

Mr. LOTT. You are right on that one, and it didn't pass either. I yield the floor.

WORST TERRORIST ACT

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, in December 1988, a few days before Christmas, a terrorist bomb exploded on Pan Am flight #103 over Scotland. 270 people died—murdered is the more fitting word—including 189 Americans. It was one of the worst terrorist attacks in history.

Next month, two Libyan suspects are scheduled to go on trial in the Netherlands for the bombing. These two Libyans are believed to have planted the bomb, but there is widespread belief that the Libyan government ordered the attack.

Though the United Nations has suspended sanctions on Libya since Qadhafi saw fit to turn over the two suspects in the Pan Am 103 bombing, Libya has by no means been restored to the status of a civilized nation. Libya is a rogue nation that has been an avowed enemy of the United States for three decades. ("The time has come for us to deal America a strong slap on its cool arrogant face," Qadhafi said in 1973—at the same time he "nationalized" all foreign oil concessions in his country. "Nationalized" in this instance is a dressed-up word for outright thievery.)

So it is Qadhafi's regime that stands accused of the deliberate murder of American servicemen in the 1986 La Belle discotheque bombing. The same regime whose top officials have been convicted, in absentia, by French courts for bombing a French jetliner, killing 171 people, including seven Americans. The same regime that ordered the murder of 189 Americans on Pan Am Flight 103—Americans from 22 states: New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Vermont, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Maryland, North Dakota, California, New Hampshire, Colorado, West Virginia, Texas, Florida, Virginia, Kansas, Arkansas, Rhode Island, and Washington D.C. Nearly half of America's states lost one or more residents to the Libyan terrorists in that 1988 bombing of Pan Am 103 over Scotland.

The mothers and fathers, husbands and wives, and all those children of the Pan Am 103 victims will never forget the horror but, unfortunately, the U.S. foreign policy establishment appears less concerned with that history, hence the recent U.S. decision to "review" the ban on American citizens' travel to Libya.

Mr. President, this resolution should remind the Administration of the heinous crimes committed by the Libyan regime. It identifies Libya's continued refusal to accept responsibility for its role in these acts. It calls on President Clinton to consult with Congress on policy toward Libya—consultations that would include disclosing United Nations documents containing assur-

ances to the Qadhafi regime that it would not be destabilized as a result of the trial in The Hague.

Most importantly, this resolution would emphasize the Sense of the Senate that all U.S. restrictions on Libya, including the travel ban, should remain in place until all cases of Libyan terrorism against Americans have been resolved, and until the Libyan government cooperates in bringing the murderers to justice.

A clear signal is needed to Qadhafi, and, apparently, to the Clinton Administration—that the United States will not stand idly by when our citizens are murdered.

If and when Libya apologizes and begins to make amends to all Americans, then perhaps there can be talks. Not before.

THE NEED FOR FUNDAMENTAL TAX REFORM

Mr. GORTON. Every April, Americans are reintroduced to the beauty of Spring by blooming tulips, green lawns, and the 5.5 million word federal income tax code.

As every citizen wrestles with the complexity and incomprehensibility of the mammoth tax code to file his or her return by the April 15th (April 17th this year) annual deadline, there is virtually universal agreement that change is desperately needed. I believe that amending the tax code is not enough. I believe that we must scrap the entire tax code—it is too complicated, too burdensome, too unfair.

How complicated is the tax code? Here are some illustrative facts and figures. The current federal income tax system was born in 1913 as a law under 100 pages in length. The original 1040 form covered two pages, front and back. This included instructions. Today, the 1040 form has 76 pages of instructions alone. The most basic tax form today, the EZ1040, has 33 pages of instructions.

The annotated tax code fills 14 volumes of some 11,700 pages, and it takes an additional 19 volumes totaling another almost 11,750 pages to contain the regulations governing the code. To implement the code, the Internal Revenue Service prints over 400 forms and more than 100 pamphlets with instructions on how to complete these forms.

We need to focus our attention in Congress on developing a new tax system, and we need the President to support changing the current tax code, instead of defending it from reform. Fundamental reform of the tax code is my number one tax priority and I believe a new federal tax system must be based on four principles: fairness, simplicity, uniformity and consistency.

My support for tax reform should not be interpreted as opposition to providing tax relief to American families and working individuals who are sending more of their paycheck to the federal government in taxes than at almost any point in our nation's history.

I absolutely support allowing people to keep more of the money they earned, and am pleased that the budget resolution adopted by Congress allows for a responsible reduction in taxes of \$150 billion over the next 5 years, rather than the \$13 billion tax increase for next year that the Clinton-Gore Administration proposed in their budget. The budget plan will allow Congress to consider several tax relief measures that not only reduce the tax burden on Americans, but also make the tax code simpler and more fair.

Congress has already passed legislation to repeal the Social Security Earnings Limit that penalized working seniors one dollar of Social Security benefits for every \$3 they earn over the limit of \$17,000. Congress is engaged in a debate to eliminate the marriage tax penalty. Eliminating the estate, or death, tax is not only a priority of mine and many in Congress, it is a priority for small business owners and family farmers whose very existence is threatened by this disgraceful tax.

Americans deserve a tax code they can understand and predict. About the only thing Americans can predict about the current tax code is that every April they will likely be sending a big check off to Uncle Sam, and about the only thing they understand is that the IRS will find them if they do not. This must change and it is why I am working for a new tax system that is fair, simple, uniform and consistent. A new code based on these four principles will free Americans from suffering through the forms and tax tables of April tax season, and allow them to enjoy the blossoms and sunshine of the April Spring season.

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE: OBSERVATIONS AND OUTLOOK

Mr. VOINOVICH. Mr. President, when the bombing ceased, and Serbian military forces withdrew from the Kosovo province, most Americans believed that the end of the air war meant the end of the United States' involvement in the Balkans. Such a misconception is due primarily to the fact that the political and military situation in the Balkans, as well as U.S. foreign policy towards the region, remains largely unknown to the vast majority of Americans.

Because of my belief that the Balkan region is key to our strategic interests in Europe, earlier this year, I traveled to the Republic of Croatia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Kosovo and Brussels, Belgium in order to examine the humanitarian, economic, political and security situation in Southeastern Europe. Today, I would like to take this opportunity to share some of my observations with my colleagues and the American people.

Before I proceed further, I would like to publicly thank U.S. Ambassador to Croatia, William Montgomery, U.S. Ambassador to Macedonia, Michael Einik, Chief of the U.S. Mission to

Kosovo, Larry Rossin, U.S. Ambassador to NATO, Sandy Vershbow and U.S. Ambassador to the EU, Richard Morningstar. They are fine representatives of our nation, and they are doing an outstanding job to help bring peace and stability to this sensitive part of the world.

I would also like to thank our U.S. embassy staff in Croatia, Macedonia, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU). In addition, I would like to thank the personnel who comprise the U.S. Mission in Kosovo, the Department of State, the Department of Defense, and the U.S. Army—especially Colonel Timothy Peterson, who accompanied me on this trip and also provided his valuable insight and expertise on the region.

I would further like to thank Senator FRED THOMPSON, my chairman on the Governmental Affairs Committee, for giving me the opportunity and the Committee authorization to take this trip.

Finally, I would like to thank our men and women in uniform who provided such invaluable assistance during my travels in the region. They have my gratitude, and I believe the gratitude of our nation should go out to our peacekeeping force in Kosovo. We have a tremendous team working on our behalf in the region, and all Americans should be proud of their tireless efforts to help promote peace and protect the interests of the United States in southeastern Europe.

Mr. President, one of the more encouraging developments I observed in my trip to the Balkans was a new positive spirit that seems to be emerging in a number of nations in the region.

In my visit to Croatia, I had the opportunity to meet with the newly-elected president of Croatia, Stipe Mesic.

President Mesic is a bright, engaging, well-spoken gentleman with a tremendous understanding of the varied and complex issues facing his country. More importantly, he has a clear concept—supported by his electorate—of the direction his country should take for the future.

President Mesic is pleased that the region finally seems to have abandoned the two terrible ideas that have caused so much bloodshed over the last decade—the dream of a “Greater Serbia” and the dream of a “Greater Croatia.” In an indication of his commitment to ending these disastrous notions, he expressed to me his support for sending individuals responsible for war crimes that have taken place over the last decade to the International Criminal Tribunal for prosecution.

He is also committed to fully returning to Croatia those refugees who were displaced after conflict swept the nation in the 1990's. He understands that a functional economy, the establishment of private property rights and the rule of law are key to the return of these refugees.

President Mesic appeared to understand that the future of southeastern Europe is linked to minority rights and that redrawing international boundaries along ethnic lines is fundamentally unworkable—we need only witness the ongoing debacle in Bosnia for such an example. With this realization on the need to consider minority rights, he plans on appealing to the best instincts in his people to put aside ethnic hatred, so that they and their nation may move ahead. He has stated that he looks forward to serving as the President of all of the Croatian people, regardless of their ethnicity. If lines are not going to be redrawn, then a major hurdle to domestic peace in Croatia will have been removed.

It is my understanding that Prime Minister Racan, who I did not have the opportunity to meet since he was out of the country during my visit, seems committed to these principles as well. I'm also encouraged that Parliamentary President Zlatko Tomcic, Deputy Parliamentary President Zdravko Tomac, Serbian Member of Parliament Milan Djukic and Serbian Democratic Forum President Veljko Dzakula—all of whom I met in Croatia—appear to be supportive.

I was also pleased to meet with Macedonia's President Boris Trajkovski, the Macedonian Prime Minister, Ljubco Georgievski, and Arben Xhaferi, the leader of Macedonia's ethnic Albanian community. They seem to have been able to successfully bridge the domestic ethnic problems that have been at the heart of the various conflicts that have decimated southeastern Europe over the last ten years.

As many of my colleagues may recall, Macedonia was seen as another potential flashpoint during the course of the Kosovo bombing campaign as the Macedonian people became polarized either in favor, or against, NATO's actions. This possibility seems to have been successfully averted because Macedonians do not generally possess the same kind of ethnic hatreds towards their minority community that have plagued other nations in the region.

Domestic peace and stability has been achieved in Macedonia by appealing to the best instincts in people, rather than the worst. The elected leadership has made it clear that the ethnic Albanian community, which makes up roughly 25% to 30% of the population, is an integral and respected component of society. Because of this, minority rights are, by and large, protected, and the rule of law is, for the most part, very well respected. The importance of these trends cannot be understated.

I was particularly interested to hear President Trajkovski discuss the amazing recovery of Macedonia's economy. When the nation separated from the FRY in 1991, Macedonia's per capita income immediately started sliding downward, dropping 40 percent. This decline was clearly exacerbated by the Kosovo bombing campaign.

Nevertheless, in recent months, the economy has staged a dramatic turnaround because of stable and progressive leadership, market reforms and economic activity as a result of Macedonia's serving as a staging point for KFOR. Macedonia is beginning the slow process of returning to its pre-independence level of economic activity. More importantly, the EU, as a part of its new focus on the Balkans region, has established a relationship with Macedonia intended to lead to its eventual membership in the European Union, a commitment that had never been made before the Kosovo war. Given my belief that integration of the nations of the region into the broader European community is essential to long-term peace and stability, this is a dramatic development.

At the headquarters of the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) in Pristina, Kosovo, I had the opportunity to sit down and meet with several key leaders of the Kosovo Albanian community and representatives on the Interim Administrative Council—Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, Mr. Hashim Thaci and Dr. Rexhep Qosja. This was an extraordinary meeting given the historical animosity between these leaders.

All three leaders made a very clear promise to me that they were committed to a multi-ethnic, democratic Kosovo, one that would respect the rights of all ethnic minorities. I was heartened to hear these comments. This commitment could serve as the basis for long-term peace and stability in Kosovo.

In response, I said that they could go down in history as truly great men were they to make this commitment a reality. I explained that the historic cycle of revenge in Kosovo must end and minority rights must be respected—including the sanctity of churches and monasteries. This would be the key to the future of Kosovo.

I traveled to Brussels to make my feelings known to the leadership of the European Union (EU) regarding their lack of leadership and commitment to the problems facing southeastern Europe. I met with U.S. Ambassador to the EU, Richard Morningstar and U.S. Ambassador to NATO, Alexander Vershbow and with other leaders of NATO and the EU. I was pleasantly surprised to learn that the Europeans basically “get it.” That is, they understand that unless the Balkan region is fully integrated into the broader European community, the region will “Balkanize Europe.” This is the same message I have been saying for months. I was pleased to see the Europeans taking the necessary steps that will eventually include the nations of the region in the EU and NATO.

I think it is important to highlight the level of support the Europeans are providing the region. They have budgeted six billion euros (basically \$6 billion) over the next six years to help bring Romania and Bulgaria into the EU. They have also prepared to provide

5.5 billion euros (again, roughly \$5.5 billion) over the same time period to implement the three initiatives of the Stability Pact—democratization, security, and regional infrastructure development.

Of the total financial support committed to Kosovo by the international community, including humanitarian, development, economic recovery and reconstruction assistance, the EU has pledged 35.5 percent. The U.S. has pledged 15.4 percent.

Of the total amount pledged for the operations of UNMIK, the EU has pledged 41.4 percent, the U.S. 13.2 percent.

I ask unanimous consent that a document detailing these burden-sharing numbers be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See Exhibit 1.)

Mr. VOINOVICH. We need to understand that while the Europeans are handling the bulk of the spending in the region, we must also be willing to come to the table to provide leadership. The importance of the United States to provide leadership was underscored by members of NATO and the EU, particularly those countries benefiting from the Stability Pact.

One of the highlights of my trip was the opportunity I had to spend time with our troops in Macedonia and Kosovo. There are few things that make me more proud of being an American than seeing the pride, professionalism, sense of duty and commitment in the faces of our young people in uniform.

I was especially happy to spend time with the 321st Psychological Operations Company, Task Force Falcon, which was deployed from Ohio and stationed at Camp Bondsteel in Kosovo. It gave me the chance to interact with these fine men and women from Ohio and hear their views on their mission in Kosovo. It also gave me the opportunity to visit with my friend, Major Wendell Bugg, whom I've known since my days as Governor. He is with the 321st and is doing a wonderful job. It was great to see him and get reacquainted.

And, Mr. President, I can't forget the unsung heroes of Kosovo—the men and women of the various humanitarian missions. I had the opportunity to meet with representatives from all of the major humanitarian aid organizations involved in Kosovo and Macedonia. I truly admire the service these people provide their fellow man. They are on the front lines daily, helping people, making a difference. To all of them I say, keep up the good work. Their efforts are key to stability in southeastern Europe and in responding to basic human needs.

While I encountered many encouraging prospects for regional peace and prosperity during my trip, I also identified a number of challenges the region and the international community are facing.

While there is ample reason to be optimistic about the future of Croatia under the leadership of President Mesic and Prime Minister Racan, there are also reasons to be concerned. The Croatian economy has been struggling for years. Unemployment and inflation rates are high. The country is deep in debt internationally. Many skilled, well-educated young people have left the country for better job prospects elsewhere. This has effectively created a "brain drain," which, unless it is stemmed, will have a negative impact for decades. For Croatia to continue on its new path, away from its nationalist past, the economy must improve. If a solid market economy cannot take hold, there is a very real possibility that the Croatian people will grow impatient with President Mesic and Prime Minister Racan and seek to replace them; possibly with individuals who would rule the country under nationalist communist ideology.

The other problem facing the Croatian economy is in the area of refugee returns. As my colleagues may know, the majority of the civilians forced out of their homes during the conflicts of the early 1990's still have not returned to their homes. Even as President Mesic works to implement his campaign commitment to create a legal environment where minority rights are protected, people will not return to their homes—if their home still exists—if there is no work for them when they return. Thus, Croatia's struggling economy does impact and will continue to impact the entire region.

Current trends in Macedonia suggest the existence of an extremist element within the ethnic Albanian community. These individuals are willing to resort to violence in order to destabilize the sitting democratically-elected government of Macedonia, and put in its place a government run by Albanians, for Albanians. These extremists are beginning to make their presence felt with the government in Macedonia. It will take a tremendous commitment on the part of the current government to maintain a democratic, multi-ethnic form of government in Macedonia in the face of this threat.

A major impediment to peace and prosperity in southeastern Europe is the rise in organized crime. There have been a number of recent reports indicating that the Balkans region is being used more and more frequently as a transshipment point for illegal narcotics and arms. These reports were echoed by nearly everyone I spoke with on the trip. With this illicit trade comes violence, corruption, a lack of foreign investment and general societal havoc. As the nations of the region work to establish the rule of law, a functional judicial system and prosperous economies, I believe America and European nations must offer their crime-fighting expertise in order to help the Balkan nations shape their own future and steer clear from the menace of organized crime.

A tremendous concern that Dr. Bernard Kouchner, civilian head of the UNMIK operation, brought to the forefront was that the international community must be more active in their dispersal of aid-money pledged to the region, and in particular, the EU needed to be a more active participant in this area. Indeed, the EU has only dispersed 13.3 percent of the money they have pledged to UNMIK thus far. The EU has a number of strong arguments to explain their delay, including the nature of their fiscal cycle, the various mechanisms in place to prevent fraud and abuse, the unwieldy nature of the body, etc. Regardless, the fact is that the money has to be put on the table. As I mentioned before, the U.S. is doing its fair share given the role we played during the course of the bombing campaign. Now is the time for the Europeans to do theirs.

Throughout my trip to the Balkans, all signs pointed to the fact that the Stability Pact was not being implemented to the benefit of the region.

I believe that the Stability Pact represents one of the few good things that resulted from the Kosovo bombing campaign. Under the Stability Pact, the Europeans, with the leadership of the Germans and the French, agreed to work towards the gradual integration of the nations of southeastern Europe into the broader European community. In practice, this means EU and NATO membership. In exchange, the nations of the Balkan region must agree to put aside the ethnic divisions and nationalism that has caused so much death and destruction in recent years. This compact, if implemented, would be a gigantic leap forward.

Unfortunately, so far, not much has happened with the Pact. Meetings and conferences between government bureaucrats have been held. There have been a lot of speeches, studies, conversations, debates, and the like, but nothing has really happened "on the ground" in the region. I believe the Pact must move ahead with infrastructure projects that benefit the economies of the region. Start building bridges. Start cleaning the Danube River. Start building "Corridor Eight," which will create an East-West railway/roadway travel corridor to stimulate commerce. Just start doing something!

I am somewhat heartened by the results of the Stability Pact conference in Brussels 2 weeks ago. There, 4 dozen countries and 3 dozen organizations pledged 2.4 billion Euros to fully-finance a 1.8 billion Euro "Quick Start" package of regional economic development and infrastructure projects and initiatives in southeast Europe over the next twelve months. I believe this commitment represents one of the first positive steps that has been taken since the end of the air war towards restoring peace and stability to the region.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert into the RECORD at the

end of my remarks a statement that was made by the Honorable Nadezhda Mihailova, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Bulgaria, regarding Bulgaria's perspective on southeastern Europe prior to the Stability Pact Conference.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See Exhibit 2.)

Mr. VOINOVICH. The deeds of the Kosovar Albanians are not matching the rhetoric of the Albanian leadership. As recent press reports have made clear, NATO is facing another potential crisis in Kosovo. Extremist members of the ethnic Albanian community—some have argued under the direction of Hashim Thaci—have refused to put down their arms, put aside their desire for revenge against the Serbs, and work towards peace. Rather, they are intent on pushing the Serbs, with bombings, assassinations, threats, etc. to force a response from Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade. Today, Kosovo Serbs are being killed, their monasteries are being burned, and they are afraid to leave their homes. This is not KFOR's fault. This is not UNMIK's fault. Radical elements within the Kosovo Albanian community are responsible for continued attacks against the dwindling Serb community in Kosovo. I am concerned that many in the Kosovo Albanian community want to force another confrontation between NATO and Milosevic so Kosovo can finally be rid of the Serb community and establish itself as an independent nation.

Let me be clear. The same group our State Department once called a terrorist organization—the KLA—whom we embraced as our friends and allies when NATO was bombing, are again becoming terrorists. They are working against the healing of Kosovo. Our message must be clear to Thaci, Rugova, Qosja and their Kosovo Albanian followers—stop this violence against the Serb community or the U.S. will pull out our troops. I said this directly to Thaci, Rugova and Qosja when I met them. As much as I want southeast Europe, including Kosovo and Serbia, to be integrated into the European community, I will work against it if the cycle of violence continues. The Kosovo Albanians have a historic opportunity to choose between two very different paths for the future—integration or continued isolation. The choice is theirs to make and the world will be watching.

Let me now turn to the Kosovo Serbs. They have suffered a great deal since the end of the Kosovo bombing campaign at the hands of certain elements within the Albanian community seeking revenge. However, the Kosovo Serbs' continued refusal to participate in UNMIK's Interim Administrative Council is unacceptable. I took the same message I made to the Albanians to the Serbs—stop the cycle of violence and move ahead towards reconciliation.

Decisions are going to be made regarding the future of Kosovo with or

without Serbian participation. It is in their best interest to become involved. I am somewhat heartened that Bishop Artemije's visit to the U.S. has prompted some progress towards getting the Kosovo Serbs to participate in the Interim Administrative Council. I understand that as a result of his visit, discussions are taking place that would allow the development of several media outlets within Kosovo. I am hopeful that this will serve as the impetus to get the Serb community in Kosovo involved in the Interim Administrative Council. It will require diligence and co-operation on a multi-ethnic approach, but I believe it will ultimately serve to draw the whole of Kosovo society together and stop the killing and violence and fear for life, limb and property that permeates the minority community in Kosovo.

Meanwhile, NATO continues to struggle with Milosevic's meddling hands in Kosovo. He has a group of extremist Kosovo Serbs, mainly situated around Mitrovica, agitating the situation in Kosovo whenever possible in an effort to encourage NATO to pack up and go home. He must not succeed. NATO must stand strong and refuse to accept any more provocations. They should seize illegal weapons and jail law-breakers and agitators. NATO forces should take the enemies of peace off the streets and shut-down the extremists of both sides. De-fusing the situation will lower tensions and allow the mainstream people of Kosovo to move forward with their future.

Last month, I introduced S. Res. 272 which I believe effectively addresses this issue, and many more. On Milosevic, the Resolution makes it clear that he continues to be the heart of the problem in the region. In order to encourage democratic change, the Resolution:

Expresses the readiness of the Senate, once there is a democratic government in Serbia, to review conditions for Serbia's full reintegration into the international community;

Expresses its readiness to assist a future democratic government in Serbia to build a democratic, peaceful, and prosperous society, based on the same principle of respect for international obligations, as set out by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the United Nations, which guide the relations of the United States with other countries in southeastern Europe; and

Calls upon the United States and other Western democracies to publicly announce and demonstrate to the Serbian people the magnitude of assistance they could expect after democratization.

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of S. Res. 272 be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See Exhibit 3.)

Mr. VOINOVICH. Mr. President, the NATO KFOR troops are in Kosovo to

provide a secure environment for all citizens while civic institutions develop. The UNMIK structure, which I will address momentarily, has been charged with this civic development—this nation building. One of the key elements in this process is the establishment of a functional judicial system, including a functional police force. It is hoped that once properly trained, this police force will eventually take the responsibility for domestic law enforcement from the KFOR troops.

The international community has promised to supply 4,433 police for this UN force in Kosovo. Our European friends have committed the bulk of this total. However, only 2,359 police are in place in Kosovo. This is appalling.

As a rule, our European allies have national police systems rather than state or provincial police forces like we do in the U.S. This matters because it gives the national governments—governments that have promised to put their police in Kosovo to serve in the UN body—the ability to simply direct redeployments to meet their commitments. This lack of will and action is truly appalling. To provide context, I think it is important to note that we have had to recruit the American men and women serving with the UN in Kosovo from our state and local police departments. The best information I have shows that we have put 481 people, out of our total commitment of 550, in place in Kosovo. If we can meet our promises through recruitment, surely our European friends can meet theirs through directives.

This all matters because the sooner the UN police force and a judicial system is operational in Kosovo, the sooner our troops can come home.

One of the issues hardly considered when NATO became involved in Kosovo was the development of an end game. Well, now we know why. We are, in fact, building a nation. I understand no one is willing to say this publicly but we need to be truthful: the international community—using UNMIK as its tool on the ground—is building a new nation in Kosovo. It's all-encompassing. From schools, to roads, to power grids, to taxation, to local elections, to municipal councils, to the judicial system—it is all now our responsibility because we won the war.

In conclusion, I would like to address those cynics who believe we should immediately pull out of Kosovo and the Balkans because they believe we will never successfully bring about peace in the region. These cynics often point to the historical hatred between the ethnic groups in the region as an indication that NATO and the UN are doomed to fail. I disagree. We can make a difference and history supports my view.

Consider the centuries of animosity and hatred between the nations of western Europe. Few would have thought that the bitter adversaries at the heart of two world wars last century could be looking to a new century

where borders are crossed without passports, where there is freedom of labor movement, and where there is no military presence on the borders. It happened because the nations of western Europe were willing to put aside centuries of hatred, revenge and ethnic prejudice and break the cycle of violence. If it could happen there, it can happen in southeast Europe.

One of the Beatitudes states that "blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God" (Matthew 5:9). With these words in mind, our efforts must be redoubled so that we may help bring peace, stability and prosperity to southeastern Europe.

EXHIBIT 1

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE FUNDING

Southeastern Europe (includes humanitarian, development, economic recovery and reconstruction assistance—military, security and assessed expenditures are not included)

The international community, led by the United States, the European Union and international financial institutions, has pledged \$4.033 billion in support for southeastern Europe for the year 2000. A complete list of the nations involved in this effort appears below:

(In billions of dollars)

	EU	U.S.	EU + ¹
Amount pledged	\$1.398	\$0.3764	\$1.8532
Amount pledged as a percentage of the total	34.7%	9.3%	45.9%

¹ EU + Individual European Nations (EU and Non-EU Members).

Kosovo Total (includes humanitarian, development, economic recovery and reconstruction assistance—military, security and assessed expenditures are not included)

The international community, led by the United States, the European Union and international financial institutions, has pledged \$1.013 billion in support for Kosovo for the year 2000. Again, a complete list of the nations involved in this effort appears below:

(In millions of dollars)

	EU	US	EU + ¹
Amount pledged	\$360	\$156.6	651.1
Amount pledged as a percentage of the total	35.5%	15.4%	64.2%

¹ EU + Individual European Nations (EU and Non-EU Members).

UNITED NATIONS MISSION IN KOSOVO (UNMIK) OPERATING EXPENSES

(In millions of dollars)

	EU	US	Total
Pledged	\$75	\$24	\$181.3
Dispersed	10	14	71.8
Amount pledged as a percentage of the total:	41.4%	13.2%	
Percentage of pledge dispersed:	13.3%	58.3%	

Assessed Contributions for United Nations Staff

The U.S. is assessed 25 percent of the United Nations regular budget. This budget is used to fund the staff involved with the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK).

UN POLICE

	Total	US
Pledged	4433	550
Fielded	2359	481

Expense: \$93 million (for both FY99 and FY00). The FY00 supplemental includes a request for an additional \$12.4 million to increase the number of Americans serving in the UN police force to 685 (from 550).

KFOR Troops

	Peacekeepers
Total	38,000
U.S.	5,800-6,200

The U.S. also has an additional 1,000 troops deployed in countries surrounding Kosovo to provide support for the operation.

Using 6,000 American troops (the average of the estimates), the U.S. has deployed 15.8 percent of the total forces involved in the KFOR operation.

Costs

	In billions
Initial Deployment (FY99)	\$1.2
Ongoing Operations (FY00)	\$1.9

EXHIBIT 2

STATEMENT OF HON. NADEZHDA MIHAILOVA, FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA

As the United States discusses assistance to Southeastern Europe prior to the Stability Pact financing conference in Brussels on March 29-30, 2000, I believe it is important to provide you with the Bulgarian perspective.

Before I speak to the contributions Bulgaria will make to peace and security in Southeast Europe, let me tell you a little about the distance Bulgaria has traveled since 1989.

In 1989, Bulgaria shared the plight of all the former Warsaw Pact countries. My generation inherited a country without democratic institutions, without the basic mechanisms of a market economy, and without a balance of political power based on trust between the citizens of Bulgaria and their government. Indeed, we had only two assets that proved to be of value: Bulgaria's 1300-year history as a state deeply involved in the history of Europe and a highly self-confident and self-reliant population.

Many of those who were committed to rebuilding a Bulgarian democracy, myself included, spent the early years of the 1990's in Europe and the United States refining our political thinking. I myself benefited from the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) established by Congress to fan the flames of freedom and in 1991-92, I specialized in foreign policy and public relations in the US Congress and Harvard University.

By 1996 Peter Stoyanov was elected President. Bulgaria had begun to turn the corner in its transition to a market economy and the election of Prime Minister Kostov and his Government gave a strong impetus to this process. A new generation of Bulgarians was ready to begin our drive for full integration (actually re-integration) into the institutions of the Euro-Atlantic community.

In the few short years in which I have been fortunate to serve as Foreign Minister, Bulgaria has been identified as one of the most qualified candidates under consideration for NATO membership. We have been invited by the European Union to begin accession negotiations on full membership and we allied ourselves with other democracies in resisting the depredations of Milosevic during the Kosovo War. Today, the values of freedom and democracy and the commitment to Euro-Atlantic cooperation form the foundation of our foreign policy. Our country is firmly dedicated to progressive but prompt integration into the European community.

I can state with considerable pride that Bulgaria has made great progress in the establishment of a robust and permanent pluralistic democracy and in building the structures to support a modern market economy. On the political side, we have reestablished institutions that guarantee democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and ensure respect

for and protection of minorities. On the economic side, Bulgaria has concentrated its efforts on the consolidation of market reforms, the acceleration of privatization, and the juridical measures a functioning market economy requires to operate openly and transparently.

These reforms have already produced significant improvement in the macroeconomic situation in Bulgaria. In 1998, we had a remarkably low annual inflation rate of 1%, after a horrible 578.6% in 1997. In 1999, the inflation rate increased to 6.2% mainly due to the obstruction of the Danube River, which damaged our trade relations with Europe. In 1998-99 our budget deficit was almost zero and we achieved a 3% growth in GDP. Additionally, the government maintains a high-level of hard currency reserves accounting for more than 30% of GDP.

We have completed the difficult task of liquidating state enterprises and banks undergoing losses. Privatization of Bulgaria's largest companies is nearly complete. My country has also begun to apply the rules of the European Monetary Union and the use of the Euro-currency. The European Union accession process will provide the Bulgarian economy a further impetus for development. The full introduction of European rules and practices in this rapidly growing emerging market should make Bulgaria very attractive for foreign investment. At the same time, by expanding its borders to include Bulgaria, the EU will come closer to regions, rich in natural resources and of great economic potential, with which Bulgaria has traditional economic ties.

In the foreign policy arena, Bulgaria has clearly and consistently defined its strategic goals. NATO membership, accession to the European Union, and dedication to lasting political stabilization for Southeastern Europe. After years of political legal, social and economic reform, our country began official negotiations with the EU last month. Full membership into the European Union is a strategic goal that enjoys wide support throughout Bulgarian society. The long cherished aspirations of the Bulgarian people for sharing the identity and the political future of a united Europe will be substantially advanced by our accession in the EU. But this step alone is insufficient.

Bulgaria's aspiration to join the European Union and NATO are motivated not only by its own economic interests and security reasons, but also by the desire to help strengthen the Euro-Atlantic community by promoting democracy throughout all the nations of Southeast Europe. Thus, Bulgaria's long-term foreign policy interests can only be served by joining with its neighbors in the effort to consolidate regional stability and security.

We believe that a safe and prosperous home can be built only in a safe and prosperous neighborhood.

Thus, only primary foreign policy goals in Southeast Europe are to:

Develop bilateral relations with all countries of the region based on a shared commitment to democratic values and human rights;

Mobilize and accelerate regional economic development through joint infrastructure projects, trade and investment encouragement, etc.;

Expand the scope of arms control, and support other measures for strengthening confidence and security;

Implement bilateral and multilateral measures for restricting new security risks, including regional programs aimed at combating transborder crime;

Play an active role in implementing the goals of the Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe.

A defining principle of Bulgaria's foreign policy with its neighbors has been to address and resolve contentious issues in pursuit of balanced bilateral relations. This bold approach has recently led to the resolution of some of the region's diplomatic divisions. Successes include re-opening relations between Bulgaria and the Republic of Macedonia (Bulgaria strongly supports Macedonia and as you know, was the first country in the world to recognize Macedonia) and the resolution of all disputed issues and development of equally friendly relations with Greece and Turkey. In addition, just last month, Bulgaria and Romania reached agreement on building a second bridge on the Danube River between Vidin and Kalafat. This agreement, I would argue, highlights the important strategic role Bulgaria can play in the context of regional political and economic stabilization as well as promoting the integration of Southeast Europe into the Euro-Atlantic community.

As an illustration of our efforts to enhance regional cooperation, Prime Minister Ivan Kostov organized a meeting in January with the Prime Ministers of the countries bordering the Former Republic of Yugoslavia. The basic goal of this meeting was to encourage broad discussion on how to pursue joint stabilization efforts. We also sought to send a clear message to the international community reflecting the view of these Southeastern European leaders.

Only a few weeks ago the first trilateral meeting of the foreign ministers of Bulgaria, Turkey and Greece took place that was generally estimated as a new step in building new patterns of relations in the region.

In addition, last month, Bulgaria joined six other nations in signing a 21-point charter to further democratic and economic development in the region. We pledged to support good neighborly relations, stability, security, and cooperation in Southeast Europe.

The United States does not need to be reminded that without Hungary, Romania, Greece, Turkey and Bulgaria working together, the containment of Serbian aggression and the eventual democratization of all of the Balkans will be impossible.

President Clinton's visit to Sofia last year and numerous conversations I have had with Lord Robertson and General Clark, serve to reinforce the role Bulgaria has played in developing and promoting multilateral cooperation in Southeast Europe and in standing firm with NATO during the Kosovo crisis. It is because of our past contributions and the pivotal role we can play in the region that the Bulgarian city of Plovdiv was chosen as the headquarters of the newly established Multinational Peace-keeping Forces in Southeast Europe.

Events in Serbia and Kosovo last year, however, adversely affected the economics of the region. We suffered direct losses in trade as a result of transportation difficulties and foreign investment in Bulgaria declined because the neighborhood was, and still is to some degree, perceived as unsafe and unreliable for foreign investors.

Bulgaria's view for the future of Southeast Europe is for the region to transform into a source of economic growth and an active link between Western Europe and the adjacent area to the northeast and southeast, whose strategic importance will continue to increase in this century. This vision is based, among other things, on the understanding that the region has an important place in the overall geopolitical architecture of Europe.

The present level of interdependence among countries and the status of Southeast

Europe's political and economic development directly impacts the entire European continent. In addition, security and stability in the region represents an important element of the European security architecture, and therefore is of strategic importance to the US.

That is precisely the reason why we are strongly encouraged by the growing involvement of the Euro-Atlantic community with the issues expressed in the Stability Pact promotion of security, democracy and economic development in the Balkans. This engagement marks the beginning of an approach that is fundamentally different from the past. It does not mean temporary crisis-management measures, but rather a move beyond this to a comprehensive effort to find a common concept for development of the region and its full integration into the Euro-Atlantic community.

Now is the time—nearly one year after the crisis in Kosovo—to turn the financial commitments made by the European Union into reality. We seek the support and leadership of the international community, and particularly the United States to transform the Stability Pact's long-term vision for "integrating the Balkans into Europe" into a concrete policy, with structured benchmarks backed by financial resources. The goal should not only be to neutralize the immediate consequences of the Kosovo crisis, but also to find solutions to the problems of economic development in the region as a whole. Cooperation and full integration of the region with a prospering and democratic Europe can be achieved only through integration on all fronts—political, economic, and financial. However, it is impossible to expect quick developments if no money comes to the region. We believe that funds should be devoted to long-term regional goals like transportation routes, infrastructure development, and improving specific institutions that can facilitate the links between the countries, such as customs operations, drug control and combating corruption.

Our key priorities for Stability Pact assistance include:

1. Construction of the Trans-European Transport Corridor #4. This project will connect Central Europe with Bulgaria and Macedonia and includes construction of a second bridge over the Danube at Vidin-Kalafat. The bridge will replace the ferry, decreasing travel time and eliminating the need to load and unload cargo. The project also includes construction of road and railway approaches, as well as border and customs infrastructure. The budget for the bridge is estimated to be US \$177 million. Included in this cost are road connections to the bridge from Romania and Bulgaria. The project is expected to take 3½ years.

2. Construction of a regional section of Trans-European Transport Corridor #8. This project, estimated at US\$10 million, involves construction of a 2.5-km railway connecting Gyueshevo, Bulgaria with the Macedonian border. This project will greatly improve the capacity of Trans-European Corridor #8. Project coordinators can make use of the partially installed track, and will need to construct a ballast prism, lay additional rails, complete and install electrification of a 500-meter tunnel, and improve border railway station and facilities. US \$1.1 million has already been invested to modernize Gyueshevo station, which started in the second quarter of 1998.

Completion of a new railroad between Beliakovitsa, Macedonia and the Bulgarian border is critical for effective functioning of the transportation corridor and requires an additional investment of US \$220 million.

Reconstruction of the railway track between Radomir and Gyueshevo in Bulgaria is

also necessary. This project includes laying electrical lines on 88 km of railway to increase maximum train speed from 65-75 to 160 km/h. It will cost US \$93 million and is expected to take three years.

3. Pipeline for light fuels. US \$40 million is needed to construct a 110-km pipeline from Thtiman, Bulgaria to Koumanova, Macedonia. This project also includes construction of petrol depot in Kriva Palanka or Koumanova.

4. Increased electrification of the railway between Karnobat and Sindel, Bulgaria. This project includes reconstruction and expansion of electrification along an existing 123-km railway line in order to increase transmission capacity and allow a maximum speed of 130 km/hr. Estimated cost of this project is US \$125 million, of which US \$38 million has already been spent. Additional funds would allow the project, part of Transport Corridor #8, to continue immediately.

5. Construction of an Information Center for Democratic Development for Southeastern Europe. The Center will contribute to the development and strengthening of democracy in the region by deepening the process of reform and building an atmosphere of confidence and understanding. It will also help prevent new crises and conflicts in the region. The center will be directly involved in the process of Yugoslavia's democratization, as well as the search for solutions to the lasting political and economic effects of the Kosovo crisis. Active NGO participation from the region will be key to realization of the Center's potential.

I cannot state strongly enough how critical U.S. leadership is at this time to ensure that the Stability Pact goals turn into action. U.S. Congressional commitment, along with a renewed commitment by the Administration, to support and encourage Europe to honor her financial commitments is vital to the success of the Stability Pact. Continued U.S. assistance through OPIC, EXIM and TDA is also crucial for stimulating foreign investment increased trade and implementation of infrastructure projects.

Finally, I would like to express my personal gratitude and that of the Republic of Bulgaria to the United States and particularly the U.S. Congress, for providing essential economic, political, and military assistance to Bulgaria and the other Balkan nations throughout the Kosovo conflict and beyond. The active support of the United States continues to be the indispensable condition for economic recovery of Southeast Europe and the completion of its long journey towards democracy. I cannot tell you how important it is for the United States to remain committed to your allies in this critical and dynamic region of the Euro-Atlantic community.

Thank you.

EXHIBIT 3
S. RES. 272

Whereas the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO's) March 24, 1999 through June 10, 1999 bombing of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia focused the attention of the international community on southeastern Europe;

Whereas the international community, in particular the United States and the European Union, made a commitment at the conclusion of the bombing campaign to integrate southeastern Europe into the broader European community;

Whereas there is an historic opportunity for the international community to help the people of southeastern Europe break the cycle of violence, retribution, and revenge and move towards respect for minority rights, establishment of the rule of law, and the further development of democratic governments;

Whereas the Stability Pact was established in July 1999 with the goal of promoting cooperation among the countries of south-eastern Europe, with a focus on long-term political stability and peace, security, democratization, and economic reconstruction and development;

Whereas the effective implementation of the Stability Pact is important to the long-term peace and stability in the region;

Whereas the people and Government of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia have a positive record of respect for minority rights, the rule of law, and democratic traditions since independence;

Whereas the people of Croatia have recently elected leaders that respect minority rights, the rule of law, and democratic traditions;

Whereas positive developments in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Croatia will clearly indicate to the people of Serbia that economic progress and integration into the international community is only possible if Milosevic is removed from power; and

Whereas the Republic of Slovenia continues to serve as a model for the region as it moves closer to European Union and NATO membership: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) welcomes the tide of democratic change in southeastern Europe, particularly the free and fair elections in Croatia, and the regional cooperation taking place under the umbrella of the Stability Pact;

(2) recognizes that in this trend, the regime of Slobodan Milosevic is ever more an anomaly, the only government in the region not democratically elected, and an obstacle to peace and neighborly relations in the region;

(3) expresses its sense that the United States cannot have normal relations with Belgrade as long as the Milosevic regime is in power;

(4) views Slobodan Milosevic as a brutal indicted war criminal, responsible for immeasurable bloodshed, ethnic hatred, and human rights abuses in southeastern Europe in recent years;

(5) considers international sanctions an essential tool to isolate the Milosevic regime and promote democracy, and urges the Administration to intensify, focus, and expand those sanctions that most effectively target the regime and its key supporters;

(6) supports strongly the efforts of the Serbian people to establish a democratic government and endorses their call for early, free, and fair elections;

(7) looks forward to establishing a normal relationship with a new democratic government in Serbia, which will permit an end to Belgrade's isolation and the opportunity to restore the historically friendly relations between the Serbian and American people;

(8) expresses the readiness of the Senate, once there is a democratic government in Serbia, to review conditions for Serbia's full reintegration into the international community;

(9) expresses its readiness to assist a future democratic government in Serbia to build a democratic, peaceful, and prosperous society, based on the same principle of respect for international obligations, as set out by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the United Nations, which guide the relations of the United States with other countries in southeastern Europe;

(10) calls upon the United States and other Western democracies to publicly announce and demonstrate to the Serbian people the magnitude of assistance they could expect after democratization; and

(11) recognizes the progress in democratic and market reform made by Montenegro, which can serve as a model for Serbia, and urges a peaceful resolution of political differences over the abrogation of Montenegro's rights under the federal constitution.

THE JUVENILE JUSTICE CONFERENCE

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I am disappointed that the majority continues to refuse to reconvene the conference on juvenile justice legislation.

This Congress has kept the country waiting far too long for action on juvenile justice legislation and sensible gun safety laws. We are fast approaching the first-year anniversary of the shooting at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado. Next Thursday will sadly mark one year since fourteen students and a teacher lost their lives in that tragedy on April 20, 1999.

It has been 11 months since the Senate passed the Hatch-Leahy juvenile justice bill by an overwhelming vote of 73-25. Our bipartisan bill includes modest yet effective gun safety provisions. It has been 10 months since the House of Representatives passed its own juvenile crime bill on June 17, 1999. It has been 9 months since the House and Senate juvenile justice conference met for the first—and only—time on August 5, 1999, less than 24 hours before the Congress adjourned for its long August recess.

Senate and House Democrats have been ready for months to reconvene the juvenile justice conference and work with Republicans to craft an effective juvenile justice conference report that includes reasonable gun safety provisions, but the majority refuses to act. Indeed, on October 20, 1999, all the House and Senate Democratic conferees wrote to Senator HATCH, the Chairman of the juvenile justice conference, and Congressman HYDE, the Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, to reconvene the conference immediately. This week, Congressman HYDE joined our call for the juvenile justice conference to meet as soon as possible in a letter to Senator HATCH, which was also signed by Congressman CONYERS.

Every parent, teacher and student in this country is concerned about school violence over the last two years and worried about when the next shooting may occur. They only hope it does not happen at their school or involve their children.

We all recognize that there is no single cause and no single legislative solution that will cure the ill of youth violence in our schools or in our streets. But we have an opportunity before us to do our part. We should seize this opportunity to act on balanced, effective juvenile justice legislation, and measures to keep guns out of the hands of children and away from criminals.

It is ironic that the Senate will be in recess next week on the anniversary of the Columbine tragedy. In fact, the

Senate has been in recess more than in session since the one ceremonial meeting of the juvenile crime conference committee. I hope we get to work soon and finish what we started in the juvenile justice conference. It is well past the time for Congress to act.

I ask unanimous consent that this Hyde-Conyers letter of April 11, 2000 be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,

Washington, DC, April 11, 2000.

Hon. ORRIN G. HATCH,
Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR CHAIRMAN HATCH: We write to request a juvenile justice conference meeting as soon as possible.

As you are aware, in the last two months, we have witnessed a succession of gun violence tragedies. We have been shocked by a six-year-old shooting a six-year-old in Mount Morris Township, Michigan. We have seen a nursing home held hostage and a mass shooting in Pittsburgh. In February, Memphis firefighters responding to a call were shot and killed by a disturbed man. It is clear that the Nation would like Congress to respond.

We know that there is not complete agreement on all of the issues before the Conference. We also recognize the need for compromise. We have already agreed in principle to proposed language to reduce the waiting period to 24 hours in most cases, but are still trying to resolve appropriate "safety hatch" exceptions.

We have pledged to each other to begin anew negotiations. We believe, however, that beginning the work of the Conference will play a constructive role in the necessary process of narrowing our differences.

We appreciate your consideration of this request.

Sincerely,

HENRY J. HYDE,
Chairman, House Judiciary Committee,
JOHN CONYERS, JR.,
Ranking Member, House Judiciary Committee.

SECTION 415 PENSION REFORM NEEDED

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, during this week prior to the April deadline for filing income tax returns with the Internal Revenue Service, Congress often focuses on the high tax burden shouldered by American families and the need for tax reform. Fundamental reform is my top tax legislative priority. I believe the entire confusing and incomprehensible tax code should be scrapped and replaced with a system that is fair, simple, uniform and consistent. Until such fundamental reform can take place, I will continue to work in support of tax reform measures that correct unfair aspects of the existing tax code mess.

One section of the code that I believe needs to be changed and changed soon is Section 415. Section 415 of the tax code was enacted in 1974 for the purpose of limiting the pensions of corporate executives. Section 415 no