

Kosovo, the Kosovo Consolidated Budget, and police (including special police) for the United Nations international police force for Kosovo;

(2) the amount of assistance that has been provided in each category, and the number of police that have been deployed to Kosovo, by each such organization or nation; and

(3) the full range of commitments and responsibilities that have been undertaken for Kosovo by the United Nations, the European Union, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the progress made by those organizations in fulfilling those commitments and responsibilities, an assessment of the tasks that remain to be accomplished, and an anticipated schedule for completing those tasks.

(c) If the President does not submit to Congress a certification and report under subsections (a) and (b) on or before June 1, 2000, then, beginning on June 2, 2000, the 50 percent of the amounts appropriated in this Act under the heading "OVERSEAS CONTINGENCY OPERATIONS TRANSFER FUND" for military operations in Kosovo that remain unobligated (as required by subsection (a)) shall be available only for the purpose of conducting a safe, orderly, and phased withdrawal of United States military personnel from Kosovo, and no other amounts appropriated for the Department of Defense in this Act or any Act enacted before the date of the enactment of this Act may be obligated to continue the deployment of United States military personnel in Kosovo. In that case, the President shall submit to Congress, not later than June 30, 2000, a report on the plan for the withdrawal.

EXHIBIT No. 5

[From the New York Times, Mar. 20, 2000]

EUROPE'S TURN TO KEEP THE PEACE

(By Robert C. Byrd)

A year ago, American and NATO warplanes began 78 days of air assaults that halted the murderous assault of Slobodan Milosevic on the Kosovar Albanians. If the United States has learned anything in the nine months of peacekeeping that followed, it should be that once again we are proving to be a lot better at waging war than we are at managing peace. Kosovo today appears to be on the verge of unraveling.

American and NATO peacekeepers skirt danger daily. Reconstruction has been negligible. Mr. Milosevic remains firmly in control in Serbia and, by most reckoning, is stepping up his effort to foment trouble along the border between Serbia and Kosovo. In the latest eruption of violence, ethnic Albanian insurgents have begun attacking Serbs across the border in Serbia.

The administration's response to this deepening crisis? Stern words to the Albanians, urgent pleas to our allies for more troops and money, and a request to Congress for a supplemental \$2 billion to continue American peacekeeping business as usual in Kosovo.

Is that really the best we can do?

I see three options we can practically consider at this juncture.

We can stay the course, reacting to events as they occur and hoping for the best as we settle into a semi-permanent role of soldiers on patrol and cops on the beat. We can pick a date and simply pull American troops out of Kosovo. Or Congress can give the administration unequivocal direction and a reasonable period of time—say three months—to craft a framework for turning the Kosovo peacekeeping operation over to our European allies. Congress can then examine the

plan, gauge the progress being made, and vote either to stay or to go.

It is my firm belief that the United States should take steps to turn the Kosovo peacekeeping operation over to our European allies. NATO undertook the Kosovo mission with an understanding that Europe, not America, would shoulder the peacekeeping and reconstruction duties. The United States, with its outstanding military forces and weaponry, effectively won the war; the European allies were to keep the peace.

But now, as the United Nations interim administration in Kosovo teeters on the brink of bankruptcy, NATO allies are squabbling over the need for military reinforcements, and the international police that were supposed to help bring law and order remain undermanned, underfinanced, and unable to cope.

If Congress agrees to the administration's request for additional financing for Kosovo, it should be with the clear understanding that the money is tied to a plan for establishing an all-European peacekeeping force. The plan should have benchmarks, like numbers of European troops to be added to the forces by particular dates, and Congress should have an opportunity to vote on whether to keep troops in Kosovo if those benchmarks are not being met.

Removal of American troops from Kosovo need not be abrupt and need not mean that the United States is turning its back on the victims of Slobodan Milosevic. We can continue to support humanitarian relief and can provide support in military logistics, communications, intelligence and effective command.

It is just possible that the Europeans will excel at peacekeeping duties in Kosovo if ever they are allowed to emerge from the overwhelming shadow cast by the United States. Unfortunately, we will never know if we do not tie further American investment in Kosovo to a rock-solid plan to turn the peacekeeping operation over to them—sooner rather than later.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

AGAINST LIFTING THE TRAVEL BAN ON LIBYA

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, on Wednesday of this week, a team of State Department officials departed for Libya as part of a review of the travel ban that has been in effect since 1981.

State Department officials will be in Libya for 26 hours in the next few days, visiting hotels and other sites. They will then prepare a recommendation for the Secretary to help her determine if there is still "Imminent danger to . . . the physical safety of United States travellers," as the law requires in order to maintain the ban.

Because of the travel ban, American citizens can only travel to Libya if they obtain a license from the Department of the Treasury. In addition, the State Department must first validate a passport for travel to Libya.

The travel ban was imposed originally for safety reasons and predates the terrorist bombing of Pan Am Flight 103. But lifting the ban now, just as the two Libyan suspects are about to go on trial in the Netherlands for

their role in that atrocity, will undoubtedly be viewed as a gesture of good will to Colonel Qadhafi.

Indeed, just after the State Department announced that it would send this consular team, a Saudi-owned daily paper quoted a senior Libyan official as saying the one-day visit by the U.S. Team was a "step in the right direction."

The official said the visit was a sign that "the international community was convinced that Libya's foreign policy position was not wrong and there is a noticeable improvement in Libya's relations with the world."

I have been in contact with many of the families of the victims of Pan Am Flight 103, and they are extremely upset by the timing of this decision. The families want to know why the Secretary of State is making this friendly overture to Qadhafi now—just six weeks before the trial in the Netherlands begins. They question how much information the State Department will be able to obtain by spending only 26 hours in Libya. They wonder why the Department cannot continue to use the same sources of information it has been using for many years to make a determination about the travel ban.

These courageous Americans have waited for justice for eleven long years. They feel betrayed by this decision. They have watched with dismay as our close ally, Great Britain, has rushed to reestablish diplomatic relations with Libya, before justice is served for the British citizens killed in the terrorist bombing. The State Department denies it, but the families are concerned that the visit signals a change in U.S. policy, undermines U.S. sanctions, and calls into question the Administration's commitment to vigorously enforce the Iran Libya Sanctions Act. That Act requires the U.S. to impose sanctions on foreign companies which invest more than \$40 million in the Libyan petroleum industry, until Libya complies with the four conditions specified by the UN Security Council.

The bombing of Pan Am Flight 103, in which 188 Americans were killed, was one of the worst terrorist atrocities in American history. The State Department should not have sent a delegation to Libya now and it should not lift the travel ban on Libya at this time. The State Department's long-standing case-by-case consideration of passport requests for visits to Libya by U.S. citizens has worked well. It can continue to do so for the foreseeable future.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. THOMPSON. If there is no further business to come before the Senate, I now ask that the Senate stand in adjournment under the previous order