that the primary purpose of the resolution is to applaud the fact that someone could, one can hardly have been a primary instigator of heinous crimes be brought to justice. I applaud that sentiment. A number of similarly culpable persons from all the groups concerned should have to answer for what has occurred, and for the past ten years, and strife in former Yugoslavia, and by all accounts Milosevic tops the list. His prosecution and, if he is found guilty after a fair and open judicial process, his severe punishment are very much in order.

However, despite my decision not to object to this resolution, I think it is important to point out that it contains several elements that do not serve United States interests. And some of what is stated in it is not even accurate. Indeed, when an effort was made to pass this resolution just prior to the July 4 recess, I asked that it be held up until some of these could be addressed. It was too committed, and some of the problematic portions were in fact made worse. I wish to address some of these briefly.

First, just as a factual matter—and this is new language added in committee—it is inaccurate to state, as the Resolution does in the second “Whereas” clause, that “the reformist Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has exercised its sovereign right to extricate itself from prosecution to deflect blame on Milosevic.” Actually, as far as anyone knows, the federal Yugoslav government headed by President Vojislav Kostunica, an old-fashioned patriot, who, incidentally, was the translator of the U.S. Federalist Papers into Serbian, had nothing to do with the Milosevic handover and in fact strongly opposed it, but was circumvented by the Serbian republic government of Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic.

Second, I hardly say that this was a “free exercise of sovereignty.” It is well known that the United States—mistakenly, in my view, continuing the policies of the Clinton administration—had threatened to boycott an international aid donors’ conference unless Milosevic were surrendered. It should be understood that this is not just a matter of the U.S. withholding foreign aid. Rather, it amounts to continuing a policy of sanctions against an economically devastated country, and threatening to destabilize its weak democratic government, until it disregarded its own laws and complied with our demands. I could call this many things, but “free exercise of sovereignty” is one of them. Moreover, Prime Minister Djindjic’s compliance with this pressure is hardly an example of “courage,” as the resolution calls it, especially since it is well known the extent to which he has used the Milosevic handover to undermine his political rival, President Kostunica.

Third, the same clause says the handover fosters “the rule of law in Yugoslavia.” Again the opposite is true. When we have here, to give an American analogy, Bush Jr., as if an American State Governor violated provisions of the U.S. constitution and policies set by the President in order to comply with the wishes of foreign countries. Instead of the rule of law, there has been overt interference in Yugoslavia, and in its two remaining republics, Serbia and Montenegro—is the idea that laws, constitutional government, and national sovereignty are meaningless, and that the only real authorities are the demands of foreign powers and the “jurisdiction” of global United Nations “justice,” represented by the tribunal to which Milosevic has been delivered. For a country trying to emerge from decades of dictatorship, this is exactly the wrong message to send.

Fourth and finally, the same clause applauds the notion that the Milosevic handover has fostered “international justice.” That unfortunately is true, but I don’t think it is reason for applause. As many of my colleagues know, I am unalterably opposed to the creation of a permanent International Criminal Court, of which the Yugoslavia tribunal and its Rwandan counterparts are precursors. In sending Milosevic to the U.N. tribunal—on charges arising in his own country, specifically Kosovo, which is a province of Serbia—we are helping to set a dangerous precedent for the ICC. We are saying to the world that when the will of a United Nations “court” clashes with a country’s laws and constitution, the latter go into the trash can. I cannot speak for my colleagues, but I would object to sending any American citizen, no matter how evil the acts of which he was accused and however debatable that indictment may be, to an international United Nations court, especially if his alleged crimes took place in the United States. But we have successfully demanded that Serbia and Yugoslavia do exactly that, and similar demands are being made against the Bosnian Serb republic and against Croatia. Serious crimes deserve serious punishment, but the question is not one of whether justice will be done but before what court and under whose authority.

At a time when U.S. troops are facing danger every day in Bosnia and Kosovo—and may soon be sent, unwisely in my view, to Macedonia—the policy consequences of setting in motion political events that may destabilize non-democratic Yugoslavia and even help break up the federation are counterproductive to U.S. interests and a threat to the safety of our troops. For the reasons stated above, it has been a blow, not a benefit, to democracy and constitutionalism. But worst of all, it has lent credence to the principles supporting the ICC, which is a direct threat to the sovereignty of our own constitutional republic and our democratic institutions. I welcome the day that Milosevic and comparable persons face justice for their deeds. But he should be allowed to face justice at home, in front of a court of his own people, under his own laws and constitution, as President Kostunica wanted. The fact that we have ensured that this will not occur is not something for us to be proud of.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the committee amendment be agreed to, the resolution, as amended, be agreed to, the amendment to the preamble be agreed to, the preamble, as amended, be agreed to, the motions to reconsider be laid on the table, and that any statements relating to the resolution be printed in the Record.

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

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The resolution (S. Res. 122), as amended, was agreed to.

The amendment to the preamble was agreed to.

The preamble, as amended, was agreed to.

The resolution, as amended, with its preamble, as amended, reads as follows:

Whereas corruption and warfare under the Milosevic regime caused Yugoslavia extensive economic damage, including an estimated 21.2 million dollars in lost export revenue and domestic investment to support and encourage of the United States; Now, therefore,

Resolved,

(a) that the Senate hereby—

(1) recognizes the courage of Serbian democrats, in particular, Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic, in facilitating the transfer of Slobodan Milosevic to the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia;

(2) urges the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and other governments in the Balkans, to continue to cede jurisdiction over indicted war criminals to the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia; and

(3) calls for the release of all political prisoners held in Serbian prisons;

(b) It is the sense of the Senate that the United States should remain committed to providing foreign assistance to support the success of economic, political, and legal reforms in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

CONGRATULATING THE BALTIC NATIONS OF ESTONIA, LATVIA, AND LITHUANIA

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 85, S. Con. Res. 34.
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE 13625

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the committee amendment be agreed to, the resolution, as amended, be agreed to, the amendment to the preamble be agreed to, the preamble, as amended, be agreed to, the motions to reconsider be laid upon the table, and any statements relating to the concurrent resolution be printed in the Record.