

political strife that has plagued this community for over 25 years. Today, however, there is hope. With the leadership of former Senator George Mitchell, substantive talks between the British and the Irish governments, along with those representing various political parties, have made landmark progress.

I believe H. Con. Res. 152 sends a clear and strong message to all parties involved in these talks that they must address the central issue to the troubles in Northern Ireland—the denial of basic human rights. We, as Members of Congress, must raise this important issue and continue to demonstrate our support to finding an end to the violence in Northern Ireland.

In order to develop a lasting peace in this region, many of the blatant human rights abuses must come to a stop. The abuses of diplock courts, mistreatment of detainees in Northern Ireland, threats against business owners, and harassment by the police against citizens can simply no longer be accepted or allowed to continue. This legislation addresses these and other human rights abuses and strongly suggests that parties from both sides of the conflict to embrace and practice international human rights standards.

Although the MacBride Principle have had a positive impact on the economic and labor climate in Northern Ireland, Catholic males are still twice as likely as Protestant males to be unemployed. H. Con. Res. 152 encourages leaders in the peace talks to ensure that Catholics have the means necessary to receive the training essential to obtaining a job.

I commend the new leadership in Britain and in Ireland for their efforts on this issue. I believe the movement towards peace will be much swifter as these two governments address the need to reach an agreement on human rights. In addition, I know their leadership, along with that of former Senator George Mitchell, will foster progress and bring political, social and economic stability to Northern Ireland.

Mr. Speaker, thank you for allowing this important human rights measure to come to the floor. I also want to again congratulate my friend and colleague, CHRIS SMITH, for his leadership on this issue.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution, H. Con. Res. 152, as amended.

The question was taken.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 5 of rule I, the Chair announces that further proceedings on this motion will be postponed until tomorrow.

CALLING FOR AN END TO VIOLENT REPRESSION OF LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF PEOPLE OF KOSOVA

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend rules and agree to the concur-

rent resolution (H. Con. Res. 235) calling for an end to the violent repression of the legitimate rights of the people of Kosova, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. CON. RES. 235

Whereas the Albanian people of Kosova constitute more than 90 percent of the total population of Kosova;

Whereas the political rights of the Albanian people of Kosova were curtailed when the Government of Yugoslavia illegally amended the Constitution of Yugoslavia without the consent of the people of Kosova on March 23, 1989, revoking the autonomous status of Kosova;

Whereas in 1990, the Parliament and Government of Kosova were abolished by further unlawful amendments to the Constitution of Yugoslavia;

Whereas the Mission of Long Duration to Kosova, the Sandzak and Vojvodina, which the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) deployed in 1992, eased local tensions through objective human rights monitoring and facilitating dialogue between authorities and the various communities before the authorities of Serbia-Montenegro expelled the Mission in 1993;

Whereas the State Department's 1997 Country Report on Human Rights in Serbia notes violations of civil liberties in Kosova particularly in the following categories: political and other extra-judicial killing; torture and other cruel inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment; arbitrary arrest, detention or exile; denial of fair public trial; and arbitrary interference with privacy, family, home, or correspondence;

Whereas on the night of February 28, 1998, Serbian paramilitary policy units, reported to number in excess of 25,000 men, swept through the Drenica region of Kosova killing more than 20 Albanian citizens, many of who died from being beaten to death;

Whereas on March 2, 1998, 30,000 demonstrators peacefully marched in Pristina to protest the massacre of February 28 and were brutally attacked by Serbian police;

Whereas a group calling itself the Liberation Army of Kosova has threatened to retaliate against the atrocities committed by Serbian authorities;

Whereas new elections in Kosova scheduled for March 22, 1998, have now been postponed; and

Whereas the President of the United States and other officials have warned the Government of Serbia that there would be serious consequences if Serbian policies led to an escalation of violence in Kosova: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring). That it is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the violent repression carried out by the Serbian police and paramilitary forces against the ethnic Albanian population of Kosova should be condemned by the United States and the international community;

(2) efforts of the international Contact Group (the United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Russia, and Italy) in support of a resolution of the conflict in Kosova are to be commended and intensified;

(3) no international or United States sanctions currently in force against the Government of Serbia and Montenegro should be terminated at this time, unless such termination serves to support a peaceful resolution to the repression in Kosova;

(4) the United States should consult with its allies and other members of the United Nations on reimposing those sanctions against Serbia-Montenegro that were terminated following the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement in 1995 if Serbian authori-

ties continue to use unlawful violence against the Albanian people of Kosova;

(5) the United States should acknowledge recent developments in the Republic of Montenegro that indicate that the new leadership of the Republic is seeking a peaceful resolution to the repression in Kosova, particularly the statement by Montenegrin President Milo Djukanovic that Kosova must receive a certain degree of autonomy, and his call for a dialog between the Government of Serbia and Montenegro and ethnic Albanians in Kosova;

(6) the United States should, to the extent practicable, recognize positive actions by the Government of the Republic of Montenegro with regard to repression in Kosova through exclusion from those sanctions that may be applied to the Government of Serbia;

(7) the elections in Kosova originally scheduled for March 22, 1998, and now postponed, should be allowed to proceed unimpeded by Belgrade whenever they take place, as they represent the opportunity for a peaceful expression of the political will of the Albanian people of Kosova;

(8) all parties should refrain from acts that could lead to heightened tensions in Kosova;

(9) international and nongovernmental organizations that provide medical assistance should be permitted immediate and unrestricted access to Kosova and all of its citizens;

(10) international investigators of serious breaches of international humanitarian law should be granted immediate and unimpeded access to all parts of Kosova and to its citizens;

(11) the agreement on education in Kosova should be implemented immediately, including at the university level, allowing all residents of Kosova regardless of ethnicity to receive education in their native tongue;

(12) the elected leaders of Kosova should begin a dialog without preconditions with the authorities in Belgrade to resolve the present situation, and to provide for the exercise of the legitimate civil and political rights of all the people of Kosova;

(13) inasmuch as the Belgrade regime led by the last Communist dictator in Europe, Slobodan Milosevic, continues to abuse democratic norms and the rights of all its citizens, threatening general regional stability, the United States should undertake determined measures and provisions designed to promote human rights and democratic government throughout Serbia and Montenegro;

(14) the authorities of Serbia-Montenegro should cooperate fully with efforts and initiatives of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) to address the problems in Kosova, including the immediate and unconditional return of a Mission of Long Duration;

(15) staff of the United States Information Agency office in Pristina, Kosova, should be augmented; and

(16) the United Nations Security Council should consider the question of restoration of the human and political rights of the people of Kosova and actions to halt Belgrade's violent repression of the region's population.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) and the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DAVIS), each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

(Mr. GILMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks the world has witnessed the horrifying spectacle of violence again sweeping a part of the Balkans. Serbian paramilitary police forces brutally assaulted the long suffering people of the province of Kosova, more than 90 percent of whom are Albanian. Whole villages were attacked and their inhabitants were forced to flee into the hills. Entire families were massacred as Serbian forces fired indiscriminately into their homes.

When the Kosovars gathered peacefully to protest these atrocities, Serbian police met them with more brutality, first firing on the marchers with tear gas and water cannon, then beating anyone who came within reach.

It should be noted that the terrible war that destroyed the former Yugoslavia began in 1989 in Kosova, when dictator Slobodan Milosevic arbitrarily and illegally terminated the autonomous status enjoyed by Kosova under the Constitution of the former Yugoslavia.

The international community and our government in particular has repeatedly warned Milosevic of severe consequences should he be responsible for further violence in Kosova, where his government has forced ethnic Albanians from their jobs, from their classrooms and from their communities. He has apparently decided to ignore all these warnings. Using as a pretext the emergence of a group calling itself the Kosova Liberation Army, or UCK as it is known in Albania, Milosevic has ratcheted up his policy of making the lives of the majority of Kosovars a living hell through repression and brutality.

It is with the deepest concern that I introduce this measure now before us, H. Con. Res. 235, calling for an end to the violent repression of the legitimate rights of the Albanian people of Kosova. I want to thank my colleague, the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL) for joining with me in introducing this measure.

With this resolution, Congress places on the record its concern over the worsening situation in Kosova and points to constructive measures that could lead to an improvement. In particular, the resolution urges all parties to refrain from violence. I fully understand and sympathize with the growing frustration of the Albanian citizens of Kosova who have peacefully resisted the repressive Milosevic regime for more than 10 years. However, that violence can only beget further violence in Kosova. Only through dialogue between the democratic leaders of the Kosovars and the regime in Belgrade can the situation be peacefully resolved.

It is in the interest of our Nation to do whatever we can to encourage a beginning of such a dialogue immediately and without any preconditions because there must also be some redress for the victims of violence and their families. The international community must be

able to investigate any reports of violations of international law that would fall within the purview of the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.

That is why this resolution calls for immediate access for international investigators as well as for organizations that can provide medical assistance to those who have been wounded. Hopefully, this resolution will assist the efforts of our Secretary Madeline Albright, Ambassador Gelbard and other diplomats to make clear to Milosevic and to the Serbian authorities that we view their actions with abhorrence and disgust and that we insist on the speedy and peaceful resolution of the problems in Kosova. We cannot and will not tolerate another Bosnia in the Balkans.

Accordingly, I urge my colleagues to send an important message to Belgrade by supporting H. Con. Res. 235.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. DAVIS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks on House Concurrent Resolution 235.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. DAVIS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 6 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL), one of the leading cosponsors of this concurrent resolution.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Florida for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I was very happy to play a major role in writing this legislation. I want to thank my colleague from New York, the distinguished chairman of the committee, for introducing this legislation along with me.

We have reached a very important time in the region of Kosova. There are 2 million ethnic Albanians living there under Serb occupation and tyranny. We saw the extent of that tyranny, as the chairman mentioned, a couple of weeks ago when women, children and innocent people were just wantonly killed by Serbian police using helicopters and artillery. It was something that we ought not to see in the year 1998. It brought us back to the beginning of Bosnia and Bosnia, of course, is when the West did not object strongly enough and did not take strong measures early enough that we saw the tragedy in Bosnia with thousands upon thousands of people being killed in ethnic cleansing and genocide. We can see the same thing happening in Kosova if the world does not take a strong stand now.

This resolution, H. Con. Res. 235, is an attempt by this Congress to take a strong stand because we know that if the situation is going to be resolved in Kosova, it can only be resolved with the United States taking a very, very strong stand.

I have been to Kosova a number of times. I intend to go again either later this week or later sometime this year. I think it is very, very important that the United States stand up strongly for the rights of people for self-determination and freedom all over the world.

As chairman of the Albanian Issues Caucus, we have been talking. I have been talking about Kosova for many, many years and saying that a flare up like this could make Bosnia almost seem like a tea party, regrettably, compared to what could happen in Kosova. When you have 2 million ethnic Albanians, 90 percent of the population with no economic rights, with no political rights, with no human rights, you are bound to have a flare up. And for too many years Milosevic, leader of Serbia, has refused to even discuss these things with the Albanians in Kosova. He summarily took away their autonomy back in 1998. Some people are now saying let's go back to autonomy. Why would the Albanians want to go back into a situation that failed 10 years ago, that was summarily stolen from them 10 years ago. In the old Yugoslavia you had counterbalances to the Serbs. You had the Croats and the Bosnians and the Macedonians, the Slovenians, and it was not so dominated by the Serbs. Today in Serbia or Yugoslavia it is so Serb-dominated they have not given any freedoms at all to the Albanian citizens. Why would the Albanians want to go back into this situation?

So we have elections scheduled for later on this week. It is a little bit uncertain as to whether those elections will be held, but the people of Kosova must be allowed to express their desire in open and free elections. They must be allowed to elect their leaders and their parliament, which they did 6 years ago, and then they were not allowed to meet. So for 6 years there has not been any meeting of the Albanian parliament duly elected by the people of Kosova. This cannot continue. This must not continue.

What this resolution does is it condemns Belgrade's brutal crackdown in Kosova; again, the killing of innocent men, women and children. It calls for the maintenance of the current sanctions against the Belgrade regime and consideration of restoring the interwall of sanctions. If Milosevic does not do what he is being asked to do, which is to give basic freedom to people, we ought to consider slapping new sanctions on them. This supports the elections process in Kosova and sending monitors, and it is very, very important that we have monitors. It demands the full implementation of the education agreement, including at the university level. Again, Albanians cannot teach in their language, they cannot go to schools. It is just impossible.

I want to commend the Albanian students in Kosova. Their peaceful demonstrations have shown a tremendous level of maturity and must be supported by all freedom loving people

around the world. This resolution also urges the U.N. Security Council to discuss Kosova, as well they should. This is a very, very important international incident and Kosova ought to be discussed by the Security Council. It calls for the return of the OSCE monitors, which were thrown away by Milosevic, who will not allow international monitoring. We need international monitoring on the ground if we are to prevent a tragedy in Kosova. It encourages the expansion of the USIA office. I was proud to go there 2 years ago, to Pristina, the capital, and cut the ribbon for the United States information office. We ought to expand that office to show that we as a Nation are engaged, that the Albanians there know there is a friend in the United States, that the Serbs and Belgrade understand that we have a presence there where the American flag is flying and we care very much about what happens on the ground. And the European Union has just recommitted to opening their office in Pristina. They should do it as soon as possible.

□ 1700

In short, Mr. Speaker, what this resolution does, H. Con. Res. 235, is simply reinforce the goals which we hold dear as Americans; the right of self-determination, a condemnation of a brutal crackdown, and saying that the United States of America stands with the Albanian citizens of Kosova because it is right to stand with them. It is right to say that they ought to have the freedoms. It is wrong for them to have no personal freedoms, to have 80 percent or more unemployment, to never have a chance to go to schools. This situation must end.

And what the Congress is attempting to do here in a bipartisan fashion is to say no more brutal crackdowns. This must be condemned by the world, and we want to see the right of self-determination. I would go one step further. I would implement a no-fly zone and continue to do different things that we must have in order to show our solidarity with the people of Kosova.

But this resolution, I think, strikes the right balance at the right time, and I urge my colleagues to support the people of Kosova who are crying out for our help. We can do this, my colleagues, by voting unanimously for H. Con. Res. 235.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. CUNNINGHAM).

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, let me give a little different perspective. I do not disagree with my colleagues, but I would add maybe some enlightening information.

First of all, during World War II, it was the Serbs that fought with the Allies and the United States. I attended a dinner, a banquet of some 400 Allied and U.S. Air Force pilots that were giving their thanks to the Serbs for getting them behind and through the Cro-

atian and the Muslim lines that fought with Nazi Germany.

I feel that in most cases during the conflict in the former Yugoslavia that the Serbs have been pointed out, maimed and not given equal treatment. I do not want special recognition, but I ask for a more evenhanded look at the Serbians in this conflict.

I do not think there will be peace in the Middle East in my lifetime, nor do I think there will be peace in the former Yugoslavia in my lifetime, but most certainly until we get rid of Milosevic, until we get rid of Izetbegovic, until we get rid of Tudjman, to me, this is the main problem. We need new leadership, we need youth, and we need a new direction for that to go.

If we want a real resolution, let us stop arming the Muslims that are tending to go further and further toward Iran and Iraq and surrounding themselves with the mujahedin out of both Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan. If we want to look at a real potential for the future, when we do end up pulling out, it is not going to be the Serbs coming after the Croats or the Muslims, it is going to be the Muslims coming out for the Croats and the Serbs if we continue with that.

I commend the gentlemen, but I would like to see more of an evenhanded approach. If this opens up for investigation into looking at the allegations, then it is good. But if it is just chastising one group over the other again, as it has in the past, then I do not think it is so good. So I will take a look at the resolution, and I thank the gentleman for the time.

Mr. DAVIS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. LAMPSON).

Mr. LAMPSON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Yesterday in, Galveston, Texas, I was visited by one of my constituents, Lisa Halili, who brought about 15 other people along with her, many of whom had relatives and certainly had friends in Kosova. The story that they proceeded to tell me was one that was absolutely amazing.

The pictures that they brought of the murder of Lisa's father-in-law last week in Kosova and the pictures of people who had been tortured, who have been butchered, have been sprayed with hot water, all while they were attempting to do peaceful demonstrations by carrying bread in their hands and by holding their fingers up in a symbol for peace, and then being attacked in the way that they have was something that I had a difficult time understanding. I do not understand how we could in any way stand by while people are injured and killed for participating in a non-violent protest.

The Serbian Government must acknowledge the basic civil rights of all of their citizens. This bill condemns the violent repression of ethnic Albanians in Kosova by Serbian authorities

and calls for a dialogue between the Serbian Government and the leaders of the ethnic Albanians in Kosova to end violence by all parties.

So I, too, join my colleagues in asking for an "aye" vote on this bill, but I would also ask that we might, as soon as possible, consider sending humanitarian aid in to these people, because I know now that there are other relatives of my own constituents in the Ninth District of Texas who are holed up in houses, fearful of being able to go out even in search for the medical attention that they need to treat the wounds that they presently have. They are able to get out or get messages out so that other relatives can call back here, and we are receiving word on a daily basis of the condition of these people, but it is unquestionably deteriorating.

As soon as possible, the Red Cross must be allowed in with safe passage as well.

Mr. DAVIS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 7 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER).

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution and commend the chairman of the committee and the ranking member for their leadership on this issue.

I regret that the gentleman from California has left the floor.

Mr. Speaker, one of the things that made me nervous, very frankly, during the Cold War, was some well-meaning Members used to get up and draw parallels between Soviet actions and perceived problems in the United States. There was no parallelism or comparison to be drawn. And the gentleman from California that tries to draw a parallelism between the Muslims and Mr. Izetbegovic and the Croats and the Serbs, I would, with all due respect to the gentleman from California, strongly disagree.

President Reagan saw evil, and he called it evil. That was what it should have been, in my opinion, Mr. Speaker. Milosevic is evil. I do not come to this floor for a brief on Mr. Tudjman or Mr. Izetbegovic, but I see no parallel between the war crimes sanctioned by, led by and committed by Mr. Milosevic and the other two.

The fact of the matter, Mr. Speaker, is once again the butcher of Belgrade has struck, and the victims are his own citizens. Sadly, Mr. Speaker, we should not be surprised. This is a conflict that has been simmering for a long, long time; some would say centuries.

The new Chairman of the OSCE, Foreign Minister Bronislaw Geremek of Poland, in mid-February, just 30 days ago, referred to the situation in Kosova as, and I quote, a conflict in preparation.

As many of my colleagues know, Kosova has been overshadowed for some years by the conflict in Bosnia. Preoccupation with Bosnia, in fact,

contributed to the maintenance of the status quo in Kosovo, especially since there was a strong chance early on for the Bosnian conflict to have a spillover effect on nearby regions.

Like a number of my colleagues, I have been to Pristina, the capital of Kosovo. I have talked to Kosovars, but, more importantly, I have talked to Milosevic's hand-picked representative in Pristina. And I asked that representative, "Is there one person, just one, one Kosovar, out of the 90 percent Albanian population in Kosovo, just one that you think is reasonable enough to sit down at the table with and discuss the resolution of the conflicts that exist in Kosovo?" That representative of Mr. Milosevic could not think of one name in all of Kosovo that would be an appropriate interlocutor for peaceful discussions of the resolution of conflicts. Is it any wonder, therefore, that conflict has not been resolved, if one side could not find one person with whom to discuss reasonable resolution?

The recent violence has shattered this status quo, and we are now faced with a possibility of further violence in Kosovo which could spill over into neighboring Macedonia and, indeed, Albania itself. Clearly, Slobodan Milosevic has fomented hatred between the people of the former Yugoslavia as a means to maintain power and ward off democratic development in Serbia itself.

In 1989, as has been said by my friend from New York, whose leadership has been so outstanding on this issue, Milosevic unilaterally and illegally revoked Kosovo's previous autonomy. He made discrimination against ethnic Albanians, who constitute 90 percent of the population of Kosovo, official policy. Discrimination was and is now official policy of the government in Belgrade.

He has repressed freedom of speech, and his police force has arbitrarily harassed, detained, tortured and, yes, even murdered innocent Albanians on a regular basis. The recent massive attacks by Serbian police and paramilitary units are said to be in response to the formation of the Kosovo Liberation Army, which seeks to fight repression with terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, terrorism in any form must be condemned loudly and unequivocally. Violence by either sides will only beget more violence. That said, however, the magnitude of the response by the Serbian authorities is reprehensible. The attacks on several Albanian villages, which left dozens dead, including women and children, and many others injured or displaced, is an absolute and undeniable contravention of the standard for the behavior of governments, as stated in Helsinki Final Act and numerous United Nations documents. They are to be condemned, and those responsible must face consequences.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution calls for the maintenance of sanctions against the Government of Serbia, the reestab-

lishment of the OSCE mission, and the immediate implementation of the agreement on education.

I also support the contact group's call for the prosecution of war criminals, war criminals present in Yugoslavia, not just by definition of us on the floor, but of our own State Department under the Bush administration and under this administration. Mr. Speaker, I believe what has happened in Kosovo constitutes crimes against humanity, and the Hague-based tribunal should have authority to prosecute.

Finally, I agree with the contact group's recommendation of an adaption of the mandate for UNPREDEP, the U.N. peacekeeping force in neighboring Macedonia, which has, as we know, a U.S. contingent. If Kosovo explodes, its potential for direct spillover into neighboring countries is actually greater than it was for Bosnia, and we must be prepared for that threat.

Mr. Speaker, given our witness to the horrors which took place in Bosnia, we should be aware of the dangers in Kosovo, and we must not fail to act.

Mr. DAVIS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. NADLER).

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time, and I rise to support this resolution and to condemn thoroughly the brutal acts of repression and of murder that have occurred recently in Kosovo.

Last month Serbian paramilitary police units swept through Kosovo and killed dozens of ethnic Albanians. Many people were brutally beaten to death. Then, on March 2nd, during a peaceful protest against this massacre, Serbian police again attacked about 30,000 Kosovo residents.

□ 1715

This is an outrage. The actions of the Serbian government warn us that ethnic hatred still threatens to erupt into genocide. They must halt these actions immediately, and they must take concrete steps to ensure that this type of violent police oppression will never occur again.

Unfortunately, Slobodan Milosevic has made discrimination against ethnic Albanians official policy. He has made ethnic hatred and ethnic slaughter official policy in a fashion not seen in Europe since the Nazis.

We had ample warning that this brutality would happen. The State Department on Human Rights stated that "political violence, including killing by police, resulted mostly from efforts by Serbian authorities to suppress and intimidate ethnic minority groups." It went on to report that police repression continues to be directed against ethnic minorities, and police committed the most widespread and worst abuses against Kosovo's 90 percent ethnic Albanian population.

All of this was reported before the most recent incidents of this year. So we must act swiftly and firmly. The

Serbian authorities must not be allowed to get away with these atrocities.

The work of the International Contact Group ought to be commended, but it must be intensified. They ought to make very clear to the government in Belgrade that another round of ethnic cleansing and of ethnic murder will not be tolerated.

International war crimes investigators and organizations providing medical assistance must have immediate and unfettered access to the people of Kosovo. International observers supported by the contact group must establish a presence in Kosovo and maintain constant vigilance against further Serbian abuses.

We must impose tougher sanctions against Serbia, and we must maintain an arms embargo against this brutal regime. We cannot sit idly by while the butchers in Belgrade use violence and oppression to maintain their political power.

We cannot allow the bloodshed and destruction that occurred in Bosnia to begin all over again in Kosovo. We cannot allow this violence to escalate and spread into neighboring nations and result possibly in a general war.

The elections scheduled in Kosovo should be allowed to proceed unimpeded by Belgrade, and the elected leaders who will be elected in Kosovo should begin a dialogue with the Belgrade authorities in an attempt to resolve the situation without violence.

These are just a few of the steps that must be taken in order to prevent further bloodshed and oppression.

Unfortunately, we have not acted soon enough to address these obvious and persistent abuses and murderous actions by Serbia, and today dozens of people are dead because of international indifference. The time to act officially is now. We must not waste any more time.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Mr. SMITH of New Jersey asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution, H. Con. Res. 235, calling for an end to the violent repression of the legitimate rights of the people of Kosovo. In recent weeks we have seen yet another outbreak of deadly violence in the Balkans, with the Serbian police and the military units striking certain regions in Kosovo and killing as many as 80 Kosovar Albanians.

I am an original cosponsor of the resolution, and I appreciate very much the work done by my colleagues, the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL) and the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), the chairman of the full committee, to bring this measure to the floor. The measure was considered in committee last week, at which time a number of amendments that I offered

were adopted, including one asking that the OSCE mission be allowed back into Kosovo as soon as possible.

Mr. Speaker, we must all recognize that, despite the complexity of the Balkans, primary responsibility for nearly a decade of conflict in the former Yugoslavia lies squarely on the shoulders of Milosevic and his regime in Belgrade. Since 1989, when Milosevic unilaterally revoked Kosovo's autonomy, he has established as official policy discrimination against ethnic Albanians, who constitute 90 percent of the population of Kosovo, especially in terms of employment. Milosevic's police force in Kosovo is, in reality, more of an army, which has arbitrarily harassed, detained, tortured and even murdered innocent Albanians on a regular basis.

Tomorrow, in fact, the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which I co-chair, will be conducting a hearing on the issue of the repression and the violence in Kosovo. As the Commission has followed closely this situation in Kosovo, it has become clear that Mr. Milosevic responds to criticism only when there is a clear resolve that his aggression, violence, and abuse of human rights will invoke serious consequences.

I would note that the language of the resolution states that no independent national or United States sanctions currently in force against the Government of Serbia or Montenegro should be terminated at this time unless a judgment is made that such termination would help encourage a peaceful resolution to the repression in Kosovo.

In this resolution, we call on the authorities of Serbia-Montenegro to fully cooperate with efforts and initiatives of the OSCE, including the immediate and unconditional return of a mission of long duration. The mission mandate should focus on all of Serbia and Montenegro and should be held by a person of prominence.

Belgrade expelled the mission, you might recall, Mr. Speaker, in 1993 and has made its return contingent on the lifting of Yugoslavia's suspension in the OSCE. Both Kosovar Albanians and Kosovar Serbs have told us that the return of the mission is desirable. The mission would monitor the situation both in Kosovo and in Serbia and Montenegro and would facilitate local dialogue in order to help deter an escalation of conflict and the violation of human rights.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that we should enthusiastically support the investigation and prosecution of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia of crimes against humanity committed in Kosovo. The events in Kosovo in recent days are reminiscent of what took place at the beginning of the Bosnian conflict in 1992, and they could similarly escalate into massive and violent ethnic cleansing.

Mr. Speaker, this is a very good resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. DAVIS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguish gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN).

(Mr. LEVIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution. There is no defense to the massacre of 80 ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, innocent men, women and children. There are not two sides to this story of murder. Ethnic cleansing is evil, pure and simple. This is not an internal affair of Serbia. This could spill over into other places.

When I was co-chair of the Congressional Delegation that went to Belgrade a few years ago, we told Mr. Milosevic very clearly we would hold him responsible for his actions. This resolution does exactly that.

I remember the faces of people in Sarajevo that war, conflict and death might be over. And now the Serbs have brought destruction and death to Kosovo. We raise our voices to say to the Serbian government, no more. This resolution should be passed unanimously by this body.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to my friend, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. MORAN).

Mr. MORAN of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague and friend, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), for yielding; and I thank the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DAVIS) and my colleagues on both sides of the aisle.

We are in agreement on this. This needs to be done. The whole free world needs to react to the brutality that is occurring in Kosovo.

Kosovo is a nation of 2 million people. They voted 7 years ago for independence status, along with their sister republics in Yugoslavia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Croatia. They were denied it even though they voted overwhelmingly for this status.

Slobodan Milosevic is only supported by 5 percent of the population, but yet he reacted to this vote with unprecedented brutality. Repression, beatings, murders, rapes go on constantly, many of them for the purpose of intimidating the population.

There are 60,000 Serb police, paramilitary and military forces that exercise complete control over 2 million Albanian Muslim Kosovars. It is wrong. It is unbelievable that this situation exists at the end of the 20th century.

When I was over in Kosovo, I saw the hospitals, the clinics closed, schools closed, physicians dismissed, businesses summarily closed by the Serb police. In fact, when the OSCE monitors were driven out of the country, the incidence of brutality and human rights violations increased 85 percent.

This was all monitored by a Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms that we met with in Pristina. Yet, when we met with them that very week, Serbian police had gone into their office and beaten them.

Serbian police stole the photographs, the records that they had. When their attorney attempted to protest to the court, he opened his door that night and was bludgeoned on the head for protesting.

In this country, attorneys for the defense go to court. In Kosovo, they go to the hospital.

This is wrong. This is intolerable, what is existing. These people only want freedom. They want the opportunity to protect themselves and to exercise their most basic human rights.

We saw in one school where the Serbian government, through the police, had taken over half of the school that was supposed to be available for 1,000 children. There were a hundred or so Serbian children using half of it because they were Serbian, and there are almost 1,000 children limited to the other half of the school only because they were Muslim children. And they had bricked over some of the bathrooms.

One of the parents protested at this cruelty toward young children. And because he protested, because he had two young daughters in that school, he was mutilated, cut open from head to groin, and dumped on the doorstep of his family. This is the kind of thing that has given rise to the protests we read about today.

The OSCE human rights monitors need to be monitoring human rights violations. 90% of the population needs to be enfranchised—legally politically and economically. We will not have peace in the Balkans until their is justice in Kosovo.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Florida (Mr. DAVIS) has 1 minute remaining. The gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) has 7½ minutes remaining.

Mr. DAVIS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to urge my colleagues to support this resolution for the reasons that have been so eloquently expressed here today on the floor by both sides.

This resolution rightly calls for an end to the violent repression in Kosovo and for the beginning of a necessary dialogue between the Serb authorities and the leaders that will contribute to the return of legitimate civil and political rights for all the people there.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to comment on the current crisis in Kosovo. The recent death of four policemen and 25 Albanians—followed by the March 5 assault of Serbian forces against ethnic Kosovar Albanians—has marked a new stage in the Balkan crisis. The crackdown in Kosovo, the southernmost province of Serbia, has escalated the conflict between ethnic Albanians and the Serb leadership in Belgrade. Kosovo is home to an estimated 2 million ethnic Albanians and fewer than 200,000 Serbs. Old ethnic rivalries and tensions are running high in Kosovo.

Mr. Speaker, the United States and its allies need to take concrete steps to ensure that this

latest round of violence in the Balkans does not spread to Albania, Macedonia, Greece and perhaps Turkey. We should take proactive steps by learning from recent history. We must encourage a meaningful dialogue between Serbs and Kosovar Albanian leaders that leads to peaceful solutions and protects basic human rights.

Mr. Speaker, the State Department has said that it supports "an enhanced status for Kosovo within the context of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [Serbia/Montenegro]." Our position is clearly a step in the right direction. It is responsible; it demonstrates our commitment to a peaceful resolution to the conflict; and it underpins our commitment to basic human rights.

One of the deplorable legacies of the Bosnian war is that human rights will be violated if the international community sits back and allows for abuses to happen. We go on record today stating that we will not tolerate abuses and violence. It is wrong, and it is absurd.

The 1995 Dayton Peace Accords clearly demonstrate that peace won't happen without considerable U.S. leadership. In fact, British Foreign Secretary Robin Cook recently met with Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic on the issue of greater autonomy for ethnic Albanians, and his comments are instructive: "I did not feel encouraged to believe that there is yet a recognition in Belgrade that there will have to be significant further steps of increased autonomy to Kosovo if we are to find an acceptable political solution (*Washington Post*, March 6, 1998)."

To this end, the political leadership of the ethnic Albanian majority in Kosovo has sought greater independence and freedom from Serb authorities since the early 1990s, but Serbia has flatly rejected the idea. Serbs see Albania as their cultural homeland. It is fitting that we respect and appreciate the Serbs' history but, at the same time, we must take steps to facilitate greater self-governance for ethnic Albanians. They comprise at least 90% of Kosovo's 2 million people. For me the message is clear: the U.S. must support fundamental human rights in the Serbian province of Kosovo. The ethnic Albanians deserve an enhanced political status and a heightened degree of autonomy. Again, autonomy, in a word, could be an antidote for further violence and bloodshed in the region.

Mr. Speaker, writing in Sunday's *Washington Post*, columnist Jim Hoagland helps policy makers return to key principles in this malaise we call the post-Cold War world. He reminds us of the value of human dignity and our fight for human rights. Hoagland reminds us that the "demographic laws of gravity" cannot be defied:

Washington should cease paying tribute to territorial integrity maintained by brute force, whether that force is exercised in Serbia, Iraq, Indonesia or China. The United States should stop opposing in word and deed the aspirations of Kosovars, Kurds, Timorese or Tibetans willing to fight oppression visited on them by other dominant ethnic groups that have a monopoly on firepower and organized violence. . . . Big government in the form of nation-state superstructures like the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, and big racial ideology in the form of pan-Slavism and pan-Arabism, have been tossed on history's ash heap in this decade. It is a time when the center does not hold, especially in places like the Balkans, "when atomization is the dominant force in international politics."

Mr. Speaker, I encourage my colleagues to support H. Con. Res. 235 that calls for an end to violent repression in Kosovo. Most of all, I ask my colleagues to take a stand for basic human rights and the inviolability of human dignity.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of this resolution to condemn the violent repression of the people of Kosova, and I comment my colleagues—Mr. GILMAN and Mr. ENGEL—for their leadership on this issue.

Over the past several weeks we have all seen the horrible images and listened to the cries of grief and outrage.

Those who were executed by the Serbian forces in front of their families last week have now been properly buried.

We mourn them, and extend our deepest condolences to the loved ones who survive them.

It is hard to fathom the cruelty of men who would randomly shoot people, proudly display their lifeless bodies like trophies, then bury them in a ditch.

But that is what we have seen.

It is hard to comprehend how such terrible hatred can so overwhelm a person, that it empties them of all compassion and humanity.

But that is what we have seen.

And it is also hard to understand how a people so brutalized can hang on to hope and keep going. But the ethnic Albanians of Kosova will prevail.

For nine years, Serbia has repressed and harassed them. Now this campaign of terror has degenerated into open slaughter, and many innocent people have died.

Today we join together to say: "No More."

This violence cannot continue, and we must do whatever it takes to stop the bloodshed.

Serbian aggression in Bosnia has taught all of us a hard lesson: that the United States and its allies cannot simply remain on the sidelines.

We brought peace to Bosnia only after we showed Slobodan Milosevic (pronounced Slow-buh-dahn Mill-oh-so-vitch) that his brute force would be countered with swift and decisive military action.

Now Milosevic must accept that he faces the same consequences if he does not halt his campaign of terror in Kosova.

Milosevic must also recognize the legitimate will of the people of Kosova for a free and independent state.

It's been said that you can bury the dead, but you can never bury a dream. Their dream of freedom is stronger than ever, and we stand with them today.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution. I wish I could say that Serbia's repression of Kosova comes as a surprise but I think we saw it coming by Slobodan Milosevic's aggression in the region.

If dialogue is to happen between the Serbs and the ethnic Albanians, then we must stop sending mixed messages and signals. Let me say that I think that we were too quick to reward Belgrade for its positive steps in Bosnia peace process without taking into consideration what was going on in Kosova.

One of the greatest fears is a spill over into Macedonia which would be terrible for many reasons [Greece and

Turkey] not just geo-strategic ones. I wish I had been here to ask Robert Gelbard about what seems to be the approval of the 700 man extension of the UN peacekeeping force in Macedonia—UNPREDEP (Unpred)—which was due to withdraw this summer.

I know that the election scheduled for March 22 was cancelled especially after the slaughter of 84 people. I understand that Robert Gelbard, in a private meeting with Milosevic, asked just for the families to see the victims bodies before they were buried. Even while Gelbard was boarding the plane, Serbia proceeded with the burial against the wishes of those that were mourning. In addition, let me say that when one side is really serious about talks they at least inform the other side of an agenda, time and place of the meetings.

Ethnic cleansing and massacres cannot be tolerated whether in Rwanda, Bosnia or another Serbian enclave—Kosova. In response to the recent attacks, I along with other members of the Albanian caucus, have sent a letter to the President to address the deteriorating situation in Kosova. In conclusion, Kosova reminds me of the Tiananmen Square incident. Years later, we are still going on with "business as usual." I hope Pristina [Prisistina] won't fall victim to this type of policy.

Mr. DAVIS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 235, as amended.

The question was taken.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 5 of rule I and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed until tomorrow.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on the concurrent resolution just considered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the provisions of clause 5, rule 1, the Chair will now put the question on