Mr. President, I

ask unanimous consent that a letter

which I sent to the President about

Kosovo be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. President, I

thank my colleagues who have come to

the floor today to speak about Kosovo

for their words.

Mr. President, I rise to call for urgent

Presidential action to forestall a

humanitarian catastrophe in Kosovo.

Unless immediate and determined action

by the U.S. and our western allies

is taken to address this situation, it is

clear we will begin to face a massive

loss of civilian lives with the onset of

winter in the region as early as mid-

October.

The western media offers new reports

daily on the rapidly deteriorating situation

there. Candid assessments by Administration

officials acknowledge the

growing crisis. Systematic and brutal

military action by Serbian forces, accelerated

during their summer-long offensive

against UCK forces, has forced

an estimated 300,000 or more ethnic Albanians

to flee their homes. In recent

weeks Serb forces have shelled entire

villages, not just rebel positions, forcing

more civilians to flee. While many

have fled as refugees to neighboring

countries, most of these displaced persons

remain inside Kosovo and are now

vulnerable to exposure, starvation, disease

and further Serb military attack.

I understand that Assistant Secretary

of State for Refugees Julia Taft concluded

during her recent visit there

that over 210 villages in the region

have already been looted, and many

torched, by Serbian security forces.

With winter approaching, international

relief agencies now fear that

tens of thousands of refugees without

food or shelter could face death. By

some estimates there are 50,000 to

100,000 people in Kosovo living out in

the open, without any shelter. Unless

they can return to their homes or be

provided adequate shelter within the

next few weeks they may die of exposure.

Our respected former colleagues Senator

Bob Dole recently returned from

Kosovo warning that there is a ‘‘human

catastrophe in the making.’’ President

Clinton said last week that there is a

potential for a ‘‘major humanitarian

disaster’’ in Kosovo and that it is ‘‘important

that we move as quickly as

possible with our allies to avert a tragedy.’’

The President cautioned: ‘‘We

don’t want a repeat of Bosnia.’’

The President is right. We cannot

wait any longer to take more vigorous

action to force Serbia to cease making

this crisis worse and to allow necessary

humanitarian relief into the area. Serbia

must comply with the persistent

demands of the Contact Group: (1)

cease attacks on civilian populations,

and withdraw its forces used to repress

civilians; (2) permit the establishment

of an effective international observer

group in Kosovo; (3) allow refugees and

displaced persons to return to their

homes safely, under international supervision;

(4) allow unimpeded access

for humanitarian organizations and

supplies; and (5) make rapid progress in

the dialogue with the Kosovar leadership.

In recent days there have been some

positive developments in the UN Security

Council and in NATO which indicate

that those organizations may be

ready to take necessary action. The Security

Council is contemplating a resolution

stating that the situation in

Kosovo ‘‘constitutes a threat to peace

and security’’ that impels the council

to demand an immediate cease-fire.

This demand would be in accordance

with Chapter 7 of the UN charter.

There are indications that Russia may

be willing to support this resolution.

The resolution does not call for the use

of force, but I note that Chapter 7 authorizes

the use of armed force by

NATO members to compel compliance

with the council’s orders.

Parallel progress is being made at

NATO headquarters in Brussels where

the U.S. has asked the North Atlantic

Council to canvass member countries

to determine which countries are willing

to provide personnel and equipment

to military operations in Kosovo. This

action will be useful in precipitating

consultations between NATO governments

and their respective parliaments

and bringing into the open the debate

on military options.

I applaud these developments and

call on the UN and NATO to accelerate

them.

I also want to commend U.S. Ambassador

Chris Hill for his persistent diplomatic

efforts. The U.S. should continue

to work toward a political solution

to this problem along the lines

pursued by Ambassador Hill. At the

same time, though, we must also proceed

with a more vigorous and sustained

high-level multilateral effort to

pressure President Milosevic to comply

fully with Contact Group demands.

Mr. President, I want to outline some

steps that I hope the administration

will proceed with.

I urge the Administration therefore

to proceed immediately with a series of

steps designed to prevent the looming

humanitarian crisis and to prepare for

possible implementation of more forceful

options developed by NATO planners.

I urge the administration today on

the floor of the U.S. Senate to proceed

immediately with these steps.

These actions include: Moving forward

now, under NATO auspices, with

the pre-deployment phase of NATO

military plans on Kosovo, including securing

base rights agreements in the

region, immediately assessing the contributions

of each NATO member in

the event military action is necessary,

and then forward-deploying appropriate

levels of NATO military forces

and equipment, thus preparing us to

take any appropriate military action

that may be necessary to secure Serb

compliance with Contact Group demands,

and with international law regarding

the treatment of Kosovar citizens;

bolstering border security efforts

through preventive NATO force deployments

which can increase regional stability

and assist in international monitoring

and anti-arms smuggling efforts;

leading an immediate multilateral

effort, at the United Nations and

through regional bodies like the European

Union, to tighten the existing

sanctions regime on Serbia, and to reimpose

the total airflight and investment

bans, and other sanctions lifted

after signing of the Dayton Peace Accords,

and to consider reimposing the

trade embargo, coupled with renewed

enforcement initiatives to prevent the

flourishing of black markets under a

full embargo; accelerating U.S. and

NATO logistical support for the ongoing

international humanitarian aid effort

in Kosovo, including pre-deployment

of humanitarian supplies in

Kosovo in anticipation of winter distribution

by NGOs—but only in a way

which avoids absolutely the prospect of

a repeat of the disgraceful ‘‘safe

haven’’ disaster of Srebenica; pressing

for more extensive access for human

rights monitoring in Kosovo by internationally

recognized organizations,

including the Organization for Security

and Cooperation in Europe, and nongovernmental

monitors, and providing

appropriate support and assistance for

their efforts; and encouraging the

International Criminal Tribunal for

the Former Yugoslavia immediately to

send its Chief Prosecutor to Belgrade

and Kosovo; increasing aid and intelligence

support to the Tribunal; and assisting

them in placing forensics teams

on the ground there, thus signaling to

all parties that the Tribunal is committed

to prosecuting war crimes committed

in Kosovo including attacks on

innocent civilians, and has begun to actually

gather evidence to support potential

indictments against perpetrators—

and their commanders and political

leadership to whom they answer.

I believe it is essential that these actions

be taken as quickly as possible.

We must act now, before the onset of

winter in Kosovo, to prevent a potential

humanitarian tragedy of historic

proportions. I also recognize that these

steps in themselves may not be sufficient

to force Serbia to comply with

the Contact Group’s demands in a

timely manner, and that further NATO

military actions may need to be considered

if the situation in Kosovo has

not substantially improved, the massacres

of civilians continues, and

unimpeded access for humanitarian relief

workers has not been granted.

Mr. President, again, I thank my colleagues

who have spoken today on this

matter. I do think it is important that

we speak out. I think in the last couple

of days we have seen positive developments

in the U.N. Security Council and

NATO which indicate that these organizations

may be ready to take necessary

action. But I wanted to outline

today some options which I believe we

need to consider and which I think will

communicate a message to Milosevic

that we are deadly serious; to talk actually

about taking military action is

very serious. It is always the last option.

But I believe, at the minimum, we

can do some predeployment phases of

NATO military plans.

I think we can bolster some of our

border security efforts. I think we can

tighten the sanctions regime on Serbia.

I think we can accelerate United

States and NATO logistical support for

international humanitarian aid efforts

in Kosovo. I think we can press for

more extensive access for human rights

monitoring by some internationally

recognized organizations. And I think

we can make it clear that we are going

to give the International Criminal Tribunal

all the support it needs as well.

None of this may be enough—I want

to say this one more time in this

Chamber. None of these steps may be

sufficient to force Serbia to comply

with the contact group’s demands in a

timely manner and further military action

may be necessary. But if these actions

are not taken as quickly as possible,

we are—Senator Dole is right—

going to see a humanitarian crisis of

tragic proportions. We are going to see

a lot of men, women and children who

are going to die unless we take action.

I yield the floor.

Mr. President,

could I ask my colleague for his indulgence

for 2 minutes?

I know it is the

end of the day and colleagues are anxious

to go home.

I am sorry.

I did not realize

that.

I thank the Senator.