Mr. President, I

rise today to draw attention to the foreign

policy catastrophe unraveling in

Kosovo. Yogi Berra immortalized the

phrase

—and that is just what we are

seeing in Kosovo—Bosnia, all over

again. Today, just like yesterday and

the day before, men, women, and children

in Kosovo are living and dying

witnesses to a rerun of the tragic experience

suffered by Bosnia for three brutal

years. Hundreds of thousands of civilians

are, once again, the victims of

our false promises and a deeply flawed

policy.

Take a minute to review the events

as they have unfolded on the ground to

establish exactly what I think Belgrade

has learned about United States policy.

What Milosevic and his mafia have figured

out is—we bluster and threaten,

we issue ultimatums and condemnations,

but the policy is hollow, the

threats are empty, the show is a charade.

A recent Congressional Research

Service chronology provides stark evidence

of this sad pattern of Western

threats and demands, always swiftly

challenged by vicious Serbian violence

and assaults against Kosovo’s civilians.

And, the response to these attacks?

Concessions and inaction.

The United States has not failed

alone. We are joined in this collective

dishonor by the G–7 nations, the OSCE,

the European Union, the Contact

Group, and even the United Nations

which have individually and collectively

reneged on commitments made

to take action to stop the bloodshed, to

produce a cease-fire, to prompt a withdrawal

of Serb troops, and to protect

the rapidly mounting numbers of refugees

and displaced people.

The CRS report tell us:

On January 8, the six nations of the

Contact Group declared Kosovo a matter

of priority urging a peaceful dialogue

to begin between parties. This

message was reinforced by Special

Envoy Gelbard in meetings with

Milosevic in Belgrade. The response,

within days, was attacks by the Serbian

police on a small village leaving

ethnic Albanians dead and more

wounded. While this was a relatively

small assault, the beginning of the

coming trend was marked by 20,000 people

turning out for the funeral in protest

of that action.

On February 23, Gelbard announced

some minor concessions to the Serbs

including restoring landing rights for

their airlines. At the same time the

Contact Group foreign ministers issued

a statement expressing concern about

the lack of progress in dialogue. In an

attempt at balance and fairness they

even condemned terrorist acts by the

Kosovo Liberation Army and reiterated

their lack of support for Kosovo independence.

What did the Serbs do in response to

these generous gestures? Within three

days, Serbian forces launched major attacks

on villages in central Kosovo.

CRS reports the attacks were

On March 2, the United Stats and the

European Union joined voices in condemning

violence by Serb forces. On

March 5, Serb police and special antiterrorist

units

On March 4, Mr. Gelbard said

followed on

March 7, by Secretary Albright who

issued her now famous ultimatum. She

said, Milosevic

Her statement was backed

up by a Contact Group declaration demanding

Milosevic take specific steps

within ten days including withdrawing

paramilitary troops and allowing Red

Cross access conflict zones.

As the Contact Group was issuing its

statement, in a gruesome public spectacle,

Serb troops dumped 51 bodies at

a warehouse, each one an ethnic Albanian,

25 of them were women and children.

Before international forensics experts

could complete autopsies, the

Serbs bulldozed the bodies into a mass

grave.

This pattern of challenge and brutal

response continued weekly through the

spring and summer. Threats of western

actions have been dismissed by Serb attacks,

after attack, after attack.

Villages are shelled, burned and

looted. Crops and fields are burned. The

death toll and refugee population

swells. Yesterday a Kosovo journalist

told me that the Serbs have now destroyed

400 of the 700 villages in

Kosovo.

And, the world watches. Deja vu all

over again.

I thought we had reached an all time

low in June when 84 NATO planes carried

out a six nation exercise in Albania

and Macedonia intended as a show

of strength and force. The Washington

Post summed up the events saying,

Mr. President, the tragedy continues.

Winter’s cold curtain now falls upon

the weakened shoulders of tens of thousands

of families expelled from their

homes, in hiding in the mountains and

forests of Kosovo. Soon, we will begin

to see the heart-rending, pitiful images

of ailing, elderly women, clutching babies

and toddlers, every possession

they could salvage strapped to their

backs, stagger out of hiding, hoping to

cross borders into safe haven, but more

likely, stumbling into harm’s way.

And, this time, Mr. President, the

consequences of inertia are deadly serious.

I agree with Ambassador

Holbrooke’s assessment that Kosovo is

Unlike Bosnia, the long-standing

frictions involving Kosovars, Albanian,

Serbs, and Macedonians have consequences

in Greece and Turkey—precarious

NATO partners in the best of

times.

The conditions in Kosovo have demanded

action for months. Instead we

have been a state of policy stall. Now,

as much in recognition of the weather,

the Administration has turned a lethal

pattern of appeasement into a dangerous

policy of collaboration and containment.

Let me point to two examples of the

current approach which seeks a partnership

with Belgrade rather than protection

of innocent refugees. As conditions

worsen, the Administration

seems seized with a containment strategy,

which balances on improving delivery

of relief while controlling what

they view as potentially messy regional

spillover problem.

There are two prongs to this misguided

effort. First, let me describe

what the Administration is considering

on the relief front. Earlier this month,

administration officials announced

plans to work in Kosovo through

twelve centers established by Serb security

forces to distribute emergency

food and supplies to the victims of this

savage war. I am not sure what surprised

me more—the fact that we

would work with the very forces which

carried out the atrocities creating hundreds

of thousands of victims, or the

fact that we decided to encourage this

cooperation by actually making food

available to Serb troops. The new chief

of the Bureau for Humanitarian Affairs

offered and has provided thousands of

food rations to Serb troops fresh from

bloody killing fields. He even asked

NGO representatives to cooperate with

this plan and work through these

twelve centers. As one representative

described it to me, the NGOs were the

bait, intended to lure refugees into

Serb centers. AID claims that this plan

was agreed to by the major non-government

organizations carrying out humanitarian

relief in Kosovo, but I can’t

find one that thinks collaborating with

Belgrade makes any sense.

This effort to control and contain the

problem also has a military component—

but the wrong military component.

Last week, the foreign Operations

Subcommittee was briefed on

Administration plans to provide $7.3

million in security assistance loans to

Macedonia. This train an equip initiative

will provide night vision goggles,

surveillance radar, ammunition, body

armor, howitzers and trucks to 3,000

Macedonian soldiers—troops with longstanding

ties to Serbian security

forces. Coincidentally, Macedonia also

has an ethnic Albanian community

which suffer what many describe as

apartheid-like conditions.

Arming the Macedonians is the

wrong substitute for the current policy

failure in Kosovo. Having failed to talk

Milosevic into submission, this program

strikes me as a complete retreat

in which the United States is supplying

an effort to establish a cordon

sanitaire isolating Kosovo. Strengthening

Macedonian troops may have a defense

purpose but it also clearly serves

an offensive one—to curb the flow of

people and supplies into and out of

Kosovo.

I hope we all learned at least one lesson

in Bosnia—we pay a huge price for

imposing an unfair and imbalanced embargo

against only one party in a conflict.

In good conscience, I for one, cannot

support an initiative designed intentionally

or otherwise to surround

and choke off Kosovo. I have made

clear to the Secretaries of State and

Defense that I will not release the

funds for this reprogramming unless

and until appropriate action is taken

to produce results in Kosovo.

Secretary Albright has repeatedly

stated that the only kind of pressure

Milosevic and his mafia understand is

the kind which exacts a real price for

his unacceptable conduct. His campaign

to burn Kosovo to the ground

was launched as the Administration

pushed Kosovars to the negotiating

table and continues as we speak today.

it is well past the time for threats of

sanctions and NATO flyovers. The Administration

must move decisively, offering

the necessary leadership to back

up our ultimatums with the effective

use of air strikes and force in order to

secure our common goals: a cease fire,

the withdrawal of Serb forces, and the

protection of refugees, displaced people

and relief efforts.

Balkan history provides substantial

evidence that Belgrade’s abuse of force

demands a commensurate response.

Without this fundamental guarantee,

diplomacy will most certainly fail and

we will bear witness to yet another of

Milosevic’s genocidal slaughters. His

victims will not only be those who suffer,

lose their life possessions, and die

on Kosovo’s fields. He will also destroy

American honor and credibility—taking

along with that what shred of hope

there is for us to lead this troubled

world onto a peaceful path into the

next century.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.