

worst instincts of Europe and Western civilization is to ignore the very real progress and the tremendous victories that have been made possible by our allied unity and American intervention.

Who would have imagined that in a little over 50 years, since the end of World War II, bitter enemies like France and Germany, England and Italy, would be joined by a common currency, a common market, and a pledge to defend one another against a common enemy? It was the sacrifice of many, including Americans, that made it possible for Europe to turn its back on a history of bloody conflict and embrace a vision for peace and democracy across its great continent.

Ironically, as NATO expands to the east and the European Union incorporates still more of Europe, we are faced with a war in Yugoslavia that threatens to undo all of this good work. It is ironic because that is how this century began, with an act of violence from Serbia which sparked a world war.

The President is fond of saying that the war in Kosovo will either be the last war of the 20th century or the first war of the 21st. What I believe he is trying to say is, that we can defeat Milosevic and give meaning to nearly 100 years of American struggle and effort to bring peace to Europe and secure the gains of our parents and grandparents, or we can turn our backs on their sacrifice, ignore the human tragedy, ignore the tremendous financial investment that has already been made. Then we will hope against our experience that the conflict in Kosovo will simply fade away.

Many have remarked that the 20th century has been the most bloody in human history. It is hard to verify such claims. Nevertheless, it is true that we live in an era where the efficiency of industry and technology has been matched, unfortunately, by our expert ability to kill one another. We must, however, stay the course and join with our NATO allies to finish our work and eliminate military aggression and ethnic cleansing as a legitimate tool of national policy.

There is a sleepy little town in Austria, near the German border called Branau am Inn. It is not one of those towns at the crossroads of Europe; it is not the home of kings and emperors. In fact, no one in Branau, if it were not for a small event, no one in the world would have ever heard of Branau. But it is the birthplace of Adolf Hitler. The sad legacy of this town is not marked with any great monument. Instead, above the home where Hitler was born, two simple words are written: Never again.

Those two words represent a solemn pledge that this country and all civilized nations made at the close of World War II: Never again would we stand idly by while innocent men,

women, and children were massacred. Never again would we allow a nation to invade its neighbors without consequences.

Some of my colleagues here in the Senate are consistently remind us that Kosovo is not the Holocaust. I agree. What has occurred in the last few months, does not yet compare to the crimes the Nazi's perpetrated. But this is a senseless justification for inaction. Should we wait for another Holocaust to occur before we act decisively? What, then, is the point of action? How many children must be traumatized? How many homes need to be destroyed? How many women need to be victims of brutality before we can act? I say the words "never again" mean that we should not wait and we will be decisive in our action. That is why I support using whatever means is necessary to accomplish the goal set out by NATO. The President and our NATO allies believe we can achieve this purpose through air attacks. I certainly hope this is correct. But I also agree with many of my colleagues, led by Senators MCCAIN and BIDEN, that we cannot rule out other measures that can assure our victory and success. I am proud to join them in cosponsoring an important resolution that they introduced earlier this week, which seeks to give the President the authority and tools necessary to win this war. I urge my colleagues to consider joining with us to send this powerful and much-needed message of resolve during the conflict.

The only way that we can have peace in the Balkans is for people like Milosevic and the thugs underneath him to understand that there are real and personal consequences for their barbaric atrocities.

The reports are very disturbing and it is very hard for me to repeat them. I predict, unfortunately, that more and more horror stories will be appear in our papers, as more survivors escape to tell their stories. As NATO spokesman, Jamie Shea, explained, the Serbs are engaging in a sort of "human safari" where they methodically flush out their victims from their homes using tear gas and herd them like animals out of Kosovo. There have been repeated reports of the systematic rape of girls and women. Very conservative NATO estimates indicate that over 100,000 people have simply disappeared, many of them men who have been separated from their families—probably many to their early deaths. When we pledged "never again," these were the sorts of atrocities that we were talking about.

As a result of these reports that, I intend to introduce a resolution in the Senate calling on the President to ask for war crimes indictments against the Serbian leadership before the International Criminal Tribunal for the former republic of Yugoslavia. The chief prosecutor has already announced

that the jurisdiction of the tribunal extends to Kosovo.

We must ask ourselves what kind of situation will we have if Milosevic and his allies go unpunished. Will we have another rogue nation, this time in the heart of Europe, with little else motivating them besides age-old desires for revenge and an interest in interfering with the stability and prosperity of the United States and the entire European continent? We simply cannot allow another Iraq in the middle of Europe. One of the central tenets of our policy must be that these individuals will be brought to justice. Only then will these hundreds of thousands of refugees have any chance of returning to their homes. Only then will we have peace and democracy in the Former Republic of Yugoslavia, and only then will we have at least begun to live up to our solemn promise of "never again." I wish the best of success for the gathering here in Washington of our NATO allies.

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#### TAKE YOUR DAUGHTER TO WORK DAY

Ms. LANDRIEU. Mr. President, on a note closer to home, I would like to say a special word of thanks to all the Senators and staffers that joined together in support of a very special day here in Washington and in America that we hope will spread to many places in the world, and that is Take Your Daughter to Work Day. I have with me here working in the Capitol two of my nieces, Holly Landrieu and Emily Landrieu, and two of my friends from college and their daughters are here, Sarah Margaret and Claire.

With the hundreds of other young girls that have joined us, they are learning that our work is about domestic issues and international issues, that we have to be concerned with what happens in our own communities and in far places around the world. So it has been a good experience for many of them. I thank our colleagues for sharing this day with so many special girls in this area and around the country.

I yield the floor.

Mr. GRAMS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota is recognized.

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#### UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be able to change the previous order and that I be allowed to speak for up to 10 minutes in morning business following Senator DURBIN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. THURMOND addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina, Mr. THURMOND, is recognized.

(The remarks of Mr. THURMOND pertaining to the introduction of S. 865 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SESSIONS). We thank the distinguished President pro tempore for the remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from Illinois is recognized.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I send a bill to the desk for introduction and appropriate referral to committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

(The remarks of Mr. DURBIN pertaining to the introduction of S. 873 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

### KOSOVO

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I would like to address for a moment as well some reflections on the visit I made this past weekend as part of this delegation. It was a delegation that flew from Washington Andrews Air Force base to Ramstein Air Force Base in Germany where we met with General Wesley Clark, the Supreme Allied Commander of the NATO forces for our mission in Kosovo and Serbia. We then went to a war room at that base and met, as I mentioned earlier, with some of the most amazing young men and women that America could ever hope to bring to this cause. They are so filled with energy and commitment and enthusiasm that it really makes you proud to be an American, to be in their midst. You see the amazing technology at their disposal and realize without their dedication and their talent it would mean little or nothing.

We flew the next morning from that Air Force base directly, on a cargo plane, to Albania, one of the poorest countries in Europe, where, on a lengthy landing strip, we saw one of the most massive humanitarian efforts undertaken since World War II in Europe. Countries literally from all over the world are rallying for the Kosovo refugees. Among them you could see evidence of humanitarian assistance from the French, the Swedes, of course the Americans; helicopters from the United Arab Emirates—so many different countries coming together in this humanitarian undertaking. The men and women who have to endure the most primitive conditions living there to protect this humanitarian airlift, again, deserve our praise, because there they sit literally on a muddy delta in their tents doing their duty. I was proud to represent this Nation and represent the State of Illinois in thanking them so much for their sacrifice.

We flew from Albania, after meeting with the Prime Minister, to Macedonia, part of the trip which I may never forget as long as I live, because we visited a refugee camp at a place outside of Skopje, Macedonia, the camp known as Brazda, or Stakovac. Two weeks ago, this camp did not exist. Today, it has 32,000 people in it. In the 48 hours before we arrived, over 7,000 refugees came across the border out of Kosovo, looking for safety.

I walked into that camp which had been built by NATO and was being managed by the Catholic Relief Services and was literally mobbed when I offered a piece of candy to a young child. They saw an American with a bag full of candy and they wanted to come up and meet me right away. I passed out a lot of these Hershey Kisses to the kids, and their parents stood around. With a translator, I asked them: Why are you here? Open-ended question, no propaganda: Why did you leave Kosovo?

The story was the same over and over again. Simple people leading ordinary lives in the villages of Kosovo would hear a knock on the door in the middle of the night, only to be greeted by people in black ski masks, some of whom they knew right away to be their neighbors, who announced they had 5 minutes to pick up anything they wanted to pick up with them and leave the country because their house was about to be burned down or blown up. In many cases, the head of the family, if he were a young adult male, was taken away from them. The rest were pushed out in the road and they started their walk, their walk to safety, their walk out of Kosovo.

You know, when you see pictures of refugee camps around the world, you see some very sad scenes. Many times the people are very poor, starving, very sick, some dying on the spot. That was not the case at these refugee camps. These people, as I said, were ordinary people leading their lives, who were disrupted because of Slobodan Milosevic's ethnic cleansing. What was their crime? They committed no crime other than to have, as far as Mr. Milosevic was concerned, the wrong ethnic background, the wrong culture, the wrong religion. You see, he is cleansing his country, as he says, of these undesirables.

I am not sure what the word genocide means to most people, but when I saw these people, the tens of thousands, shunned, rejected, persecuted and pushed out of their homes, now trying to make a simple life in a refugee camp, I understood genocide and "geno-suffering."

Some people ask a question: Why is the United States involved in this? Why do we care? What does this have to do with America? Come on, these are people in Serbia and they always fight, don't they?

I think there is more to the story because what is at stake here is Europe, and Europe has always had a special meaning to the United States. In this century, we fought two World Wars, we have given the best of our country in defense of causes that we felt were right against Nazism, against communism, to make certain that Europe was peaceful, had stability, was there, and they were friends of the United States. It means something to the people of Europe.

This morning, as part of the NATO summit, the Polish Prime Minister came here on Capitol Hill. It was a wonderful celebratory gathering, for breakfast: Poland, so proud and happy to be part of NATO. Think of that, that this country that went through such deprivation during World War II under the heel of communism for so many decades had finally pushed it aside through their own courage and determination and said once and for all: We are not neutral in our future. We are part of the West. We want to be part of NATO. That is where we belong.

I am proud of that, proud of that as an American that Hungary, the Czech Republic and Poland became part of NATO and are dedicated to the principle of democracy, something we are all about in the United States. What a great celebration will happen in Washington, even under the shadow of the war that goes on, as these NATO allies come together, determined to make a better future in Europe. That is one of the reasons we are there.

Second, NATO itself is being tested. The NATO alliance has come forward and said we will not allow a dictator in Europe who pursues these policies of genocide, who has initiated four wars in 10 years, who tomorrow will start another war and pick some more innocent victims—we cannot have a stable Europe with this in place. Slobodan Milosevic must be stopped. Mr. President, 18 allied nations turned to the United States and said: Are you with us? Will you be with us in this mission? I am glad President Clinton said yes. I voted for the airstrikes. I think it was the appropriate response for NATO against Milosevic.

The third issue is one of values, values as to whether or not we stand for anything as Americans. God knows we have throughout our history. We do not get engaged in wars to pick up territory or to come back with loot and booty. We get engaged in wars for values. That is what it was all about in World War II; to make sure that Hitler and his genocide would come to an end once and for all, to make certain in the cold war that we stopped the spread of communism in Europe. Now, today, in this mission in Kosovo, we say we are standing again for values that are important, not only in the United States, but in Europe and around the world.

There are some who question this, and I understand it. I am not one who