Mr. President, in the

already strife-torn region of the former

Yugoslavia, the new year of 1998 was

initiated with a new declaration of

war. A then-small group of pro-independence

rebels calling themselves the

Kosovo Liberation Army announced its

intention to fight for the independence

of the Kosovo region of what remains

of Yugoslavia. With the wounds from

Bosnia still festering and U.S. and allied

troops seemingly locked-into an

intractable peacekeeping operation

with no end in sight, Europe and the

United States once again found themselves

with a serious dilemma involving

life and death decisions. The subsequent

nine months of conflict in the

Albanian majority province of Serbia

have illuminated the degree to which

the enlightened nations of the West

continue to wrestle with the most fundamental

tenets of conflict prevention

and resolution. The results are not impressive.

We have not lacked for rhetoric, but

we have proven woefully inadequate at

backing up our words with resolute action.

Relatively early in the conflict,

but long after the gravity of the situation

was apparent, Secretary of State

Albright warned that Serbia would

‘‘pay a price’’ for its characteristically

scorched-earth military campaign

against the KLA and its ethnic Albanian

supporters.

she declared,

while

During the June meeting in Luxembourg

of the European Union foreign

ministers, Britain’s Foreign Secretary

Robin Cook was quoted as stating,

A few days

later, as reported by the Washington

Post,

The next day, NATO fighter jets

streaked across Albanian skies in a

show of force that was less than the

sum of its parts. one

Albanian said,

In less time than it took our

fighters to land at Aviano, though, U.S.

and allied credibility had descended to

new depths, and the victims of Serb aggression

were once again lulled into a

false sense of security. United States

foreign policy in the Balkans has once

again been shattered by the reality of a

dictatorial regime adept at manipulating

the anemic diplomatic process that

resulted in tens of thousands of deaths

in Bosnia and has now left Kosovo in

ruins.

By conducting that aerial show of

force back in June without followingthrough,

and by repeatedly allowing

the regime of Yugoslav President

Slobodan Milosevic to employ his tactics

from Bosnia of professing compliance

with United Nations demands one

day only to return to his policy of ethnic

cleansing the next, the United Nations

has failed to accomplish the overriding

goal for which it was created:

the resolution of conflict so that the

crimes of the past would not be repeated

in the future. Mr. President, the

scale of human tragedy before us cries

out for a European response that it has

heretofore been unwilling to countenance.

There is no question that Russian

and Chinese opposition to Security

Council resolutions authorizing the use

of force to compel Serb compliance has

been a serious, and tragic, obstacle to

the kind of resolute response circumstances

demand. It is also inarguably

difficult to castigate the United

Nations while simultaneously insisting

that United States and NATO policy

should not be subordinate to the dictates

of the U.N. with regard to a conflict

so central to European stability.

As is often the case in international relations

these days, we do not enjoy the

luxury of the level of clarity prevalent

during the Cold War when Europe was

firmly and evenly divided between

competing centers of power.

Europe must take responsibility for

the security of the Balkins. The United

States cannot and should not be vested

with responsibility for maintaining security

in the Balkins in perpetuity.

Putting aside for a moment the utter

inability of the current Administration

to articulate and implement a sound

policy with regard to Kosovo, both the

United States and Europe must come

to terms once and for all with the central

imperative of supporting diplomacy

with force.

Right now, the Serbs are conducting

a major offensive against the remnants

of the KLA. In fact, this latest offensive

cannot truthfully be characterized

as counterinsurgency in nature; the

cold, hard fact is, as with Bosnia before

it, the Serb nation is carrying out the

very type of brutal, inhumane ethnic

cleansing for which it was universally

criticized prior to the Dayton Accords.

As with Bosnia, a strong, meaningful—

and I emphasize ‘‘meaningful’’—employment

of military power against

Serb military forces and associated infrastructure

at the outset could have

prevented the scale of devastation that

has subsequently transpired. Will Europe

learn? If history is a guide, the

lessons for other peoples subject to

domination by stronger neighbors are

not positive.

Our former majority leader, Bob

Dole, upon returning from Kosovo,

stated that

Mr. President, prominently displayed

in the United Nations building in New

York is Picasso’s famous and haunting

‘‘Guernica.’’ That painting symbolized

for the artist the carnage, the human

suffering on an enormous scale, that

resulted from the Spanish Civil War—a

prelude to the Second World War. Perhaps

it is too abstract for those countries

in the United Nations that oppose

the use of force to stop the atrocities

that have come to symbolize the

former Yugoslavia, or that believe the

war in Kosovo is the internal business

of Serbia. A few minutes away from

here is a reminder of what happens

when Edmund Burke’s adage that

is

ignored.

Ethnic cleansing is not an abstract

concept in the Holocaust Memorial

Museum. Technology has advanced to

wondrous degrees during this century,

but the basic nature of man remains

the same. He is capable of great good;

he is just as equally capable of the kind

of actions that have made places like

Auschwitz, Cambodia, Rwanda,

Srebrenica, the Gulag Archipelego, and

Nanking synonymous with sorrow. To

this list, will we have to add Kosovo?

The situation is clearly not at that

stage, but the onset of winter could

change that very quickly, with implications

that I don’t want my small

children to have to read about in their

history books with shame.

The Europeans have never been very

adept at maintaining peace within and

between their boundaries. It is instructive

that the longest single period of

peace the continent has experienced

was during the Cold War when the

United States stationed over 300,000

troops there. That troop strength has

since been reduced by two-thirds, and

the stabilizing aspects of the bipolar

structure are gone. The turbulence of

the post-Cold War world demands a

level of competence on the part of

those entrusted with our national security

and foreign policy that is sadly

lacking. The history of the conflicts in

Bosnia and Kosovo are histories of

threats not carried out and of the

strong being outmaneuvered by the

weaker. This Administration’s conduct

of diplomacy with regard to Serbia,

North Korea and Iraq is somewhat akin

to what would happen if Thucydides’

Melian Dialogue were reversed, and the

weak were dictating terms to the

strong.

But the stakes here are real. The situation

in Kosovo is potentially more

dangerous than was the case in Bosnia.

The KLA’s professed long-term goal of

uniting the Albanian populations of

Kosovo, Macedonia and Albania into a

greater Albania cannot be ignored. The

conduct of Serbia’s campaign against

the insurgents similarly holds the potential

for spreading beyond the confines

of that beleaguered province. We

cannot afford the level of diplomatic

ineptitude that has been prevalent

with regard to the former Yugoslavia

since 1992.

The United Nations’ stagnation as an

instrument of conflict resolution during

the Cold War was, to an extent, understandable.

Its failure in the Balkans,

however, is a very bad omen indeed

for its ability to perform its most

essential core task. The Clinton Administration’s

inability to comprehend

the limitations of that body—the U.N.

is, after all, comprised of nations and

not of ideals—do not augur well for the

protection of United States security interests

abroad. NATO, meanwhile, continues

its contingency planning with a

range of military options, but anything

less than truly decisive force that

makes the regime in Belgrade fear for

its survival will leave us with a battle

yet to be fought, just as it has in Iraq.

A token number of cruise missiles will

cost a lot of money, but will not accomplish

our goals. Missing is a strategy

for ending the conflict, vice compelling

President Milosevic to agree to

talk about negotiations. The employment

of military force must be sufficient

to destroy the internal power

structure that sustains those prosecuting

crimes against humanity. In short,

NATO must either be prepared to do

what militaries are trained to do, prevail,

or it will reap limited gains of

short duration.

Mr. President, people are dying. Prevarication,

the modus operandi of this

administration when decisive actions

are required, carries a price in lives.

The world will look to this body for a

glimpse of the level of U.S. resolve,

seeing little in the White House. That

is a burden we must face with the grace

and dignity and moral fortitude that

comes from representing the citizens of

the greatest country in history. It is a

burden that carries with it implications

that none should take lightly.

Not just in Kosovo but elsewhere where

our interests are threatened, the world

must know that the United States will

stand firm and will not follow the path

that leads to the inclusion of more

places in the list of sorrow.

Mr. President, last night I was at a

function here in Washington. All of us

who are Members of the Senate attend

many functions, many of them nightly.

This was kind of a special evening, at

least for many of us, and that is because

we honored Senator Bob Dole,

our former majority leader of the Senate

and former nominee of our party

for President of the United States.

Bob Dole gave a moving, persuasive

and compelling speech, probably the

likes of which I have never heard him

give in the many years I have been a

friend and a compatriot of Senator

Dole.

This speech that he gave last night,

Mr. President, was so strong and so

compelling that I ask unanimous consent

that it, along with my introduction,

be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material

was ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

Mr. President, Senator

Dole spoke about the crisis in Kosovo.

We all know that with the ongoing

scandal in our Nation’s Capital, many

of our important national security

issues are being ignored, whether it be

Iraq or Korea or the Middle East peace

process. But Bob Dole focused the attention

and riveted the attention of

the audience last night, as he did in a

recent op-ed piece in the Washington

Post, on this terrible situation that exists

today and the impending terrible

tragedies that will ensue in Kosovo

with the onset of winter.

Bob Dole pointed out that literally

hundreds of thousands of people of Albanian

nationality are in the mountains

around Kosovo. These people will

freeze to death, they will starve to

death, and they will die by the thousands

and thousands if something isn’t

done and done quickly.

Bob Dole’s speech and his commitment

on this issue should serve as a

compelling call to this administration

to act—to act—on Kosovo in consultation

with the Congress of the United

States and the American people.

Six months ago, the Secretary of

State of the United States of America

stated we will not allow the Serbs to do

in Kosovo what we have prevented

them from doing in Bosnia, and exactly

what we prevented in Bosnia is taking

place in Kosovo at the cost of possibly

hundreds of thousands of innocent

lives.

I urge all of my colleagues to read

the speech that Bob Dole delivered last

night, which has already been printed

in the RECORD. Read it and take heed,

because I know of no one who has the

credentials that Bob Dole has to speak

on not only all issues of national security

but particularly this issue because

of his deep and profound and prolonged

involvement, and now very emotional

involvement, in this issue.

Madam President, I

now ask for the regular order.