

clearly: Where do we go from here? What next? I think from the general feel of things, the atmosphere that I found in Belgrade, the sort of sotto voce conversations I had with various people there and from what we read in the New York Times and the Washington Post this morning, something is happening, something is about to happen. You won't have all of this flurry of activity without something coming out of it. What it will be is yet to be seen.

Our talks in Belgrade, beyond those of just getting the soldiers released, were a worthy mission in itself, though some people criticized us very severely for trying and told us quite confidently that we'd never succeed. Well, we did succeed. They told us it was risky and our lives would be in danger, the U.S. government could do nothing to protect us. OK, we said "fine." We went there, we came back. But we had the opportunity to explore ideas among people within the leadership of this Milosevic government. We sampled public opinion from talking to a variety of people there, and I simply want to share with you a few of those impressions.

Trying to read Mr. Milosevic's mind is an arcane kind of skill that I think none of us have or are likely to acquire. But he's not a stupid man. He's a highly intelligent man, he's a highly manipulative man, and he's done terrible things and is capable of doing more terrible things. But it is perfectly clear that there is going to be a willingness on his part to move towards something very close to what NATO is demanding of him, specifically, he is prepared to agree to the return of all the refugees whom he's driven out. That's going to be a difficult, costly task to carry out. He's going to agree to the return of the relief and development agencies who also were withdrawn from Kosovo, and he'll agree to free access for them to do their job. He wants very much and will certainly agree to a resumption of negotiations on an autonomy agreement. The nature of autonomy he would agree to is of course not totally clear; he does want to make sure that Kosovo would remain within Serbia. That's one of his central demands. Whether he would settle for it simply being a republic within Yugoslavia, I don't know, but that's one of the other options. He will resist tenaciously the idea of an independent Kosovo, and quite honestly, I think we should too. I think that would be a terribly disturbing, destabilizing outcome of this conflict.

The big sticking points are these: the withdrawal of Serb troops, police forces and special groups from this terrible activities in Kosovo. He knows he will have to withdraw. He will try tenaciously to keep some presence there. He will insist that we've got to have some Serb police as part of this peacekeeping force. And he will have a certain logic to that. But how do you constrain them, control them, I don't know. That's one of the issues. He's going to be very tough in bargaining about total or substantial withdrawal. He's going to fight for some presence to be maintained there.

The other thing is, of course, the composition of the international peace keeping police service (whatever you call it, semantics do have some place) he wants some kind of fig leaf to cover him. So, that will be one of the things that will be a stumbling block. But I think in the end he will agree to a multinational, armed policing service. Probably he would like, of course, it not to carry the NATO flag and label, but he knows it will have to have a substantial NATO component within it. He will be of course very cagey in how he finalizes his commitments, and he will hope that he will be able to remain in power and be a party to the signing of whatever agreement is finally made. I think that we need to step up our negotiating efforts

and indeed I think they are in fact taking place.

One of the things that bothers me is the fear that a lot of the American public, the American media, some members of the Congress in both parties, will be amused with this need to show how tough and strong we are, and how we must not weaken and we must not give in. We must be careful that we don't be made to seem like fools manipulated by this evil man. We are in danger of taking counsel of our fears instead of mounting courage of our convictions and our hopes for a better world and for a solution.

I think that a solution that we could accept is possible. It will take hard bargaining, it will take tenacious attention to details, and here's one thing I want to say finally, Mr. Chairman. I think we need to give much more attention to the issue of the process by which we accomplish these things. We have an illusion that somehow if you could get the top leaders together around the table facing each other, they can produce the document which they will then sign that will solve the problem.

That's one of the troubles with the Dayton agreement. We got the people together, we locked them up for two weeks, we browbeat them into so-called negotiating and gave them a document to sign. The document was enormously complicated and lengthy which outlined a constitution for a state and all the rest of it. We gave it to them and said: "Now you sign here and we're going out and implementing it." The Dayton agreement has flaws but it really isn't as bad as its application has turned out to be. We didn't really enforce it and we didn't carry it out in all kinds of ways.

I think we need to have a step by step process set in motion in which specialists can come forth with proposals of how these issues can be dealt with and how to involve all of the parties who must be a part of the final framing of that agreement and signing it. The idea that you can make peace by a dicta is not a viable concept of international diplomacy, it simply won't work. That is not real diplomacy nor will it produce peace and stability in the region.

The final thing is that we've got to engrain in our policy and in our actions the return of the refugees to their homes. This is the heart of the problem also in Bosnia. It is the heart of the problem if we cannot deliver on this obligation to enable people to go back to where they came from. That above everything else is what they want. Don't let anybody tell you, Henry Kissinger or anyone else, that the refugees don't want to go home, that's nonsense. And if we can't deliver that, we are bankrupt in terms of creative diplomatic ideas, and we expose our posturing of power as a hollow, hollow thing.

#### A TRIBUTE TO VICTOR A. KOVNER

### HON. NITA M. LOWEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, June 7, 1999*

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my great admiration for Victor A. Kovner, a remarkable leader and citizen who this year receives the Stanley M. Isaacs Human Relations Award from the New York Chapter of the American Jewish Committee.

A man of high principle, piercing intelligence, and extraordinary ability, Mr. Kovner has touched countless lives in the New York area through a variety of professional and civic activities, while also promoting the cause of peace and justice throughout the world.

A senior partner with the law firm of Davis Wright Tremaine, Mr. Kovner is widely respected for his legal experience and skill, qualities evident during his service as Corporation Counsel of the City of New York, and in a wide range of other important positions such as Chair of the New York State Commission on Judicial Conduct, as well as Chair of the New York City Bar Association's Committees on the Judiciary and Communications & Media Law.

But despite this stellar professional record, it is Mr. Kovner's extra-professional accomplishments in which his character and dedication are most apparent. He has been instrumental in advancing the cause of Middle-east peace as a member of the board of Americans for Peace Now and as a leader with the Israel Policy Forum.

In the United States, Mr. Kovner has been a tireless advocate for social justice and progress. He helped found the Black-Jewish Coalition, chaired the board of Planned Parenthood, and worked to advance such important goals as artistic creativity, environmental protection, and civil liberties.

In short, Victor Kovner is a man of national and international stature, whose vision and leadership have made a material difference to many individuals—and inspired even more to demonstrate a similar devotion to social and community ideals.

I am proud to join in recognizing Mr. Kovner and confident that he will remain a leading light for many years to come.

#### CONGRATULATIONS TO REGGIE CROSS

### HON. JULIA CARSON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, June 7, 1999*

Ms. CARSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate and bestow much deserved recognition to Reggie Cross of Arlington High School located in my hometown of Indianapolis, Indiana.

Reggie exemplifies what it means to be a student-athlete. As a student, Reggie has satisfied the National Collegiate Athletic Association's Scholastic Aptitude Requirements and will be able to go to the college of his choice and pursue his goal of a psychology degree.

As an athlete, Reggie has excelled in both basketball and track. In basketball, Reggie helped the Arlington Knights win the city championship, and earned a spot on the city All-Star team. As Captain of the Arlington Track team, Reggie set the 400 meter record for both the North Central Sectional and the City Championship. At the State Track and Field Meet, Reggie blew away the rest of the field to win the State 400 meter championship.

I can pay no greater tribute to Reggie than his track coach, Harold Grundy did when he said "Nobody works harder than Reggie." Reggie shows us that hard work and determination are the best way for young people to achieve their dreams.

Mr. Speaker, at a time when many people are looking down at young people, we can all look to the Reggies' of our communities and know that the future of America is still looking up.

HONORING MS. ESTHER KRAUS

**HON. JERRY MORAN**

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, June 7, 1999*

Mr. MORAN of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to recognize the dedication of Mrs. Esther Kraus to the young people of Kansas. She has served with distinction for ten years as the coordinator of the We the People . . . Program for Kansas' First congressional District.

Mrs. Kraus' superior efforts on behalf of this program have far exceeded the normal duties of a district coordinator. She has tirelessly promoted the program, identifying local people who are interested in civics and government and finding ways for them to contribute to the goals of We the People . . . Mrs. Kraus has also provided materials and support to high school government teachers who are interested in entering their classes in the competitive Citizen and the Constitution hearings. My district has been proud to be represented for the past two years on the national level in this prestigious competition. Mrs. Kraus has also been a dedicated participant in state and national coordinators' meetings related to We the People . . . She has never missed a single state or national meeting.

Esther Kraus has performed a remarkable and valuable service to Kansas' First District. She has tirelessly promoted for young citizens an understanding of the United States Constitution. Through her efforts, the youth of the First District have become aware of this document and the power which it holds. On her tenth anniversary as a district coordinator for the We the People . . . Program, I would like to recognize and commend her for her excellent job promoting education and patriotism among the youth of Kansas.

H.J. RES. 55, THE MAILBOX  
PRIVACY PROTECTION ACT**HON. RON PAUL**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, June 7, 1999*

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, because this is small business appreciation week I would like to remind my colleagues of the importance of enacting HJ Res 55, the Mailbox Privacy Protection Act. HJ Res 55 repeals recently enacted Post Office regulations requiring Commercial Mail Receiving Agencies (CMRAs) to collect personal information about their customers, such as their name, address, social security number, and photograph. These regulations not only force small businesses to intrude into their customer's privacy, they could impose costs as high as \$1 billion on small businesses during the initial six-month compliance period. The long term costs of this rule are incalculable, but could conceivably reach several billion dollars in the first few years. Some small businesses may even be forced into bankruptcy.

Businesses like Mailboxes, etc., must turn the collected information over to the Post Office. Mr. Speaker, what business in America would not leap at the chance to force their competitors to provide them with their cus-

tomers names, addresses, social security numbers, and photographs? The Post Office could even mail advertisements to those who use private mail boxes explaining how their privacy would not be invaded if they used a government box.

It is ironic that this regulation comes at a time when the Post Office is getting into an ever increasing number of enterprises not directly related to mail delivery. So, while the Postal Service uses its monopoly on first-class mail to compete with the private sector, it works to make life more difficult for its competitors in the field of mail delivery.

Mr. Speaker, Congress must do more than talk about how it appreciates small business, it must work to lift the burden of big government from America's job-creating small businesses. Passing HJ Res 55 and protecting Commercial Mail Receiving Agencies from the Post Offices' costly and anti-competitive regulations would be a great place to start.

CONGRATULATING ALEXANDER  
GRAHAM BELL ELEMENTARY  
FOR RECEIVING THE BLUE RIBBON  
SCHOOL DESIGNATION**HON. JAY INSLEE**

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, June 7, 1999*

Mr. INSLEE. Mr. Speaker, Alexander Graham Bell Elementary is an outstanding elementary school in the First Congressional District of the State of Washington. The students and staff of Alexander Graham Bell Elementary recently received the Blue Ribbon School designation awarded by the U.S. Department of Education.

The Blue Ribbon School designation is a very prestigious award. It is given to schools who are especially effective in meeting local, state and national education goals. Blue Ribbon Schools, such as Alexander Graham Bell Elementary, serve as models for other schools seeking to improve the quality of education for their students.

The staff, students and parents at Alexander Graham Bell Elementary are committed to achieving high academic standards. Over 75% of their fourth graders met the state standard on the Washington Assessment of Student Learning in reading this year. Their math scores also doubled from last year's results.

Clearly these remarkable achievements do not occur by chance. More than 100 parents volunteer at Alexander Graham Bell Elementary. These dedicated parents mentor students, serve as "lunch buddies" and assist teachers. Education at Alexander Graham Bell Elementary is a community priority, and its teachers, parents and staff should be commended for the commitment they have made to our children.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

**HON. JULIA CARSON**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, June 7, 1999*

Ms. CARSON. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoidably absent for one vote on Thursday, May

27, 1999, missing rollcall 166 on approving the Journal. Had I been present, I would have voted "yes."

A TRIBUTE TO WILLIAM E.  
RAPFOGEL**HON. NITA M. LOWEY**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, June 7, 1999*

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my great admiration for William E. Rapfogel, a remarkable leader and citizen who this year receives the Distinguished Community Service Award at the Centennial Anniversary National Dinner of the Orthodox Union.

A man of high principle, piercing intelligence, and extraordinary skill, Mr. Rapfogel has touched countless lives in the New York area through a variety of professional and civic activities.

For seven years, Mr. Rapfogel has been the Executive Director of the Metropolitan New York Coordinating Council on Jewish Poverty, one of New York City's largest not-for-profits. Through the Met Council, Mr. Rapfogel has been instrumental in expanding home care, housing, and employment opportunities, while also providing crisis intervention and other services to deserving recipients.

Mr. Rapfogel's commitment to social progress is matched by a life-long devotion to the Jewish community. He has been the Executive Director of the Institute for Public Affairs of the Orthodox Union and of the American Jewish Congress Metropolitan Region.

In addition, Mr. Rapfogel contributed his time and energy to all New Yorkers by serving as an able and effective Assistant Comptroller of New York City.

We are a stronger community thanks to William Rapfogel's vision and leadership. I am confident that Mr. Rapfogel's exceptional example will remain a source of guidance and inspiration to his colleagues and admirers for many years to come.

IN HONOR OF THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE OHIO BOYCHOIR**HON. DENNIS J. KUCINICH**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, June 7, 1999*

Mr. KUCINICH. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor the 25th Anniversary of the Ohio Boychoir, a community choir rich with talent, passion for music and community pride.

Established in 1974, the Ohio Boychoir is a very distinguished non-profit organization open for all boys from third grade to voice change regardless of race, creed or economic status. The major goals of the Ohio Boychoir are to develop appreciation for music and vocal quality. One of Ohio's most prized cultural assets, the Ohio Boychoir is supported by contributions and grants from individuals, corporations foundations and other organizations.

Over the past 25 years the Boychoir has been invited to give concerts at many prestigious venues. In 1982, the choir sang at National Christmas Tree Lighting at the White House and at the Bach Festival at the Kennedy Center. Based on their incredible performance in the past, the choir was invited to