

well as observers from Macedonia and Japan. Due to the continuing siege of Sarajevo, parliamentarians from Bosnia-Herzegovina were unable to attend. Their Ambassador to the OSCE was present, however, and at his request, I was pleased to make a statement on behalf of the people of Bosnia during the closing plenary session.

Mr. Speaker, in his statement to the Assembly during the closing plenary session Mr. HOYER reminded us that August 1, 1995 marks the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. In that speech Mr. HOYER recalled the words of President Gerald Ford upon the signing of the historic accord—"This document will not be measured by the promises made in the Helsinki Final Act, but by the promises kept."

The tragic overrunning of Srebrenica and Zepa by the Bosnian Serbs, and the creation of thousands of more victims of war crimes perpetrated by the Serb aggressors is a searing reminder to all of us that there are promises to be kept. I agree wholeheartedly with my friend and colleague STENY HOYER that we can, and must, do more. I commend to you his remarks:

STATEMENT OF U.S. REPRESENTATIVE STENY HOYER, 4TH ANNUAL SESSION OF THE OSCE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY,

July 8, 1995.

President Swaalen, Officers of the Assembly, fellow delegates: In twenty-three days, on August 1, 1995, we will celebrate the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. That date also holds significant personal interest for me because, ten years ago, as a new member of the U.S. Helsinki Commission, I attended my first OSCE meeting—a Conference on the Human Dimension—here in Ottawa.

When President Gerald Ford signed the historic accord in Helsinki on behalf of the United States he said, "This document will not be measured by the promises made in the Helsinki Final Act, but by the promises kept."

Many signatory states viewed the words of the act dealing with human rights and the obligations that each state had toward its own citizens, as well as those of other states, as essentially meaningless window dressing. Their objective was to secure a framework in which their international political position, and the then existing map of Europe would be adjudged a fait accompli.

Ten years ago, when I came to the Helsinki meeting in Ottawa, I was told by my Soviet counterparts that the discussion of the rights of Soviet citizens was inappropriate, and an interference with their internal affairs. My delegation rejected that rationale. Words, we strongly maintained, were not enough. Words are not enough today.

The relevance of this organization or any international organization must be judged not solely on the merits of its principles, but on the strength of its commitment to those principles and on its unwillingness to witness or permit violation of those principles by signatory states.

The Helsinki Final Act, like the United Nations Charter, was an attempt to avoid the egregious mistakes of the past which had allowed so much human suffering and carnage. A history which witnessed too often the rationalization of inaction.

President George Bush, in assessing the end of the cold war and the fall of the Berlin Wall, called for a "New World Order" in which the international community would act in order to assure a global political environment dependent upon right not might.

Today we are confronted within the Helsinki sphere by the actions of those adjudged

by my government, as well as by many of yours, to be war criminals. Actions which have repeated genocide on the European continent, and created the largest number of refugees on that continent since the second world war.

We have in past meetings condemned these atrocities. As parliamentarians we have urged that such actions be stopped. And many of our members have committed people and resources to relieve the suffering and stop the criminal behavior. But we have not yet succeeded. And we must, therefore, do more.

I believe this organization can be an important instrument in realizing a world order based upon law and the principles of the final Act. I, and the members of my delegation, pledge to you our every effort to ensure the full participation of the United States Congress as a partner in the vital quest to ensure that history's judgement of the Parliamentary Assembly, and the OSCE, is that our words of principle were supported by our decisive and effective actions.

It is said in America that many can "talk the talk," but only a few are prepared to "walk the walk." The tyrants and terrorists of our world are not dissuaded or intimidated by talk. But they can and must be confronted and confounded by our walk. I believe together we can see the realization of a new world order.

INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL

HON. CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 27, 1995

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I hail the indictments issued this week by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. The number of indictments has now grown to 46; more significantly, they now include the infamous names of Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, the highest ranking political and military leaders among the Bosnian Serb hierarchy in Pale. With their indictment, Chief Prosecutor Richard Goldstone has proven himself a man of his word. Upon his appointment in July 1994, Goldstone promised to take his prosecution where the evidence leads and to bring the most culpable—those who order and enable others to commit atrocities—within the reach of the court. In so doing, his indictments bring us one step closer to holding those responsible for the orchestration of the most egregious crimes of the Yugoslav War personally responsible for their actions.

To further advance the work of this Court, the United States should take two key measures. First, the United States must ensure that the Tribunal has the financial resources to bring these cases to trial and continue with effective investigations and prosecutions. Although last year, during a period of initial startup, the United States made a \$3 million voluntary contribution to the Tribunal, a subsequent voluntary contribution has not been forthcoming. Failure by the United States to provide adequate financial support to the Tribunal—at the very time the Tribunal's initial investigations are producing meaningful results—would send a regrettable sign of weakening U.S. resolve to see war criminals held truly accountable. If the Administration will not take the lead, Congress should earmark ap-

propriations for the Voluntary Fund for the Tribunal, consistent with the authorization in H.R. 1561.

Second, President Clinton should, once and for all, put to rest the notion that amnesty or immunity is a viable option for the architects of ethnic cleansing and those charged with genocide; the continued silence of top U.S. officials on this matter undermines confidence in the U.S. commitment to hold such individuals personally accountable. In addition, the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Madeleine Albright, should publicly state American resolve to use our veto, if necessary, to ensure that sanctions against Serbia remain in place until Belgrade cooperates with the Tribunal by surrendering to the Hague indicted criminals present on Serb-controlled territory. Easing sanctions throughout the past year has only been followed by Serbia's continued support for those responsible for war crimes and violations of humanitarian law, including the fall of Srebrenica and Zepa.

Mr. Speaker, there are those who have long sought to minimize the importance of this Tribunal. They have argued that it cannot succeed because we will not gain custody of the indicted—and therefore we need not try. They have argued that it cannot succeed because it lacks resources—and therefore we need not bother to provide it with the means to do the job we have given it. And they have argued that it cannot succeed because war criminals sit as negotiators—and therefore we should merely continue to negotiate with them rather than seek to bring them to justice. But even if those indicted this week are never brought to trial, this Tribunal has already ensured that they will be fugitives for the rest of their lives, subject to international arrest warrants wherever they go. Moreover, by identifying individual perpetrators, this court may pave the way for the innocent among all ethnic groups in this conflict to reconcile the divisions in society that these war criminals exploited for their own personal ends.

AGRICULTURE, RURAL DEVELOPMENT, FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1996

SPEECH OF

HON. GARY A. FRANKS

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 20, 1995

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 1976) making appropriations for Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and related agencies programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1996, and for other purposes:

Mr. FRANKS of Connecticut. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of the Hall-Roukema amendment to the Agriculture Appropriations for fiscal year 1996. This amendment eliminates the cap on the number of people who can participate in the WIC Program. In an effort to return power to the States, make our Government more efficient, and help countless individuals, it is essential to remove this cap.