

lawmen on both sides of the 2,000-mile long Mexican border to protect themselves more than ever. The new threat they face is not violence from narcotics traffickers, but hostility from their law enforcement counterparts in the Mexican Federal judicial police."

This is an incredible state of affairs. Here we have incredible amounts of drugs coming in from Mexico. Nearly 50 percent of all the hard drugs in the United States reaching our cities and our streets, our communities and our schools and our children, is coming in from Mexico, and a policy totally in disarray.

This is a matter that requires the investigation and oversight of this Congress, the attention of this administration, and should be investigated to its fullest, to find out what is really going on between the United States and Mexico in the war on drugs.

Are our agents now under attack? Are our agents going to be expelled? What is this administration doing about the country that we have helped, we have loaned money to, we have made a trading partner, and then now they are condemning us and not cooperating in this effort to bring corruption, to bring drug trafficking, to a halt on both sides of the border?

#### KOSOVA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, for the last several weeks the world has watched in horror as innocent civilians, men, women, and children, have been slaughtered in the province of Kosova in Europe. Forty thousand people are now fleeing their homes, are now refugees.

Kosova is a province of 2 million people, 90 percent of whom are ethnic Albanian, controlled totally and dominated by the Serbs, living under tremendous oppression. Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic uncorked ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, and here it is happening again in Kosova.

The people of Kosova, the Albanians, have no rights. They have no political rights, no civil rights, no economic rights. They are truly a people under oppression. Unemployment is 80 percent. They have tried for years peaceful resistance. It has not worked. Now their plight is worse than ever. The tens of thousands of Serb troops in Kosova have fired the opening shots, Mr. Speaker, in a renewed campaign of ethnic cleansing.

I have warned for years that Kosova was a powderkeg. Unless the U.S. and the international community intervene now to ward off a catastrophe, Milosevic will carry out there what he did in Bosnia, a horrific campaign of ethnic cleansing and genocide. Two hundred thousand people died in Bosnia. It could be worse in Kosova if we let it happen.

Thankfully, President Clinton reaffirmed last week during his meeting

with Abraham Rugova, President of the Republic of Kosova, that the U.S. would not permit what happened in Bosnia to recur in Kosova. President Clinton was right.

But the time, Mr. Speaker, has come to put our money where our mouth is. The ethnic cleansing has begun. The burning of villages has begun. The expulsion of tens of thousands of ethnic Albanians has begun. The halting of humanitarian convoys has begun. All of this is how it started in Bosnia. The United States must now act.

In December, 1992, President Bush warned Serb strongman Milosevic that if he vastly increased the military repression in Kosova, the U.S. would respond in kind. This threat, known as the Christmas warning, formed the basis of U.S. foreign policy in the region. President Clinton reiterated the Christmas warning when he entered office. Time and time again State Department officials have noted that U.S. policy has not changed.

Today I say the Christmas warning has been triggered. To live up to our pledge to the people of Kosova and maintain our credibility in the region by meeting this solemnly pledged commitment, it is time we act.

Here is what we must do. We must strike with NATO air strikes. Today Serbian tanks and artillery are leveling villages, setting houses ablaze, and slaughtering innocent civilians. We should now utilize our assets in the region by destroying these weapons of war in the field and as they sit in their staging compounds.

We must declare a no-fly zone over Kosova. Serbian attack helicopters have been used against innocent civilians. This must stop. Furthermore, fighter aircraft have been moved into Kosova. American aircraft in the region must halt any of these flights.

We must reimpose the investment ban on Serbia. Milosevic's only access to hard currency has been through international investment. Unless serious progress is made to resolve the Kosova crisis, no additional international investment should be permitted. The outer wall of sanctions on Serbia ought to be maintained, and we ought to reimpose the inner wall of sanctions.

We ought to utilize the war crimes tribunal. Milosevic and his henchmen should be fully accountable for their actions in Kosova, and should be prosecuted for any war crimes they commit. We need to get international monitors back in Kosova. In July of 1993 Milosevic spelled OSCE monitors from Kosova. Now more than ever they must return so they can report to the world on the brutality now being committed, and to prevent further acts of atrocity from being committed.

On Wednesday, the Washington Post ran an editorial which I believe accurately captured the Kosova crisis, and what U.S. policy should be in response. The editorial said, "Sanctions are in any case mostly beside the point. Only

the credible threat of force and the use of force, if necessary, can deter Mr. Milosevic. The U.S. can intervene now, as it has said it would, or, as in Bosnia, it can be forced to intervene later, after much damage has been done and any solution is far more difficult."

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Mr. Speaker, along with 25 of my colleagues, I am sending a letter to the President making these recommendations. Two months ago we requested a meeting with the President to discuss Kosova. Today we look forward to hearing from the White House when that meeting will be scheduled.

The genocide and ethnic cleansing in Kosova must stop and only we and NATO can stop it. The time for diplomatic niceties is over. We must act now.

Mr. Speaker, I submit the following for the Record:

[From The Washington Post, June 3, 1998]

#### EMPTY THREATS

The Clinton administration has said time and again that it won't permit Serb leader Slobodan Milosevic to extend his brutal ethnic-cleansing tactics to the independence-minded province of Kosovo. Now Mr. Milosevic's troops are conducting precisely such atrocities in Kosovo, and the administration's response so far: more talk.

Kosovo is part of Serbia, which in turn is part of what's left of Yugoslavia. But only 10 percent of Kosovo's 2 million people are ethnic Serbs; 90 percent are ethnic Albanians. For a quarter of a century, the province enjoyed considerable autonomy, but Mr. Milosevic revoked that in 1989 to fuel his nationalist rise to power. Ever since, and under the lash of Serb repression, a Kosovo independence movement has gained strength. The movement has been largely nonviolent. But recently, as ethnic Albanians have become convinced that the West has abandoned them, an armed resistance has rapidly gained support.

U.S. policy on all this has been pretty clear—at least in words. The United States doesn't support Kosovo independence, but it does support legitimate aspirations for more autonomy. It favors peaceful dialogue and opposes armed conflict. President Bush warned in 1992 that the United States would use force if necessary to block ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. The Clinton administration embraced that warning in 1993. And as recently as three months ago, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said the United States would not "stand by and watch the Serbian authorities do in Kosovo what they can no longer get away with doing in Bosnia."

But that's just what Serbian authorities are doing right now. In a wide swath of borderland along Albania, Serb police and soldiers have been destroying villages, killing civilians and turning thousands of men, women and children into refugees. An Austrian defense attache who spent two days touring the isolated region said, "All the signs are that the Serbs are going on with ethnic cleansing in the Kosovo area."

U.S. policy in the past three months has been a confusing mixture of sanctions threatened, imposed and withdrawn. Such sanctions are in any case mostly beside the point; only the credible threat of force, and the use of force if necessary, can deter Mr. Milosevic. The United States can intervene now, as it has said it would. Or, as in Bosnia, it can be forced to intervene later, after much damage has been done and any solution is far more difficult.