We welcome you, ladies and gentlemen, to this

hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on European Affairs.

I have a statement that I will not read in the interests of time

out of respect for our witnesses, who we are anxious to hear, but

needless to say, this hearing on Kosovo is timely and important, as

this country begins to define what its response will be in the face

of a holocaust in our times, whether or not we are going to respond

too late, too little, at the expense of much treasure and human life,

or we are going to do something affirmative now to try and restore

civility and human decency. That is really the issue confronting our

country and our alliance, and NATO, and with our allies.

I apologize to our witnesses for our delay in starting. No one

knows better than Senator Dole how votes get in the way of hearings.

Senator D’Amato knows that very well, too.

As Senator Coverdell has now joined us, and the Ranking Member,

Senator Biden, with your permission we will hear from our

witnesses, who are under a time schedule, and Senator D’Amato will go first.

Senator, we welcome you, sir.

Thank you, Senator D’Amato. We certainly share

your feeling of urgency. This committee met 7 weeks ago on this

issue, and the situation has only deteriorated since that time.

We are very appreciative that Senator Dole and Ambassador

Abramowitz would take their time to join with us to discuss this

issue and their views of it. Both know the issue well, and specifically

the former Majority Leader, who is currently serving as chairman

of the International Commission on Missing Persons in the

former Yugoslavia, can speak to this issue from first-hand experience.

Senator Dole, we thank you for being here, and we invite your testimony.

Thank you, Senator D’Amato.

Thank you, Senator Dole. Ambassador

Abramowitz, we know Senator Dole has to leave by 5 p.m. I would

like to ask if we could question him first.

Senator Dole, recently we were favored with a visit of the Prime

Minister of France, Mr. Juspin, and I am not certain whether our

two countries are on the same page with respect to the former

Yugoslavia. I pursued with him the issue of Kosovo and wanted to

know whether we were on the same page, and even raised the idea

of perhaps acting militarily.

He said we were on the same page, and if there was any action

at all it should be done by NATO, but NATO should not act until

the United Nations Security Council gave its green light. I wonder

if you have any comment about that, if that is realistic, if that is

a prescription that simply will not respond to this situation.

I did not think you would, but I thought I would

ask anyway, to put it in the context of what international pressure

we ought to be governed by as we contemplate taking some military action.

Senator Dole, on the front page of the *New York*

*Times* today there is a very heart-rending account of the death of

a Serbian boy in Kosovo, and I think it is at least apparent that

the KLA were responsible for his death.

Is it not fair to say if we do not do something soon, that the other

side is arming as we speak, and that the atrocities will then be

going the other way? I wonder if you have a thought on that, and

what we might do to try to hold back the violence that may come

from the other side?

We welcome Senator Dodd. I would turn to Senator Biden for his comments.

Senator Coverdell. Thank you, Senator.

Senator Dodd. Without objection.

I think Senator Dole, if I could put a little more

perspective on Senator Dodd’s comment and question, we are in a

real struggle up here in the U.S. Senate, because—and I agree, it

sends the wrong message to Mr. Milosevic, but we are also trying

to send a message to the President that we are hollowing out our

military, and we cannot have it both ways.

We are spending our military budget on Bosnia and peacekeeping

and in the meantime we have got pilots quitting and we have

got difficulty with morale in our own military and, frankly, Bosnia

is a part of that and so we cannot have it both ways. We have got

to put our wallet where our words are, and I do not think we are doing that.

So that was the other side of the message, but I agree with Senator

Dodd, and I do not want Mr. Milosevic to misinterpret what was done.

The other was worse.

Senator Dole, it is past 5. We thank you for your

generosity and your time and your comments. Ambassador

Abramowitz, we welcome you.

Thank you, Ambassador Abramowitz. We do

have a vote. There is only a few minutes remaining. Senator Coverdell

will be back momentarily to occupy the chair while I go and

vote. If you would like to remain, we can do that.

Thank you, Ambassador Abramowitz. We do

have a vote. There is only a few minutes remaining. Senator Coverdell

will be back momentarily to occupy the chair while I go and

vote. If you would like to remain, we can do that.

We will stand in recess, and we will convene

again as soon as Senator Coverdell returns.

Mr. Ambassador, we apologize for the disruption

of the vote, but we thank you for your very perceptive testimony,

and all of you who have attended today. Hopefully we are helping

to lay a foundation for doing something and getting us beyond just

words but some action that can save some lives for our country and

theirs, and so we thank you. Senator Coverdell.

You are welcome, Senator.

We are going to include Senator Biden’s statement in the record,

and again, we thank you all for your attendance today. We are adjourned.