

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 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

what we do to try to lift the arms embargo, there is some excuse why it is not the right time to do it.

I say this as a person who, in his first month or two as a U.S. Senator, offered the first resolution I ever offered in this body to lift the arms embargo on the Bosnian Moslems. That was 2½ years ago.

The situation in Bosnia today would be very, very different had we lifted the arms embargo at that time. I have appreciated the fact that we have had, on many occasions, a good bipartisan effort to try to lift this arms embargo. If I can pick one issue since I have been here that really has not been partisan and should not be partisan, it would be this very issue.

So I look forward to the debate when this comes up. Nothing could be more urgent. I hope very much that we have an overwhelming vote in favor of the proposal, as at least described by the leader in his remarks.

Mr. President, 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. ASHCROFT. 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. ASHCROFT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may speak for as long as I need to speak on the proposal for urban regulatory relief zones in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

URBAN REGULATORY RELIEF ZONES

Mr. ASHCROFT. Mr. President, one of the main challenges, which we face as a society, that relates to the regulatory climate in America is the condition of our urban centers.

Today, many of our cities have become hopeless arenas of decay and despair. They are places where industry used to flourish, places where productivity used to take place. But the fact is that the number of enterprises in cities is plummeting. Just in the last 20 years, you can note that the number of businesses which inhabit our urban centers has gone down dramatically.

St. Louis, MO, has had a 32-percent decline in the number of businesses, from 3,497 businesses in 1972 to 2,386 businesses in 1992. Detroit, MI, for example, went from 6,945 businesses in 1972 to 3,448 businesses in 1992—a 50-percent decrease. So we see that one of our problems is that not only have cities become a difficult place for individuals, they have become a difficult place for businesses and industry.

As a matter of fact, it is important for us to understand, Mr. President, that this is a problem which is related to the notion that people who do not

have jobs are at peril. The entirety of our regulatory framework is designed to deal with the well-being of individuals, to promote their health, their safety, and, hopefully, to extend their longevity, so that people live longer, so that they have an opportunity for a quality existence.

But the truth of the matter is at the very core of our urban societies. We have the biggest challenges that relate to health. We have the biggest challenges that relate to longevity, and the biggest challenges that relate to personal security.

America's urban areas suffer a murder every 22 minutes, a robbery every 49 seconds, an aggravated assault every 30 seconds. In a survey of the parents of first- and second-graders in Washington, DC, 31 percent of those said that they worried a lot about their children being involved in violence; almost 40 percent of the low-income urban parents worried about their children being shot. That is a quality of life issue. Thirty-one percent of the first and second graders in Washington, DC, reported witnessing shootings. One out of every three children had witnessed a shooting, and 39 percent said they had seen dead bodies. These are first and second graders.

We have a major challenge that relates to the security, the safety, and the health and well-being of our citizens in our urban centers. One out of every 24 black males in America will have his life ended by homicide. Our urban centers are so hopeless and filled with despair, and opportunity is so absent, that we find that the challenge is the challenge to stay alive. There is a death sentence for 1 out of every 24 black males.

The New England Journal of Medicine stated that a young black man living in Harlem is less likely to live to the age of 40 than a young man living in Bangladesh, which is perhaps the poorest of all of the nations on the face of the Earth. These things are startling. These things bother us. The pathologies of urban America are very challenging.

What is really stunning is the fact that the absence of work opportunity at the very heart of America's cities has been a big part of this condition. Youngsters in our urban settings are known to drop out at much higher rates than in other settings. Why? Some say it is because those youngsters in our schools do not see work opportunities, they do not see the promise or hope of doing something worthwhile with their lives upon graduation. Why persist in school if there will be nothing for you to do when you graduate? It is in that setting that we need to take a careful look at the way in which regulation has had an impact on what happens in our urban settings.

I became sensitized to this, Mr. President, when I was spending a lot of time with the people last year. I would work in a variety of settings in my campaign for the U.S. Senate. Across

the State of Missouri, both in Kansas City and St. Louis, I encountered businesses that wanted to expand but could not. They wanted to grow and they wanted to offer more employment and they wanted to build the arena of opportunities. But they could not do it because of regulations—regulations that throttled them.

Just yesterday, I spoke about Anpaul Windows, a company whose employees—over half of them—were minorities. They were doing very well and the company needed to expand, but they had to leave the oppressive regulatory environment of the urban center for the green fields of suburbia because there were no contaminants in the green fields of suburbia. You could build a new factory there, and everything was in accordance with the way the factories were supposed to be, and you did not have to worry about the historic old buildings, or the prohibition about whether or not you could make a 8-foot door or a 10-foot door because of the historic designation of the factory.

What happened was the Anpaul Window Co. left the city of St. Louis, which left the city that much emptier. They are doing well. It is in Washington, MO, not Washington, DC. But it is 50 or 60 miles away from the people who need the jobs the most. They went to a new green field, but they did so because the regulatory framework really militates against jobs, industry, and development in the heart of our cities. All of those old factories and all of those old plants do not comply with all the new regulations. Lots of times, there is just a little narrowness in the door, or maybe a taint of some substance in the flooring. And the EPA comes in and says, well, grind over the floor and see if you can get the taint out, and if it does not come off, there may not be something that can be done to change it.

So what we have effectively done with our regulatory framework has been to impose the tremendous cost upon the citizens of our cities. It is a cost that not only they have to pay—higher costs for goods because our things are manufactured in plants that comply with regulations—it is an opportunity cost, because the city centers do not have the opportunities for employment. They do not have the opportunities for industrial development. Those individuals do not share in the opportunities of our culture. They are not worried so much about the lead poisoning from paint, they are worried about the lead poisoning from a .38. These are real challenges that we ought to face.

Let me tell you about the printing concern in Kansas City. The president has a publishing business which has grown over the past few years; it now employs 85 people. While business is doing well, the president wants to expand the business, but there is a problem. He could expand into more parts of the building in the downtown area,