

that no amendments be in order to the resolution or preamble. I further ask unanimous consent that total debate time be limited to 60 minutes, equally divided between the two leaders or their designees, with 10 minutes of the time allotted to the Democratic leader being under the control of Senator BIDEN. I finally ask unanimous consent that following the expiration or yielding back of time, the Senate proceed to a vote on the adoption of the resolution, with no intervening action or debate.

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

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. BIDEN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the distinguished Senator from Delaware.

CALLING FOR AN END TO THE VIOLENT REPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE OF KOSOVO

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I ask that the resolution on Kosovo be reported.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. INHOFE). The clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

A concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 85) calling for an end to the violent repression of the people of Kosovo.

The Senate proceeded to consider the concurrent resolution.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, the United States in concert with its allies must act immediately to prevent a resumption of the brutal repression of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and to get real—not sham—negotiations started.

The past two weeks have seen appalling massacres of innocent ethnic Albanians in Kosovo by heavily armed Serbian paramilitary forces. Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic's black-suited thugs used artillery, armored personnel carriers, heavy caliber machine guns, and even helicopter gunships to carry out their gruesome work.

The pretext for their violence was an ambush of Serbian policy by the secretive Kosovo Liberation Army, which left four policemen dead. But we know that Milosevic had been planning military action in Kosovo for months. He was just waiting for an excuse to issue the final orders.

Not only were supposed members of the Kosovo Liberation Army murdered, but scores of innocent civilians, including women and children, were killed.

There is strong circumstantial evidence indicating that many victims were tortured before being put to death. Demands by Kosovo Albanians for outside forensic investigations before their kin were buried were cruelly denied by the Serbs, who dumped the corpses into mass graves.

Next, the world witnessed the spectacle of survivors exhuming the bodies of their loved ones in order to give them dignified, Muslim burials.

Mr. President, this behavior is worthy of the Dark Ages, not the end of the twentieth century.

Having ordered these massacres and ghoulish follow-up, Milosevic, true to form, attempted to con world opinion.

He sent a delegation to Pristina and offered to talk with the Kosovo Albanians "without preconditions"—except for the little detail that the Albanians would have to negotiate within the framework of the Republic of Serbia.

In other words, the Kosovo Albanians would have to give up their only bargaining chip at the outset, namely their demand for independence. Some deal.

Moreover, the Belgrade Bully rubbed salt in the wounds of the community whom his storm troopers had just massacred by declaring that he would negotiate with the "Albanian minority," meaning a minority in Serbia, not the ninety percent majority they hold in Kosovo.

No, Mr. President, this was not a serious offer of negotiations. It was vintage Milosevic "bait and switch." Rather than beginning the necessary quiet dialogue, he cynically tried to make a public splash, while continuing to repress.

Once again, the civilized world is faced with a deadly serious challenge.

There is a real possibility that if Milosevic in his Greater Serbian haze tries to "ethnically cleanse" Kosovo of its ethnic Albanian population, the violence could spread into a full-scale Balkan War, cutting short the recent progress we have made in Bosnia and fracturing NATO. The cynical side of me tells me part of why he moved when he did was because of Bosnia.

Mr. President, I hope this time we will act without having to have 4 years of convulsions like we had on Bosnia, even though it is a very different circumstance in terms of what is at stake. It is not different in terms of the brutality and the atrocities that have occurred. It is time to act. The bipartisan resolution I am cosponsoring is just a beginning. I believe the United States should immediately reimpose all financial sanctions against Serbia, except for democratic assistance. We should insist that Milosevic lift the repressive martial law in Kosovo and withdraw his storm troopers. The United States must actively facilitate immediate good faith negotiations between Belgrade and Kosovo without preconditions as called for by the contact group to which we belong.

If Milosevic does not unconditionally come to the negotiating table by next week, we should freeze Yugoslavian assets abroad, attempting to exempt assets in Montenegro whose new reformist President has been cooperative in a number of ways. Milosevic and his Serbian colleagues should understand that if the atrocities resume, and if he does not protect lives, human rights, and the autonomy of the people of Kosovo, the pressure from the United States, and hopefully others, will escalate.

I believe the President is right when he suggests that no option should be ruled out. Milosevic is a thug. He is the

President of a country but he is a thug. He should be indicted as a war criminal. He should be tried at The Hague. I reiterate what I told him to his face 4 years ago in his office when he asked me what I thought of him. He is a war criminal. He looked at me as if we were having a civilized discussion and said, "And what do you think of me," and I repeat publicly what I said to him privately. I said, "I think you are a war criminal and should be tried as such." Unfortunately, I have never been more correct than I was then. This guy is a thug. We should make no bones about who he is.

Mr. President, I hope that the concurrent resolution for which we have 1 hour of debate here, the concurrent resolution that is introduced by Mr. NICKLES, Mr. DODD, myself, Mr. HELMS, Mr. LIEBERMAN and others, I hope we pass it, and pass it swiftly.

I see my friend from Connecticut. I yield the floor to my friend from Connecticut.

Mr. DODD. I thank my colleague from Delaware for yielding.

While we are on this resolution introduced by Senator NICKLES and I and the distinguished Senator from Delaware, my colleague from Connecticut, Senator LIEBERMAN, and others, let me commend the Senator for the very fine way in which he is managing the effort dealing with NATO expansion. I know in a sense we are interrupting that debate to consider this resolution.

Mr. President, I am very pleased to be a principal sponsor, along with our colleague from Oklahoma and others, of this resolution. I think it is appropriate, in light of events we have all seen in our newspapers and television stations, events that have occurred in Kosovo in the last couple of weeks, to speak, to be heard. I think it is appropriate.

In this body we are oftentimes asked, what do these resolutions mean? What value do they have? People write resolutions with a lot of language, and here are calling for sanctions or expressing outrage over behavior, and it seems just like a lot of words.

I remember, Mr. President, very vividly one of my first days in the Congress of the United States and I had a chance to meet with some refuseniks from the Soviet Union. They were courageously trying to achieve religious freedom for themselves and democracy in the Soviet Union, a very repressive regime. I remember raising the question to a couple of these people, does this have any real value when we speak out with resolutions, and people were wearing bracelets and so forth with the names of refuseniks. And there were those who questioned the wisdom of it, "Wasn't it more sort of a lot of rhetoric without having much influence?" I will never forget the response of these people. They said, "You have no idea how closely the world watches what you say in America. When you speak our names on the floor of the U.S. Senate, when you talk about us, you give

us hope beyond belief. We live, we exist."

People try to suppress the rights of others or, worse, try to suppress the rights of others by engaging in the worst kinds of atrocities, as we have seen in Bosnia and now Kosovo. They need to know there are people who understand what is happening to them.

So it is entirely appropriate and proper, Mr. President, that we take out an hour today. There may not be many who come here to address this issue, but I am very confident that there will be unanimous support for this resolution. There will be a vote on it in which we will be heard expressing. I think, the outrage of our constituents across this country, regardless of where we live, letting those who are suffering know that their voices are being heard, letting those who perpetrate this violence and outrage know that we know what is going on and we will not forget it.

So to those who raise the issue of whether or not these resolutions have value, I believe they do. It doesn't mean that we are going to solve the problem today or that we are going to necessarily change events dramatically. But we just might save a life or two because of what we say or do here today—maybe more than that. For those reasons, I think it's appropriate and proper that we engage in a discussion of what has happened in Kosovo and to express our concern and outrage about it.

It is a coincidence, in a way, Mr. President, that brings us to this. Unbeknownst to me, my friend and colleague from Oklahoma was working on a resolution just as we were—separately from each other. Last week, I came to the floor with the idea that I might offer such a resolution, and I was told that Senator NICKLES, the colleague of the Presiding Officer, had a similar resolution he was working on. Rather than having two resolutions or trying to sort of paste a resolution together that afternoon, we worked together over the last several days and came up with this resolution that we have both sponsored and endorsed. We will be asking all of our colleagues to support this.

I thank Senator NICKLES and his staff for their cooperation in working out the language that we think will engender the broad-based support of our colleagues. I know all of my colleagues read the same reports that I have, Senator BIDEN has, and others have, detailing the very gross violations that have been perpetrated by the Serbian police and paramilitary units against the people of the Province of Kosovo, particularly the ethnic Albanian community, the overwhelming majority of whom are Muslims. The Albanian community makes up 90 percent of the province's population. More than 80 individuals that we know about have lost their lives in recent days, many of whom are women and children. Others have lost their homes and have been forced to

flee from their villages in search of refuge.

Yugoslav President Milosevic, whom my colleague from Delaware has very appropriately and properly identified as a thug, appears to be at the center, once again, of this current tragic situation. Sometimes, Mr. President, we don't know who is responsible for these events. We are outraged by them, but it's difficult to identify those responsible.

I remember for years attending ceremonies to recognize the cream of the young Polish officer corps that had been summarily executed in the forests of Poland back during World War II. There were allegations back and forth as to who had committed the crimes, the Soviets or the Nazis. That issue was never resolved completely in the minds of people until Mikhail Gorbachev opened up the files and we discovered what many felt was the case—that the Soviets in fact had been responsible for that atrocity. But for years the debate raged as to who was responsible.

On this issue, Mr. President, there is no debate. We know directly who is responsible, who has ordered this, who has tolerated it and who, in fact, supported and encouraged it, in my view. That is President Milosevic. The world needs to know that so that his name will ring in the ears of coming generations as somebody who allowed this, permitted it, encouraged it, and supported it happening in his country. Once again, the forces under his control are murdering and intimidating ethnic communities in the former Yugoslavia.

As I said a moment ago, the majority are largely of the Muslim faith. It was reprehensible that Serbian police were in such a hurry to cover up the evidence of their heinous act and surreptitiously burying the dead without according them the proper burial services. Grief-stricken families bravely defied Serbian authorities and dug up their own dead—family members, their own children, wives, sisters—so that these people could be given an appropriate burial service, having been murdered by these police, in keeping with the Muslim religious beliefs and practices for the bodies to be facing to the east. It is imperative that the international human rights observers, members of the Red Cross, and independent journalists be granted access to communities in Kosovo to independently investigate these recent killings. All relevant evidence should be referred to the International War Crimes Tribunal for further investigation and prosecution as expeditiously as possible.

It seems to me, Mr. President, and to those of us who sponsored this resolution, that it would be wrong for the United States to remain silent in the face of such despicable acts; hence, this resolution today. If we were to do so, we would simply, in our view, be encouraging Milosevic and his like to act even more viciously and recklessly than they have in the past, if that were

possible, to repress the democratic aspirations of the people of Kosovo. We would also be running the risk that the current conflict would spill over into other countries and pose serious threats to regional peace and security. That must not happen.

Silence, in a sense, is almost the co-conspirator of those who perpetrated these crimes. So by raising our voices here and hopefully expressing our unanimous outrage at what is occurring, we do not become the coconspirators, if you will, of these atrocities. Fortunately, President Clinton and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright focused very quickly on this matter. In the context of the so-called "contact group" established to monitor the situation in the former Yugoslavia, the United States has sought to galvanize the international community and to speak with one voice on this problem and to agree upon a course of action against the Milosevic regime should it continue its aggression in Kosovo. Today, the Senate will endorse those efforts, and the contact group specifically, by strongly supporting the pending resolution. Moreover, we would be adding our voice to those who call for the international community as a whole to come together behind the initiatives of the contact group. If the international community is prepared to do that, it will improve the prospects for a political solution to this conflict before it grows even more unmanageable.

Mr. President, our colleague from Delaware started to read some of the operative paragraphs in the resolve clause of this resolution. I won't go through and read it all. It is in the RECORD. It does call for a freezing of government funds of Yugoslavia if we don't get compliance by March 25, over the next 5 or 6 days, with the terms set forth by the contact group. It also calls for extremely strong monitoring efforts by the appropriate international groups.

This is not the end of this issue. If we don't see the proper responses in the coming days, as I said a moment ago, those of us who have seen and watched the terrible tragedies that have transpired here want our voices to be heard. We want those in this country who have family members there to know that we care deeply about this. We want those who may hear our voices in the Albanian minority in Kosovo to know that there are voices here—people whose names they may not know, faces they may not recognize, people they may never meet, but who will not be silent in the face of their tragedy.

So, Mr. President, I urge colleagues here to, in a strong bipartisan fashion, support this resolution introduced by Senator NICKLES, myself, and others, so that this body, this U.S. Senate will, on this day in March, express to the people of the world, particularly the people of Yugoslavia and Kosovo, that

we hear their cries and we will do everything in our power to try to see to it that this tragedy comes to an end.

Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on this resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, while the Senator from Connecticut is on the floor, I will just say one thing. In this case, I think he underestimates what he has undertaken here and the impact of it. This is more than merely a resolution. It calls for a very specific action. The truth of the matter is that, according to my information, every single time we have responded to Milosevic's thuggery, every single time we have threatened action and/or taken action, he has backed down. I happen to think that the one thing that can alter his conduct in Kosovo—because it will reoccur again—the one thing that he pays most attention to is his own naked personal self-interest. He has been playing on this Serbian nationalism as communism has collapsed in the former Yugoslavia like a harp. But even his people are beginning to tire of what he is doing. He has been spreading lies and has been on Belgrade television talking about the awful things that are happening to Serbs—orthodox Serbs—in Kosovo, which are not true. He has been fomenting this kind of awful conduct for some time.

I think, in addition to what we have here in the resolution, that ultimately we are going to have to face up to the fact that he is a war criminal. We should have him tried as one. I think that will change his conduct more than anything else.

But I compliment the Senator from Connecticut for his initiative. In this case, words count. I am confident that if we are able to take this action, in the sense that the administration follows through on the essence of the resolution here, that we can impact upon the circumstances of Kosovo. We are not asking for independence. We are not dictating an outcome. We are dictating an end to the conduct. I think the answer lies in autonomy, which he revoked in 1989. But that is to be negotiated.

But I compliment the Senator on his initiative. Words count here.

I yield the floor.

Is my friend seeking recognition?

Mr. WELLSTONE. I wonder if I could speak on this resolution.

Mr. BIDEN. Parliamentary inquiry: How much time remains?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There are 7½ minutes remaining.

Mr. BIDEN. I yield 3 minutes to my friend from Minnesota, and the remainder to my friend from Connecticut.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I could speak for 3 hours on this. But I

agree with Senator BIDEN from Delaware. This is really one of the situations where words really do matter. I fully support this resolution. I am glad we are speaking out on it.

Several years ago I had a chance to visit Kosovo. It was really an awe-inspiring trip. I, first of all, wanted to go to the former Yugoslavia—I know Senator BIDEN visited there—on my own to see what was in the holocaust taking place; at least the genocide. I never could get to Sarajevo. I never could fly in. But I was able to eventually drive from Zagreb to Belgrade. I met with Milosevic. It was really the only meeting I ever had with someone where I wouldn't shake his hand. We were talking about Kosovo. I was about to visit there. He told me that people were very happy there; that I would find out that there had been a tremendous amount of exaggeration. I couldn't believe he said that to me. It was just outright lying. It was unbelievable.

I went to Kosovo and I met with people who were involved in the non-violence. As they said then, "We want to do this in a nonviolent way." But time is not neutral. People can't continue to bear their oppression. People couldn't go to medical school. They couldn't go to law school. There were police everywhere. It was an absolute police state where 90 percent of the Albanian people were oppressed by the Serbs. This is not the best of what the Serb people stand for. Now we have this resistance. Now we have the people in Kosovo who are taking a strong stance.

I am opposed to terrorism. We are all opposed to terrorism. Murder is never legitimate. But I must say that I think it is important that we get behind this resolution, and I think it is important that Milosevic know that there will be pressure put on him, and that we are serious about trying to support the people of Kosovo. It is very important that we do this.

I yield the floor.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Presiding Officer be added as a cosponsor to this resolution.

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

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I am told by staff of the majority that there will be some additional time available. If the Senator needs more than the remaining 5 minutes, I am sure we can arrange it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. I thank the Chair, and my friend and colleague from Delaware. He and others, including the Senator from Minnesota, have just finished, and my friend and senior colleague from Connecticut, who is the lead cosponsor of this, has spoken quite eloquently. I really in a sense say amen to what they have said, and will add a few words: First, pride that we have put together a bipartisan resolution here with original cosponsors: Senator

NICKLES, Senator DODD, Senator BIDEN, Senator HELMS, myself, and Senator LEVIN.

This speaks volumes about the facts that we have learned. We have learned most recently from the lessons of Bosnian history—the concern, the inaction, the failure to be willing to use force early—that you wonder about whether the application of even diplomatic strength that was clear and resolute would draw a reaction, and, as a result in part, a lot of people suffered, a lot of people died, a lot of bloodshed occurred, and a wider war in Europe was threatened.

When we finally acted—NATO acted—particularly through the air in 1995, the Serbians, who were portrayed as a monster, as an army difficult to contend with in response to the application of force by NATO from the air in 1995, basically found their way to Dayton, and the peace process began. That has led to a much better state. We have learned. We are acting quickly here.

We are building on statements made by former President George Bush, the so-called "Christmas statement," in which he stated quite clearly the vital national interest that the United States has in maintaining peace and stability in Kosovo—that fear being, of course, if we let that go, if we let the Serbian minority continue to suppress the Albanian majority, we will not only have been untrue to our own American principles of freedom and self-determination but that we will have turned our back on a situation that is bound to explode. A people will not long continue to accept the suppression that the minority has visited on the majority in Kosovo without striking back—weakly in some ways against a superior force but resolutely, because that yearning for freedom exists within the hearts of people everywhere, and certainly in the hearts of the Albanians in Kosovo.

That is exactly what is happening now. The fear that President Bush expressed, which is a fear that has been shared across both branches of our Government and both parties, is that a conflict in Kosovo, which is inevitable under the current circumstances, will lead to a wider conflict in Europe, and once again the Balkans will be the match that lights a fire that none of us want to see occur.

That is why the exercise of leadership by the contact groups—Secretary Albright has been very strong, and very purposeful in this regard—here refreshingly after the unhappy experiences we had in the recent crisis in Iraq, we stand side by side with all of our major allies in NATO, and with Russia apparently in urging more than that; in expressing our willingness to impose sanctions on the Serbs, if they do not cease the suppression of the human rights of the Albanian people; if they do not come to the peace table.

With this concurrent resolution, the U.S. Senate has the opportunity, which I am confident we will take soon today,

to express quite clearly: One, that we condemn the Serbian Government in the strongest possible terms for the gross human rights violations against its citizens, including the indiscriminate use of Serbian paramilitary police units against the Albanian population of Kosovo.

This is one of those stories that has not been widely told. But the Albanian people in Kosovo have been subject to persistent, not just discrimination but tyrannical exercise of power to deprive them of their own self-expression, of their own cultural expression, to some extent even of their own religious expression.

We condemn terrorist actions by any groups or any individuals in Kosovo. We urge the international community to respond affirmatively to the call of the contact group for the imposition of broad sanctions against Serbia if it fails to prevent additional atrocities. And we call on our own Government to freeze funds of the Governments of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia if they do not comply by March 25, 1998, with the terms set forth by the contact group.

We ask our Government to demand that the Serbian Government and the ethnic Albanian leadership and representatives of all ethnic and religious groups in Kosovo immediately begin unconditional talks to achieve a peaceful resolution to the conflict in Kosovo and to provide for the exercise of legitimate civil and political rights of all people there.

Then we demand that the international human rights monitors, especially from the Red Cross, who were forced to withdraw from Kosovo be allowed to return immediately in order to be able to report to the world on human rights violations there.

This is a strong, unambivalent statement not just of the concern about the deprivation of human rights that we in the Senate feel but of our sense of purpose about using every element of strength we have with our allies to suppress the conflict and to put the conflicted parties on the path to peace. And that peace will have to recognize the legitimate—indeed, the universal—human rights of the Albanian people of Kosovo.

Mr. President, I was intrigued by an article I read in one of the newspapers within the last week from Belgrade which suggested that Serbian public opinion in Belgrade is not behind the policies of the current Milosevic government in Kosovo which they think will lead to war. People in Serbia have not fallen for the siren appeals to nationalism—as I believe my colleague from Delaware said, an attempt to impose a sense of greater Serbian nationalism as not just an organizing principle but a tyrannical principle to replace communism.

The people of Serbia are like people everywhere else. They have been suffering under this leadership. Their economy is in terrible shape. Their lives are

not what they want them to be. Their children have futures much darker than they would like them to be. They want there to be peace.

I read an article written by a Serbian nationalist who said, "Kosovo is our past; it is not our future. Our future is here, to build a strong, vital, democratic, economically vibrant Serbia." Let us hope that those voices are heard. And I think when our voices are heard in the Senate today, we will make room for those more progressive voices in Serbia and peaceful voices in Kosovo to work their will so that the conflict will be ended and self-determination will be the future.

I thank the Chair. I thank my friend from Delaware for his continuing leadership on these and so many other matters of vital interest to our country, and I yield the floor.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I want to express my strong support for the resolution on Kosovo of which I am an original cosponsor.

The actions of the Serbian special police, who take their orders from Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic, in indiscriminately attacking ethnic Albanians residents, including women and children, in Kosovo last week are an abomination. They remind us that it was Milosevic's desire for a Greater Serbia that led to the countless innocent victims in the war in Bosnia. If he is allowed to go unchecked in Kosovo, Milosevic will plunge the Balkans into war again. That cannot be allowed.

The Contact Group, consisting of France, Germany, Italy, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States, has been following events in Kosovo closely for some time. On September 24, 1997, the Contact Group expressed its deep concern over tensions in Kosovo and called on the authorities in Belgrade and the leadership of the Kosovar Albanian community to join in a peaceful dialogue. I would also note that in a Joint Statement dated October 1, 1997, the United States and the European Union Presidency strongly condemned the use of force against peaceful demonstrators in Kosovo and called on the international community to join in the condemnation.

The Contact Group repeated its call for peaceful dialogue on January 8, 1998, and on February 25, 1998, but it fell on deaf ears.

On March 8, 1998, the Contact Group condemned the excessive use of force by the Serbian police that resulted in at least 80 fatalities and condemned the repression of non-violent expression of political views. The Contact Group noted that it was not endorsing terrorism and condemned terrorist actions by any group. Additionally, it called upon Belgrade to invite independent forensic experts to investigate the very serious allegations of extrajudicial killings. The Contact Group recommended a number of actions too numerous to detail here and demanded that Milosevic must: Withdraw the special police units and cease

action by the security forces affecting the civilian population. Allow access to Kosovo for the International Committee of the Red Cross and other humanitarian organizations as well as by representatives of the Contact Group and other Embassies. Commit himself publicly to begin a process of dialogue, with the leadership of the Kosovar Albanian community. Cooperate in a constructive manner with the Contact Group in the implementation of the actions it recommended which require action by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia government.

The concurrent resolution, entitled Calling for an end to the violent repression of the people of Kosovo, call for the international community to respond affirmatively to the call of the Contact Group for the imposition of broad-based sanctions against the Government of Serbia if it fails to prevent atrocities by the police and paramilitary groups or does not otherwise comply immediately with the terms set forth by the Contact Group.

Mr. President, Senator JACK REED and I visited Belgrade in January 1997 and were impressed by the massive demonstrations in favor of the opposition "Together" movement. The several opposition parties and the students found their common opposition to Milosevic to be a rallying force. I would note that the United States—European Union Joint Statement of October 1, 1997 that I referred to previously, went on to deplore specific actions by Belgrade in removing Zoran Djindjic as the mayor of Belgrade, replacing the editor of Studio B television and packing the station's managing board. It held Milosevic accountable for attempting to reassert political control of the media in Serbia. That is the pattern: take over the media, commit atrocities, arrange for television to only show violence against Serb policeman, and then blame the whole situation on someone else.

Mr. President, I am pleased that the Yugoslav War Crimes Tribunal began its investigation last Tuesday of the recent events in Kosovo. I am also pleased that Secretary of State Madeleine Albright announced last Friday that the United States was making a contribution of \$1.075 million to support the Tribunal's effort in Kosovo.

Mr. President, a reading of the concurrent resolution will reveal that there are numerous references to Slobodan Milosevic. That is no accident and we need to send a personal message to him. I urge my colleagues to vote for this resolution.

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I rise today as a co-sponsor of this concurrent resolution on the Kosovo crisis introduced by my distinguished colleague, Senator NICKLES. I want to thank Senator NICKLES for taking the lead in introducing this resolution on the critical issue of Kosovo.

Many of us in the Senate already know something about Kosovo. If the international community doesn't stop

Slobodan Milosevic's police and paramilitary from using force and violence to terrorize and drive out members of the ethnic Albanian majority in Kosovo, the American people will come to know Kosovo all too well.

The bottom line regarding Kosovo, reflected in this resolution, is that the regime of Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade continues to deal with the ethnic Albanian majority with guns, knives, and clubs instead of political dialogue. Not having had his fill in Bosnia, Milosevic's regime seems prepared not only to repress the Albanian majority of Kosovo, to harass them, or to discriminate against them because they are not Serbs.

Now, he has begun to slaughter them. In recent weeks, Serbian security forces have taken the offensive in Kosovo, allegedly going after those Albanians responsible for terrorist acts. In so doing, at least 70 people have been killed—men, women and children—in some villages of central Kosovo.

Last week, soon after U.S. envoy Bob Gelbard left the region, the bodies of 50 people were removed from the local morgue and bulldozed into a mass grave, without consulting families and in violation of basic human decency. This could well have been an effort to literally bury the evidence of war crimes, because the International Criminal Tribunal in the Hague has expressed interest and the families have called for investigation by an international team of forensic experts.

These killings threaten far worse crimes, including ethnic cleansing on a scale similar to that in Bosnia. This would pose not only a threat to regional peace, but would be a slap in the face for every state and every person who has worked for peace in the Balkans and justice for victims of past ethnic cleansing.

What is the purpose of this recent violence? Is it to defend Serbian interests from Albanian separatists? No. The purpose is to build hatred, nationalism and tensions in order to maintain and enhance the power of the Milosevic regime.

Milosevic will crack down on his fellow Serbs, whom he claims to defend, if they threaten his rule. While Kosovar Albanians may want to be independent from Serbia, that fact cannot justify massive, criminal repression. While some Kosovar Albanians may be willing to engage in violence to achieve independence, that fact cannot justify brutal attacks on innocent people. And while Serbia may want to keep Kosovo, Serbia can only lose Kosovo through these bloody, indiscriminate attacks on the Albanian population.

The international community must respond to the violence in Kosovo, and this resolution makes some solid suggestions. Nothing is more important than getting an international presence on the ground in Kosovo now, to help deter further human rights violations and to report those that are taking

place. While the resolution calls for the International Red Cross to come into Kosovo, as Chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, I also want the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the OSCE, to be allowed to send in a mission. The OSCE had a presence in Kosovo in 1992 and 1993, and it must be allowed to return.

Milosevic must face consequences for his policies. Freezing funds belonging to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia is only a first step, if the Contact Group's terms are not met. Resolve is the only thing Milosevic understands, and resolve is what we must show.

For the violence to stop, Milosevic must be made to believe the so-called Christmas warning issued by President Bush and repeated by President Clinton. Milosevic was warned that we will not let him turn Kosovo into a new battle zone. United States leadership is called for to bring all of the members of the Contact Group into agreement with this strong position. Then, we must stand together and drive the message home.

Finally, and critically important, is the resolution's call for unconditional talks to achieve a peaceful resolution to the conflict in Kosovo and to provide for the exercise of the legitimate civil and political rights of all persons in Kosovo. Clearly, the current situation is untenable. Once violence is halted, the situation is still not stable. The Serbian oppression of the Kosovar Albanian majority is intolerable, and events have gone too far to expect that the people will accept it.

This means that progress must be made toward a genuine political solution to the crisis. This cannot be done in a one-sided fashion. The recent Serbian offer of talks was not serious, and was rejected by the Kosovar Albanian leadership. Milosevic must come to the table seriously, without preconditions. That is the path to peace and stability in Kosovo, and the United States must do all it can to push the parties down that path.

If Kosovo explodes, and it must not be allowed to, it could easily set off a chain reaction leading to wider conflict in the Balkans. For moral and strategic reasons, we cannot let that happen. The stakes are too high, and they involve real, vital United States national interests. The Nickles resolution and its provisions is the right place to start, and I call upon all of my colleagues to support it.

Thank you, Mr. President.

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

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

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. NICKLES. 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. NICKLES. Mr. President, I wish to join with my colleagues, Senator LIEBERMAN, Senator BIDEN, and others who have spoken in favor of this resolution. I apologize for being detained. The Budget Committee is in a markup, and we had several votes, so I was not able to be here.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following individual Senators be added as cosponsors: Senators KERREY, D'AMATO, KYL, ABRAHAM, GRAMS, WELLSTONE, and INHOFE.

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

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, this resolution is a bipartisan resolution which several of us have worked on for the last few days. I thank my friends and colleagues, particularly Senator LIEBERMAN, who worked on this, Senator LEVIN, Senator BIDEN, and other colleagues, Senator LOTT and his staff. We wanted to speak out strongly and condemn the atrocities that have happened recently in Kosovo, not condemning the Serbian people but, frankly, condemning the Serbian leadership and primarily that of Mr. Milosevic. The killings that have happened recently, which culminated in the loss of life of at least 60 people including women and children who were slaughtered by their special police forces, are an atrocity. It needs to be condemned, and we need united action.

This resolution condemns the slaughter, it condemns the atrocities that have happened recently, and it also calls upon the United States and the world community to act together to take action to see that it does not happen again.

The administration was in the process of actually reducing sanctions to the Serbian Government, to Mr. Milosevic. They have now postponed lifting those sanctions.

We also in this legislation say that the United States should freeze funds of the Governments of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia if the Government of Serbia fails to comply by March 25, 1998, with the terms set forth by the contact group. I think that will have some impact. I think that will get his attention.

He has been a very difficult person to deal with. Some of us have met with Mr. Milosevic. I met with him in 1990, along with Senator Dole, Senator MACK, and others. And I will not forget this individual. We wanted to visit Kosovo. We did visit Kosovo. But I remember Mr. Milosevic didn't want us to visit Kosovo, and he went to great lengths to see that we wouldn't go, but we did go. We were greeted by thousands of individuals, mostly Albanians, who wanted to see us and also express to us their desire to have some degree of autonomy, their desire to have some degree of freedom, which was being denied to them at that time by the Serbian leadership, denied in many, many forms—denied in the press, denied in employment; they were persecuted; they were prosecuted; they were harassed. And we have known ever since

then that this area had the potential to explode and to cause significant pain and carnage for a lot of innocent people.

So, Mr. President, this resolution which has overwhelming bipartisan support I hope will extend a good, strong signal to the Milosevic government that they need to join the community of nations, they need to stop ethnic cleansing now.

They need to stop ethnic cleansing now. I think there is strong support, not only for this statement, not only for the sanctions that are called for in this legislation, but I hope across the international community there will be an outrage expressed if there is not a change in behavior by the Milosevic government.

I thank my colleagues for their support for this resolution. I understand—I believe, just for the information of our colleagues, that we expect to vote on this resolution at 6 o'clock, and I hope we will have a unanimous vote as well.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. NICKLES. 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. NICKLES. Mr. President, for the information of all Senators, I said just a few minutes ago I thought there would be a vote at 6 o'clock. In just a moment I will be yielding back the time and we will have the rollcall vote immediately. Staffs might indicate that to their Senators. We will have the vote in just a couple of minutes.

I thank and compliment Senator DODD of Connecticut because he likewise was working on a resolution. This resolution was an effort by several of us who felt we needed to express condemnation towards the outrageous behavior of Mr. Milosevic. Senator DODD had a resolution, I had a resolution, others were working on them, so we had a good bipartisan effort so the Senate would speak in an united fashion condemning these recent actions. I thank him for his support.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I think it is very important that we get something in the RECORD here in terms of this Kosovo resolution so that it would be abundantly clear later on that it cannot be misconstrued as to being supportive in any way at the present time or in the future of any type of military action in Kosovo or anyplace in that area.

I am very much concerned over what has happened in Bosnia. I am concerned about our state of readiness—or lack of readiness, I should say—and I certainly feel that if there is one factor that is contributing to our state of readiness, or lack of readiness, it is our activities in Bosnia. Of course, we

knew back when we passed the resolution to send troops to Bosnia that our resolution of disapproval died by only three votes, and there was a guarantee by the President of the United States that it would be a 12-month operation, which would cost approximately \$1.2 billion. Now it is passing through \$8 billion and it looks like it is going to be ongoing.

As a result of that, we are not able to support ground troops should they be called upon in such areas as Iraq, because we are consuming 100 percent of our capability to logistically support ground troops in Bosnia. Specifically, the 21st TACOM in Germany is at over 100 percent capacity, just supporting the logistics support of a ground operation going through into Bosnia. The 86th airlift in Ramstein is absorbed totally with taking care of the air operation to support Bosnia. If there is anything our country cannot afford, it is any type of expansion of that support to any other country in that legion or anyplace else that is going to use those assets.

While I am an original cosponsor of this resolution, I want to be sure to condemn Milosevic and the atrocities that are committed and have been committed in Kosovo, and I want to make it abundantly clear that there are many of us who are supporting this resolution who will oppose any future attempt to send any type of military operation into Kosovo.

I yield the floor.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, not seeing any other Senators on the floor who wish to speak on this issue, I will yield back the remainder of my time and ask for the yeas and nays on the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas and nays have already been ordered.

Mr. NICKLES. I thank the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has expired. The question is on agreeing to S. Con. Res. 85.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. NICKLES. I announce that the Senator from Florida (Mr. MACK) is necessarily absent.

I further announce that if present and voting, the Senator from Florida (Mr. MACK) would vote "yea."

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. INOUE) is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. COLLINS). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber who desire to vote?

The result was announced, yeas 98, nays 0, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 37 Leg.]

YEAS—98

Abraham	Boxer	Cleland
Akaka	Breaux	Coats
Allard	Brownback	Cochran
Ashcroft	Bryan	Collins
Baucus	Bumpers	Conrad
Bennett	Burns	Coverdell
Biden	Byrd	Craig
Bingaman	Campbell	D'Amato
Bond	Chafee	Daschle

DeWine	Hutchison	Nickles
Dodd	Inhofe	Reid
Domenici	Jeffords	Reid
Dorgan	Johnson	Robb
Durbin	Kempthorne	Roberts
Enzi	Kennedy	Rockefeller
Faircloth	Kerrey	Roth
Feingold	Kerry	Santorum
Feinstein	Kohl	Sarbanes
Ford	Kyl	Sessions
Frist	Landrieu	Shelby
Glenn	Lautenberg	Smith (NH)
Gorton	Leahy	Smith (OR)
Graham	Levin	Snowe
Gramm	Lieberman	Specter
Grams	Lott	Stevens
Grassley	Lugar	Thomas
Gregg	McCain	Thompson
Hagel	McConnell	Thurmond
Harkin	Mikulski	Torricelli
Hatch	Moseley-Braun	Warner
Helms	Moynihan	Wellstone
Hollings	Murkowski	Wyden
Hutchinson	Murray	

NOT VOTING—2

Inouye Mack

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 85) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

The concurrent resolution, with its preamble, reads as follows:

S. CON. RES. 85

Whereas ethnic Albanians constitute ninety percent of the population of the province of Kosovo;

Whereas the human rights situation in Kosovo has recently deteriorated, culminating in the killing of more than 70 ethnic Albanians, including innocent women and children, by Serbian police and paramilitary forces controlled by Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic;

Whereas Serbian authorities controlled by Milosevic have attempted to thwart efforts by international forensic experts to determine the cause of death of recent victims by burying the dead against the wishes of their families;

Whereas the current conflict in Kosovo threatens to reignite war in the Balkans, and is thereby a potential threat to regional peace and security;

Whereas the six-nation Contact Group established to monitor the situation in the former Yugoslavia has requested that the Serbian authorities controlled by Milosevic grant International Red Cross personnel access to areas where recent violence and killing have been reported;

Whereas the Contact Group has called upon Milosevic to withdraw special police units from Kosovo and enter into unconditional negotiations with ethnic Albanian political leaders in order to find a peaceful political solution to the conflict or face additional international sanctions;

Whereas a peaceful resolution of the conflict in Kosovo must respect the rights of members of all ethnic and religious groups in Kosovo, all of whose representatives should be involved in negotiations about the resolution of that conflict;

It is the sense of the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring) that—

(1) The United States should condemn the Serbian government controlled by Slobodan Milosevic in the strongest possible terms for the gross human rights violations against its citizens, including the indiscriminate use of Serbian paramilitary police units against the Albanian population of Kosovo;

(2) The United States should condemn any terrorist actions by any group or individual in Kosovo;

(3) The international community should respond affirmatively to the call of the Contact Group for the imposition of broad-based sanctions against the government of Serbia

if it fails to prevent additional atrocities by the police and paramilitary units under its control or does not otherwise comply immediately with the terms set forth by the Contact Group;

(4) The United States should freeze funds of the governments of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia if the government of Serbia fails to comply by March 25, 1998, with the terms set forth by the Contact Group;

(5) Pursuant to the terms set forth by the Contact Group, the United States should demand that the Serbian government and the ethnic Albanian leadership and the representatives of all ethnic and religious groups in Kosovo immediately begin unconditional talks to achieve a peaceful resolution to the conflict in Kosovo and to provide for the exercise of the legitimate civil and political rights of all persons in Kosovo.

(6) The United States should demand that international human rights monitors, especially personnel of the International Red Cross who were forced to withdraw from Kosovo, be allowed to return immediately to Kosovo in order to be able to report on all human rights violations.

Mr. COVERDELL. I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. COATS. I move to lay it on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. COVERDELL. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call.

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

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

Mr. GRASSLEY. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as if in morning business.

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

BUDGET SURPLUS

Mr. GRASSLEY. Madam President, Haley's Comet appears and disappears every so many decades. So do balanced budgets in Washington, DC. After 30 years, it looks like our Budget Committee, of which I am a member, will have another balanced budget for the first time, as I said, in 30 years. And it looks like after that we could have surpluses for quite a few years. Of course, that is a very unusual situation from a fiscal standpoint—for this Congress to be faced with balancing the budget 2 or 3 years earlier than we predicted and having surpluses for quite a few years into the future.

That gives us a windfall opportunity to do good. But it also is giving some who are willing to squander this an opportunity and to do it in the form of more spending or in the form of more tax cuts.

Last year's budget deal was, of course, to the benefit of both political parties. We actually did something good. We did it together. And the good benefited our country.

This was very different. It was a bipartisan plan. We wrapped our arms

around each other. Both sides should, and do, take credit for doing this good.

But for those who are politically motivated, when the two sides are locked in a policy embrace, there is no discernible difference. And some people just cannot stand that sort of an environment. So they do not like it. So there is a mad rush to declare new ideas to give away the money—money, incidentally, that we do not have yet, legitimately planning to get it as you forecast a good future, but it is not really in our pockets. Yet, it is just like it is burning holes in our pockets. We don't know what to do with it. We need to spend it. We need to get rid of it in some way. Thus, what was done for the good of all taxpayers would be sacrificed for a new round of political operations of picking winners and losers.

For once, we need to take the politics out of what we do and do right for the country. We did that last year. All we have to do is just be patient, and it can evolve this year because this country is on the right track. This Congress' fiscal policy is on the right track.

So, let us do a lot of good by simply doing nothing—being cool-headed and being levelheaded in our policy, the same sort of policy that got us together a year ago with the signing of a bipartisan budget agreement to put this country on a path toward a balanced budget.

For the first time, as our Budget Committee meets to mark up the budget resolution—that is this very day and yesterday as well, and we should have this resolved before the evening is over in our Budget Committee—but for the first time, as we meet to mark up the budget resolution, we are faced not with a growing Federal budget deficit but the possibility, and the very real possibility, of surplus of funds in the Treasury. For the first time we sit to deliberate not on how to corral an out-of-control beast but on how to responsibly maintain the ground which we have gained.

The bipartisan Balanced Budget Act has performed its function well. Last year we established and agreed to live within budget caps. These caps have provided the discipline necessary to begin to get the Federal spending under control. Along with an economic boom that shows little signs of slowing down, the budget caps have helped to bring the Federal Government into a surplus situation.

I urge my colleagues to continue to live within these caps and to continue to practice the spending restraints instituted 8 months ago. To think that the surplus is there to be spent willy-nilly is to break a newly developing trust with the American taxpayers. This trust is not easy to come by. In fact, as I speak, any poll in America asking the question, "Do you feel that Congress is really serious about balancing the budget?"—they might even say, "Is the President and the Congress serious about balancing the budget?"—

three out of four people would respond negatively to that.

So any thought of breaking this trust that is not easy to come by and is still building will send the wrong signals to our bosses, the taxpayers. Any thought of breaking this trust will send the wrong signal to the financial markets, with dire consequences, in my view.

This budget resolution must help to address the cynicism of the public by continuing to show fiscal responsibility and gradually winning over those three out of four people who do not think, as a result of the bipartisan budget resolution last year, that we are really serious about a sound fiscal policy and continuing to balance the budget and to pay on the national debt.

We have a historic opportunity then just by living by that agreement to do the most good for the American people, and we can continue that process by simply doing nothing because nothing should be done to break the budget caps. That is the fiscal discipline. Nothing should be done then to upset the financial markets. And we would do that if we were to not live by that agreement. Everything should be done to have the Federal Government live within its means, just as every American must do. Every family must balance their checkbook. Every small business or big business must show a profit, or it is soon out of business. And shaped with this is an old adage that at least my party has always lived by: "The government that governs best governs least." That should be our bellwether as we continue the markup of this budget resolution in our committee. Never has this statement been more true than it is right now. Let us not squander the windfall opportunity that has been handed to us by the budget resolution of last year—the bipartisan budget resolution of last year. Let us not, by talking about giving tax decreases on the one hand or on the other hand by setting up eight new entitlement programs, as the President proposed, cause those three out of four people who do not believe we are going to be balancing the budget to be right by being skeptical about how Congress acts on these matters.

We also have the opportunity to do what the President has asked us to do, and that is to strengthen the Social Security System. Until we have come to an agreement on how to make the Social Security System viable for future generations, we should not be spending this surplus. For now, then, doing nothing—in other words nothing new—not setting up eight new entitlement programs or not cutting taxes until we have the money in the pocket and we can plan for what we are really going to do—doing nothing the way things are done by paying off on the national debt, we will have the result then of that downpayment on the Federal debt for the first time since 1969.

This country generally—but specifically the financial markets—has a great deal of confidence in a person