

whether this child's criminality is being driven by a drug problem or not. And if it is, they can require drug treatment.

It is an absolute tragedy that we are not able to pass this bill today. Judge Eric Holder, Washington, DC, who wants drug testing of everyone, said it is absolutely essential for a judge to know whether the kids and adults coming before the court have a drug problem.

Mr. President, this bill is a professionally crafted bill. It remains, in my opinion, an effective, solid, progressive step of historic proportions to assist our State and local communities to effectively deal with the growing problem of juvenile crime in America. Based on my experience of over 15 years, I know that passing this legislation is the right thing to do. We must continue to work to get a vote on this bill. I will continue to listen to any suggestions for change. Senator HATCH has continued to keep the doors open for discussion so that we can proceed with this bill.

Frankly, I believe something is happening here, and I am just going to say it. The bankruptcy bill came out of the Judiciary Committee 16 to 2. It is an absolutely excellent bankruptcy bill. It is not radical in any way and has tremendous bipartisan support, however, we come down here today and the Democratic minority members oppose even bringing it up for consideration. The juvenile justice bill comes out of committee with a 2 to 1 vote and the minority objects, a filibuster, and refuses to agree to a rational compromise on debate.

It appears to me that the members of the other party are obstructing legislation. For some reason, they do not want good legislation to pass. We ought to be working on these bills. If there is a legitimate difficulty, let's deal with it. I am willing to do so. But it is time for us to pass good legislation. I don't think it is right for people to go around talking about a do-nothing Congress when we produce good legislation, bring it to the floor, only to have the minority object under the rules of this body. The rules are legitimately utilized, but the other side ought to be held accountable for obstructing good legislation.

So, again, I am disappointed that we could not get this agreement. I believe that we have an outstanding juvenile justice bill and I have been honored to work with Senator HATCH and others on the committee to produce it.

I yield the floor.

Mr. WARNER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BENNETT). The distinguished Senator from Virginia is recognized.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I thank the Chair.

#### KOSOVO

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I would like to report on a recent trip which I

made in my role as a senior member of the Senate Armed Services Committee to a very troubled region of the world. During this trip, I took quick but informative visits through Bosnia, Belgrade, Yugoslavia, Macedonia, Kosovo, and NATO South Headquarters, in Naples.

To make this trip possible, I asked for and received the full support of the Department of State and NATO. I particularly wish to express my appreciation to Admiral Lopes, Ambassador Miles, posted to Belgrade, and Ambassador Hill, posted to Macedonia.

In my view there are parallels and distinctions between the situation in Bosnia and the situation in Kosovo. Kosovo is an integral part of a sovereign nation—Yugoslavia. It is a civil war between the ethnic function of Albanians and Serbs.

The parallels are to be found in the tragic tactics of this war. While both factions are open for condemnation for human rights violations, the preponderance of evidence weighs against the Serb forces—regular army and “so-called” police. Clearly, President Milosevic must be held accountable for the continuing destruction of dwellings, the farm land, and most of all, the continuing cruel repression against innocent people driven from their homes and land by the combined Serb forces.

Currently, there are estimates in the hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing—many to the hills and forests near their villages. In a short time, with the coming of winter, the weather will compound their misery and sufferings.

Diplomatic efforts by U.S. and other nations have made a credible, good faith effort to reach some measure of resolution. As I departed Kosovo on Monday, August 31, the very able Ambassadors Miles and Hill assured me they were continuing to press for some solution so that the U.S. and other nations and “NGO's” can put in place programs and logistic plans to bring relief to victims of both ethnic factions.

In my view, the short time between now and winter, will not permit a solution that will embrace a form of limited government acceptable to Belgrade. That must come in time, but for the present, we must get a framework solution for the refugee relief program.

I commend the efforts of Assistant Secretary of State Julia Taft, who, during her visit just days ago, sounded a fervent appeal. I attach a copy of her analysis.

I also visited some of the towns ravaged by the war and continuing to be ravaged by the roaming Serb forces. This must be stopped. Today I learned that Senator Dole, who, like me is greatly concerned for the need to stop this conflict, is going to visit on his own initiative, Kosovo and the region. I briefed him on my trip and recommended he work with the consortium of nations, including the U.S., Canada, Russia and E.U. nations known as “KDOM”.

I have great praise for the U.S. personnel of KDOM who provided me with a trip through some of the war torn regions. I place in this record a briefing given me by KDOM, together with their credible petition for more assistance—logistic—from the Departments of State and Defense. I personally will endorse their needs.

While in NATO South Heights, I received a briefing on options involving military forces—U.S. and other nations. This weekend I will receive further briefings.

I close by urging all Senators to devote time to the growing problems in the Kosovo region. I support the doctrine—time tested—that diplomacy can be no stronger than the resolve to back it up by force if necessary. I urge all Senators to carefully stand by the complexity of the problems—many unique and different than Bosnia—with the use of force.

Hopefully, negotiations will produce a cease-fire and force can be avoided. A problem still exists as to who are the KLA leaders, are they in some agreement among themselves, and how would they be represented at the negotiating table.

I will continue to give this troubled area a high priority and urge others to do likewise. I ask unanimous consent that the documents I referred to during my remarks be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. President, I understand the Government Printing Office estimates the cost of printing this material in the RECORD to be \$1,949.

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

[From the USIA Washington File, Aug. 26, 1998]

#### ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE TAFT IN KOSOVO

WASHINGTON.—Julia V. Taft, assistant secretary of state for population, refugees and migration, is visiting Serbia-Montenegro, including the province of Kosovo, to assess the situation of internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees and encourage the return of Kosovar IDPs to their homes.

Taft “will urge Serb officials to make concrete progress on creating conditions for the return of IDPs, particularly those who are shelterless and inaccessible to the delivery of humanitarian aid. She also will meet with relief agency representatives to encourage their increased presence in key areas of return,” said the State Department August 26.

Following is the text of a statement by Deputy Spokesman James Foley:

#### STATEMENT BY JAMES B. FOLEY

A senior State Department official is visiting Serbia-Montenegro, including the province of Kosovo, to assess the situation of internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees in the region, and encourage the return of Kosovar IDPs to their homes.

Julia V. Taft, Assistant Secretary of State for Population, Refugees, and Migration, will meet with government officials in the region and representatives of major international organizations and non-governmental organizations during her visit, which will last from today until Saturday. The Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM), which she heads, has primary responsibility for U.S. refugee assistance programs.

Her visit will underscore U.S. concern and commitment to provide assistance for conflict victims in Kosovo and the region. The U.S. Government—through PRM and the U.S. Agency for International Development—has provided more than \$11 million in recent months to meet humanitarian needs caused by the conflict in Kosovo.

As a result of the ongoing conflict, there are some 250,000 IDPs in Kosovo and another 26,000 in Montenegro, plus 14,000 refugees in Albania. It is estimated that between 60,000 and 100,000 of those displaced within Kosovo are without shelter, a situation that becomes increasingly grave as winter approaches.

Assistant Secretary Taft will urge Serb officials to make concrete progress on creating conditions for the return of IDPs, particularly those who are shelterless and inaccessible to the delivery of humanitarian aid. She also will meet with relief agency representatives to encourage their increased presence in key areas of return.

DAILY PRESS BRIEFING, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1998

Mr. FOLEY. Welcome to the noon briefing. (Laughter.)

My watch stopped about two hours and 20 minutes ago. I beg your indulgence.

I have a few announcements to make before I get to your questions. First, a senior State Department official is visiting Serbia Montenegro, including the province of Kosovo, to assess the situation of internally displaced persons and refugees in the region, and to encourage the return of Kosovar internally displaced persons to their homes. I'm talking about Julia Taft, who, as you know, is the Assistant Secretary of State for Population, Refugees and Migration. She will meet with government officials in the region and representatives of major international organizations and non-governmental organizations during her visit, which will last from today until Saturday.

The bureau that she heads has primary responsibility for US refugee assistance programs. Her visit will underscore US concern and commitment to provide assistance for conflict victims in Kosovo and the region. The US Government has provided more than \$11 million in the last few months through AID and the PRN bureau to meet humanitarian needs caused by the conflict in Kosovo. As a result of the ongoing conflict there, we estimate there are some 250,000 internally displaced persons in Kosovo, another 26,000 in Montenegro and 14,000 refugees in Albania. It is estimated that between 60,000 and 100,000 of those displaced within Kosovo are without shelter—a situation that becomes increasingly grave as winter approaches.

Assistant Secretary Taft will urge Serb officials to make concrete progress on creating conditions for the return of internally displaced persons, particularly those who are shelterless and inaccessible to the delivery of humanitarian aid. She will also meet with relief agency representatives to encourage their increased presence in key areas of return, which we think is very important.

Julia Taft's visit to the region will be one in a series in coming weeks by senior United States Government officials as the US acts to help meet humanitarian needs in the region.

The second announcement has to do with—

QUESTION. (Inaudible)—where she's been, and I didn't quite grab it. You mentioned the stops she made or is making, did you?

Mr. FOLEY. In the region. I believe that she is in Belgrade and going to Pristina today.

QUESTION. (Inaudible)—to the architect of this whole business?

Mr. FOLEY. Yes, yes—well, I don't believe she is meeting with President Milosevic. Ambassador Hill met with President Milosevic yesterday. I did not have an opportunity to talk to him; he called and we didn't connect earlier this morning. But the high agenda item yesterday in Belgrade for him with Milosevic was, indeed, this issue of allowing humanitarian access. I can get to that if we come to this question a little later in the briefing.

QUESTION. Well, this is short, but far from allowing humanitarian access, it appears that the Serbs are now targeting aid workers. They blew up a convey carrying three Mother Theresa workers. How does she expect to reverse this trend?

Mr. FOLEY. Well let's get into the topic, then. I have a few other announcements to make. Barry, you're the dean; what do you want to do?

QUESTION. Let's just go—(Inaudible).

Mr. FOLEY. Okay. You're absolutely right that international organizations and non-governmental organizations continue to report serious access problems throughout Kosovo. A UNHCR CRS convoy was unable to deliver humanitarian supplies to the region south of Pec yesterday.

As I said, Julia Taft is in Belgrade and Pristina today, where she is meeting with humanitarian organizations. That's in answer to your specific question, Barry.

The assessment team from the US Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance had planned to arrive in Kosovo this week, but is yet to receive its visas from the FR Y. Clearly, in answer to your question, Jim, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is not fulfilling its previous commitments to the international community of unrestricted access to Kosovo and to internally displaced persons by humanitarian organizations and diplomatic observers.

The Kosovo diplomatic observer missions have confirmed reports that three humanitarian aid workers were killed between Malisevo and Kijevo yesterday. The three victims are Kosovar Albanians who were working for the Mother Theresa Society, a local NGO that distributes aid directly to internally displaced persons. The evidence indicates that the workers' vehicle was deliberately targeted by a Serbian armored vehicle less than one kilometer away in broad daylight. The targeting of civilians is, indeed, a cowardly act. We deplore deliberate attempts to disrupt humanitarian relief work, which shows indeed the emptiness of Mr. Milosevic's promises.

We call on Serb authorities to halt immediately their offensive. All NGOs—both local as well as international—must be allowed to deliver humanitarian assistance to internally displaced persons, free from fear and obstruction.

Can I move on to my other announcements?

QUESTION. Can I just—who did you say has not received visas?

Mr. FOLEY. This is the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance. They have been held up. But I understand that Assistant Secretary Taft had some difficulty in getting her visa also, which eventually came through. We certainly expect that that will be the case for the OFDA personnel.

A couple other announcements. The United States regrets the incidents of August 26, 1998, that's today, in Northern Israel and Southern Lebanon—especially in view of the casualties which have occurred on all sides. We have been in contact with both the government of Israel and the government of Lebanon, and are urging restraint.

The April 1996 understanding, which established the Israel-Lebanon Monitoring Group, provides a process for resolving complaints.

We call upon all the parties to use this process. The Monitoring Group should meet as soon as possible to consider these latest incidents.

Lastly, the United States welcomes the August 25 announcement by the chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission of Nigeria, presenting the time table for the forthcoming elections designed to return Nigeria to civilian democratic rule. I won't go into the particulars, because the announcement you'll see we'll post lays out the different elections at all levels of government to be held late this year and early next year.

The announcement fulfills head of state, General Abubakar's public pledge to schedule the election of a civilian president in the first quarter of 1999. It is also consistent with his statement that the new elected president would be sworn into office on May 29, 1999. We are committed to working with Nigeria to ensure continued progress toward a rapid, transparent and inclusive transition to civilian democratic rule.

QUESTION by Barry Schweid. Libya apparently has told the UN it isn't ready to say yea or nay to your compromise arrangement, which I thought the US—it is a compromise—that is, a take-it-or-leave-it proposition. Do you suppose they're expecting you to fall back even further?

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The Assistant Secretary's visit to the region will be one in a series in coming weeks by high-level USG officials as the United States acts to help meet humanitarian needs in the region, calls attention to the potential for a greater humanitarian crisis in Kosovo, raises awareness of the human rights situation there, and presses for a cease-fire between Serb and rebel forces and cooperation from Serb officials.

[From the USIS Washington File, Aug. 28, 1998]

#### ASSISTANT SECRETARY TAFT PRESS CONFERENCE IN BELGRADE

BELGRADE.—“With the snow may come the death of more than 200,000 people who have been displaced from their homes because of the conflict in Kosovo,” said Assistant Secretary of State Julia V. Taft at a press conference in Belgrade August 28 after a visit to Kosovo.

“It was one of the most heart-wrenching experiences I have had in 25 years of working in humanitarian relief. We have a catastrophe looming, and we only have as a world humanitarian community six weeks to help the government of Serbia respond to this crisis. The snows come early, I understand, to this part of the world.”

Taft said, “While I was there, the authorities in Pristina unveiled their new concept for targeted assistance to 11 points within Kosovo. They indicated that the government was prepared to provide building material, food, water and electricity, and they encouraged and hoped that the international community, the NGOs, would also have the ability to go into those same locations as part of the confidence-building effort. Planning for those centers is going on now. These are not safe havens, but they are going to be places where there will be opportunities for people to come down from the mountains [and obtain supplies].”

While humanitarian assistance is desperately needed for the internally displaced persons (IDPs), Taft said, “There are many Serb families and other ethnic groups that have to be assisted by the relief community. We are going to try to make sure that there is equity for everybody.”

Following is the transcript of the press conference:

Assistant Secretary TAFT. Thank you very much for your patience. I have been delayed because of some very important meetings with government officials today to discuss the tragedy that is unfolding in Kosovo. I have just returned from a visit, although short, to Kosovo. It was one of the most heart-wrenching experiences I have had in 25 years of working in humanitarian relief. We have a catastrophe looming, and we only have as a world humanitarian community six weeks to help the government of Serbia respond to this crisis. The snows come early, I understand, to this part of the world. With the snow may come the death of more than 200,000 people who have been displaced from their home because of the conflict in Kosovo.

My mission here has been to meet with government officials, with the international organizations, with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] representatives, the International Committee of the Red Cross and many non-governmental organizations who are providing relief at this moment to many villages and towns in Kosovo. I believe that we have to work together, to support the efforts of this government, to support the efforts of the relief community, to find the way to deal with this emergency. Yesterday in Pristina I announced that the United States had already invested \$11 million in providing relief over the past few months. This compares to about \$10 million that we have provided for Serbian refugees in this area. About \$11 million was focused mostly on the humanitarian crisis up to now. I have asked my office in the State Department to prepare a request to the President of the United States to allow us immediately to invest many millions of more dollars within the next few weeks to try to avert this disaster. We're here to share with you our impressions, our concern, and our commitment that Kosovo and the people of Kosovo will not have to face the consequences of death when the snows arrive.

I would be very pleased to answer any questions that you might have. Let us begin with the first question:

Q. You were speaking about the humanitarian side. Were you involved in any way in the political issues that have, after all, created the humanitarian catastrophe that you are talking about?

Assistant Secretary TAFT. Well, I am involved in those because they, of course, are driving the crisis that we have now. However, Ambassador Chris Hill is the one that is leading the negotiation team working with Dr. Rugova and working with the authorities here on a peace process. I don't know how quickly that process will come to a positive conclusion. I hope it is soon, but I don't know if it will be as fast as when the snows come. So we have to deal with this humanitarian crisis right now, because its outcome will also affect the political outcome.

Q. Have you talked to the representatives of the Albanian people about these humanitarian issues and how much they could affect their forces in the field, the so-called Kosovo Liberation Army, to allow access for the humanitarian organizations, because recently Ms. Emma Bonino couldn't even reach the place she intended because of this situation in the field?

Assistant Secretary TAFT. I had access to every place I wanted to go. I went with the KDOM forces, and I went from Pristina to Pec, to Decani, and to Junik, and saw many villages along the road and met with some of the displaced persons who were camping out in some of the destroyed villages. It was a very moving experience. I then had a chance to speak with Dr. Rugova to ask for a clarification on a statement he allegedly made, which said that the Albanian people should not come down from the mountains, that

they should stay up there because it was not safe to come down. He denied having expressed in that way. I assured him that every effort was going to be made to build the confidence so that people come down from the mountains, and I hope that he would change or clarify his position. While I was there, the authorities in Pristina unveiled their new concept for targeted assistance to 11 points within Kosovo. They indicated that the government was prepared to provide building materials, food, water and electricity, and they encouraged and hoped that the international community, the NGOs, would also have the ability to go into those same locations as part of the confidence-building effort. Planning for those centers is going on now. These are not safe havens, but they are going to be places where there will be opportunities for people to come down from the mountains.

I spoke today with the authorities in Belgrade and said that we would be prepared to fund operational expenses over the next six months, but it was absolutely critical that the government considered this an emergency—to waive restrictions that have existed in the past for getting relief workers in, getting commodities delivered, and providing for reduced military presence, particularly in those 11 areas. I believe we've made a lot of progress in our discussions, and I'm hoping that this new initiative starts with the 11 locations and will expand and multiply in the weeks ahead.

Q. What kind of assurances did you get from the Serbian government that people could go back to their homes? What kind of security measures would make the people feel safe so that they could go back?

Assistant Secretary TAFT. The assurances have been made public by the authorities through leaflets, through the notification and announcement of these locations. They are not yet safe, because there is not the kind of presence that needs to be there. I am hoping that quick planning will result in some real movement back to towns soon. You know, there is something called safety in numbers. Where there is the presence of Western relief workers, where there is the presence of the United Nations, where there is the presence of KDOM observers, I think, that will add to a sense of credible safety. But, quite frankly, let me say I think that the entire area of Kosovo is under serious strain, economically and psychologically, right now. It is not just assistance dedicated to those people who are on the mountains, cold and hungry and some dying, but it's also for the other people in Kosovo that have to have assistance, too. There are many Serb families and other ethnic groups that have to be assisted by the relief community. We are going to try to make sure that there is equity for everybody.

Q. When you say that you had talked with the representatives of the so-called KLA, did you, as a humanitarian worker, remember to ask them what has happened to the at least 115 abducted and missing citizens of Kosovo-Metohia?

Assistant Secretary TAFT. I did not speak with KLA representatives, I spoke with Dr. Rugova. We did express grave concern about the missing Serbs. I think there are about 176 that are missing. This is a great concern. On the other hand, there have also been many missing and killed Albanians, too. I think this underscores that no one has been left untouched by the tragedy that has happened, and that makes it even more compelling that we stop the war, stop the killing, and try to provide a humanitarian alternative. It is not responsibility of the international community, however, to stop it. It is the responsibility of the people within Kosovo and Serbia to try to find conditions

for confidence-building and assistance. We stand ready to try to support financially, and through whatever technical assistance we can, to mobilize the planning and deployment of external resources that can help bridge the requirements that exist right now.

Q. Ms. Taft, how would you estimate the level of the humanitarian catastrophe?

Assistant Secretary TAFT. On the scale of one to ten? I'd say about nine. It is a crisis now, where some lives have been lost, but we still have time to work together to save about 200,000 lives. It's not too late.

Any other questions? Yes, San Francisco Chronicle.

Q. Yes, my question is: Do you think that it is realistic that you can employ the kind of measures that you would like to, humanitarian measures, without a cease-fire?

Assistant Secretary TAFT. A cease-fire would be our hope. In the absence of a cease-fire, we have identified, however, a number of things that need to go forward. We believe the KDOM needs to be expanded. I will be asking my own government to try to make additional contributions, and work with other donor countries to expand the presence of KDOM. We have to get more experienced relief workers into Kosovo working with the international relief community. There is a proposal we offered to try to accelerate the approval, on an emergency basis, of those visas. There is a problem of communications. You know, it's very difficult to have a far-flung relief assistance program if the people in the field cannot communicate with their base offices.

And we believe it's a security and a protection issue. Radios are very difficult to manage in Kosovo, so we have raised this question, and it needs to be resolved. There also is the local economy, which has collapsed. There's very little in the stores. There are some stores in the major cities that are functioning, and some markets that are functioning. But, basically, there is in effect an embargo on commercial availability of some of the most important life-sustaining requirements. And we have asked, on an emergency basis, that the informal "blockade" be lifted for such things as wheat flour, sugar, oil, milk, and detergent, which did not sound life-threatening to me, but everybody needs it. Those are the elements that we are going to ask to try to get the government to lift this informal blockade on the commercial sector. We've got to get food to people, and these commodities to people in the cities and the villages down there. Those are elements of what we are considering, what we have offered the government to consider. We are not managing this disaster. We are only trying to help those who are responsible for making sure the security of people in Kosovo exists, and that their livelihood and lives are sustained. I had assurances at all levels today that, in fact, the government here is desirous of living up to the agreement that was made between Yeltsin and Milosevic two months ago, which had a number of elements in it that are not really operational now. Although KDOM was part of it. This Kosovo Diplomatic Observer Mission was part of it. There were other requirements that were in that communique, in that agreement which related to unfettered access by humanitarian workers, and that's what we have been particularly focusing on. It is important to know that our President, the President of the United States, will be meeting with [President Boris] Yeltsin in the next few days, and we are going to be raising this issue with the Russian authorities, too, because they have been a very effective interlocutor with the authorities here.

Q. Were you informed by the Serbian authorities they have for the past several

months been offering a dialogue to the Albanian party, that Mr. Hill has had a very hard job of convincing the Albanian party to negotiate, that the new negotiating team was formed thanks to the representatives of the European Union, but there is no dialogue yet? In the meantime Mr. Adern Dernaci, UCK representative, announces a guerrilla war. How do you think there can be any improvement of the humanitarian situation in Kosovo?

Assistant Secretary TAFT. That is a very troublesome but appropriate question. I don't know the answer. All I can say is that, from previous experiences, where there has been a threat of guerrilla action, that guerrilla action takes its root from the people who are displaced who have no hope, who have no food, and are discontent. I think that what we need to do is reinforce a better alternative for people by having these areas, and appropriate distribution and shelter, so that they are not victims. This is a very important feature, of course, of Ambassador Chris Hill's initiative. He feels that there has been some progress. I was with him yesterday, but as I say, the political and humanitarian time frames may be different. I do think that if we are able to find ways to accelerate the flow and effectiveness of relief, so that people's lives are not so tortured—I mean, these people that I met with and saw, they are not political, they are peasants, they are people who just want their families with them, they have so many needs, they've been dispossessed and moved to often—that's what they want, they don't care what the politicians want. We need to be part of an international effort that provides them a different alternative and some hope back to their villages.

I hope you will all follow this story. For those of you who can get down and see what is happening, you will understand how appalling and how heart-wrenching it is for all the people down there. Six weeks is not a long time. It will be a real test of whether or not there is a viable future for the people of Kosovo.

Q. You said that the international community is not responsible for bringing the war in Kosovo to an end. So what about NATO air strikes? Would you suggest to your own government that they shouldn't take place?

Assistant Secretary TAFT. I will not be making recommendations about the NATO air strikes. My portfolio is humanitarian. I do not think we need any more killing, any more destruction, or any more bloodshed. We have got to focus right now on the next six weeks, if people are still in this hills, and still dying, I think that will be the point of decision-making internationally about what else should be done. I pray we don't get there. There seems to be energy, interest and a commitment to try to avoid that catastrophe, and that's what I am praying for.

Thank you very much.

[From the United States Information Service, Aug. 28, 1998]

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR POPULATION, REFUGEES, AND MIGRATION JULIA V. TAFT'S, PRESS CONFERENCE IN PRISTINA, YUGOSLAVIA

Secretary TAFT. As you all know, I just returned from a six-hour field trip today to Junik and Decani, and visited a number of empty villages along the way, and was able to see first hand the level of devastation that has been occurring during this conflict. It would be an understatement for me to say that I am just concerned. I am really appalled by the devastation and overwhelmed by the need for urgent humanitarian assistance. As you know, a number of United Nations agencies and non-governmental agen-

cies have been working very hard to meet some of the needs that the internally displaced persons, the refugees and the local families are facing in Kosovo. One of the things that was particularly positive about my trip was seeing so many families who had welcomed internally displaced people into their homes—people they didn't know, and people with whom they were willing to share whatever food and shelter they have.

In the end, of course we know that the suffering will only stop when the conflict stops. I hope that would be true soon, certainly within the next few months. But therefore then, I am very much afraid there is a looming catastrophe within the next six weeks, because of the weather and the cold that will come. So, my energy is here, and the focus of the humanitarian investments we are planning to make over the next few days and week, or so, will be focused on how to help accelerate and underscore a massive, innovative program for humanitarian assistance. It will require all of the energy and creativity of the NGOs. It will require the cooperation of the government officials. It will require generosity on the part of the donors, and it will be very important that those elements of the conflict put down their arms.

Six weeks is almost here, and I hope very much to see in six weeks that we have been able to have enough confidence on the ground, and security on the ground, so that these people will be able to come home.

In the last very few months, the United States has given more than 11 million dollars to support the humanitarian requirements in Kosovo. I am going back to the States over the weekend, and I have already indicated today to my office to prepare a request for President Clinton to offer additional millions of dollars.

I am looking here over the next few days on how this money can best be spent, but it will be significant, and it will be able to, I think, help quite a lot.

As you know, we are participating in the Kosovo Diplomatic Observer Mission. I'm going to try to urge even fuller participation by our government in that, it's an excellent innovation, and we appreciate the willingness of the government officials to allow this observer mission as much access as it does have.

Today, when I was meeting with the government officials, I was told that they had come up with a new idea to open up a special focus on eleven locations here for coordinated humanitarian response. We welcome this initiative. We will look forward to seeing how they are able to fulfill it.

We also met with the non-governmental organizations to encourage their participation in a focused coordinated manner, which we hope will help.

Eleven cities is not enough. The whole country needs help. And we are going to try to do whatever we can to work with the people of this wonderful area, and to work with all of the relief agencies, so that we will be able to avoid a catastrophe that is looming in front of us.

Thank you very much, and I'll be glad to answer your questions.

QUESTION. How do you mean to help the population of Kosovo in these circumstances when we see that everyday Serbia is burning and destroying every village, every town, and every place in Kosovo?

Secretary TAFT. It is true, I saw even today several different buildings burning—fresh fires in places that were already destroyed.

My sense is that we have to deal with it on many different levels. There's the diplomatic level, and our ambassador, Chris Hill, is working very closely on that. He also met with Dr. Rugova today to try to move the

process along, and he met yesterday with Mr. Milosevic. The Contact Group meets every week and is working very hard on the diplomatic side. I think what we would welcome is a standing-down over the next six weeks of any aggressive action on the part of any group in this area. We have got to be able to help the citizens of Kosovo, and we've got to make sure that the government here is responsible for security. We also have to make sure to the extent possible that there is safe distribution of relief supplies by relief workers, and that means no guns and no fire.

QUESTION. Do you have any word of the reports that the Serbs actually opened fire on a family of eleven people killing them in the back of a tractor today in the city of Gracka?

Secretary TAFT. Oh, God, no I don't. We did, of course, raise the issue of the deaths of the three Mother Theresa relief workers with great sorrow that they were victims of this conflict when their whole lives had been dedicated to volunteering to help people. We expressed our condolences not only to the president of the Mother Theresa Society, but I raised it today with the authorities to find out what they are going to do to find out who actually committed the killings. I must say I was very reassured by both the regret and the apology by the authorities that these people had been killed, and there is going to be an inspection. It is also true that the NGOs were invited in to the government to discuss not only this plan for the new eleven locations, but also they expressed great regret and apology to the NGOs.

QUESTION. Mr. Milosevic has said from time to time that there have been irresponsible units that have destroyed villages (inaudible). Shouldn't somebody be pushing him to prosecute these people or actually (inaudible) them the way that so-called irresponsible units would be in any normal army?

Secretary TAFT. Absolutely. It's my understanding that the last incident in which there was an identified errant unit that had attacked maliciously, that that unit was removed and was replaced. Whether there is a broader observer mission that can do this reporting and accounting, I think really we have to build on the existence of KDOM and get more people out there. On the issue of the willingness of the government to rein in their army, my position is get the army out of here and you'll have less of a problem. This all needs to be negotiated in terms of this concept of unfettered access which the NGOs are supposed to have—well, it's fettered and we need to work on some agreements about the level of security and this will be a high priority.

QUESTION. Should the six weeks you've been mentioning be considered as a deadline for Milosevic to stop all his hostilities?

Secretary TAFT. There are hostilities on all sides and all must be stopped. The message I would like to send is that the world is watching what's happening in Kosovo and we need to make sure that the people who purport to lead the citizens of Kosovo, whatever their background, they need to make sure that there is access and there is no fighting so that people can be having some degree of assurance that they can come down from the mountains. Six weeks? I don't know. This is the first time I've ever been to Kosovo. It's already getting a little cold at night, but I do believe that, from the people with whom I have discussed, six weeks is a time frame that—if we can meet—will certainly alleviate much of the suffering.

QUESTION. Six weeks for politicians is a short time, but six weeks for civilians who are in the mountains—and exactly for children—is a very long time. We have there children who are dying even from cold

weather, so, if this six weeks will take so many children's lives, what after?

Secretary TAFT. My sense is that if there is enough presence of relief workers, if there is enough presence of the KDOM, and if there is an agreement to live up to access, that the people can come down, and they will be able to be assisted. We have talked a lot over the last couple of days about, even if there were access, is there enough food in the pipeline? And are there enough relief workers and local people who can help in the distribution? And we've identified a few things that we can push. But one of them doesn't even relate to relief, it relates to what I understand is an informal embargo or an informal blockade of a number of commodities that ought to be in the stores of Kosovo. And I've driven by and looked for something to buy, and there's nothing to buy. So we know that there are restrictions or there is in essence a variety of very important commodities that the people here would like to buy that they find difficult to obtain. We are going to present a list of those that we consider absolutely urgent and would hope that the normal market could be energized in this time frame, too, because that would certainly help quite a lot, particularly the families who have been so generous in opening up their homes. We try to do relief assistance for them, but we don't have enough in the pipeline for two million people. So we have to deal with the local economy.

QUESTION. How are you going to deal with the obstacles usually coming from the Serbian authorities toward relief organizations?

Secretary TAFT. I've received a number of suggestions of things that would be greatly helpful. One is a more forthcoming role on the part of the United Nations High Commissioner to help in registering agencies that have relief workers. To try to get radio frequencies is a big problem. Trying to deal with the visa problem. Even the USAID team is waiting for its visas. So visas are not just a problem for relief workers, they're also a problem for diplomats. We need to find a way to streamline that and to give assurances to the authorities that the people who are coming in actually have training, have functions, have a job to do. We're going to take this up tomorrow, and I think the highest issues that I've been asked to convey mostly deal with radio and communications, access, and visas. And we'll try to deal with that.

QUESTION. Just to speak about one issue that you've raised—this informal embargo. Why should people be optimistic that any one of the long laundry list of actions that need to be taken, and which you are helping to identify, will actually be acted upon? This embargo has been going on for months. If the international community, not to mention the United States, were serious about doing something about it, they could have been and it seems to me, some might argue should have been, banging on the doors in Belgrade for months about this. It's a bit late to suddenly start talking about an informal embargo when officials have known about it for months.

Secretary TAFT. From my office and my perspective, I am responsible for refugee programs on a humanitarian basis for the State Department, and we have been working very closely obviously with the authorities and everybody on the Serb refugee question. The IDPs are people in refugee-like situations, and with the events of the last few months, it was determined that I have got to get my resources and my office much more heavily engaged, which I am doing. It is also a fact that the Secretary-General has indicated that Sadako Ogata, who is the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, is, in fact, the lead agency. We are the primary funders worldwide for UNHCR, so I have a client there and a relationship where we can move very quickly. So, you will see not only me, but you saw Emma Bonino last week, Soren Jessen-Peterson. There will be a series of other people coming out. All of us have different aspects in our portfolios and we are going to be working very energetically to deal with this. The food embargo, I think, is one that has been raised diplomatically a number of times. Right now, I have put it on the urgent list because of the time frame and the fact that we are not going to be able to come up with enough relief commodities. We've got to make sure that the normal economy is working, and that there is access by the commercial vendors and others. Now not all the laundry list of items is realistic to try to change overnight, but if we're working on this on an emergency basis to say, "At a minimum, you've got to have oil, sugar, wheat flour, a lot of people have said detergent—I'm interested in that—and salt." Those are the ones. I know the list is much longer, but we will push that, and if you have other suggestions, I'd be delighted to hear them.

QUESTION. Each day the war is spreading to new parts of Kosovo. On the other side the politicians are seeking a political solution. Do you think there is still time to solve the problem by dialogue?

Secretary TAFT. The problem will only be solved when there's a peace agreement and there is real cease-fire. I have to be optimistic. We don't have a choice. We've got 176,000, maybe more, people who are in urgent need of help, and it's up to all of us to figure out how to do it. So I have to be optimistic that the good will of the people here, and the government, and the NGOs will work. Now I may not come back in six weeks if it's not a success, but I think it's being able to identify and pinpoint exactly what requirements you have that have to be met, and set up a user-friendly system by all of the relief agencies to be able to interface with the government. The government was very responsive today and I think we need to continue to work with the authorities to make sure that we are all working together.

QUESTION. You've spoken about this special focus on eleven areas that the government has identified. Is that to suggest that the government is going to provide security for something resembling safe areas that they will guarantee will be safe?

Secretary TAFT. What this is going to be, as I understand it, and I think it's still in its formulative stage, is that they have picked eleven locations (We can make the list available; I don't have in front of me right now) where they will provide electricity, water, building materials, and food assistance. What I have asked the non-governmental organizations if they would be willing to do is right away figure out where those areas are where there are areas where they can operate in as well, and sit down and figure out what is going to be available, so that when assistance is there, it's used effectively, right away. One of the things that surprised me on this trip today was to go and see two different locations where the government had made available building materials, but I didn't see anyone there to use them for rebuilding, or any presence of organizations that could be helpful. So we have an opportunity, I think, to match the manpower and skills of the NGOs with the raw materials, at least in those locations and to get moving. Eleven sites in this immense place is not much, but it's a start, it's this week. Let's go with it, and let's see how we can open up more opportunities.

Thank you for your interest. I think the word really needs to get out, not only here, but internationally. There has to be more attention on this crisis, because it is here, and there are opportunities for us not to have to admit to chaos in about six weeks. So, I appreciate however you can cover this story. It's important for the world to know the struggle that's going on here. Thank you very much.

KOSOVO DIPLOMATIC OBSERVER MISSION COMMAND BRIEFING BY SENATOR WARNER, AUGUST 31, 1998

PURPOSE

Observe and report on the situation in Kosovo: Freedom of movement/freedom of access; human rights issues and humanitarian relief efforts; internally displaced persons/refugees; and general security situation.

BACKGROUND

- Milosevic offer of 8 March.
- PC decision in April to establish KDOM.
- London Contact Group meeting.
- Milosevic/Yeltsin meeting.
- First mission—6 July.
- Headquarters security approved by DOS 31 July.

OPERATIONS

Patrol planning .....	<sup>1</sup> 1900
Patrol/protection briefing .....	0730
Vehicle preparation .....	0830
Departure .....	0900
Return .....	1500
Debrief/team report .....	1900
Final report to Embassy .....	2300

<sup>1</sup> Day prior.

DAILY RHYTHM

Patrol day		Plan/Medevac day		I&W/analysis	Reports
0730 .....	Update .....	Additional jobs or MEDEVAC .....		.....	.....
0830 .....	Inspection .....	.....		.....	.....
0900 .....	Depart .....	.....		.....	.....
1500 .....	Return .....	.....		.....	.....
1600 .....	Verbal debrief .....	.....		Debrief assist .....	Debrief assist
1900 .....	Team reports .....	Mission prep .....		.....	Draft report
2300 .....	Reports done .....	.....		Analysis .....	Report to Embassy
.....	.....	.....		KSU receipt .....	.....
.....	.....	.....		Brief prep .....	.....
.....	.....	.....		Update brief .....	.....

SECURITY/PROTECTION

Permanent RSO.  
Hotel upgrades.

Guards/interpreters.

Communications.  
Medical.

Procedures.

SUCCESES

Fully integrated interagency operations.

Fully integrated with international partners.

Since 6 July, 155 missions—34 joint (US & EU and/or Russian Federation); and 6 weekly joint reports to contact group and NAC.

Established functional headquarters from scratch.

Command and control and reporting system that reaches from the observer in the field to the Capitol in Washington.

#### WAY AHEAD

Commenced partial operations since 6 July.

Full operations since 15 Aug.

Improve fleet of vehicles.

Personal rotations/fills.

Continuous freedom of access.

Public information.

Communications.

Danger benefits (DoD).

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

Mr. COATS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana.

Mr. COATS. Mr. President, the remarks of the Senator from Virginia, as always, are thoughtful, articulate, and in this case somber and serious, given the gravity of the situation that he described. They are important remarks and important for each of us in this body to thoughtfully and seriously consider.

The Senator's commitment, as a valued member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, and ex-chairman of that committee—his commitment to traveling to where the action is taking place and meeting with representatives from all sides, analyzing the problem and bringing back the very latest of information, is invaluable to those of us who serve on that committee and everyone here in this body who needs to make decisions about what the policy of the United States should be in regard to these difficult situations that arise.

The Senator has indicated he has made close to 10 separate trips to this very difficult area of the world. This is not easy travel. This is a commitment that is extraordinary but also extraordinarily important to us in terms of formulating our policy. I thank the Senator for his leadership in that effort.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I express my humble gratitude to my good friend who has served these many years that we have been together on the Armed Services Committee and, indeed, has made trips to remote parts of the world. I remember well a trip to the gulf region, and other regions. And I and other Members of this body on both sides of the aisle will dearly miss the wisdom and the insight that you have in these complex problems, and problems that you have addressed very forthrightly in your distinguished career in this body. As you bring it to a close, we wish you well.

I thank the Chair and thank my colleague.

Mr. COATS. I thank my colleague from Virginia for those kind words.

#### SENATOR DOMENICI REPRESENTED THE SENATE AT THE SUMMIT IN RUSSIA

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, Senator DOMENICI has been on official Senate business earlier this week and was therefore, necessarily absent for the two votes held on Tuesday and the five votes held on Wednesday. He attended the Summit in Russia.

During the Summit an important agreement was signed regarding the management and disposition of weapons-grade plutonium. Senator DOMENICI was instrumental in first identifying this issue and recommending a strategy for significantly reducing the amount of dangerous plutonium in the world and to make sure that it is kept away from rogue states and terrorists. Senator DOMENICI's suggestions were a blueprint for taking advantage of this opportunity for the United States and Russia to work together to withdraw approximately 50 metric tons of weapons-grade plutonium from each countries' respective nuclear weapons programs. This is very important arms control/non-proliferation objective. The countries agreed to cooperate in transforming this weapons-grade plutonium into a form that cannot be readily used to make nuclear weapons. This agreement, when its terms are carried out, will make the world a safer place.

I am pleased that the Senator from New Mexico represented the majority and the Senate at this United States-Russian Summit.

#### THE \$2 BILLION FAILURE

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, we have failed.

For the past nine months, I have worked with the members of the Environment and Public Works Committee and the Administration to draft much needed reforms to our nation's hazardous waste program. These reforms would have made RCRA work more quickly and more cheaply. They would have removed the bureaucratic obstacles that hinder environmental cleanups. They would have given the states the proper authority and freedom they need to responsibly manage their RCRA sites.

My colleagues, the Senate has failed to save the federal government \$2 Billion this year in clean up costs. Despite our best efforts, agreement could not be reached on a bill to save two billion dollars per year.

Early in this Congress, the General Accounting Office released a report highlighting the need for a legislative change in remediation waste policy. The Administration, states, stakeholders—even the EPA—agreed that only a legislative fix could adequately streamline the program and speed the pace of cleanups. This GAO report also said that a legislative fix would save the federal government \$2 billion each year.

Unfortunately, the Congress and the administration were unable to come to

agreement on how to structure this legislative fix. Discussions among interested parties and legislators clearly showed the need for a bill, but translating this need into legislative language has been difficult. Progress was made, but not enough.

And so, Mr. President, the next Congress is tasked with addressing this two billion dollar environment opportunity. Although I am truly disappointed that these many months of educating and negotiating have left us without a bill to champion, I am hopeful that the Senate will return to this issue with renewed vigor next year.

I know that Senator CHAFEE, the Chairman of the Environment and Public Works Committee, and Senator SMITH, Chairman of the Superfund, Waste Control and Risk Assessment Subcommittee, share my commitment to seeing meaningful RCRA reform enacted in the next Congress and will make it a priority. With this leadership, I believe that we can resolve the outstanding issues quickly and move forward with legislation that will indeed make the cleanup of contaminated sites smarter, faster and better. This is also true of those on the House Commerce Committee as well as many in the Administration.

I was encouraged by the RCRA team built this year and look forward to working with this team again next Congress.

I again want to stress that the RCRA reform goals have not changed. To make RCRA work more cheaply and quickly, to streamline the bureaucratic process and give more authority to the states and to speed site clean up. It is unfortunate that yet another year has passed without reform.

Mr. President, let's make sure Congress gets the job done next year. The nation expects and deserves its RCRA sites to be cleaned up. This nation wants \$2 billion in savings each year. I would like to thank my colleagues and their staffs for the work done this session and look forward to redoubled efforts in the 106th Congress.

#### RCRA REFORM WILL BE A PRIORITY FOR THE 106TH CONGRESS

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, for the past year, the Majority Leader, Senator BOB SMITH, and I have been working with our colleagues on the Environment and Public Works Committee and the Administration to draft legislation to address some of the requirements of the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act ("RCRA") that currently impede the cleanup of literally thousands of contaminated sites across the nation. This so-called "RCRA rifle-shot" would have been an important piece of legislation. It would have demonstrated once again that we can improve our environmental laws, without jeopardizing human health or the environment, and reduce unnecessary costs. Just last year, the Government Accounting Office reported that eliminating those impediments to cleanup could save up to \$2.1 billion per year