

harvest because 40 percent of all adult men in our distressed inner cities did not work in a year that was studied recently, while a significant number worked only sporadically or part time.

Today, half of all the residents of the distressed neighborhoods in our big cities live below the federally defined poverty threshold. In 1993, that was \$14,763 for a family of four. The reason for that is, in part, we have said to businesses, we have a regulatory framework that really provides incentives for you to get out of here, for you to go to that green field in suburbia, go to a new place, leave the city alone.

We provided incentives. We have not done it purposely. We have not done it knowingly. But we have provided real incentives for people to leave the urban centers of America. And, when we leave them empty we leave the people there empty. We leave them in peril. We leave them in distress. We leave them in despair. And ultimately we leave some of them in a situation from which they can never escape.

There are those who say, "Well, you don't want to have a standard for safety or an environment that is lower in the city than it is in some other area. There has to be environmental justice." I believe in environmental justice. I believe everyone should have an equal chance at the good life that we want to enjoy. But I believe that when our requirements are shortening the lives of individuals instead of extending them, when our requirements are pulling the rug out from under the health of our population, we ought to think carefully about whether or not they are having the right effect.

I do not have the studies in my hand right now, but I think virtually all of us in this Chamber understand that when we have looked at health statistics people who are employed tend to be healthier than people who are unemployed, and people who are employed tend to be safer than people who are unemployed. There is very little that is more dangerous in an employment setting in this country than there is to be standing unemployed on the street corners of some of our urban centers.

I believe we ought to look hard at the way in which regulation has drawn a red line around the core of America's cities, the way regulation has basically said, "Do not invest here. Do not produce here. Do not do business here. You cannot get a job here." I think we ought to say to ourselves, let us allow these cities to make an evaluation. When they come to a conclusion that the general well-being of the people—when they come to the conclusion that the health and safety of the inner-city residents—would be benefited by a waiver, let us let them apply. And let us give the agency the authority to grant that waiver application, so we can bring jobs and opportunity and hope back to the center of our cities.

I believe one of the next items which we will be moving toward in the debate here in the U.S. Senate will be an item

which is referred to as welfare reform. We desperately need welfare reform. But, frankly, as much as we need welfare reform we need opportunity for individuals, because we are going to ask people to go to work and we are going to expect them to go to work. But how can we ask people in our inner cities to go to work, how can we expect them to go to work, if we continue to develop a regulatory framework which redlines the inner city and says there cannot be jobs here, there cannot be opportunity here?

Mr. President, I believe it is time for us to grant relief to the urban centers, to give them a level playing field, to give them a chance to attract business and industry that is consistent with the health and safety, the longevity, and the security of the residents of that area. Our regulatory framework has not served them well.

They have paid the higher prices that we have all talked about in the last few weeks, talking about regulation here in this Chamber. But they have also paid a tremendously higher price than just the increased cost of goods that come from regulation. They have paid the price of joblessness and they have paid the price of hopelessness. They have paid the price of looking into the eyes of their young people who have no ambition because they cannot see an opportunity in their neighborhood. That is a substantially greater price than the \$600 billion a year that it is estimated that regulation costs us in America. Oh, yes, they have paid their share of the \$600 billion. But the opportunity costs—in the very heart of American urban centers has been a tremendous opportunity cost, and it is one which we can ill-afford to ignore.

So I rise this evening in the midst of the debate on regulatory reform to say we must recognize the unique circumstances of American cities. We must give these neighborhoods at the core of America, the mature cities of America, the opportunity to have relief when, as a matter of fact, the imposition of regulations now achieves a purpose absolutely contrary to the purpose for which the law was enacted which provided for regulations. It shortens lives, impairs safety, ruins health, and destroys opportunity.

It is time for the Urban Regulatory Relief Zone Act, and I hope we have an opportunity to include that in our dealings with regulatory relief during our deliberations this week.

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

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

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, for about the last couple of hours, 2½ hours, a number of our colleagues on both sides of the aisle have been negotiating on S. 343, the regulatory reform bill. Those negotiations are still underway. So as not to waste time, I have suggested to the distinguished Democratic leader, Senator DASCHLE, that we now proceed to consideration of S. 21, which is the Bosnian resolution, and I am hopeful we can reach that agreement and then we would continue on S. 21 and hopefully finish it tomorrow. That would give the Members who are in the negotiations on S. 343 all day tomorrow to see if they can come to some agreement on three or four important issues.

I also have asked consent that, if they reach an agreement, that I can come back to S. 343 and maybe reach some agreement on completion of that bill or complete that measure. So as soon as I hear from the Democratic leader I can advise my colleagues on the schedule for the balance of the evening.

If we cannot get the agreement, then we will come back on S. 343. There are a number of amendments that can be offered tonight, including the pending amendment by the Senator from Missouri. Senator ASHCROFT has an amendment pending. So if we cannot reach an agreement, we will come back on S. 343 tonight and the Senator's amendment will be the pending amendment, as I understand it.

There are other amendments that can be offered tonight on S. 343, so I am not at liberty to say whether or not there will be votes. But we will advise our colleagues as soon as we can.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GORTON). The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, there has been extensive consultation between the distinguished majority leader and the Democratic leader, and we do have a unanimous-consent request to propound.

I ask unanimous consent that the pending bill, S. 343, be temporarily laid aside; that the Foreign Relations Committee be discharged from further consideration of S. 21; and that the Senate turn to its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I reserve the right to object, and it is certainly not my intention to object. Let me make one observation and note a couple of concerns, as we propound the second part of this request.