Mr. President, I have

repeatedly taken the floor to speak

about my great concern regarding the

people who are suffering today in

Kosovo. As I stated in my remarks on

previous days, I visited Kosovo some

weeks ago in the company of the

KDOM—which is a most unusual organization—

but it has the permission by

which to take unarmed missions into

the countryside around Pristina and

elsewhere, to see the ravages of that

tragic conflict.

Regrettably, even though we have

now in place an agreement with

Milosevic, the fighting and the strife

continues. We have recently executed

an agreement. I say ‘‘we.’’ Primarily,

the United Nations and NATO have entered

into an agreement with the

Yugoslav Government, and President

Milosevic signed it.

There have been some changes in the

status of forces of the Yugoslav Army

and the like, but it is a very fluid situation.

We hear one day units are moving

out and then today there are reports

that other Yugoslav Army units

are being redeployed. The suffering,

however, continues and the winter is

coming. The whole world is standing by

to witness what is, I think, one of the

greatest recent tragedies.

Weather is as cruel as weapons. I

saw, for my own eyes, these people

huddled in the hills, helpless, homeless,

without food, without medicine; tens of

thousands—we do not know with any

specific accuracy how many there are,

but it certainly is in excess of 100,000

human beings—innocent victims, by

and large, of the conflicts, political and

military, in this region of Kosovo.

I have had the opportunity to get

briefed by the Central Intelligence

Agency, briefed by the Department of

Defense; I try to remain as current as

I can on this issue. The bottom line of

what I am saying today is it is time

that we look with great seriousness at

the need to constitute a force which

will have sufficient arms to go into

that region and provide the stability

necessary—I repeat, the stability necessary

for the nongovernmental institutions

and others to bring in the food,

the medicine and the shelter that is required

to support these people. It is as

simple as that. They will simply perish

by the tens of thousands without this

sort of help.

The agreement provides for the OSCE

to come in. This is the first time in the

history of that organization that they

have ever undertaken a challenge of

this magnitude. They are not organized,

really, to work to provide security

which requires force of arms, but

some attempt will be made along that

line. The bottom line, I think, is someone

has to stand up—and I am prepared

to do it—and say that NATO is the

only force constituted that can come

in, in a short period of days, literally

days, to give that degree of stability so

these emergency supplies can come in.

It is my grave concern that unless that

is done and done promptly, the world

will witness human suffering of a magnitude

we have not seen, certainly, in a

long time. I think only NATO can step

in to do this.

I know the deep concern here in the

Senate and elsewhere in the United

States about employing any U.S.

ground troops in the region of Kosovo.

We went through those debates with

regard to Bosnia. I personally was

never in favor of it. But once we make

a decision, as we have now made, and

we have the agreements in place, there

is absolutely no alternative but to

faithfully try and execute our responsibility,

together with NATO and the

United Nations, to provide the environment

in which, in the few weeks to

come, we can save the lives of tens of

thousands of innocent people. That can

only be done by putting in place uniformed,

organized, well-trained troops.

Their presence could well be the deterrent

to stop the fighting.

In my judgment, there are no clean

hands in this situation. The preponderance

of the atrocities obviously have

been committed by the Serbian forces

under the direction, either indirectly

or directly, of Slobodan Milosevic.

There is no doubt about that. But there

also are some attacks being perpetrated

by the KLA, which is that disparate

group, relatively undefined,

whose leadership changes from time to

time, whose organization has very little

coordination between the various

bands of the KLA, but nevertheless

they have perpetrated atrocities and,

apparently, there are reports that some

atrocities are continuing to be perpetrated

by the KLA.

Only an absolutely neutral independence

force, as constituted by the

United Nations, together with NATO,

can provide the security necessary to

bring in the needed food and medicine.

In looking over the agreement, and

in consultation with the Department of

Defense, I have learned of one very interesting

development. I have not, as

yet, seen it in the open press, but I

have obtained the authority of the Department

of Defense to mention this,

because I think it is a positive goal.

There are certain positive goals that

have been achieved by this agreement.

This one will be severely criticized. I

certainly have some criticism of it. But

there are some positive results of the

agreement that have recently been executed

between the United Nations,

NATO and the Yugoslav Government.

One of them, for example, is as follows:

Under that, we have today—and this

is most important—six NATO military

officers in Belgrade inside the Serbian

air defense headquarters to act as liaison

with NATO. We expect Yugoslav

air defense personnel to report to the

Combined Air Operation Center in

Italy today to perform the same function.

That eliminates a lot of uncertainty

that could spark a response by the

Yugoslav air defense operations

against our monitoring aircraft, and

that must be avoided.

We expect this military-to-military

coordination to eliminate any possibility

of miscommunication on the implementation

of the air verification regime.

I wish to say I find that to be a very

positive part of this agreement. I just

hope we will come to the realization

that a second very positive step must

be taken immediately, and that is placing

security forces—and I think only

NATO is able to do this within the few

days that is required for those forces—

to enable the food and medicine to

reach those in need.

Unquestionably, Milosevic bears the

primary responsibility for finding an

acceptable political solution that

grants the people of Kosovo some degree

of autonomy. We know not that

level at this time. A degree of self-governance

has to come about and, most

importantly, freedom from the oppression

we have witnessed in the past

months and, indeed, throughout the

past decade when Milosevic removed

from Kosovo its degree of autonomy

and self-governance that it had some

years ago.

Also, the ethnic Albanians bear responsibility

for making this agreement

a success as well. That primarily falls

on the KLA. The political leadership of

Kosovo and the Kosovo Liberation

Army, or the UCK, as it is called, must

refrain from violence and set up some

establishment where they can have

representatives at the negotiating

table and negotiate in good faith and

support the OSCE verification regime

on the ground.

Mr. President, I will continue to

monitor this. Of course, I will not have

an opportunity to do so here on the

floor of the Senate, but I will by other

means, because I personally am gravely

concerned about the plight of these

homeless, helpless people who only ask

for the opportunity to live in peace and

quiet in their countryside and in their

small homes, which I have seen in

great numbers, but regrettably most

that I saw had been blown up and devastated.

My prayers, and I think the prayers

of the people of this country, are with

those helpless people. I hope we come

to the quick realization of the steps

that must be taken to resolve this

tragic conflict.

I yield the floor.