

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 of 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 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.

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