

hope that he will be able to influence mainland China to democratize and reunify with Taiwan on the basis of democratic principles. As a faithful friend of the United States, we must give him our wholehearted support as his presence on the island is symbolic of the economy and a politically stable Asia.

GUNS AND CHILDREN—THEY DO NOT MIX

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. JACKSON LEE of Texas. Madam Speaker, I thought it was important to come to the floor of the House to address again the crisis that we are facing in this Nation, and that crisis is that of the safety of our children.

Today unfortunately as the sun rose another youngster took weapons to school and shot children. I am most grateful, as most mothers and fathers, families, that this tragedy did not result in death. I cannot imagine what people in Littleton, Colorado, are thinking, or Jonesboro, or the State of Pennsylvania, or my own State of Texas, and rather than be political and politicize this, I am simply begging with all of the intellect in this Congress that we have the courage to admit that there are many concerns.

□ 1645

There is the entertainment industry, violence in videos. There is the issue of intergenerational conflict or disconnect because maybe adults and children are not talking the way they should.

There is the concern that I have raised and will be presenting in legislation, Give a Child a Chance Omnibus Mental Health Services bill for 1999 where we can focus on the fact that children need mental health services, both children who can afford it and those who cannot.

I think right now, in light of the Senate's actions today, we realize that gun legislation is not political. Over 89 percent of the American public are waking up and saying we must have safety locks. It is important to keep from children, or young people under 21, guns. We must close the loopholes in pawn shops and in gun shows so that there are no more opportunities for people to randomly walk in and get guns, as a young lady did on behalf of Eric Harris in Littleton, Colorado.

Parents are in pain. Children are in fear. Our children can talk about guns and their feeling of being unsafe. They can talk about the fact that they do not know whether their graduation will be safe or whether large gatherings will be safe.

Many of us as women Members of Congress have gathered. We gathered before Mother's Day and asked Speaker HASTERT to ensure that we pass gun legislation before Father's Day. I want

to go a step further. We have next week. We should not leave here until we say not only to the American people but the world that we pride ourselves, as loving our children greater than our guns, and in fact this is not taking away guns from people who use them for sports and legally. This is saying that we have a proliferation of guns and our children are asking or crying out for us to be restrained and to restrain them; 250 million Americans, 260 million guns on the street.

Why cannot we find common ground on legislation that I passed in my city holding parents responsible, adults, for allowing guns to be in children's hands and thereby causing an injury? It was unanimously supported and then passed in the State of Texas, certainly a State that has its share of guns.

Safety locks, as has been said eloquently by my colleagues, there are regulations of diaper bags and regulations of parks and schools and equipment that children use. Why not guns? Why can we not keep guns out of the hands of those under 21? Why can we not do instant check at gun shows where all kinds of people come and, believe me, they use that method to get guns. Why can we not have tracing so that felons who are now dealing with the black market can be found? Why can we not have an amendment that deals with gun running?

It is very important, Madam Speaker, that the women in this House stand up. I demand that we collectively raise our voices to the Speaker, and I guess I demand of him, to not shy away from the responsibility.

Put the NRA aside. It has its own agenda, and anyone who says it does not is not reading all of their PR, their public relations. I did not come here to point the finger. I have mentioned the entertainment industry. They know what they can do.

This is a pyramid. We are building blocks. I have mentioned the need for more mental health services from K to 12, intervention risk assessment in every piece of legislation, that I can. In addition to the omnibus bill, I am going to be raising my voice for mental health services. It is too long and too late where it is a stigma, so that is why children have stopped taking their medication because there is a stigma all around. So if the parent does not tell them they certainly do not get re-inforced in school, and troubled children are in our schools without medication.

So, Madam Speaker, I am not pointing the finger. I am speaking out of anguish and I am speaking out of pain. I cannot go another day without us doing something about these guns. We must pass legislation this week as we come back.

While I am home in the district this weekend, whoever will hear me, I will be talking about are we going to stand up for our children? Tomorrow at a press conference on Head Start I will be talking about our children and guns.

Madam Speaker, I hope that we can collectively indicate to the American people we have heard them. This is a crisis and we know their pain.

The Federal Government does not want to take over education of their children. We just want to take over the fact that we want our children to survive and we are going to help them with legislation and money.

Madam Speaker, I hope that we will all stand together next week as we return to this Congress.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Lundregan, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 1141) "An Act making emergency supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1999, and for other purposes."

The message also announced that pursuant to sections 276d-276g, of title 11, United States Code, as amended, the Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, appoints the following Senators as members of the Senate Delegation to the Canada-United States Interparliamentary Group during the First Session of the One Hundred Sixth Congress, to be held in Quebec City, Canada, May 20-24, 1999—

the Senator from Iowa (Mr. GRASSLEY);

the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. INHOFE);

the Senator from Ohio (Mr. DEWINE);
the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. GRAMS);

the Senator from Ohio (Mr. VOINOVICH); and

the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. AKAKA).

HISTORY OF YUGOSLAVIA

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. EMERSON). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, the gentleman from California (Mr. CUNNINGHAM) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Madam Speaker, I come tonight to give maybe a little different perspective on the war in Kosovo than most people have seen from the spin from NATO and the White House. I would like to give some information that has not been widely disseminated but I think is important before any solution in the Balkans is possible.

First of all, Rambouillet, which was an attempt at an agreement which was not an agreement, to bring the Muslim and Serbian Yugoslavs together. Let me go back first with Rambouillet and explain where Rambouillet was a very failed foreign policy effort.

I use the quotes of both Larry Eagleburger and Henry Kissinger in

saying that Rambouillet was a failed foreign policy from the start.

Look at history, and I met with the Reverend Jesse Jackson, who I disagree with probably more than I agree, but one thing I respected about Reverend Jackson was not necessarily that he brought our prisoners back, that was good, but his ability to place himself in the shoes of either side of an argument. Even if he disagrees with one side or another, he understands that before someone can ever have a solution that they have to understand the feelings and what is in the mind and the heart of both sides, or there is no choice whatsoever.

Part of that understanding is the history of greater Yugoslavia. On April 5, 1941, just last month the anniversary, Germany bombed Belgrade. They put over 700,000 Nazis into Kosovo in the area. The Nazis were supported by a half a million Croats, and about a quarter of that number of Muslims. One in three Serbs died in Kosovo fighting the Nazis, the Croats and the Muslims.

The civilians in Kosovo had to flee across the Danube River for their lives, while the forces under a General Miholevic, not Milosevic but Miholevic, supported both the partisans and the loyalists. The Chetniks were more of a guerilla warfare.

In the three-year period of over a million Nazis, the Chetniks, the partisans and the loyalists either killed or pushed out every Croatian, Muslim and Nazi out of Kosovo.

In 1387, the Serbs celebrate still Kosovo and the founding of their Orthodox Catholic church at 1,600 different churches and shrines.

So Rambouillet, I would ask after that kind of history, would a person if they were in any of the United States, if they were in Texas, if they were in California and say Mexico populated either one of those States by 90 percent and all of a sudden they wanted California or Texas to go to Mexico, does anyone think the United States would allow that to happen? I do not, absolutely.

The second part of Rambouillet said that, oh, by the way, you cannot have any of your police force in Kosovo; that even though Kosovo is part of greater Serbia or Yugoslavia, none of your laws apply; only the laws of the majority which are the Albanians, and in 3 years there will be a vote as to whether Albania remains part of Serbia.

Not Milosevic but the Serbian people, and the understanding of what Kosovo means to the Serbs, was a great, great failure of this administration and the President to recognize. Either the President recognized it and wanted us to go to war or he did not recognize the importance of Kosovo to the Serbian people. Either way, it is why we are at the position we are today.

To say that diplomatic efforts were exhausted is far from the truth, and there are still ways for us to get out of this particular nightmare.

I fought in Vietnam. I spent 20 years of my life in the military as a senior commander, responsible both for a Navy fighter weapons top gun and at Naval staff on the planning, the invasion of Southeast Asia and European countries, and my friends from the Pentagon have told me that they told the President not to conduct air strikes into Kosovo.

Why? They said, first of all, air strikes alone would not achieve a single goal that the President wanted. Secondly, that every one of the problems that existed then would be exacerbated, would be increased. They told the President that it is highly probable and most likely that the Serb forces would force evacuation of Albanians, since that had been, in their eyes, a big problem over the last two decades.

Madam Speaker, take a look at the children's eyes that are refugees today, a million refugees walking through the snow. I have two daughters and I looked as if my own daughters had to go through this, and we need to thank God every day that we live in a country where that does not happen. In my view, there are two people that have caused that mass evacuation and forced the refugees. One is Milosevic and the other is the President of the United States by forcing the bombing.

Most people do not realize the hysteria: This is another Nazi, this is another Holocaust. Most people do not realize the total number, the total number of people killed in Kosovo in a 1-year period prior to the United States and NATO bombing was 2,012 people killed. We kill more people than that in New York City and Washington, D.C. every year. Now, each individual is important, but it is also important to realize that one-third of those 2,000 people were Serbs that were killed by the KLA.

Did they have a fight? Yes. Were there atrocities? Yes, on both sides. Until one puts themselves in the shoes of either side and both sides in the eyes of what is important to them, what are their fears? The Serbs fear the Germans. They did not want NATO troops with Germans in there. They fear that Kosovo will be taken away from them, much like if California or Texas was taken away from the United States.

The Albanians want some kind of participation in the government. They have about 90 percent of the population, but most people do not realize 60 percent of that 90 percent of the Albanians are there illegally. They are not citizens of Kosovo. They have come across the border from Albania illegally.

□ 1700

And that, in itself, is a problem.

Listen to the briefs. Watch the television, Madam Speaker, and listen to the Albanians talk about how they were forced out of their homes by the Serbs. Were they forced prior? No. There are 300,000 Albanians that live in Belgrade and not a single one has left

because they live there peacefully. They live there peacefully together.

But listen to the debriefs from Kosovo. They were forced out of their homes. They were not fleeing prior to the bombing, but like the military told the President, upon NATO's strikes, the Serbs started forcing the Albanians out of Kosovo. They knew that the KLA on the ground was a threat to them. Is it right? No, I am not saying it is right, but I am saying we have to look at the total picture.

Well, Mr. President, if you are trying to change your legacy with a war or be nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize, one is not nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize by killing more civilians in these strikes than the Serbs killed in the one-year period prior. One does not get nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for forcing millions of people to evacuate and then claiming it is a Holocaust, which it was not.

I spoke to General Clark face-to-face in Brussels a month ago, and I asked General Clark, I said, how many of the sorties, how many of the flights is the United States participating in? There are 19 nations in NATO, 18 other nations. The United States, part of NATO in a European problem, is flying 75 percent of the strike missions. The United States, 75 percent.

Tony Blair gets up and says, put in ground troops, put in ground troops. He only has 18 airplanes in Kosovo in those strikes, but yet he beats on his chest and says put in ground troops.

Madam Speaker, 75 percent of the strikes does not include the B-2 strikes out of the United States; it does not include the C-17s, it does not include the tanking and the logistics flights, which puts the United States' flights in Kosovo at over 86 percent, Madam Speaker. Ninety percent of the weapons dropped are from the United States, and yet there are 18 nations, other nations in this.

I asked General Clark, I said, well, why are we flying all of these missions? He said, Duke, most of the NATO nations do not have these stand-off weapons. They do not have these stand-off weapons, and the weather is bad. You think they might have checked the weather to know that there was a two-week forecasted bad weather over Kosovo before they ever started air strikes. No, they did not.

Ninety percent of the weapons. Our next supplemental should be a check from those nations. If they cannot fly the strikes, if they cannot support NATO, if they cannot supply the ordinance, then they ought to be at least burden-sharing and paying the United States for it.

This ad hoc war, ground troops, in all of the tactical experience that I had in the military, working with all services and most of our friendly allies, not once would I ever tell an enemy that I was not going to use a certain type of force like ground troops. It is lunacy. It is idiotic in a tactical environment to tell your enemy that you want to

change his heart and mind, but you are only going to use air strikes, to allow him to focus on one phase and not have to prepare for ground troops, not have to station his troops and deploy his weapons.

Do my colleagues think that the President might have told Russia, Chernomyrdin, knowing how Russia feels, do you think they might have told the Russians that they were going to bomb Kosovo when Chernomyrdin was on his way to the United States and actually turned his airplane around and went back? Is that acceptable foreign policy? I do not think so.

This ad hoc war. People said well, Duke, how can they possibly look at a map and bomb an embassy like China's? Well, when one is doing something so fast, so ad hoc, and one rips maps off without any prior planning, it is very easy to see. When one is scrambling to find targets, when one is scrambling because one's missions are not being successful, then it is easy. And they took the wrong map. Even today, they hit two other embassies and they hit a hospital, killing hundreds of civilians. Again I say, the United States and NATO has killed more civilians in Kosovo than the Serbs killed in the entire year prior to the bombing. And that is wrong.

Madam Speaker, if one comes from the 1970s and one was a left-wing antiwar protestor or belonged to a protest group, and one is in leadership and one attempts to use a vehicle like the military that one neither understands or supports and even loathes, most of one's decisions, in my opinion, are going to be inept, they are going to be incorrect, because one does not have the gut feelings of what it should take.

A classic example of that was in Vietnam with the President we had then that controlled every single strike, and that was Lyndon Johnson. I lost a lot of my close friends in air-to-air. I was shot down on May 10, 1972 over North Vietnam, and many of my friends died because of inept decisions by a left-wing person that neither accepted, supported or understood the military.

When the President, knowing that he has surrounded himself with the Tony Lakes, with the Ira Magaziners, with the Strobe Talbotts, and he disavows, does not accept the advice of the military warfighters, that is even more of a problem, and it has been disastrous.

We had a briefing from a source which I am not allowed to say, but it is a very important governmental source, and the KLA is supported by the Mujahedin and Hamas from Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan. Are they in large numbers? Are they entire armies? No. But they have evidence of those individuals infiltrating the KLA units.

I will say that if I was an Albanian citizen and put myself in their shoes, I would be a member of the KLA, fighting for what I believed in. But on the other hand, if I was a Serb, I would be a Serbian soldier fighting for what I be-

lieved in. And until the President recognizes that, there is no solution. The Mujahedin and Hamas have a small influence, but it is there and it has to be removed.

They said, is it likely Osama bin Laden, like the Washington Times reported, has influenced and is supporting the KLA? Well, I will let my colleagues draw the inference. Osama bin Laden has organizations in over 150 areas, and everywhere there is a Muslim issue, he is involved. They said there is no direct evidence, but it is likely.

It was also reported in all of the European press and the United States in The New York Times that the number one heroin dealer, the number one heroin dealers were the Albanian Kosovars. And yes, the source said that that money is going in to support the KLA. They will take money from anybody they can. They consider it their survival.

General Clark, when I was in Brussels, I looked at him and besides asking him how many sorties were flying, he said, Duke, at the beginning of this NATO only wanted to fly one day and quit, because of all of these other things. They did not have their hearts and minds into this. General Clark said the President called Tony Blair from England, the German Chancellor, and they pushed this, that it is a must, it is a must. What that agenda is I do not know. All I know is that this ad hoc war has been disastrous not only for the American people, but for the Albanians and for the Serbs.

Madam Speaker, I think it is improper to say that all Germans were Nazis in World War II. There were a lot of innocent people. A lot of people did not support the Nazis. There are a lot of people that are not Mujahedin and Hamas, that are fighting for their lives, and if we look into the eyes of those children, we should have as much sympathy for those children and the innocent civilians on the Albanian side and the Serb side of the innocent people that are being killed because of war. That is important also.

Madam Speaker, I remember Madeleine Albright saying that if we allowed Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary into NATO, the United States would not have to participate in any European war. Well, guess what? They are all three part of NATO. And during the conflict Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary would not even let us fly over their airspace, and it took some serious arm-twisting by Madeleine Albright and others, the President, to use their airspace or even their bases and deploy.

They had a NATO summit here, anniversary, and the President says that all NATO is speaking with one voice. Well, Mr. President, if that is true, why is Hungary, why is France, why is Greece, why is Russia still shipping oil to Serbs in the greater Yugoslavia? They are not speaking with one voice, and the spin that NATO and the White House

places on this is atrocious, in my opinion.

Take a look, Madam Speaker, at what NATO is today. We no longer have Ronald Reagan or Margaret Thatcher types. I ask my colleagues to look at the Germans. It is a green socialist government. Look at France. France has a socialist, communist coalition in their government. They threw out the conservatives. If we look at England with Tony Blair, labor left. Israel just yesterday, labor left. Germany, as I mentioned. Italy, Communist.

So NATO is made up today of not Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, but people that are socialist and Communist and left. And it is difficult to make decisions using the military when those individuals historically have fought against the military itself.

Another little-known fact, Madam Speaker, briefed again by a source, the same source as I quoted a minute ago, said 70 percent of the Russian military support the overthrow of the Yeltsin government. We have seen just this week and last week an attempt of an impeachment of President Yeltsin.

Seventy percent of the Russian military who support their leadership are the hard-line communists that support Milosevic. They want us to go in with ground troops. It would give them the catalyst that they need to return the former Soviet Union back to communism. And it is a very difficult problem.

Look at Greece. Greece has ties to the Serbs because when the Serbs kicked out the 1 million Nazis, look at Thessalonica in northern Greece, where millions of Greeks and Jews and Serbs were annihilated by the Nazis, and Greece with its orthodox church, along with the Serbian orthodox church and their tie-in with World War II, makes them an ally.

And look at what we have done with China and Russia and Greece, people that we have been working with through trade with China, through trying to start a democracy going and light the fires of a young democracy in Russia, and even working with the Greeks has been disastrous foreign policy for the United States.

□ 1715

All of this, and they say, DUKE, you are a hawk. I am not a hawk, Madam Speaker. I am a dove, but I like to be a well-armed dove. And those that have fought in war and held, like in Private Ryan, held our friends and watched them die, maybe we are a little more reluctant to get our people involved in a conflict to where we know there is going to be a lot of loss of human life, and where we also know that diplomacy would work.

The President talks about wanting to save social security with a surplus, to save Medicare with a surplus, education from the surplus. I would like to see medical research, because it is exciting, what NIH is doing today as far

as the cure and the elimination of disease. We would like to double that.

I was in a group yesterday that wants to increase prostate cancer research by \$100 million total. Madam Speaker, we cannot do that by spending \$50 billion in Kosovo. We spent \$16 billion thus far in Bosnia and we are only supposed to be there 1 year, \$16 billion.

Do Members know that we still spend \$25 million a year building roads in Haiti? And Haiti had no national security to the United States. The extension of Somalia, which most of us opposed, we got 22 Rangers killed and we got our butts kicked out of there. We had to run out of Somalia.

Every time the President had a personal political tragedy, we went into Iraq four different times. Let us not forget the hasty decision to go into the Sudan and bomb an aspirin factory. They just asked for \$45 million to pay back the Sudanese, and the President said, okay, \$45 million. Who is responsible? Has anybody been held accountable? Absolutely not.

Let me tell the Members, besides taking up the surplus, our military today, we are retaining only about 23 percent of our military, of our enlisted. We are retaining only about 33 percent of our aviators, our pilots. Why?

When I talk to these young men and young women who are flying and the people who are servicing those aircraft and that equipment, they say, Duke, I am away from my family 8 months out of a year. I am worried about my family, because their benefits are eroding. Our equipment is 1970s technology.

I had a briefing last Friday from a very classified source, which I will not go into, but there is an asset that Russia has in the air that if our pilots would engage it, we lose the dogfight and the intercept 90 percent of the time because we have shut down our research and development and we have not been able to compete.

I am alive today, and the airplanes I shot down in Vietnam, because I had better equipment and better training. Today our troops are getting less training, and the equipment is 1970s technology. Fortunately, this asset has not been deployed to Kosovo, but it is to North Korea, it is to many of our other potential enemies in this world. That is scary.

Our ships are going out with thousands of sailors short. We are \$3 billion short in ship repair for our military ships. I could go on and on.

Madam Speaker, they say, Duke, you have told us all the problems, but what would you do if you were president? And no, I am not running for the presidency, Madam Speaker. My daughter would like me to because then she could have two dogs, but I do not plan ever on running for the presidency. I have my hands full right here.

Let me give some ideas. I stated from the day that we went in to Kosovo, and I would start it off first, Madam Speaker, by saying, some of the people can remember a movie called the Jazz

Singer. I am old enough to remember Al Jolson playing in that part. Later on Neal Diamond played in the movie Al Jolson.

The whole movie is based on a Jewish proverb. It is about a jazz singer, a gentleman that is the son of a cantor, and the father wants his son to be a Jewish cantor. The son, of course, wants to be a jazz singer. There is so much hurt by the father that he rips his jacket in the Jewish fashion and denies that he has a son, and there is great consternation between the two.

The father, after a while, is so distraught at losing his son, not to death but from an argument, and the Jewish proverb goes like this. The father cries out, and I have two daughters, so I think you can do the same with a daughter, but he says, son, come home. We have argued too long. And the son replies, father, I cannot, because there is too much between us. And the father replies, son, come as far as you can, and I will come the rest of the way.

Sometimes that bridge is too far. If you do not understand and put yourself in the shoes, like Jesse Jackson did, and understand, even though you may disagree with the perceptions of an individual group, you still have to understand that before you can ever come the rest of the way.

The President of the United States has not recognized that. So I think that is the first step into any diplomacy. First of all, we have to halt the strikes, leave our force in place in case it does not work.

Let us, instead of having the Russians as a problem and a threat, and maybe even going back to communism, let us help the Russians. Let us let them be part of the solution, not only in Kosovo but in their own political world back in Russia. Let us have Russian and Greek and Scandinavian and Italian troops go in and act as the peacekeepers.

Again, we have to recognize, the Serbs fear the Germans, they fear the United States, and they fear Great Britain. We have become an enemy to a once ally. Let us let them be the solution. The Greeks the same way. They have supported the Serbs. Let us let them be part of the solution.

Milosevic must withdraw his armor prior to Rambouillet, but we have to have a different kind of Rambouillet, one that is achievable and realistic, with options and realistic and achievable goals, unlike Rambouillet I.

There is going to have to be an international body, Madam Speaker. There are nearly 1 million Albanians that have been thrust out of their homes. A large portion of those are illegal. They are not citizens of Kosovo. But the Serbs have caused part of their own problem by tearing up many of those papers that identify who is a citizen and who is not a citizen. It is going to take an international body to repatriate the Albanians.

When I was 15 years old I worked on a farm in Shelbina, Missouri, popu-

lation 2,113 folks. Rather than work for my dad, who was a store owner, I would go out in the hayfields and put up hay.

Well, there was a lady named Ms. Featherall that always took care of the young boys and fed us probably 10 times the amount that we needed. And during the noon hour, we sat on a rocking chair up on her porch to get cool. She was afraid we would work too hard, and we loved that lady.

A Siamese cat came around the corner and jumped up in my lap. I petted that cat, Madam Speaker. A few minutes later around the corner came a Persian cat, a barn cat. I picked up the Persian cat, and immediately the two cats tensed and they started hissing, as you can imagine.

I petted them both and they calmed down, and I was going to make those cats friends. I moved them a little closer and I moved them a little closer. Each time they would tense up and I would pet them. I did not have a shirt on, Madam Speaker, and in a split-second, those two cats hit each other, and I was blood from head to toe from the claws.

We cannot repatriate Albanians and Serbians together who want to kill each other. If you killed my children or my wife or my mother or my father or my in-laws, it would take a long time and a whole lot of psychologists to sit me down next to the people that I felt had done that. It is going to take a long time of work to make that happen.

Then when you bring them back, are you going to have them stay in tents, for those that do not have homes? You have to establish some type of security. That is where the peacekeepers of the Russians, the Greeks, the Scandinavians, the Italians, are; not NATO.

The President and Tony Blair are all bent, it has to be NATO, it has to be NATO or nothing, it has to be NATO. The ego and prestige of NATO is not the issue here, it is people that have been thrown out of their homes. It is people that feel that they have been persecuted. That is the issue, Madam Speaker; not NATO, not the prestige and ego of Tony Blair or the President of the United States.

That inner body is going to have a difficult time and a long time to repatriate those citizens from Albania. The President has to look the Albanian president in the eyes and Izetbegovich, the head of the Muslims in Sarajevo, and demand that all Middle East fundamentalists be deported within 30 days.

Why? Because if they do not, these mujahedeen and Hamas from Iran and Afghanistan and Syria are the ones that want a worldwide Jihad. They want to kill all Americans. They are going to stir the pot, they are going to cause problems over the next decades. If we allow and the President allows them to stay there, even a small number, it is going to be a problem.

I have talked to the Orthodox Catholic Church both of the Serbs and the

Greek Orthodox Church. I have talked to groups of about 200,000 Serbian Americans. They support Kosovo remaining a part of greater Yugoslavia. But at the same time, they realize there may have to be a cantonization of the area, much like the Scandinavian nations do, where you might have a separate area where the speech and schools are French or German or Swiss. They support that initiative. That may be the first start for a new Rambouillet. But in my opinion, if you try and take Kosovo away from greater Serbia, it is a no win policy.

NATO in Europe has to rebuild Kosovo, France, Germany, England, Italy, not the United States. We have already spent \$14 billion in 6 weeks. This is a European issue. The United States is part of NATO and should have leadership, but we should not pay more than the lion's share.

The United States can use its intelligence services and the number of CIA that we have. George Tenet told me that our assets around the world that monitor terrorism are extremely limited; that because of Kosovo, we have had to pull those assets into Kosovo, which leaves us vulnerable in the United States.

So I feel that our intelligence assets have to be increased greatly, and the support that this Congress gives them is necessary.

□ 1730

The United Nations, who has become part of the problem in this, votes against the United States 90 percent of the time. We only have one vote in the United Nations. They vote against this 90 percent of the time, and we pay the lion's share of the United Nations again. Until those reforms are done, the President should say, "No more money, United Nations." In my opinion, I would like to do away with them permanently.

There needs to be an international body. If my colleagues expect Milosevic to negotiate, knowing that he is going to go before a war tribunal for war crimes, do my colleagues think he is going to ever stop? No. But I think an independent body should be established to look at Tudjman, the head of the Croats, that murdered 10,000 Serbs in 1995 and forced ethnic cleansing out of Croatia of 750,000 Serbs.

When we talk about Holocaust, that comes much closer to a Holocaust than Kosovo. The gentlewoman just before and the gentleman was talking about, look at the Kurds. Look at 25 different areas around the world that are far worse than this. Are they despicable? Yes. Are they Holocaust? No. The spin will not gain the President the Nobel Peace Prize.

Our United States military, we have got to rebuild it. I believe that peace does come through strength. Our 300-ship Navy that was established by the QDR, which is a report that says this is what we need to fight two wars. The bottoms up review for the services, our

service chief said we cannot fight two wars. Is that why we have left the no-fly zone in Iraq? I do not guess Saddam Hussein is a problem anymore, because he is left unattended to do his will.

We need to build up our military, to replace the benefits of our military, and give them the strength so that we can walk softly and carry a big stick, instead of the President walking softly and carrying a big stick of candy for everybody.

I read this week where the President plans on paying the Albanians who house Albanian refugees, paying for that. Are we establishing a welfare system in Albania while we cannot support Social Security and Medicare and education and medical research in our own country? I think that is wrong.

The President has got to look at the President of Albania and demand that, since in 1850 the Albanians have wanted to take over through expansionism, Macedonia, Montenegro, parts of Greece and Kosovo, and he has got to say no more. We have got to recognize the borders that have been formed and stay within them.

I think that we also need to take a look, and the President, to get very tough on the foreign policy of Russia and China. We know that Russia today still, even though they say they are not, ships chemical and biological weapons and nuclear components to Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, and we let it happen, and to North Korea.

The President in 1996 was briefed that there was espionage at our laboratories here in the United States and did nothing until 1999, where the Secretary of Energy has just started to do some things with Mike Richardson. He is doing what should have been done back in 1996.

The President was briefed in 1996 that the Chinese had stole our W-88 nuclear warhead, which is a small nuclear warhead, which took us billions of dollars, billions of dollars to develop and years.

We have an asset, but I cannot tell my colleagues what it is, where we reverse-engineered, that we were going to use that asset. We were building a system to combat the asset. Our system would not have worked, but we had that asset, so it saved us billions of dollars by having that asset and seeing how it worked so that we did not go the wrong direction.

Now the Chinese have got not only the W-88 warhead, but they have got secondary and tertiary missile boosts, which they did not have the capability to do.

George Tennes told us that Korea was 10 years away from being able to hit the United States with a missile, a nuclear missile. Guess what. They have it today with a Taepo Dong 1 and Taepo Dong 2 that China gave to them that we gave to the Chinese and they are exporting.

If that is not bad enough, the capability to MIRV, to put several of those W-88, and the President knew that

China had these, the White House gave them the capability to use the MIRVing techniques that, again, took us billions of dollars to engineer.

If that is not bad, the targeting methods to use those missiles to make them accurate within a meter, a nuclear weapon. That was done after \$1 million was donated by Loral and \$1 million from Hughes and \$300,000 from Liu Cheng Ying, who is the daughter of General Ying, head of technology in the PLA, to the Clinton-Gore campaign.

So, Madam Speaker, we have a monumental foreign policy problem. It is not just Kosovo. It is Russia. It is Greece. It is Libya. It is Kosovo. I feel that we need to chase the Turks out of Northern Cyprus, which they have held illegally for 25 years, and we have done nothing, because we need the Turk's support. But, yet, we let them stay in Northern Cyprus against international law.

Madam Speaker, it grieves me to see our Nation at war, especially when I think that we do not have to be there. From all of my military experience, to see a war run ad hoc and so desperately misused, it has cost human life, it has cost human suffering, and it is going to prevent many of us on both sides of the aisle from doing some of the things that we want with our domestic issues here in the United States such as Social Security, Medicare, education, medical research and defense.

It is not a pretty time, Madam Speaker. The President has got to get off his pulpit, whatever his agenda is, and he has got to recognize and put himself, as Jesse Jackson recommended to the President, to see both sides of this issue, to come, whether he has to admit defeat or have a small victory and declare a victory, I do not care, but we cannot put ground troops in, because even if we put ground troops into Kosovo, we are going to lose people.

The Chetnik type individuals, the guerillas will kill our people. I feel that the KLA, Mujahedin and Hamas will kill our people and blame it on somebody just to keep the pot going. Then if we do, we have just bought Kosovo for \$3 billion to \$5 billion a year, when we are already in Bosnia at \$16 billion and Haiti. We are still in Korea for 25 years.

It is time to get out, Madam Speaker. It is time to build up the United States, to pay down our debt, and to take care of some of our domestic problems here.

COLUMBINE HIGH SCHOOL

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

Mr. GEPHARDT. Mr. Speaker, today is the 1-month anniversary of the tragedy at Littleton, Colorado. I hoped to come to the floor today to speak on what we as a Nation need to begin to