unanimous vote in this Chamber, it ought to be when we take up the resolution to lift the arms embargo. I do not know how many times it has been on the floor, how many votes we have had. We have had strong bipartisan support. And, in my view, I think it is growing.

I am not asking about committing American troops. We are talking about giving these poor people who are being killed by the dozens every day a chance to defend themselves by lifting the arms embargo, which they have a right to do as a member of the United Nations, an independent nation under article 51 of the U.N. Charter.

The right of self-defense is an inherent right, in my view. We deny them that right by not lifting the arms embargo.

I said before, the U.N. mission is a failure. I commend the courage of the U.N. protection forces there. But it seems to me that the policy is not going to change. They have had little pin pricks and they called them air strikes. They knocked out two tanks. That was the effort by NATO. According to the Prime Minister, the U.N. representative, Mr. Akashi, waited until it was too late for the air strikes to have any impact.

So we hope to work in a very bipartisan way—or a nonpartisan way, better yet—on this issue in the next week.

I ask unanimous consent that a fax just received in the last hour from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, from the Government's prime minister, Mr. Silajdzic, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA,

July 11, 1995.

Hon. ROBER DOLE,
Majority Leader, U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR DOLE: Today, the United Nations allowed the Serb terrorists to overrun the demilitarized ''safe area'' of Srebrenica. Helpless civilians in this area are exposed to massacre and genocide. Once and for all, these events demonstrate conclusively that the United Nations and the international community are participating in genocide against the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The strongest argument of the opponents of the lifting of the arms embargo toppled today in Srebrenica. They claimed that the lifting the arms embargo would endanger the safety of the safe areas. The people in Srebrenica are exposed to massacre precisely because they did not have weapons to defend themselves, and because the United Nations did not want to protect them. Attacks are also under way against the other safe areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

That is why we think it is extremely important that the American Senate votes to lift the arms embargo on the legitimate Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

If the Government of the United States of America claims that it has no vital interests in Bosnia, why then does it support the arms embargo and risk being associated with genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

It is essential that the elected representatives of the American people immediately pass the bill to life the arms embargo. This will provide a clear message that the American people do not want to deprive the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina of the right to defend themselves against aggression and genocide.

Sincerely,

DR. HARRIS SILAJDZIC,
Prime Minister.

Mr. DOLE. I will conclude by saying we have always had the argument that if we lifted the arms embargo, it would result in the fall of these enclaves, these safe havens, and that would lead to humanitarian disaster. That argument is gone today because it has been overrun by the Serbs. Forty-thousand people are fleeing, and other safe havens are being attacked. So that argument is gone.

It ought to be perfectly clear that the U.N. operation is a failure. Once again, because of U.N. hesitation and weakness, we see too little NATO action too late. Two Serb tanks were hit by NATO planes, hardly enough to stop the all-out assault that began days ago. As a result, the lives of thousands of refugees and of the brave Dutch peacekeepers are in serious danger. The safe areas are safe only for Serb aggression. They are not safe for anybody else—not for the poor Moslems who are there, not for the peacekeepers, or the U.N. Protection Forces. They are being taken hostage again.

So what will it take for our Government and other governments to declare this U.N. mission a failure? Will all six areas have to be overrun? Maybe it will take that much.

So it is the view of many of us—and this is not partisan —that it is time to end this farce and let the Bosnians do what the United Nations is unwilling to do for them. The Bosnians are willing to defend themselves. In fact, this letter says that it is up to us to make them able by lifting the arms embargo. This letter says it is essential that the elected representatives of the American people immediately pass a bill to lift the arms embargo. This will provide a clear message that the American people do not want to deprive the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina of the right to defend themselves against aggression and genocide and possible massacre of thousands of civilians.

NORMALIZATION WITH VIETNAM

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, as anticipated today, President Clinton, in a ceremony at the White House, announced that he was taking steps to normalize U.S. diplomatic relations with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

In his statement, President Clinton cited progress in POW/MIA cooperation. But, unfortunately the President did not address the central issue, and that is, does Vietnam continue to withhold information and remains which could easily be provided?

The President ignored this question in announcing his decision, for the very good reason that all signs point to Vietnam willfully withholding information which could resolve the fate of many Americans lost in the war.

On Veterans Day in 1992, President-elect Clinton stated, ''There will be no normalization of relations with any nation that is at all suspected of withholding any information.'' That was President-elect Clinton's standard. The standard was not simply cooperation.

The standard was not simply allowing field operations. The 1992 standard was at all suspected of withholding any information. No normalization if there is any suspicion of any withholding of any information. By 1994, the standard has clearly changed from suspected of withholding information to selective cooperation. As I said yesterday on the Senate floor at about this same time, if President Clinton was unable to state unequivocally that Vietnam had done all it could do, it would be a strategic, diplomatic, and moral mistake to begin business as usual with Vietnam.

President Clinton has made his decision today. Congress has no say in this decision. In the coming weeks and months, Congress will monitor the progress of relations with Vietnam. Our role will not be passive. Congress must approve any additional funds for United States diplomatic operations in Vietnam. The Senate must confirm any U.S. Ambassador to Vietnam. Any further improvement in relations will require action by Congress—granting of most-favored-nation status or beginning any operations by the Export-Import Bank, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, or the Trade and Development Agency.

President Clinton said today that we should look to the future. I agree that we should look to the future, and examine future Vietnamese cooperation on POW/MIA issues, as well their record on human rights in the aftermath of today's announcement. But as we look to the future we should not and will not forget the past—especially the importance of doing all we can to resolve the fate of those Americans who made the ultimate sacrifice in Vietnam.

Mr. President, I yield the remainder of my leader time to the distinguished Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. HELMS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. HELMS. I thank the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. HELMS. Three minutes. Well, I will make haste, then.

I thank the distinguished majority leader.

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST VIETNAM

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, President Clinton's announcement today that the United States will establish full diplomatic relations with Communist Vietnam, is a mistake, in my judgment, of

the highest order. It is not timely yet. Vietnam has not earned recognition.

While the U.S. Constitution stipulates that the President is solely responsible for sending and receiving Ambassadors, Congress has the power of the purse. I fully support the able majority leader, Mr. DOLE, and the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire, Mr. SMITH, in their efforts to exercise that power by withholding funding for this normalization until all American POW's are fully accounted for.

Mr. President, Congress has the inescapable responsibility to weigh in on this decision if we believe President Clinton is wrong. And I believe him to be terribly wrong.

The President has not yet fulfilled his commitments to resolve the POW/MIA issue. The Vietnamese know much more than they are telling us about the fate of our missing American POW/MIA's. Yet, despite the $100 million we paid the Vietnamese Government each year to assist our Government in investigating those POW and MIA cases, the Vietnamese still renege on giving us a full accounting. Until the Vietnamese give us the full accounting of all missing American servicemen, it makes no sense whatsoever to confer upon them the honor of U.S. recognition.

The President insists that normalization of relations will result in the United States gaining more access to the Vietnamese Government—the more dialog, he argues, the faster they will move toward democracy. The trouble with this spurious argument is that it has been used in Washington to justify United States accommodation of Red China—and just take a look at where that policy has gotten us.

The Chinese have certainly moved toward a greater opening of their economy—foreigners can not invest fast enough, and China is taking in dollars hand over fist. But what has China sacrificed for all that Western hard currency? Has our policy of engagement persuaded the Chinese Communists to adopt any democratic reforms whatsoever?

No, to the contrary, the Chinese leadership is today more hard line and authoritarian than it has been since Mao's Cultural Revolution. Today, China is once again rounding up dissidents; they are using prison slave labor to create products for export abroad; they are executing prisoners on demand to sell their organs to wealthy foreigners; and they are enforcing a brutal forced abortion policy that has resulted in the mass execution of millions of Chinese children. Clearly United States recognition and engagement of Red China hasn't bought us any influence with the Communist thugs in Beijing. If anyone doubts this, just ask Harry Wu how much the Communist regime there values our opinion.

I think it is a disgrace that, at the same time this administration refuses to support the efforts of Taiwan—a friendly, free market democracy—to even gain admission to the United Nations, and practically had to be forced by Congress to issue a visa to Taiwan's democratically elected President for a private United States visit, they are enthusiastically conferring full diplomatic recognition on Vietnam's recalcitrant Communist dictatorship. What kind of message does that send about our Nation's priorities?

If the President insists on going through with the normalization of relations, I can only say this: as chairman of the committee that confirms ambassadorial nominations, it's going to be a tough road to confirmation for nay ambassadorial nominee to Vietnam before the Vietnamese have accounted for the unresolved POW–MIA cases.

As long as Vietnam remains an unrepentant Communist dictatorship, as long as they refuse to provide all information they have about missing American servicemen, the United States should not reward their leaders by welcoming them into the community of friendly nations.

The President's announcement today is just the first step of many. The administration will have to approach Congress to discuss the conferral of benefits such as MFN, GSP, or OPIC insurance. Those will be a matter of great debate here in Congress and there is no reason for us to move on those until the Vietnamese have earned it. We should take the Vietnamese Government for what it is: a Communist one. It should continue to be treated as such until it makes true political reform by establishing a legal code and respect for the general human rights of all Vietnamese citizens as individuals, rather than merely supporters of the State.

Vietnam has a long way to go if it wants to reestablish its position in the international community. We should not put the cart before the horse and extend them U.S. recognition before they have earned it.

I yield the floor.

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

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

COMPREHENSIVE REGULATORY REFORM ACT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. GLENN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Carolyn Clark, a fellow on Senator PAUL WELLSTONE's staff, be granted the privilege of the floor during the debate and vote on S. 334, regulatory reform bill.

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

Mr. GLENN. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, will the Senator withhold? I think there is still some unfinished business with reference to the last amendment there, under the consent agreement.

AMENDMENT NO. 1492

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, amendment No. 1492 is agreed to.

The amendment (No. 1492) was agreed to.

AMENDMENTS NOS. 1494 AND 1495 WITHDRAWN

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, amendments 1494 and 1495 are withdrawn.

The amendments (Nos. 1494 and 1495) were withdrawn.

AMENDMENT NO. 1496 TO AMENDMENT NO. 1487

(Purpose: To clarify that the bill does not contain a supermandate)

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, on behalf of myself, Senator LEVIN, Senator HATCH, Senator ROTH, and Senator JOHNSTON, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. DOLE] for himself, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. JOHNSTON, Mr. ROTH, and Mr. HATCH, proposes an amendment numbered 1496 to amendment No. 1487.

On page 35, line 10, delete lines 10–13 and insert in lieu thereof: ''(A) CONSTRUCTION WITH OTHER LAWS.—The requirements of this section shall supplement, and not supersede, any other decisional criteria otherwise provided by law. Nothing in this section shall be construed to override any statutory requirement, including health, safety, and environmental requirements.''

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, let me indicate to my colleagues, because I know a lot of people are wondering about the balance of the evening, we are trying to find an additional amendment or two we can bring up tonight and have votes on.

Again, let me indicate it is not very long to when the August recess is supposed to start. We would like to get some of this work done. So I think it is incumbent on all of us, if we can maybe have the Johnston amendment on thresholds offered and voted on tonight? The $50 to $100 million?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Yes. We have that ready. We can put that in.

Mr. DOLE. You will do that this evening?

Mr. JOHNSTON. We can do that.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I think this amendment will be accepted. Let me just say for the record here, there is an effort to try to work these things out on a bipartisan basis. We have had some success in this area. I thank the Senator from Michigan for his cooperation. I think it does answer some of the questions that some have raised, legitimate questions. We have tried to address legitimate questions as we did in the last amendment, though I do not think the amendment was necessary—nor, for that matter, that this one is