

the vice tightens on Milosevic's cronies and makes it clear to them that they will have absolutely no future in a Milosevic-run state, I think it may occur to them to serve Sloba up on a platter to the Hague.

We have all learned not to make rash predictions about when Milosevic will fall from power, and I won't fall into that trap today. But the signs of increasing discontent are everywhere—from the new student-run, grassroots resistance movement called Otpor to the rash of gangland style assassinations and assassination attempts among Milosevic's retinue and allies.

So while I can't say when Milosevic will fall, fall he will. And it will be much better, both for Serbia and for the international community, if he falls as a result of pressure from his own people, rather than from some sordid deal cooked up abroad.

In a larger sense, why should we nip a promising international judicial effort in the bud in a misguided attempt to relieve the Serbs, in the worst possible way, of a problem that they spawned and that they have the primary responsibility to rectify?

Somehow the curse of Milosevic is to be lifted from the Serbian people by a foreign *deus ex machina*, in this case the good Russian tsar. And then, in return for having graciously allowed their dictator to depart, the Serbian people would receive and end to sanctions from the international community.

Give me a break. Even if we could persuade Putin to go against his self-interest—a total impossibility, of course—such a deal would only fuel the Serbs' oft-noted passion for blaming others for misfortunes that they themselves have created. Why else would the foreigners have gotten rid of Milosevic if they hadn't somehow been responsible for him in the first place?

And what are we to make of the article's nice plan that part of the deal would be free and fair elections in Serbia under international supervision? I can just imagine what the other war criminals in the Yugoslav and Serbian governments would think of that idea!

The most likely result of an arranged Milosevic departure would be another set of gangsters, not democrats elected by universal suffrage. The Panic op-ed is entitled "Exit Milosevic." It might just as well be entitled "Enter Seselj"—that is, Vojislav Seselj, the fascist Deputy Prime Minister of Serbia. Mr. Panic's naivete gives us a pretty good clue as to why Milosevic so easily outmaneuvered him in 1993.

Morality, Serbian politics, and the Hague Tribunal aside, granting asylum to Milosevic would be a political disaster for the United States and for NATO.

Last year President Clinton had a difficult time in rounding up support within NATO's nineteen members for Operation Allied Force, and then sustaining that support until Milosevic's troops and paramilitaries were forced

out of Kosovo. But he skillfully managed to do it, and alliance unity was preserved.

Then we got our European allies and others to assume 85 percent of the burden of KFOR in Kosovo and also to fund the vast majority of the cost of the Stability Pact for South East Europe.

Now, after pardoning Milosevic, I suppose we could turn to our European allies and say, "incidentally, friends, we really didn't need to fight that pesky, little air war after all. We could have just bought off old Sloba last year and sent him packing. But please don't ignore fulfilling the commitments you made to the Defense Capabilities Initiative at the Washington NATO Summit. We really do need an alliance with teeth, so you still have to spend a lot to upgrade your forces. Don't worry, though. The Milosevic buyout was just a one-time event. Nothing like that will happen again. NATO is really not in the amnesty business. It's just that the Serbs needed us to take the monkey off their back, and we're sure that Sloba's successors will now choose to cooperate with us."

Pardon my sarcasm, Mr. President, but this amnesty idea is just too politically naive to believe.

The Panic article also reveals an impatience as American as apple pie. We all want a quick fix. But, my friends, there are few quick fixes in life that have any permanence, and trying to set the Balkans right by way of shortcuts certainly isn't one of them.

To have any chance of creating a modicum of stability in the former Yugoslavia and elsewhere in the region, solutions must be largely home-grown, if under the security umbrella provided by NATO.

So, let's consign the Panic op-ed to sophomore political science seminars and think-tank luncheons—but not to serious consideration by our Government.

Let's get on with the vital, if prosaic, business of rebuilding Bosnia and Kosovo and supporting the opposition in Serbia through a variety of programs, which are in place, ongoing, and which, in time, I believe, will succeed.

#### VICTIMS OF GUN VIOLENCE

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, it has been more than a year since the Columbine tragedy, but still this Republican Congress refuses to act on sensible gun legislation.

Since Columbine, thousands of Americans have been killed by gunfire. Until we act, Democrats in the Senate will read some of the names of those who lost their lives to gun violence in the past year, and we will continue to do so every day that the Senate is session.

In the name of those who died, we will continue this fight. Following are the names of some of the people who were killed by gunfire one year ago today, June 21, 1999.

Larry Davis, 28, St. Louis, MO; Anthony Douglas, 19, New Orleans, LA;

Helen Elizabeth Foster-El, 55, Washington, DC; Izeall Hester, 41, Miami-Dade County, FL; Curtis Hill, 20, Oakland, CA; Sixto Ibarra, 17, Chicago, IL; Alex James, 20, Miami-Dade County, FL; Pedro Resendiz, 24, Kansas City, MO; Keith Siverand, 10, Houston, TX; Stefan Sure, 38, New Orleans, LA; Lung Van Lam, San Francisco, CA; Michael D. Washington, 21, Chicago, IL; Summersett Wheeler, 29, Miami-Dade County, FL; and Laran Wilson, 23, Louisville, KY.

#### HATE CRIMES PREVENTION ACT

Mr. L. CHAFEE. Mr. President, yesterday the Senate debated an issue of critical importance—preventing hate crimes. Hate crimes are attacks on our very culture. What makes the United States different from places such as the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, or the Middle East, civilizations which are torn apart by prejudice and hatred, is our acceptance of diversity. The image of the United States as a melting pot, where diversity flourishes, is shattered by news stories of hate related violence. Hate crimes are crimes of intimidation and violence, in which a person's civil rights are threatened because of prejudice.

The Hate Crimes Prevention Act, of which I am proud to be a cosponsor, does not create a new law, nor does it federalize more crimes. Rather, it clarifies a law that has been on the books for over thirty years. Federal hate crimes protections were established as part of the Civil Rights Act of 1968. The law sets up a backstop for states that cannot adequately prosecute these hate-based crimes. However, the current law's strict dual intent requirement that the defendant acted because of the victim's race, religion, or ethnicity and because the victim was enjoying or exercising a federally protected right, such as voting or attending public school, is far too constricting. Even the heinous dragging death of James Byrd, Jr. in Jasper, Texas did not qualify under current law as a federal hate crime. Never since the statute was enacted have there been more than 10 prosecutions for hate crimes in a year.

The Smith-Kennedy amendment has two major components. First, it expands individuals covered by hate crimes to include sexual orientation, gender, and disability. Second, it eliminates constraints that make the current law ineffective. The federal government, with the approval of a state's Attorney General, would be empowered to prosecute crimes that cause death or bodily injury "because of the actual or perceived race, color, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, gender, or disability" of the victim. According to FBI statistics, in 1996, almost two-thirds of the reported hate crimes were due to race, while 12% were based on sexual orientation. It is important that protection from hate crimes be extended to all of America's citizens.