

TABLE 1. FISCAL YEAR 2000 SENATE CURRENT LEVEL REPORT, AS OF JUNE 19, 2000

(In billions of dollars)

	Budget res- olution	Current level <sup>1</sup>	Current level over/ under reso- lution
<b>On/budget:</b>			
Budget authority .....	1,467.3	1,469.6	2.3
Outlays .....	1,441.1	1,447.9	6.8
Revenues .....	1,465.5	1,465.5	( <sup>2</sup> )
Debt Subject to Limit .....	5,628.3	5,558.0	-70.3
<b>Off-budget</b>			
Social Security Outlays .....	326.5	326.5	0.0
Social Security Revenues .....	479.6	479.6	0.0

<sup>1</sup> Current level is the estimated revenue and direct spending effects of all legislation that the Congress has enacted or sent to the President for his approval. In addition, full-year funding estimates under current law are included for entitlement and mandatory programs requiring annual appropriations even if the appropriations have not been made. The current level of debt subject to limit reflects the latest information from the U.S. Treasury.

<sup>2</sup> Equal less than \$50 million.

Source: Congressional Budget Office.

TABLE 2. SUPPORTING DETAIL FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 2000 SENATE CURRENT LEVEL REPORT FOR ON-BUDGET SPENDING AND REVENUES, AS OF JUNE 19, 2000

(In millions of dollars)

	Budget au- thority	Outlays	Revenues
<b>Enacted in previous sessions:</b>			
Revenues .....	0	0	1,465,480
Permanents and other spending legislation .....	876,140	836,751	0
Appropriation legislation .....	869,318	889,756	0
Offsetting receipts .....	-284,184	-284,184	0
Total, enacted in previous sessions .....	1,461,274	1,442,274	1,465,480
<b>Enacted this session:</b>			
Omnibus Parks Technical Corrections Act of 1999 (P.L. 106-176) .....	7	3	0
Wendell H. Ford Aviation Investment and Reform Act (P.L. 106-181) .....	2,805	0	0
Trade and Development Act of 2000 (P.L. 106-200) .....	53	52	-8
Total, enacted this session .....	2,865	55	-8
Cleared pending signature: Agricultural Risk Protection Act of 2000 (H.R. 2559) .....	5,500	5,500	0
<b>Total Current Level .....</b>	<b>1,469,639</b>	<b>1,447,878</b>	<b>1,465,472</b>
<b>Total Budget Resolution .....</b>	<b>1,467,300</b>	<b>1,441,100</b>	<b>1,465,500</b>
Current Level Over Budget Resolution .....	2,339	6,778	n.a.
Current Level Under Budget Resolution .....	n.a.	n.a.	28
Memorandum: Emergency designations for bills enacted this session .....	0	0	0

Source: Congressional Budget Office.

Note: P.L.=Public Law; n.n.=not applicable.

## AGAINST AMNESTY FOR MILOSEVIC

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I rise today to comment on an opinion piece in the June 20 edition of the Washington Post written by Mr. Milan Panic, former Prime Minister of Yugoslavia, and an American citizen.

In this article, Mr. Panic argues for getting Russian President Putin to agree to offer Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic asylum, in a deal approved by the international community.

This is an appalling idea whose time, thank heavens, has not come. At least it would appear so, since it has been widely reported that at their recent summit meeting Putin told President Clinton that Miami seemed to be as good a place for Milosevic as Moscow.

President Putin may not be turning out to be a model democrat, but no one has accused him of being dumb. He obviously feels that having Milosevic enlivening the Moscow scene would not exactly burnish his own credentials.

All kidding aside, the idea of blithely pronouncing all of our efforts in the former Yugoslavia over the last decade a hopeless failure and then letting the architect of the carnage skip off with his family to exile is both morally reprehensible and politically catastrophic.

The international community has labored long and hard to set up the International Criminal Tribunal for the

Former Yugoslavia in the Hague, and then to get it up and running.

Over the past year the number of individuals indicted for alleged war crimes in custody has risen dramatically. Why should we totally undercut the Hague Tribunal, just when it is hitting its stride?

Why should we undercut the new, reformist government in Croatia, which has reversed the obstructionist course of the late strongman Tudjman and has begun cooperating with the Hague? If Milosevic is given a suspension of prosecution, then why shouldn't all the Croats in custody get the same deal?

In arguing against undercutting the Hague Tribunal, I do not wish to imply that it has been a complete success. What is missing from the jail cells in the Hague, of course, are the really big fish—the chief villains of the massive slaughter in Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovo.

I am, of course, talking about Radovan Karadzic, Ratko Mladic, and, above all, the boss of all bosses Slobodan Milosevic. That's the point! To make this promising international effort work we need to do precisely the opposite from granting amnesty to public enemy number-one. We need to add him to the growing list of indicted suspects in detention.

The Panic op-ed argues that we won't be able to capture Milosevic. In the short run, we probably won't. But as 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 fail 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.

The Supreme Court has already signaled the constitutionality of hate crime statutes. In Wisconsin v. Mitchell, the Supreme Court unanimously upheld the constitutional right of states to enact hate crimes statutes. I believe that it is now time for Congress to act.

Mr. President, I cosponsored the Hate Crimes Prevention Act because it was the right thing to do. The issue here is civil rights, and as a nation we went a long way in the last century toward assuring that the civil rights of ALL Americans were not infringed upon. Let's start this new century with another step in the right direction.

#### PLACING CHECHNYA ON THE AGENDA OF THE G-7 SUMMIT

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I rise today to once again draw attention to the continuing war in Chechnya and to urge the Administration to include Chechnya high on the agenda at next months G-7 summit.

Colleagues, last Wednesday I met with Mr. II-yas AK-ma-dov who was here to present a peace proposal on behalf of the Chechen people. This peace