Thank you, Senator. I recall being here in this

very room, facing you in February 1991, just over 7 years ago,

when you were concerned about what was going to happen in Yugoslavia.

I remember ending that testimony by saying that I did not

think that Yugoslavia was going to stay together. We were all hoping

that it would. The United States was banking its foreign policy

on it, and all we heard during that meeting was how Albanian terrorists

and separatists and the quest for Greater Albania was going

to destroy Yugoslavia. Now we see what really destroyed Yugoslavia.

It was there all the time—the quest for Greater Serbia.

Slobodan Milosevic, walked into Kosovo in 1987 and brutally occupied

it. He took away its legitimate status as one of the eight juridical

units of the ConFederal Republic of Yugoslavia, where

Kosova had an equal vote with Serbia—its Presidency rotated

every year—and created in less than a few years not only an apartheid

but a Warsaw Ghetto that still exists in the heart of Europe today.

I would not be concerned, Senator, about Greater Albania. I

would be concerned that we have already legitimized ethnic cleansing

by creating a phony republic called Srpska. It never existed before

but it is there now. Why? Because Slobodan Milosevic wanted

it—the person who in the news last Sunday is targeted by his

former friend, Rudovan Karadzic, in a book saying he’s about to

now go to The Hague and he is going to turn State’s evidence. He

is pointing the finger at his friend Slobodan Milosevic as the architect

of some of the most brutal, unbelievable atrocities since the Nazi era, in Bosnia

We do not have to worry about Greater Albania. We have to

worry about what I was worried about in your hearing back in February

1991. At that time I could only wave in front of you a Serbian

version of ‘‘The expulsion of the Albanians,’’ a paper presented

by Milosevic’s mentor, Vaslo Cubrilovic, a professor, former administrator

of the Yugoslavia Government, in Belgrade, March 13,

1937. I am now going to give you the English translation. This is

what Slobodan Milosevic has been weaned on.

If you want to see what happened in Bosnia, what is happening

in Kosova today, read word for word, line by line, exactly what is

going on, their modus operandi, shelling villages, burning them

down, getting rid of Albanians at all cost, because this is territory they want.

Milosevic will not abandon this, and as we keep waffling in this

body and in the State Department he will just go and take more and more and more.

He bluffed his way right through Bosnia, and he got Srpska. He

is bluffing his way right now. He knows there is no real resolve

with the so called Christmas warning by President Bush, later ratified by President Clinton.

But he sees and senses the waffling already. He hears strong

words on the part of Madeleine Albright. Then Madeleine Albright

is muffled by Clinton’s National Security Adviser, Sandy Berger.

Then we have questions coming up in Congressman Gilman’s hearing

a few weeks ago about the Christmas warning, and a very luke

warm response by Ambassador Gelbard, that ‘‘we have to meet

with you in executive session.’’ You heard it again today. No direct response!

Don’t you think Slobodan Milosevic is hearing those responses?

Don’t you think he is ready to do more and more, because he sees

that the greatest superpower in the world has lost its resolve and has a foreign policy which has abandoned the principles upon which this country was formed?

Our foreign policy should be based on fundamental human

rights. That is one of the key determinants of our foreign policy.

We have today, in Kosova, some of the most egregious examples

of violations of those human rights. In fact, Senator Biden, during

the hearing that you held in 1991—and it was a wonderful hearing:

It was the first time that all the ethnic groups came together to

talk about the problem. I had to fly in reports from the Council on

Human Rights and Freedom from Pristina and other places—litanies of horror.

I do not have to do that today. You know why? All you have to

do is read our own State Department’s U.S. country eport, brought

from the State Department. Here it is, the 1997 edition. But if you

read the last 5 years you cannot believe the litany of horrors listed

against the Albanian people of Kosova. What are we waiting for?

Look at how many people have been killed and brutally tortured,

and detained, and disappeared? Every criteria they use to measure

a country’s human rights record has been violated in Kosova.

Why is there such a disconnect between these egregious violations

and our professed adherence to human rights when it comes

to foreign policy? Is there another deal in the wind?

Perhaps you did not ask the right questions to Ambassador

Gelbard. Are we placating Russia for some reason? They are always

there, supporting their first cousins the Serbs. That is where

the Serbs came from in the Sixth Century A.D., from the Ukraine.

We know they are blood brothers, or at least blood cousins. And

they are always there supporting them.

But what has Russia done for us in Iran, Iraq, and China, and

so many other places? They do not support us!

Why are we giving such deference to Russia? Why are we even

considering a Contact Group at this point, including Russia?

This is an issue that should be led by the United States of America

in NATO, without Russia. This is where it belongs.

That is what solved Bosnia, and the only reason today Bosnia is

not like Kosova, Mr. Chairman, is that we have troops there. Who

are we kidding? When are we going to wake up?

Another key element of our foreign policy that has been abandoned

is that we will do everything to preserve the security of a

vital area like the Balkans in Europe. If you look at international

law and how it defines where you have a state of belligerency, you

look at what the neighboring countries are saying about what is

going on there. Every one of them is using language which is at

the edge. Recently, the foreign minister of Greece said Kosova is

like a hand grenade. If it goes any further, it is going to explode.

A Turkish spokesman of foreign policy said that the Kosova crisis,

if unchecked, could destabilize the Balkan region and therefore European security.

NATO condemned the excessive use of force by the Yugoslav

Army in Kosova and said that the North Atlantic Council is profoundly

concerned about the deterioration of the situation there

and was considering ‘‘possible further means to maintaining stability

in view of the risk of escalating the conflict in the region.’’

On April 27, a spokesman from the U.S. State Department said

that if the Contact Group members did not agree to a new sanctions

package the United States would act unilaterally.

The United States reiterated, the U.N. and the Contact Group’s

call for the immediate withdrawal of the special police units—

which are nothing more than the Yugoslav Army—from Kosova,

and the need for unconditional dialog. Yet when the Contact Group

met in Rome on April 29, the United States capitulated to a weak

proposal for more sanctions under pressure, especially from Russia,

which, as I said before, has gone out of its way not to support us

in dealing with Iran, Iraq, China, and many other areas.

It is obvious the sanctions are not really an issue to Belgrade,

which has already survived 6 tough years of economic sanctions. In

the meantime, how many Kosovar Albanians have to be killed?

We talk about negotiations and we talk about so many things,

like no conditions, but, when do we get the point where we say,

wait a minute, thousands of Albanians are being killed! Are these

negotiations working? Should we now learn from the experience we

had in Bosnia, that Slobodan Milosevic understands only one

thing—the use of force or the threat thereof. In the meantime,

these sanctions will only serve to bolster nationalistic fervor on Mr. Milosevic’s behalf.

Only resolve will work, Mr. Chairman, and that will have to

come from the only superpower left in the world, the United States

of America taking the lead with our NATO allies.

In conclusion, the 2 million ethnic Albanians of Kosova, who comprise

more than 90 percent of the population there, have no

human, economic or political rights of any kind. Slobodan Milosevic

has illegally and brutally occupied Kosova for almost 10 years. I

am not going to go through the history of Kosova here, Mr. Chairman.

I have a three-page addendum to my testimony and I would

like to offer it and my entire testimony for the record. I am giving an abbreviated form of it here.

But when you look at Kosova it is not a new

story. Kosova was part of Albania until 1916, as was that population

of Albanians in western Macedonia and Southeastern Montenegro.

That is why they are all contiguous. If you drew a line

around 7 million Albanians today, you have the former State of Albania

that came out of Turkish occupation on November 28, 1912.

They are not looking to change those borders. The only one looking

to change borders is Slobodan Milosevic. But what Albanians

want is some peace in their lives, self-determination and the ability

to raise their families in peace, to be who they want to be, and to save their national identity.

What we see right now is ethnic cleansing all over again, in

Kosova as we saw in Bosnia. It is time for our State Department

to understand that loose talk that brands the victims as terrorists

for defending themselves, their families, their property—and I will

even add, their sacred honor. It is important to Albanians the way

it was important to our Founding Fathers, Mr. Chairman. This

only serves to give the green light to the real terrorists, Slobodan

Milosevic and his henchmen, who are massacring innocent people as we sit here speaking today.

It is time for the United States to stand up for its own principles

and demand compliance with international human rights conventions

before more Albanians are needlessly slaughtered and a new

Balkan War is triggered—this time involving neighboring Albania, Greece, Macedonia, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

It is time for Congress to stand up and voice its outrage at a foreign

policy in the Balkans that has obviously failed to preserve

peace and security in this vital region of the world. It is time for

the United States to back up its tough words with concrete actions,

such as declaring a no-fly zone in Kosova as we did in Bosnia.

What is wrong with that? They are using heavily armed helicopters

right now to level villages; and ringing Serbia’s borders with NATO

troops, and moving an aircraft carrier off the coast of Montenegro.

These actions would not only reaffirm our resolve to stop the escalation

of the conflict in Kosovo, but I believe would lead to a lasting

peace for the Albanian people and all ethnic groups in the Balkans.

I would like to also submit for the record, Mr. Chairman, a book

that I prepared a few years ago called, ‘‘The Agony of Kosova.’’ It

is a good reference book—with a three page index. It shows what

this body and the House has done since 1987, and it shows that

what we are talking about here today is nothing new. It is just escalating.

And our foreign policy is nothing new. We are still waffling.

What we did in Bosnia, for some reason we are reluctant to do

in Kosova. And, when the Serbian regime talks about the Albanian

people as fundamentalists and terrorists, let us not forget what my

good friend Ben Gilman did a couple of years ago at the Holocaust

Museum in memorializing the Albanian people and the State of Albania,

as the only nation in Europe that did not give one Jew to the Nazis.

That is now part of the Yad Vashem Holocaust Memorial in

Israel, and our U.S. Holocause Museum here in Washington. This

book ‘‘Rescue in Albania,’’ was written by an American Jew—Harvey

Sarner—to memorialize that fact, and I want to leave you the

letter that Ben Gilman sent to Members of this body and the House to say that.

It is a shame that we cannot do something to save these innocent

Albanian people. The terrorist groups that come from Belgrade—

special police that are really criminals let out of jail and dressed

in police uniforms and army uniforms—are running into Albanian

homes to get bounty, to get currency. They take their gold and kill the families on the spot.

In Drenica many women and children were killed in their living

rooms and bedrooms. We are still not allowed to go there. There

is a mass grave some place. We have testimony from the women.

They heard their husbands and young sons scream; 200 were taken

away. There is a mass grave there someplace. We will find it sooner or later, as we did in Bosnia.

But what are we waiting for? Is this the United States that we

want to represent, a country that stands on the sidelines as a brutal

dictator inflicts State-inspired terrorism on a group of 2 million

people who are defenseless today in Kosova?

What is wrong with a national liberation movement, Senator,

when there is no one there to defend you? What are they going to wait for?

There are many articles written about when enough is enough,

and there was one just recently by my professor Hurst Hannum

from Tufts University. He said there are two instances in which secession,

as we did 222 years ago, should be supported by the international community.

The first occurs when massive discriminatory human rights violations

approaching the scale of genocide are being perpetrated. If

there is no likelihood of a change in the attitude of the Central

Government, or if the majority population supports the repression—

as we just saw in that phony referendum that Slobodan

Milosevic just held in Serbia because he does not want any international

intervention—secession may be the only effective remedy

for the besieged group. This is international law.

A second possible exception might find the right of secession if

reasonable demands for local self-government or minority rights

have been arbitrarily rejected by a Central Government, even without accompanying violence.

So this is not an easy issue Senator Biden. It was not easy in

1991 when you held your first hearing on Yugoslovia and it is not

easy today. But, let us not brand the victims as the terrorists and

let us not talk about Greater Albania, since that is not on the table.

What is on the table constantly for 50 years, certainly the last

10, is the quest for Greater Serbia, and we seem very willing to

give Mr. Milosevic what he wants. I hope we are not going to do

the same in Kosova as we did in Bosnia. It would be a tragedy of

the highest proportions, and I think it would only lead to a very

destabilized Balkans and a greater war later on. Thank you.

Senator, just to weigh in on that point, because

I was a Republican Congressman and very critical.

But I would tell you that I was very critical of

the Bush administration. In fact, in my testimony, which I did not

read because I gave it for the record, I cited an article 6 years ago

by Patrick Glynn, Yugoblunder, where he said the U.S. handling of

the Yugoslav crisis is in fact a case study in how not to conduct

foreign policy in the post cold war, combining a lack of intellectual

rigor, carelessness, with what then, Senator—and let me give a little

plug—Al Gore termed moral obtuseness about the conflicts and issues at stake.

The main factor in the Bush administration’s mishandling of

Yugoslavia was its devotion to geopolitical stability at the expense of democratic values and human rights.

Why don’t we make the question more simple.

Why don’t we look at international law, look at a population of 2

million people that is being brutalized every day——

But you raise the issue when you asked where

is the ‘‘George Washington’’ that democratic leader we want to find

in Belgrade so we can solve the problem?

We may have to wait a long time to find him or her, but, in the

meantime, we cannot let the Albanian people be brutalized and

killed every day. I think there are things we have to do right now.

We have to face Slobodan Milosevic in the eye, as we did in Bosnia,

and say, get every one of those VJ army troops out of Kosovo and,

if you do not do it, we are going to take some tough action.

The argument that you made before is the same

argument that I heard from Bob Torricelli and Senator McCain

back in 1993, on the McLaughlin show. They were saying the same

thing. But, we did something, did we not? We waited 3 years, but

sooner or later we got resolve, and we said something had to be done. Why is this any different?

And isn’t it interesting, we did not have to go

that far to begin the solution in Bosnia.

Yes, and that is going to happen in Kosova if we do not act now.

What we have to do right now is to enforce

international law. We have war criminals in Belgrade. We are dealing with one right now.

I referred to that article before. I have a copy of it right here.

It was in the Gannett papers on Sunday. it shows Slobodan

Milosevic side-by-side Mr. Karadzic who has now got a book coming

out pointing the finger at him for all those atrocities in Bosnia. Why are we not picking him up?

It seems to me that we have a double standard

here. If we are going to be the great United States of America,

standing up for oppressed people, and I believe we can do that

without sending military all over the world, let us pick up the war

criminals in Belgrade. We know who they are. We know where they are.

Number 2, let us tell Mr. Milosevic, get every army troop out of

there—you know why? It is not just because we want him to or because

we like it. He is now on the brink of creating a Balkan war.

You know the problems we have between Greece and Turkey.

You know how fragile Macedonia is. You know that we right now

have 600 troops on the border in Macedonia. What are we waiting for?

If Milosevic keeps doing this, all he is doing is raising the temperature

and, as the Greek foreign minister said, the hand grenade

will explode and the Balkans will explode. We have no choice. Let

us do something now, rather than have to do 20 times more later on.

Senator, what happened then at the last minute

when we decided to do something to solve the situation in Bosnia?

Didn’t we learn from that experience?