Southwest Asia and the rest of the world would remain at the mercy of Iraqi-produced anthrax and botulinum bombs. Many of our allies, including prominent members of the coalition in Bosnia, would like to lift the sanctions against Iraq. They want to restore lucrative—lucrative—trade ties with Baghdad, but they have bowed to our compelling interest in maintaining the sanctions, just as we have supported their desires to maintain the arms embargo against Bosnia in order to protect allied personnel on the ground. Our unilateral action on Bosnia would provide our allies with the excuse to deny United States requests concerning Iraq, at a time when the U.N. inspectors there are very close to resolving the few, but critical, remaining issues concerning Iraqi chemical and biological weapons programs.

Finally, I would note that the appealing message trumpeted by this bill and by the Bosnian Government representatives is somewhat disingenuous. It is designed to appeal to our sympathies and to our desire to help, but a lifting of the arms embargo also appeals to our desire not to put Americans in harm's way. Members have argued that U.S. support of the arms embargo has already ''Americanized'' the conflict. This is not true. The United States, has with other nations, supported a U.N. Security Council resolution to limit arms. Our allies with troops on the ground have reinforced the consensus on maintaining the embargo. If that causes the conflict to be ''Americanized,'' then it also makes it ''Britishized'' and ''Frenchified,'' and ''Spanishized.'' The act of unilaterally lifting the embargo, pushing our allies out of Bosnia, and leaving the Bosnian Government to look to the United States for support—that unilateral act is what risks ''Americanizing'' the conflict.

The Bosnian Government representatives have identified three priorities, which also trouble me. First, they seek a lifting of the arms embargo. Although this bill does not promise any U.S. arms or assistance, it is clearly desired and perhaps even expected. The legislative history of United States policy on Bosnia has linked—linked—the lifting of the arms embargo with the provision of up to $200 million in training and assistance, and with the provision of excess United States military equipment at no cost. Do not be surprised to see actions to extend this assistance in the authorization and appropriations bills later this year, even though no promises are made in this bill before us. Additionally, remember that this imperfect arms embargo also affects the Serbs. If we lift the embargo and supply arms to the Bosnian Government, it will not occur in a vacuum. The Serbs will also receive arms from their friends and sympathizers. As the conflict heats up and more nations get involved, are we going to be able to easily walk away?

Second, the Bosnian Government desires a continuation of the NATO ''no-fly'' zone over Bosnia. Because the Bosnian Government has no air forces while the Serbs do, it seems reasonable to prevent the Bosnian Serb forces from exploiting their advantage in the air, and allow both sides to fight on a level playing field on the ground. The Bosnian Government suggests that this role can be continued by NATO at low risk, despite the shoot-down of American pilot Scott O'Grady, and the losses of other NATO aircraft in the past.

Finally, the Bosnian Government's third priority is NATO airstrikes against Serb forces and ammunition dumps. This is not a level playing field. This is a desire for a playing field tilted in favor of the Bosnian Government. The Bosnian Government wants NATO to intervene to keep the Serbs out of the air, and then use NATO air superiority to attack Serb forces and installations. While the victimization of the Bosnian Moslem civilian population may merit this kind of support, it is exactly the kind of action that leads to greater NATO or United States participation in the conflict. That is where the rub comes. These unheralded priorities disguise the slippery slope of escalating U.S. involvement down which we might slide, and with this resolution we may be pouring more oil on that slick hillside.

These priorities, and the language in the bill, make it clear that United States policy, which up until now has been one of neutrality and conflict containment, will tend to tilt to partisan support of the Bosnian Government and the Bosnian Moslem side in the conflict. I do not think we want to tilt either way. With the adoption of this resolution, we will move toward picking a side—picking a side—in this conflict, and thereby irrevocably tie United States to Bosnia and to the fate and abilities of the Bosnian Government.

And so I urge my colleagues will consider carefully the downside of this legislation before they cast their votes. This bill is not a simple solution to a complex and guilt-laden problem. We must understand the consequences of our actions. I for one do not relish the possibility of emotional speeches of support for the Bosnian victims of this tragic conflict being replaced by emotional speeches decrying the lives of American pilots and soldiers lost in a civil war that everyone acknowledges is not in the vital national security interests of the United States.

Mr. President, I shall vote against the pending bill.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

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

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BROWN. 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. BROWN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to proceed in morning business for 5 minutes.

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

REGULATORY REFORM

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, I rise to address the issue of regulatory reform, which this Senate has debated at length.

I think many Americans, as they listen to the debate, must wonder what the argument is all about. There have been charges that sponsors of S. 343 will eliminate regulations protecting food, clean air, clean water, and that we will eliminate regulation of meat inspection, and so on. All those charges are completely inaccurate. No statutes in those areas are repealed. No regulations are repealed. What this bill basically does is simply require that the Government examine the merits and the cost of new or current regulations.

I think many Americans may wonder, why the filibuster? What is really involved is the question of costs and benefits of regulations. Why does that deserve a filibuster? This regulatory reform bill has been filibustered in a way I have never before seen in a legislative body. Certainly we have had filibusters on the floor before, but seldom have we had filibusters in the committee, which is what occurred in the Judiciary Committee.

What I think is at stake—and why I think you see such vigorous debate of this issue—is the question of unbridled, uncontrolled regulation of an economy goes to the core of people's philosophy about America and American Government.

Last year this country added more than 60,000 pages of new regulations to the Federal Register. I think most Americans, when they hear that, would be shocked. It is true—the Government promulgated more than 64,000 pages of new regulations. If you wanted to read those regulations—and, of course, all Americans are subject to them, and if they violate them, they could be fined, or even on occasion thrown into prison—if you wanted to read the regulations that you are subject to, and if you read it 300 words a minute, which is a very good reading speed for a legal document, it would take you more than a year. In fact, you would be roughly halfway through it. If you read 8 hours a day with no coffee breaks, 5 days a week with no holidays or days off, if you read 52 weeks a year with no vacations, you still would not have even read the new regulations. Add to that the tens of thousands of pages of regulations that already exist.

What is at stake in this debate is not whether you should have a cost-benefit analysis or not. What is at stake is the question of whether or not the Federal Government has any restrictions on its ability to micromanage the economy. What Americans have found is that the

details of how you drive the truck, how you dig a ditch, how you operate daily activities in many, many areas, are now controlled by regulations.

What is at stake is, who will make the decisions in this country? Will Government make those decisions about how we run our daily lives in minute detail, or will individuals preserve a right to make decisions about how they function and how their activities are lived? That is an important decision.

I think those who look at the votes in the Senate on this issue will note one thing. In most cases, those Members that have worked for a living in the private sector, who have used their hands and their minds to produce products, goods, or services, are the ones who voted to reform the regulatory process—not all, but most of them. And largely those people who did not have an opportunity, or have not for many decades had an opportunity, to work in the private sector, who have spent their productive lives in government, tended to vote to oppose regulatory reform. It is not surprising that people would reflect their background.

What is sad, though, is that there are not more Members who have walked in those moccasins, so to speak, who have had a chance to be subject to regulation, who understand what it is like to have OSHA inspect their business, understand what it is like to have the EPA come along, or who have run a municipal operation.

We heard in the Constitution Subcommittee the other day from the Governor of Nebraska, who is a Democrat, that they are required by Federal regulations to test for pineapple sprays in Nebraska. It is ludicrous. And, yet, the people of Nebraska are subject to this regulation and are forced to spend their money and their treasury on it, when it has absolutely no relevance to the quality of water in the State of Nebraska.

There are thousands of examples like that. But this is not just about what Nebraskans have to test for in their water, whether there are sprays for pineapples or not; it is about a concept. It is about the concept of who will make the decisions in America. Will working men and women have a chance to decide how they live their daily lives, or is this all to be relegated to minute regulations that come down from the Federal Government?

That is an important principle. I believe if we in America stand for anything, it is for individual opportunity and individual freedom; yes, even at times an opportunity to make a mistake. But Americans believe we have an opportunity and a right to help run our own lives, not simply take dictates from those who govern, no matter how wise or how well meaning.

Do we need regulations? Of course. But 60,000 pages of new ones every year? No society can sustain it. What is at stake is an effort to make regulations responsible and reasonable. What is at stake is individual opportunity to decide how to live their own lives.

I yield the floor, Mr. President.

I note the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DOLE. I ask unanimous consent that further proceedings under the quorum call be dispensed with.

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

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I rise today in strong support of S. 21, Senator DOLE's bill to lift the United States arms embargo against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. As the so-called U.N. safe zones fall one by one to Serbian rebel assaults, and their civilian inhabitants face the horrors of ethnic cleansing, we must stand up for the sovereign right of Bosnia to defend itself against this armed aggression.

The U.N. protected areas were initially created to actually protect their inhabitants from ethnic cleansing. The plan was that the U.N. Protection Force, backed by NATO air power, would actually use force to stop the population of these areas from coming to harm. The implicit deal was that the United Nations, through UNPROFOR and NATO, would assume Bosnia's sovereign responsibility to defend its people and its territory, in return for Bosnian cooperation in pursuit of a diplomatic solution to the conflict.

Mr. President, Bosnia has cooperated. Bosnia accepted the contact group's plan that would have left the Bosnian Serb rebels in control of half of their country. Bosnia, in return, had every right to expect the United Nations and NATO to uphold their end of the bargain, and use armed force to defend the Bosnian people in the protected areas from Serbian assault.

We have now seen that neither the United Nations nor NATO is willing to meet its obligations under this arrangement. After the disastrously misguided air attacks on unmanned Serb ammunition bunkers near Pale, the Serbs did again what they have done before—they seized UNPROFOR members as hostages and, in a new violation of the laws of war, chained them to potential targets. Some charge that our allies in UNPROFOR deliberately deployed their forces in militarily untenable positions so that they would serve as de facto hostages, effectively barring the use of force in response to Serb outrages. Whether or not this unsound deployment was deliberate and the actual taking of hostages was foreseen, neither the United Nations nor NATO is now free to use force against the Serbs even if they had the political will to do so.

In fact, the West lacks the political will to use force to protect the safe zones and the people living in them. Srebrenica has fallen and Zepa is about to fall. In my opinion, any of the publicly discussed plans to protect Gorazde are doomed to failure.

The United States Senate should vote today to return to the Bosnian Government the capability to exercise its sovereign right of self defense. The recent attacks to lift the siege of Sarajevo show that the Bosnian Government is not afraid to use force in its own self defense, and that its people are ready to make tremendous sacrifices for their country. We need to allow them to obtain the tools they need to convert their political resolve and courage into military success.

While I believe that the French plan to insert additional troops in the besieged Gorazde zone is the height of folly—someone wrote that the French have forgotten Dien Bien Phu—I agree with President Chirac's assessment of the performance of the West in this crisis as being the worst since the late 1930's, when we faltered and compromised in the face of Nazi aggression. It is time and past time for us to get out of the Bosnians' way and allow them to obtain the means to defend themselves.

Accordingly, I will vote for this measure and I strongly urge my colleagues to give it their wholehearted support.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. DOLE. First of all, Mr. President, let me indicate there will be no more votes this evening. We are still hoping to have the debate tonight on the rescissions bill. We have an agreement that we hope we can reach here in the next moments. It depends on, as I understand, some assurance from the White House to the Senator from Minnesota, Senator WELLSTONE. But it is the majority leader's intention to have the debate tonight, 40 minutes of debate, 20 minutes of debate tomorrow, there be two back-to-back votes, then a vote on final passage, if necessary, tomorrow morning. If we cannot reach that agreement, then I really will give up on it. We tried to accommodate the Senator from Minnesota. It is very important that we pass this bill, but we need to have some movement on the other side.

Second, I have had a lengthy phone conversation with the President about Bosnia. He has asked that we not have a vote on the Bosnian resolution, S. 21, until next week. And I have told the President I would—he asked me to think about it overnight and contact him tomorrow. So I will certainly do that. Without in any way trying to characterize the conversation, I think the President indicated that he knew that the present policy was not working. He knew that the changes would have to be made. He was prepared to provide the leadership necessary to bring about those changes. I think that is about all I can say about it. But, obviously, I wish to cooperate with the President wherever and whenever possible. So it would be my inclination that we not vote on the Bosnia resolution this week. But I will discuss this