

It will, I fear, cost thousands of lives. In the end it is bound to be discredited, to be called the dream of an idealist who failed to realize the danger until too late to check those who attempt to put the principle into force. What a calamity that the phrase was ever uttered! What misery it will cause! Think of the feelings of the author when he counts the dead who dies because he coined a phrase! A man, who is a leader of public thought, should beware of intemperate or undigested declarations. He is responsible for the consequences.

There have to be limits, and it should be a task of American statecraft to seek to define them. It is not that 185 members of the United Nations are enough. There is room for more. But surely there needs to be a limit to the horrors we have witnessed in the Balkans in this decade, and in Kosovo this past month. From the Caucuses to the Punjab, from Palestine to the Pyrenees, violence beckons. It is not difficult to get started. At least one American diplomat holds a direct view of the origin of the present horror. I cannot speak for every detail of his account, but some are well known, and his view is not, to my knowledge, contested.

The current phase of the Kosovo crisis can be traced back to 1996, when financial collapse in Albania (small investors lost their meager life savings in a classic Ponzi scheme condoned by the then government) led to political and social chaos. President Berisha (a Geg from the misnamed Democratic Party) was forced out amidst massive rioting in which the army disappeared as its armories were emptied. Arms found their way into the armed gangs and eventually to an incipient Kosovo Albanian guerrilla movement that called itself the Kosovo Liberation Army. The new government of Socialist Fatos Nan (a Southerner, a Tosk, and a former Communist) was unable to establish effective control over the north and Berisha made a conspicuous point of not only supporting the KLA, but actually turning his personal property in the north over to the KLA as a training base. Supporting fellow Glegs apparently makes for good politics among the north-erners.

The KLA's strategy was very simple: Target Serbian policemen and thus provoke the inevitable brutal Serb retaliation against Kosovo Albanian civilians, all in the hopes of bringing NATO into the conflict. They have succeeded brilliantly in this goal, but have not proved to be much a fighting force themselves.

These are not arguments new to the Senate. A year ago, April 30, 1998, my eminent colleague JOHN W. WARNER and I offered cautionary amendments concerning NATO expansion eastward. I went first with a proposal that new NATO members should first belong to the European Union. I received, as I recall, 17 votes. My colleague then proposed to postpone any further enlargement of NATO for a period of at least three years. That proposal, again if I recall, received 41 votes. We felt, on the whole, somewhat lonely. Now, however, we learn that Defense Secretary William Perry and his top arms-control aide, Ashton Carter, as related by Thomas L. Friedman in *The Times* of March 16, 1999.

Mr. Perry and Mr. Carter reveal that when they were running the Pentagon they argued

to Mr. Clinton that NATO expansion "should be deferred until later in the decade." Mr. Perry details how he insisted at a top-level meeting with the President, on December 21, 1994, that "early expansion was a mistake," because it would provoke "distrust" in Russia and undermine cooperation on arms control and other issues, and because "prematurely adding untried militaries" at a time when NATO itself was reassessing its role would not be helpful.

The Secretary of Defense lost the argument; in Friedman's view domestic politics overrode strategic concerns. But who won? The various pronouncements that issued from the recent NATO summit come close to a telephone directory of prospective new NATO members. Before we get carried away, might we ask just how many of them have the kind of internal ethnic tension so easily turned on? Which will be invaded by neighbors siding with the insurgents? Must NATO then go to war in the Caucuses?

The second matter of which I would speak is that of international law. The United States and its NATO allies have gone to war, put their men and women in harm's way for the clearest of humanitarian purposes. They have even so attacked a sovereign state in what would seem a clear avoidance of the terms of the U.N. Charter, specifically Article 2(4). The State Department has issued no statement as to the legality of our actions. An undated internal State Department document cites Security Council Resolution 1199 affirming that the situation in Kosovo constitutes a threat to the peace in the region, and demanding that the parties cease hostilities and maintain peace in Kosovo. The Department paper concludes: "FRY actions in Kosovo cannot be deemed an internal matter, as the Council has condemned Serbian action in Kosovo as a threat to regional peace and security."

A valid point. But of course the point is weakened, at very least, by the fact of our not having gone back to the Security Council to get authorization to act as we have done. We have not done this, of course, because the Russians and/or the Chinese would block any such resolution. Even so, it remains the case that the present state of international law is in significant ways a limitation on our freedom to pursue humanitarian purposes. Again, a matter that calls for attention, indeed, demands attention.

In sum, limits and law.

#### CLINTON HIGH SCHOOL'S ATTACHÉ SHOW CHOIR

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, today I want to honor the premiere high school show choir in the Nation—Mississippi's own Clinton High School's Attaché. Forty-two singers/dancers, sixteen instrumentalists, and seventeen crew members make up the outstanding group of young adults from a high school with an enrollment of 11 hundred.

For the past decade, the members of Attaché have proven to be goodwill

ambassadors for their high school, their community, and the great State of Mississippi. They have traveled to competitions all across America—Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Florida, New York, and California. During this time, Attaché has not only competed in, but won every major show choir competition in the United States. They are the only high school show choir to ever win the grand championship in each venue of the Showstopper's International Invitational Competitions—an accomplishment of which Mississippians should truly be proud. While competing with other American high school students, they have demonstrated to the nation Mississippi's culture and excellence in the arts.

Mr. President, I want to point out that all of these accomplishments have been made while balancing practice and performance schedules with academics. These students serve as role models for the Nation. They demonstrate the tremendous achievements which are possible through dedication and hard work.

Since 1992, David and Mary Fehr have led Attaché. David serves as the group's director. He arranges all numbers, directs the vocals and serves as the pianist during the show choir's performances. Mary designs the sets and costumes for the performers and personally sews the girls' outfits. This husband and wife team illustrates the value of teamwork. Discipline, self-reliance, and hard work are each of their charges. They are the epitome of what a public school educator should be. The Clinton Public Schools are blessed to have them on board.

This outstanding group of young adults and their dedicated leaders are shining examples of what positive energy can produce. It is refreshing to know that there are still teenagers out there with dedication and determination. Being a part of this show choir requires long hours and hard-work. Clinton and the whole state of Mississippi should be truly proud of the accomplishments of Attaché.

#### JOHN HUME'S 30 OUTSTANDING YEARS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, John Hume's career is surely one of the most distinguished in Irish history, or in America who care about Ireland are greatly in his debt. Last week, this distinguished leader of the Social Democratic and Labour Party celebrated 30 years of public service. His accomplishments are many, as was recognized last year when he shared the Nobel Peace Prize for extraordinary leadership in producing the Good Friday Peace Agreement. One detail about that prize speaks volumes about John Hume—he donated the entire cash prize to charities in Northern Ireland.

I welcome this opportunity to extend my warmest congratulations to John Hume on his 30 years of service to

peace and the people of Northern Ireland, and I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article from the Irish Times of April 29 on the celebration in Belfast last week of his brilliant service.

There being no objection; the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From The Irish Times, Apr. 29, 1999]

HUME'S 30-YEAR CAREER HONOURED

(By Gerry Moriarty)

The SDLP faithful turned out in strength in Belfast last night to celebrate the 30-year political career of party leader and Nobel laureate Mr. John Hume. The Europa Hotel was the venue for what was described as a gala "bash".

The emphasis was on "nostalgia and crack" rather than the often depressing stuff of Northern politics as colleagues and friends of Mr. Hume gathered to reminisce on his career and the SDLP's 29 year history.

Founder members of the party were present, including Mr. Ivan Cooper, Fine Gael TD Mr. Austin Currie and Mr. Paddy O'Hanlon. Apologies were received from Mr. Paddy Devlin and former SDLP leader Lord Fitt.

More than 400 people attended the reception and dinner including the Minister for Social, Community and Family Affairs, Mr. Ahern, and the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Ms. Liz O'Donnell.

Ms. O'Donnell praised Mr. Hume's political ingenuity in devising a political plan that brought Sinn Fein into the political equation and ultimately led to the Belfast Agreement. She said Mr. Hume had won respect right across the "political board". His analysis had proved correct and she was delighted to be attending the gala in his honour.

Music was supplied by the McCafferty singers from Derry and Belfast vocalist Brian Kennedy.

Ms. Gerry Cosgrove, the SDLP general secretary, said the party wanted to celebrate and honour Mr. Hume's achievements. "The 30-year career of John Hume has been characterised by courage, conviction and vision," she said.

"He has been instrumental in perhaps every positive development in the long and difficult history of the Troubles, and is widely regarded as the principal architect of the Good Friday agreement," she said. "This function was to say thank you for that courage and vision."

The Northern Secretary, Dr. Mo Mowlam, apologised for being unable to attend. In a message she praised Mr. Hume for his single-minded determination in pursuing the "goal of peace".

Among the speakers were Mr. Cooper, the SDLP deputy leader and Deputy First Minister, Mr. Seamus Mallon, and Mr. Ahern. Mr. Hume was accompanied by his wife, Pat.

#### REPORT ON EMERGENCY IN SUDAN—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—PM 21

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; which was referred to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

*To the Congress of the United States:*

As required by section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act, 50 U.S.C.

1641(c) and section 204(c) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA), 50 U.S.C. 1703(c), I transmit herewith a 6-month periodic report on the national emergency with respect to Sudan that was declared in Executive Order 13067 of November 3, 1997.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, May 3, 1999.

#### REPORT ON BLOCKING PROPERTY AND PROHIBITING TRADE INVOLVING YUGOSLAVIA—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—PM 22

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; which was referred to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

*To the Congress of the United States:*

In response to the brutal ethnic cleansing campaign in Kosovo carried out by the military, police, and paramilitary forces of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), the NATO allies have agreed to buttress NATO's military actions by tightening economic sanctions against the Milosevic regime. Pursuant to section 204(b) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA) (50 U.S.C. 1703(b)), I hereby report to the Congress that, in order to implement the measures called for by NATO, I have exercised my statutory authority to take additional steps with respect to the continuing human rights and humanitarian crisis in Kosovo and the national emergency described and declared in Executive Order 13088 of June 9, 1998.

Pursuant to this authority, I have issued a new Executive order that:

- expands the assets freeze previously imposed on the assets of the Governments of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), the Republic of Serbia, and the Republic of Montenegro subject to U.S. jurisdiction, by removing the exemption in Executive Order 13088 for financial transactions by United States persons conducted exclusively through the domestic banking system within the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) or using bank notes or barter;
- prohibits exports or reexports, directly or indirectly, from the United States or by a United States person, wherever located, of goods, software, technology, or services to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) or the Governments of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), the Republic of Serbia, or the Republic of Montenegro;
- prohibits imports, directly or indirectly, into the United States of goods, software, technology, or services from the Federal Republic

of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) or owned or controlled by the Governments of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), the Republic of Serbia, or the Republic of Montenegro;—prohibits any transaction or dealing, including approving, financing, or facilitating, by a United States person, wherever located, related to trade with or to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) or the Governments of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), the Republic of Serbia, or the Republic of Montenegro.

The trade-related prohibitions apply to any goods (including petroleum and petroleum products), software, technology (including technical data), or services, except to the extent excluded by section 203(b) of IEEPA (50 U.S.C. 1702(b)).

The ban on new investment by United States persons in the territory of Serbia—imposed by Executive Order 13088—continues in effect.

The Executive order provides that the Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of State, shall give special consideration to the circumstances of the Government of the Republic of Montenegro. As with Executive Order 13088, an exemption from the new sanctions has been granted to Montenegro. In implementing this order, special consideration is also to be given to the humanitarian needs of refugees from Kosovo and other civilians within the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

In keeping with my Administration's new policy to exempt commercial sales of food and medicine from sanctions regimes, the Executive order directs the Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of State, to authorize commercial sales of agricultural commodities and products, medicine, and medical equipment for civilian end use in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). Such sales are to be subject to appropriate safeguards to prevent diversion to military, paramilitary, or political use by the Governments of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), the Republic of Serbia, or the Republic of Montenegro, the Republic of Serbia, or the Republic of Montenegro.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, April 30, 1999.

#### REPORT ON NARCOTICS TRAFFICKERS IN COLOMBIA—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—PM 23

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; which was referred to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

*To the Congress of the United States:*