development of natural resources and environmental protection. Yesterday, the full Appropriations Committee recognized the necessity of this balance and I again commend committee members of both parties for their foresight.

I remain deeply concerned, however, that there may be yet another attempt to lift the ban as the appropriations bill moves through the legislative process. I will watch this situation closely and will oppose vigorously any attempt to open our shoreline to needless exploitation.