

So I would hope that we can do what the gentleman from Connecticut has suggested.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Would the gentlewoman from California be willing to withdraw her amendment momentarily in order to accommodate the suggestion made by the ranking member?

Ms. WATERS. Following the 1 minute of the 2 minutes which were granted for the extension of the debate, I would be willing to do that. But for the 1 minute that is still left in this debate I would respectfully like to take that at this time, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The gentlewoman from California is recognized.

Ms. WATERS. Mr. Chairman, Lori Berenson has been in prison for 3½ years. She was tried by a military tribunal that was hooded. She did not receive any justice. Does not the time served count for anything? Or are we to believe that Fujimori, who has said to us by way of communication in a letter and otherwise to everybody who has attempted diplomatic relations with him that he will not release her, are we to believe that this man is capable of giving her a fair trial? Do we not care that she may die up in the Andes, a young woman who is an idealistic journalist who thinks she is working for the rights, human rights, of individuals? Does she deserve to be treated this way?

My colleague has admitted that he does not know if she is innocent or not, but how can he be comfortable not being sure that she is guilty of a crime, that she continues to serve even beyond this 3½ years?

She has said she is not a terrorist, she does not belong to that terrorist organization, and the international human rights committees are not demanding a fair trial of Fujimori. They are demanding her release.

This statement, this amendment that I have, is an amendment that asks the State Department to use all of its diplomatic relations for the release of her. That does not dictate how that is done, but it simply says that the Congress of the United States is interested in them being about the business of showing some care and concern about an American citizen who has been imprisoned unfairly and unjustly over in Peru by a dictator.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Chairman, I have just been informed by the Parliamentarian that we would have to go to the full House. So what I would suggest at this stage is that the gentlewoman and gentleman sit down and work it out. If they cannot work it out, we go right to the vote in the appropriate order. If they can work it out, we would include the new language in the en bloc amendment at the end.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Reclaiming my time, Mr. Chairman, I would

just say to my friend we could move to rise, and it will take all of 30 seconds to do it in the full House and then go right back.

Mr. GEJDENSON. We achieve the same goal, and I think my colleagues could sit down. Either way we get the same result.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I am not sure if the gentlewoman is willing.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Chairman, I move to table this amendment with the understanding that it would be untabled at the appropriate time.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. In Committee of the Whole the motion to table is not in order.

All time is expired.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, for purposes of working this out, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. KINGSTON) having assumed the chair, Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska, Chairman pro tempore of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 2415) to enhance security of United States missions and personnel overseas, to authorize appropriations for the Department of State for fiscal year 2000, and for other purposes, had come to no resolution thereon.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Sherman Williams, one of his secretaries.

#### MAKING IN ORDER CONSIDERATION OF WATERS AMENDMENT NO. 31 AFTER BILBRAY AMENDMENT NO. 33 DURING FURTHER CONSIDERATION IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE OF H.R. 2415, AMERICAN EMBASSY SECURITY ACT OF 1999

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed out of order and to proceed directly to the Bilbray amendment when we return to the Committee of the Whole House and then, after that point, to return to the amendment from the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS).

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman ask for unanimous consent to return to the Waters amendment to be reoffered after the Bilbray amendment in Committee of the Whole?

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. That is correct, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

#### AMERICAN EMBASSY SECURITY ACT OF 1999

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 247 and rule

XVIII, the Chair declares the House in the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill, H.R. 2415.

□ 1458

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H.R. 2415) to enhance security of United States missions and personnel overseas, to authorize appropriations for the Department of State for fiscal year 2000, and for other purposes, with Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska (Chairman pro tempore) in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. When the Committee of the Whole rose earlier today, the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS) had been withdrawn.

It is now in order to consider amendment No. 33 printed in Part B of House Report 106-235.

AMENDMENT NO. 33 OFFERED BY MR. BILBRAY

Mr. BILBRAY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

Part B Amendment No. 33 offered by Mr. BILBRAY:

Page 84, after line 16, insert the following:

#### SEC. 703. SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING SEWAGE TREATMENT ALONG THE BORDER BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO.

(a) FINDINGS.—

(1) The Congress finds that it must take action to address the comprehensive treatment of sewage emanating from the Tijuana River, so as to eliminate river and ocean pollution in the San Diego border region.

(2) Congress bases this finding on the following factors:

(A) The San Diego border region is adversely impacted from cross border raw sewage flows that effect the health and safety of citizens in the United States and Mexico and the environment.

(B) The United States and Mexico have agreed pursuant to the Treaty for the Utilization of Waters of the Colorado and Tijuana Rivers and of the Rio Grande, dated February 3, 1944, "to give preferential attention to the solution of all border sanitation problems".

(C) The United States and Mexico recognize the need for utilization of reclaimed water to supply the growing needs of the City of Tijuana, Republic of Mexico, and the entire border region.

(D) Current legislative authority limits the scope of proposed treatment options in a way that prevents a comprehensive plan to address the volume of cross border raw sewage flows and the effective utilization of reclamation opportunities.

(E) This section encourages action to address the comprehensive treatment of sewage emanating from the Tijuana River, so as to eliminate river and ocean pollution in the San Diego border region, and to exploit effective reclamation opportunities.

(b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—The Congress—

□ 1500

(1) encourages the Secretary of State to give the highest priority to the negotiation and execution of a new treaty minute with Mexico, which would augment Minute 283 so as to allow for the siting of sewage treatment facilities in Mexico, to provide for additional treatment capacity, up to 50,000,000 gallons per day, for the treatment of additional sewage emanating from the Tijuana area, and to provide direction and authority so that a comprehensive solution to this trans-border sanitation problem may be implemented as soon as practicable;

(2) encourages the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency and the United States section of the International Boundary and Water Commission to enter into an agreement to provide for secondary treatment in Mexico of effluent from the International Wastewater Treatment Plant (IWTP);

(3) encourages the United States section of the International Boundary and Water Commission to provide for the development of a privately-funded Mexican Facility, through the execution of a fee-for-services contract with the owner of such facility, in order to provide for—

(A) secondary treatment of effluent from the IWTP, if found to be necessary, in compliance with applicable water quality laws of the United States, Mexico, and California; and

(B) additional capacity for primary and secondary treatment of up to 50,000,000 gallons per day, for the purpose of providing additional sewage treatment capacity in order to fully address the trans-border sanitation problem;

(C) provision for any and all approvals from Mexican authorities necessary to facilitate water quality verification and enforcement at the Mexican Facility to be carried out by the International Boundary and Water Commission or other appropriate authority;

(D) any terms and conditions deemed necessary to allow for use in the United States of treated effluent from the Mexican Facility if there is reclaimed water surplus to the needs of users in Mexico; and

(E) return transportation of whatever portion of the treated effluent which cannot be reused to the South Bay Ocean Outfall; and

(4) in addition to other terms and conditions considered appropriate by the International Boundary and Water Commission, in any fee-for-services contract, encourages the International Boundary and Water Commission to include the following terms and conditions—

(A) a term of 30 years;

(B) appropriate arrangements for the monitoring and verification of compliance with applicable United States, California, and Mexican water quality standards;

(C) arrangements for the appropriate disposition of sludge, produced from the IWTP and the Mexican Facility, at a location or locations in Mexico; and

(D) payment of appropriate fees from the International Boundary and Water Commission to the owner of the Mexican Facility for sewage treatment services, with the annual amount payable to be reflective of all costs associated with the development, construction, operation, and financing of the Mexican Facility.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 247, the gentleman from California (Mr. BILBRAY) and a Member opposed each will control 5 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California (Mr. BILBRAY).

Mr. FILNER. Mr. Chairman, although I am not opposed, I ask unanimous consent to claim the 5 minutes in opposition to the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. BILBRAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Today the House has the pleasure of supporting a bipartisan amendment that will help clean up the environment and could possibly save hundreds of millions of dollars for the American taxpayer. It is an amendment that is supported by not only the chairman, but also the ranking member of the committee. It is an amendment that hopefully can be used as an example of bipartisan ship and international cooperation, for the good of the taxpayers of this country and for the environment in the United States and Mexico.

Mr. Chairman, my amendment specifically addresses an issue that has gone on for much too long, it is something that addresses the issue of the Tijuana sewage problem that has for so long polluted the beaches of southern California. The gentleman from California (Mr. FILNER) has worked with me on this issue in order to pursue a solution that may be able to save hundreds of millions of dollars.

The issue really is tied to the fact that Tijuana does not have adequate sewage treatment capabilities at this time and has not historically had those. This amendment would encourage a bipartisan minute order between Mexico and the United States, through the vehicle of the International Boundary and Water Commission, that specifically states that the agencies will work together and cooperate in finally addressing the treatment of the sewage and the appropriate disposal of that sewage, in consistency with not only the Clean Water Act of the United States, but also with Mexican environmental regulations.

This amendment specifically is a sense of Congress, and it is a sense of Congress supporting the concept that the Administration, working with Mexico, will look at the most cost-effective alternatives and opportunities of treating Mexican sewage. That opportunity may exist in the United States, but it may also exist in Mexico.

It may seem like a rather novel idea to some people, but I think if we have the potential to treat Mexican sewage in Mexico and do it cheaper and in a more environmentally sensitive manner, than what we could do on our side of the border, we not only have a right, Mr. Chairman, we have a responsibility to look into this.

I would like to include for the RECORD a statement from the Surfrider Foundation of San Diego County dated July 9, 1999. It is titled, the Surfrider Policy Regarding Delays in Achieving Secondary Treatment at the U.S.-Mex-

ico Border. Mr. Chairman, I will just quote briefly from this statement. Surfrider states in their communique that "a comprehensive solution will offer the benefits of timeliness as well as the consideration of other priority issues such as the ability to treat all of the sewage problems within the region." It says that the proposal is within the existing systems of wastewater treatment that will benefit both Mexico and the United States.

Mr. Chairman, I rise today in strong support of this simple, bipartisan, and common-sense amendment. This may seem like a relatively minor element of such an important and sweeping bill, but it has a potentially huge positive impact on the public health and environment of the international border region between the cities of Tijuana and San Diego. I would ask our colleagues to focus on it for just a moment, and give it your attention and support.

Many of you are well aware of the ongoing health and environmental threats which have existed along this border region for decades as a result of renegade flows of untreated sewage from Mexico. You have heard me and my colleague Mr. FILNER speak to this problem on a number of occasions, and I am happy to report that progress has been made in recent years and months, and is being made even now. An International Wastewater Treatment Plant (IWTP) has been constructed on the U.S. side right at the border and is operating now, treating Mexican sewage to primary levels, with a second treatment component to follow. After a lengthy environmental review of alternatives for providing the required levels of secondary treatment, a decision must be made as to how to proceed with selecting and implementing an environmentally preferable secondary alternative. Right now, the leading alternative is a 25 mgd plant which would consist of an aerated ponding system, which under existing international agreement would be constructed on the U.S. side of the border.

We have come a long way to reach this point, and we now find ourselves at something of a strategic crossroads. I wholeheartedly support secondary treatment of these sewage flows, in order to better protect the beaches, estuaries, and citizens on both sides of the border region. However, it has become clear that the secondary ponds alternative which could be constructed on the U.S. side, while clearly benefited, will be overwhelmed and operating beyond its capacity—25 million gallons per day (mgd)—from its day of operation. Under these circumstances, we would need to immediately begin working on establishing a means to treat the excess capacity of flows—50 mgd and higher—on the U.S. side of the border. This will necessarily take additional time to develop, and additional U.S. tax dollars to construct and implement. I am more than willing to spend whatever time and money may be needed in order to deal with this problem conclusively, but both time and available dollars are precious commodities, especially when the public health continues to be at risk.

An opportunity has emerged to "think outside the box" and carefully consider a progressive and comprehensive strategy which would entail a public-private partnership, and benefit the entire region well into the future, by constructing in Mexico a 25 mgd treatment plant, using the same ponding technology,

but with the capacity for safely treating anticipated future flows of 50 to even 100 mgd. In the process, this facility would be able to reclaim treated wastewater and make it available to the rapidly expanding business and industrial sectors of Tijuana. In this growing and arid border region, water is a scarce commodity, and water reclaimed from treatment facilities could free up precious potable water for use in Mexican households.

There is tremendous potential in this innovative approach, and the intent of our amendment is to provide every encouragement that it be pursued to the fullest. We simply want to send the message that Congress supports the idea of a binational agreement, which would be needed in order to facilitate the development and implementation of such a public-private arrangement, with the consent of both federal governments. This potential strategy has considerable popular support in the region, including the City of San Diego and other local elected officials, and respected environmental organizations such as the Surfrider Foundation. I have a brief statement on this topic from the Surfrider Foundation which I would ask to be entered into the record at this point.

If it can be developed and implemented, a long-term and comprehensive solution to a chronic environmental problem will be at hand, U.S. tax dollars will be saved, a new source of reclaimed water will be available to a ready market in Mexico, and the children and families of both Tijuana and San Diego will be able to go to their beaches, play in the estuaries, fish in the oceans, and live their lives in their communities without the chronic stigma and health threat of sewage pollution which is an unfortunate fact of life in the region.

The amendment is respectful of the sovereignty of both nations, and the missions of local, state, and federal governments and agencies which are working on this issue on both sides of the border. Its intent is simply to establish some momentum behind this strategy, and indicate that this Congress is serious in encouraging that it be fully explored and evaluated by both governments and other involved stakeholders as a solution for the region's sewage problem.

There is work that remains to be done at several levels for such a scenario to unfold, but its potential is tremendous, and we can help grow this potential today by supporting this amendment, and laying the groundwork for what could be the final chapter of one of the biggest and for too long most overlooked environmental problems this country has ever seen.

Please help explore this possibility by supporting the Bilbray-Filner amendment.

**SURFRIDER FOUNDATION POLICY REGARDING DELAYS IN ACHIEVING SECONDARY TREATMENT AT THE U.S. MEXICAN BORDER**

Currently, more than 50 million gallons per day (mgd) of raw, untreated sewage enters the Tijuana River and the Tijuana Municipal Wastewater System. Less than half of this, approximately 25 mgd, is treated to advanced primary standards at the International Wastewater Treatment Plant (ITP) and discharged into the ocean via the South Bay ocean outfall. A portion of the remaining untreated sewage, up to 17mgd, receives some indeterminate level of treatment at the San

Antonio de Los Buenos Treatment Plant in Mexico. The remainder of untreated sewage is discharged directly into the nearshore marine environment at the mouth of the Tijuana River and at Punta Banderas, 5 miles south of the Border. Together with numerous other groups, the San Diego County Chapter of the Surfrider Foundation is concerned about the environmental impacts and human health risks of discharging any raw sewage into the ocean, as well as effluent that receives anything less than secondary treatment.

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and International Boundary and Water Commission (IBWC) are required to achieve secondary standards of treatment for all sewage discharged from the ITP by December 2000. Several options for an appropriate treatment plant have been considered by EPA and IBWC, however, no final preferred option has been chosen. The frontrunner to date is a 25mgd secondary treatment plant using "Completely Mixed Aerated" pond technology at the "Hofer" site adjacent to the ITP. Because the deadline to begin construction of a secondary treatment plant which would be operational by the December date has passed, the agencies have sought more time to select a preferred alternative. Additionally, this added time as been sought to fully consider options not previously considered, which would provide for a comprehensive solution to the known and future anticipated volume of sewage.

The Surfrider Foundation agrees with many others that secondary treatment must be achieved as quickly as possible. The harmful effects to the deep ocean environment, the public, as well as to the beaches and beach communities of southern San Diego County must not continue. However, recognizing that a partial solution is no solution, the Surfrider Foundation is strongly in favor of a comprehensive solution, fully aware of the risk of slight delay. A comprehensive solution will offer the benefits of timeliness as well as the consideration of other priority issues such as the ability to treat all present and future flows, impact of the plant location upon the immediate environment and population, plant expansion capability, feasibility of beneficial water reuse, proper sludge handling, and the relationship and compatibility of the proposal within the existing system of wastewater treatment in both the U.S. and Mexico.

Therefore, the Surfrider Foundation will support the EPA and the IBWC in their efforts to provide comprehensive secondary treatment of all sewage flowing from the Tijuana River as quickly as possible.

Mr. BILBRAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Huntington Beach, California (Mr. ROHRABACHER), my fellow colleague.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to commend the gentlemen from California (Mr. FILNER and Mr. BILBRAY) for working together on this important piece of legislation. We all live along the coastline of Southern California and this issue of sewage, especially from Mexico going into our waters, is of utmost importance to the health of our people; and both of the gentlemen from California (Mr. FILNER and Mr. BILBRAY) have put out an enormous effort. They have shown bipartisan spirit.

I want to commend both of them, and I appreciate the efforts they have been putting out, especially those of us who do surf in the ocean, recognize the importance of the quality of that water.

Mr. BILBRAY. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. FILNER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 3 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, I want to thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), the chairman of the committee, and the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDENSON), the ranking member, for working with us to have this amendment in order and to support it. And of course I want to thank the gentleman from California (Mr. BILBRAY), my colleague, for being the chief sponsor of this amendment.

The two of us have been knee deep, literally, in this problem for probably 50 years between us; he when he started as a city council member and the mayor of Imperial Beach, California; myself since I was a city council member in San Diego. The two of us in local government have worked very hard to deal with an issue that few people in this House could face, and that is 50 million gallons a day of raw sewage flowing through their districts. This occurs because Mexico simply does not have the facilities to treat this sewage.

We are in the process of solving that. Because of timing, because of the processes of budgeting, we are in an interesting and unique situation. We have a chance, with this House's support, to have a bipartisan, binational environmental-friendly, taxpayer-friendly solution, finally, to a problem that has plagued us for nearly 5 decades.

What we want this House to go on record to do with this amendment is to approve in concept an innovative public-private partnership that says, we can treat this raw sewage originating in Mexico in Mexico with the highest standards to which we would be accustomed to in this country, with an environmentally-sound process which would be paid for up front by the private sector, and which would provide a comprehensive solution, finally, to this problem.

This is a rare opportunity where an innovative solution can be considered. It is not in the box of thinking of the traditional bureaucracies. They have had some trouble studying this to the degree that we would have liked, and so this Congress we are asking to go on record to approve the concept of studying this innovative public-private partnership, environmentally-friendly approach.

Mr. Chairman, it is time for this problem in Southern California, in

southern San Diego which crosses the borders of not only Mexico, the districts of Mr. BILBRAY and myself, to solve this problem.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BILBRAY. Mr. Chairman, may I inquire on how much time remains?

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska). The gentleman from San Diego (Mr. BILBRAY) has one 1 minute remaining; the other gentleman from San Diego (Mr. FILNER) has 2 minutes remaining.

Mr. BILBRAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

We are talking about the basic decency of allowing our children and families not to have to face pollution and sewage closing our beaches, polluting our estuaries, and especially sewage that is not coming from our neighborhoods or our area. It is actually coming from a foreign country.

Now, the Federal Government has finally awoken to the fact that we have a legal and moral obligation to address this environmental issue. This is a chance for both Republicans and Democrats to stand up to protecting American soil, making sure that the environment really does count, and also saving the taxpayers massive amounts of money. It is, I hate to use the cliché, a classic example of a win-win. I think that is why we see both the ranking member and the chairman of the committee supporting this, with such diverse political views as Mr. Filner and myself supporting this.

It really comes down to the fact that those of us who have lived in this area have been suffering under huge amounts of pollution for decades. Sadly, my children are second generation sewage kids. It is time Congress sends a clear signal that this will come to an end now, and I urge my colleagues to support this amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. FILNER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Georgia (Ms. MCKINNEY).

Ms. MCKINNEY. Mr. Chairman, I would just like to lend my voice of support for this amendment. It is a bipartisan amendment. It gets rid of raw sewage that originates in Mexico and finds its way on to our shores.

Mr. Chairman, the gentlemen from California have found a way to clean up this issue and to protect American soil. It is very important that we support this amendment, and I am pleased to lend my voice of support.

Mr. FILNER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I again want to thank certainly the gentleman from California (Mr. BILBRAY) and his staff for working with me and my staff in preparing this comprehensive amendment. The gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) and the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDENSON) have been very supportive. Also, I want to acknowledge the experts on the Clean Water Act and these

issues as they relate to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. SHUSTER), the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. OBERSTAR), the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. BORSKI), and the gentleman from New York (Mr. BOEHLERT) for their support of this approach.

Again, it is a win-win situation. We are going to save taxpayers' money. We have an environmentally sustainable solution that is being applied. It allows Mexico to make use of reclaimed sewage water for its agriculture and commercial purposes. It solves the problem that has been with us for 50 years.

Mr. Chairman, I ask my colleagues in the Congress to support this approach and finally close out a problem that too many of us have suffered with too long.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. BILBRAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself the balance of my time.

I would like to thank the chairman for cooperating with us on this issue. This is good for the environment on both sides of the border, as well as on both sides of the aisle. It is time that Congress sends a clear message that we should do whatever we can to help the environment in the most cost-effective, reasonable, and intelligent way. All this says is let us do it the right way with the least amount of cost.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. BILBRAY).

The question was taken; and the Chairman pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. BILBRAY. Mr. Chairman, I demand a recorded vote.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 247, further proceedings on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. BILBRAY) will be postponed.

Pursuant to the order of the House, it is now in order to consider Amendment No. 31 printed in Part B of the House report 106-235.

AMENDMENT NO. 31 OFFERED BY MS. WATERS

Ms. WATERS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

Part B Amendment No. 31 offered by Ms. WATERS:

Page 84, after line 16, insert the following:  
**SEC. 703. SENSE OF CONGRESS CONCERNING SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY IN PERU AND THE RELEASE OF LORI BERENSON, AN AMERICAN CITIZEN IMPRISONED IN PERU.**

It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the United States should increase its support to democracy and human rights activists in Peru, providing assistance with the same intensity and decisiveness with which it supported the pro-democracy movements in Eastern Europe during the Cold War;

(2) the United States should complete the review of the Department of State investigation of threats to press freedom and judicial independence in Peru and publish the findings;

(3) the United States should use all available diplomatic efforts to secure the release of Lori Berenson, an American citizen who was accused of being a terrorist, denied the opportunity to defend herself of the charges, allowed no witnesses to speak in her defense, allowed no time to privately consult with her lawyer, and declared guilty by a hooded judge in a military court; and

(4) in deciding whether to provide economic and other forms of assistance to Peru, the United States should take into consideration the willingness of Peru to assist in [the release of] Lori Berenson.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 247, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS) and a Member opposed each will control 5 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS).

Ms. WATERS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

As my colleagues know, I offered an amendment that would instruct the State Department to use all diplomatic efforts for the release of Lori Berenson. Again, I reiterate that Lori Berenson is a young woman who hails from New York. She is a journalist. She comes from a fine family. She went to Peru to work on human rights issues. She has been jailed by Fujimori. She has been placed high in the Andes in a room, in a prison where the temperature never gets above 40. Her health is failing her. She has been accused of being a terrorist, and she has been sentenced to life in prison.

We have done everything in our power to try and persuade President Fujimori to give her a fair trial. The trial that she received was certainly not fair. It was a trial by a military tribunal. They were hooded. She did not have a chance to offer a defense. She did not have a chance to offer any evidence. She did not have a chance to do anything that would ensure that she could have a fair trial. And so, she has been in prison now for 3 years and 8 months. She has been in prison for 3 years and 8 months with Americans trying to go down there to visit her.

The gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) has been there. We are working with her parents. Mr. Chairman, 176 Members of Congress on both sides of the aisle have joined in a campaign for her release, Democrats and Republicans. We are outraged that we would allow Fujimori to do this to a young American woman.

There is no reason that we should allow Fujimori, who has basically dismantled his government, who has taken over and appointed all of his judges, who really literally has shut down the media, we should not allow him to continue to imprison this young lady. She has said she is not a terrorist, she was not involved in any terrorist activities; and the human rights groups throughout this Nation have asked for a fair trial. He has refused a fair trial.

Now the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) is saying that he would like to see her get a fair trial.

□ 1530

We have some compromise language. Our language would concede to his concerns about a fair trial, even though we do not think she can get one. We would amend our language to say that she should have a fair trial according to international standards, within a year, and failing that, that she should be released.

Now, everything is fair about this. Number one, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) said he wanted to see a fair trial. Despite the fact that we do not think she can get one, we are conceding to him that we will ask one more time, by way of this formal procedure that we are involved with here in the Congress on the floor of the House, to ask for a fair trial, but we want it according to international standards.

We want to make sure that we are on the same track and we have the same definition for what is fair. Failing that, and only failing that, for example, if they say, no, we will not give her a fair trial, if they say, no, wait 10 more years, if they say we do not know what is meant by a fair trial, if they do not do it, if they do not actually carry out, rather, a fair trial, then we are asking for her release.

Mr. Chairman, I do not know what could be any fairer than that. We do not believe, again, that she can get a fair trial; but we are going to go along, and we are going to ask for it. We do not think it should hang out there forever, with them saying 5, 10 years from now we are trying to give her a fair trial.

So we have asked for a fair trial according to international standards within 1 year and, failing that, and only failing that, she should be released.

I would say to the Members of this House that I think that we can at least do this for this American, for a young woman who has not been proven guilty of anything; for a young woman who may be idealistic, but she does not deserve to have her life taken away from her.

Her parents are people who live up in the district of the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY). They travel throughout this country. They knock on the doors of the Members of Congress. They are begging us to please, to please, understand what is going on.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment, and yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, again, I want to repeat my request to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS). We were unable to work it out in that short time we had together.

I wanted to put, in lieu of "the release of" Lori Berenson, "a fair trial pursuant to international standards."

Regrettably, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS) wanted to add the words, "or release," or, as she just pointed out, 1 year later there would be a release.

I can say this having raised this issue myself before, with all my force. I have been concerned about it, like many Members on both sides of the aisle. But the issue here is one of fair trial and not of judging the evidence, because there is a lot of evidence, pro and con. Regrettably, in a sense of the Congress, which is a very serious matter, we should not go on record calling for the release of someone about whose innocence we are not persuaded one way or the other when the allegation is of a very, very serious terrorism charge.

The MRTA, with which Ms. Berenson has been identified—and I think this should be underscored—is exceedingly violent. It was responsible, as I said earlier in the debate, among other acts of terrorism, for the seizure of the Japanese ambassador's residence in Peru.

Remember, I say to my colleagues, day in and day out, as we watched CNN and we watched the news clips of those ambassadors and support personnel and everyone else who were caught behind those closed doors. Those hostages lived in agony for 5 months. To be associated with that group is a serious charge.

Although we cannot effectuate it, we must at least use the moral suasion of Congress to emphasize that there needs to be a fair trial, pursuant to international standards. The gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS) goes far beyond what we should be recommending in this situation.

I would also point out that I have raised this issue. I take a back seat to no one regarding human rights violations that occur in Peru, or anywhere else in the world. My Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights has had something on the order of 100 hearings since I have been chairman. We have had fact-finding missions, including one to Peru, to raise issues of human rights.

I believe in due process rights. I believe that she deserves them. As the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS) knows, our embassy was trying, our personnel were trying, to get her to serve out her sentence here in the United States in what, hopefully, would be a more pleasant situation or circumstance, relatively speaking.

So I really reluctantly rise in opposition to this.

Mr. WATERS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I yield to the gentlewoman from California.

Ms. WATERS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) articulate where we differ? We have agreed that there should be a fair trial. We agree on that.

Where do we differ? We have said that if they do not give her a fair trial within a year, then that would be what would trigger release. We do not say re-

lease without a fair trial. Now, where do we differ?

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Reclaiming my time, the word "release" should not appear in this document, in this Sense of the Congress, because we should not be coming down on the side of releasing someone who has been accused of a very, very serious offense in cooperation with a terrorist organization that has a despicable record in Peru. But, again, we must demand that the charges against her be properly adjudicated.

Let me remind Members that there were Americans who were held hostage in the Japanese ambassador's residence by this very group. I would urge a no vote on this, and I say that with reluctance. This is not a properly constructed amendment.

Mrs. MEEK of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment offered by the gentlelady from California, MAXINE WATERS. This amendment expresses the sense of the Congress that the United States should increase support to democracy and human rights activities in Peru; urge the Organization of American States to investigate threats to judicial independence and freedom of the press in Peru; use all diplomatic means to get Peru to release Lori Berenson (a U.S. citizen sentenced to life in prison by a military judge in 1996 for alleged terrorist acts); and take into consideration the willingness of Peru to release Lori Berenson before providing economic or other assistance to Peru.

While I understand that Peru is a sovereign nation, the country is lacking three principles that are fundamental for a democratic society governed by law: (1) freedom of expression; (2) integrity of a judicial system in a constitutional government; and (3) due process.

In its annual human rights report on Peru, the U.S. State Department has flagged several serious violations, with particular emphasis on freedom of the press. Peru has been condemned by several international organizations for serious "freedom of the press" abuses.

On Thursday, July 1, 1999, the House Committee on International Relations passed by voice vote H. Res. 57, expressing concern with the interferences with both the freedom of the press in Peru, as well as the judicial institutions of Peru.

Due process is a fundamental human right and completely necessary to a functioning democracy. Without due process, there can be no fairness, no justice, and no protection for any of the other fundamental freedoms of expression.

In November 1995, a U.S. citizen, Lori Berenson was arrested and subjected to a secret, hooded military tribunal in which she was denied due process, according to the State Department, human rights groups and the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. She was convicted of treason and given a life sentence without parole for allegedly being a leader of a terrorist group. Lori has proclaimed her innocence to these charges and in a letter to the human rights community, has denounced violence and terrorism.

Lori has continuously been denied the opportunity to speak with human rights groups and the media. She has been held under horrendous prison conditions in the Peruvian Andes and we are all very concerned with her

failing health. Lori has been subjected to long periods of isolation which have been cited by Amnesty International as cruel, inhumane and degrading treatment, in violation of Article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Dennis Jett, the U.S. Ambassador to Peru, has publicly stated that Lori Berenson has been singled out and treated badly simply because she is a U.S. citizen. The Peruvian military tribunal that convicted Lori was in secret. Additionally, the Peruvian government has never demonstrated any significant evidence against Lori because it does not exist. Meanwhile, Lori has continued to proclaim her innocence.

Mr. Chairman, if we are to carry out the full intent of Title 22 U.S.C. section 1732, by which Congress has given the President the authority, short of war, to gain the release of a U.S. citizen who has been wrongly incarcerated abroad, then we must do all that we can do to bring Lori home.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. HASTINGS of Washington). The question is on the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS).

The question was taken; and the Chairman pro tempore announced that the noes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Ms. WATERS. Mr. Chairman, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. This will be a 15-minute vote followed by a 5-minute vote on the Bilbray amendment.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 189, noes 234, answered “present” 5, not voting 5, as follows:

[Roll No. 326]

AYES—189

Abercrombie	Deutsch	Jones (OH)
Allen	Dicks	Kaptur
Andrews	Dixon	Kelly
Baird	Doggett	Kildee
Baldacci	Dooley	Kilpatrick
Baldwin	Doyle	Klecza
Becerra	Edwards	Kucinich
Berkley	Engel	LaFalce
Berman	English	Lampson
Berry	Eshoo	Lantos
Bishop	Etheridge	Larson
Blagojevich	Evans	Lee
Blumenauer	Farr	Levin
Bonior	Fattah	Lewis (GA)
Borski	Filner	Lipinski
Boswell	Ford	Lofgren
Boucher	Frost	Lowe
Boyd	Gejdenson	Lucas (KY)
Brady (PA)	Gephardt	Luther
Brown (FL)	Gonzalez	Maloney (CT)
Brown (OH)	Gordon	Maloney (NY)
Callahan	Green (TX)	Markey
Campbell	Gutierrez	Martinez
Capps	Hall (OH)	Mascara
Capuano	Hastings (FL)	Matsui
Cardin	Hilliard	McCarthy (MO)
Carson	Hinche	McCarthy (NY)
Clay	Hinojosa	McGovern
Clayton	Hobson	McIntyre
Clement	Hoeffel	McKinney
Clyburn	Holden	McNulty
Conyers	Holt	Meehan
Costello	Hooley	Meek (FL)
Coyne	Horn	Meeks (NY)
Crowley	Hoyer	Millender-
Cummings	Inslee	McDonald
Danner	Jackson (IL)	Miller, George
Davis (FL)	Jackson-Lee	Mink
Davis (IL)	(TX)	Moakley
DeFazio	Jefferson	Moore
DeGette	Johnson (CT)	Moran (VA)
Delahunt	Johnson, E. B.	Morella

Nadler	Rodriguez	Tanner
Napolitano	Rothman	Tauscher
Neal	Roybal-Allard	Thompson (CA)
Oberstar	Rush	Thompson (MS)
Obey	Sabo	Thurman
Oliver	Salmon	Tierney
Ortiz	Sanchez	Turner
Ose	Sanders	Udall (CO)
Owens	Sandlin	Udall (NM)
Pallone	Sawyer	Velazquez
Pascarell	Scarborough	Vento
Pastor	Schakowsky	Waters
Payne	Scott	Watt (NC)
Pelosi	Serrano	Waxman
Phelps	Sherman	Weiner
Pickett	Sherwood	Wexler
Pomeroy	Skelton	Weygand
Price (NC)	Slaughter	Whitfield
Pryce (OH)	Spratt	Woolsey
Rahall	Stabenow	Wu
Rangel	Stark	Wynn
Rivers	Strickland	

NOES—234

Ackerman	Ganske	Ney
Aderholt	Gekas	Northup
Archer	Gibbons	Norwood
Armey	Gilchrest	Nussle
Bachus	Gillmor	Oxley
Baker	Gilman	Packard
Ballenger	Goode	Paul
Barcia	Goodlatte	Pease
Barr	Goodling	Peterson (MN)
Barrett (NE)	Goss	Petri
Bartlett	Graham	Pickering
Barton	Granger	Pitts
Bass	Green (WI)	Pombo
Bateman	Greenwood	Porter
Bentsen	Gutknecht	Portman
Bereuter	Hall (TX)	Quinn
Biggert	Hansen	Radanovich
Bilbray	Hastings (WA)	Ramstad
Bilirakis	Hayes	Regula
Bliley	Hayworth	Reynolds
Blunt	Hefley	Riley
Boehlert	Herger	Roemer
Boehner	Hill (MT)	Rogan
Bonilla	Hilleary	Rogers
Bono	Hoekstra	Rohrabacher
Brady (TX)	Hostettler	Ros-Lehtinen
Bryant	Houghton	Roukema
Burr	Hulshof	Royce
Burton	Hunter	Ryan (WI)
Buyer	Hutchinson	Ryun (KS)
Calvert	Hyde	Sanford
Camp	Isakson	Saxton
Canady	Istook	Schaffer
Cannon	Jenkins	Sensenbrenner
Castle	John	Sessions
Chabot	Johnson, Sam	Shadegg
Chambliss	Jones (NC)	Shaw
Coble	Kanjorski	Shays
Coburn	Kasich	Shimkus
Collins	Kind (WI)	Shows
Combest	King (NY)	Shuster
Condit	Kingston	Simpson
Cook	Klink	Sisisky
Cooksey	Knollenberg	Skeen
Cox	Kolbe	Smith (MI)
Cramer	Kuykendall	Smith (NJ)
Crane	LaHood	Smith (TX)
Cubin	Largent	Smith (WA)
Cunningham	Latham	Souder
Davis (VA)	LaTourette	Spence
Deal	Lazio	Stearns
DeLauro	Leach	Stenholm
DeLay	Lewis (CA)	Stump
DeMint	Lewis (KY)	Stupak
Diaz-Balart	Linder	Sununu
Dickey	LoBiondo	Sweeney
Dingell	Lucas (OK)	Talent
Doolittle	Manzullo	Tancredo
Dreier	McCollum	Tauzin
Duncan	McCrery	Taylor (MS)
Dunn	McHugh	Taylor (NC)
Dunham	McInnis	Terry
Ehlers	McIntosh	Thomas
Ehrlich	McKeon	Thornberry
Emerson	McKeon	Thune
Everett	Menendez	Tiahrt
Ewing	Metcalf	Toomey
Fletcher	Mica	Traficant
Foley	Miller (FL)	Upton
Forbes	Miller, Gary	Upton
Fossella	Minge	Visclosky
Fowler	Mollohan	Vitter
Frank (MA)	Moran (KS)	Walden
Franks (NJ)	Murtha	Walsh
Frelinghuysen	Myrick	Wamp
Gallegly	Nethercutt	Watkins

Watts (OK)	Weller	Wolf
Weldon (FL)	Wicker	Young (AK)
Weldon (PA)	Wise	Young (FL)

ANSWERED “PRESENT”—5

Barrett (WI)	Reyes	Wilson
Hill (IN)	Snyder	

NOT VOTING—5

Chenoweth	McDermott	Towns
Kennedy	Peterson (PA)	

□ 1544

Messrs. SHOWS, WELDON of Florida, BENTSEN and WISE and Mrs. BONO changed their vote from “aye” to “no.” Mrs. KELLY, Mr. HOBSON, Mr. ENGLISH and Ms. KAPTUR changed their vote from “no” to “aye.”

So the amendment was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN PRO TEMPORE

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. HASTINGS of Washington). Pursuant to House Resolution 247, the Chair announces he will reduce to a minimum of 5 minutes the period of time within which a vote by electronic device will be taken on each amendment on which the Chair has postponed further proceedings.

AMENDMENT NO. 33 OFFERED BY BILBRAY

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The pending business is the demand for a recorded vote on amendment No. 33 offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. BILBRAY) on which further proceedings were postponed and on which the ayes prevailed by voice vote.

The Clerk will redesignate the amendment.

The Clerk redesignated the amendment.

RECORDED VOTE

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. A recorded vote has been demanded.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 427, noes 0, not voting 6, as follows:

[Roll No. 327]

AYES—427

Abercrombie	Bilirakis	Cannon
Ackerman	Bishop	Capps
Aderholt	Blagojevich	Capuano
Allen	Bliley	Cardin
Andrews	Blumenauer	Carson
Archer	Blunt	Castle
Armey	Boehlert	Chabot
Bachus	Boehner	Chambliss
Baird	Bonilla	Clay
Baker	Bonior	Clayton
Baldacci	Bono	Clement
Baldwin	Borski	Clyburn
Ballenger	Boswell	Coble
Barcia	Boucher	Coburn
Barr	Boyd	Collins
Barrett (NE)	Brady (PA)	Combest
Barrett (WI)	Brady (TX)	Condit
Bartlett	Brown (FL)	Conyers
Barton	Brown (OH)	Cook
Bass	Bryant	Cooksey
Becerra	Burr	Costello
Bentsen	Burton	Cox
Bereuter	Buyer	Coyne
Berkley	Callahan	Cramer
Berman	Calvert	Crane
Berry	Camp	Crowley
Biggert	Campbell	Cubin
Bilbray	Canady	Cummings

Cunningham Hyde Norwood  
 Danner Inslee Nussle  
 Davis (FL) Isakson Oberstar  
 Davis (IL) Istook Obey  
 Davis (VA) Jackson (IL) Olver  
 Deal Jackson-Lee Ortiz  
 DeFazio (TX) Ose  
 DeGette Jefferson Owens  
 Delahunt Jenkins Oxley  
 DeLauro John Packard  
 DeLay Johnson (CT) Pallone  
 DeMint Johnson, E. B. Pascrell  
 Deutsch Johnson, Sam Pastor  
 Diaz-Balart Jones (NC) Paul  
 Dickey Jones (OH) Payne  
 Dicks Kanjorski Pease  
 Dingell Kaptur Pelosi  
 Dixon Kasich Peterson (MN)  
 Doggett Kelly Petri  
 Dooley Kildee Phelps  
 Doolittle Kilpatrick Pickering  
 Doyle Kind (WI) Pickett  
 Dreier King (NY) Pitts  
 Duncan Kingston Pombo  
 Dunn Kleczka Pomeroy  
 Edwards Klink Porter  
 Ehlers Knollenberg Portman  
 Ehrlich Kolbe Price (NC)  
 Emerson Kucinich Pryce (OH)  
 Engel Kuykendall Quinn  
 English LaFalce Radanovich  
 Eshoo LaHood Rahall  
 Etheridge Lampson Ramstad  
 Evans Lantos Rangel  
 Everett Largent Regula  
 Ewing Larson Reyes  
 Farr Latham Reynolds  
 Fattah LaTourette Riley  
 Filner Lazio Rivers  
 Fletcher Leach Rodriguez  
 Foley Lee Roemer  
 Forbes Levin Rogan  
 Ford Lewis (CA) Rogers  
 Fossella Lewis (GA) Rohrabacher  
 Fowler Lewis (KY) Ros-Lehtinen  
 Frank (MA) Linder Rothman  
 Franks (NJ) Lipinski Roukema  
 Frelinghuysen LoBiondo Roybal-Allard  
 Frost Lofgren Royce  
 Gallegly Lowey Rush  
 Ganske Lucas (KY) Ryan (WI)  
 Gejdenson Lucas (OK) Ryan (KS)  
 Gekas Luther Sabo  
 Gephardt Maloney (CT) Salmon  
 Gibbons Maloney (NY) Sanchez  
 Gilchrest Manzullo Sanders  
 Gillmor Markey Sandlin  
 Gilman Martinez Sanford  
 Gonzalez Mascara Sawyer  
 Goode Matsui Saxton  
 Goodlatte McCarthy (MO) Scarborough  
 Goodling McCarthy (NY) Schaffer  
 Gordon McCollum Schakowsky  
 Goss McCrery Scott  
 Graham McGovern Sensenbrenner  
 Granger McHugh Serrano  
 Green (TX) McClinnis Sessions  
 Green (WI) McIntosh Shadegg  
 Greenwood McIntyre Shaw  
 Gutierrez McKeon Shays  
 Gutknecht McKinney Sherman  
 Hall (OH) McNulty Sherwood  
 Hall (TX) Meehan Shimkus  
 Hansen Meek (FL) Shows  
 Hastings (FL) Meeks (NY) Shuster  
 Hastings (WA) Menendez Simpson  
 Hayes Metcalf Sisisky  
 Hayworth Mica Skeen  
 Hefley Millender Skelton  
 Heger McDonald Slaughter  
 Hill (IN) Miller (FL) Smith (MI)  
 Hill (MT) Miller, Gary Smith (NJ)  
 Hillery Miller, George Smith (TX)  
 Hilliard Minge Smith (WA)  
 Hinchey Mink Snyder  
 Hinojosa Moakley Souder  
 Hobson Mollohan Spence  
 Hoeffel Moore Spratt  
 Hoekstra Moran (KS) Stabenow  
 Holden Moran (VA) Stark  
 Holt Morella Stearns  
 Hooley Murtha Stenholm  
 Horn Myrick Strickland  
 Hostettler Nadler Stump  
 Houghton Napolitano Stupak  
 Hoyer Neal Sununu  
 Hulshof Nethercutt Sweeney  
 Hunter Ney Talent  
 Hutchinson Northup Tancredo

Tanner Turner Weiner  
 Tauscher Udall (CO) Weldon (FL)  
 Tauzin Udall (NM) Weldon (PA)  
 Taylor (MS) Upton Weller  
 Taylor (NC) Velazquez Wexler  
 Terry Vento Weygand  
 Thomas Visclosky Whitfield  
 Thompson (CA) Vitter Wicker  
 Thompson (MS) Walden Wilson  
 Thornberry Walsh Wise  
 Thune Wamp Wolf  
 Thurman Waters Woolsey  
 Tiahrt Watkins Wu  
 Tierney Watt (NC) Wynn  
 Toomey Watts (OK) Young (AK)  
 Traficant Waxman Young (FL)

## NOT VOTING—6

Bateman Kennedy Peterson (PA)  
 Chenoweth McDermott Towns

□ 1554

So the amendment was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. HASTINGS of Washington). The Chair understands amendments No. 34 and 35 will not be offered.

It is now in order to consider amendment No. 36 printed in part B of House Report number 106-235.

## AMENDMENT NO. 36 OFFERED BY MR. DOGGETT

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment made in order under the rule.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

Part B amendment No. 36 offered by Mr. DOGGETT:

Page 84, after line 16, insert the following new title:

**TITLE VIII—GULF WAR VETERANS' IRAQI CLAIMS PROTECTION**

**SEC. 801. SHORT TITLE.**

This title may be cited as the "Gulf War Veterans' Iraqi Claims Protection Act of 1999".

**SEC. 802. ADJUDICATION OF CLAIMS.**

(a) CLAIMS AGAINST IRAQ.—The United States Commission is authorized to receive and determine the validity and amounts of any claims by nationals of the United States against the Government of Iraq. Such claims must be submitted to the United States Commission within the period specified by such Commission by notice published in the Federal Register. The United States Commission shall certify to each claimant the amount determined by the Commission to be payable on the claim under this title.

(b) DECISION RULES.—In deciding claims under subsection (a), the United States Commission shall apply, in the following order—

(1) applicable substantive law, including international law; and

(2) applicable principles of justice and equity.

(c) PRIORITY CLAIMS.—Before deciding any other claim against the Government of Iraq, the United States Commission shall, to the extent practical, decide all pending non-commercial claims of active, retired, or reserve members of the United States Armed Forces, retired former members of the United States Armed Forces, and other individuals arising out of Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait or out of the 1987 attack on the USS Stark.

(d) APPLICABILITY OF INTERNATIONAL CLAIMS SETTLEMENT ACT.—To the extent they are not inconsistent with the provisions of this title, the provisions of title I (other than section 802(c)) and title VII of the Inter-

national Claims Settlement Act of 1949 (22 U.S.C. 1621-1627 and 1645-1645o) shall apply with respect to claims under this title.

**SEC. 803. CLAIMS FUNDS.**

(a) IRAQI CLAIMS FUND.—The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to establish in the Treasury of the United States a fund (hereafter in this title referred to as the "Iraq Claims Fund") for payment of claims certified under section 802(a). The Secretary of the Treasury shall cover into the Iraq Claims Fund such amounts as are allocated to such fund pursuant to subsection (b).

(b) ALLOCATION OF PROCEEDS FROM IRAQI ASSET LIQUIDATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The President shall allocate funds resulting from the liquidation of assets pursuant to section 804 in the manner the President determines appropriate between the Iraq Claims Fund and such other accounts as are appropriate for the payment of claims of the United States Government against Iraq, subject to the limitation in paragraph (2).

(2) LIMITATION.—The amount allocated pursuant to this subsection for payment of claims of the United States Government against Iraq may not exceed the amount which bears the same relation to the amount allocated to the Iraq Claims Fund pursuant to this subsection as the sum of all certified claims of the United States Government against Iraq bears to the sum of all claims certified under section 802(a). As used in this paragraph, the term "certified claims of the United States Government against Iraq" means those claims of the United States Government against Iraq which are determined by the Secretary of State to be outside the jurisdiction of the United Nations Commission and which are determined to be valid, and whose amount has been certified, under such procedures as the President may establish.

**SEC. 804. AUTHORITY TO VEST IRAQI ASSETS.**

The President is authorized to vest and liquidate as much of the assets of the Government of Iraq in the United States that have been blocked pursuant to the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) as may be necessary to satisfy claims under section 802(a), claims of the United States Government against Iraq which are determined by the Secretary of State to be outside the jurisdiction of the United Nations Commission, and administrative expenses under section 805.

**SEC. 805. REIMBURSEMENT FOR ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES.**

(a) DEDUCTION.—In order to reimburse the United States Government for its expenses in administering this title, the Secretary of the Treasury shall deduct 1.5 percent of any amount covered into the Iraq Claims Fund to satisfy claims under this title.

(b) DEDUCTIONS TREATED AS MISCELLANEOUS RECEIPTS.—Amounts deducted pursuant to subsection (a) shall be deposited in the Treasury of the United States as miscellaneous receipts.

**SEC. 806. PAYMENTS.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—The United States Commission shall certify to the Secretary of the Treasury each award made pursuant to section 802. The Secretary of the Treasury shall make payment, out of the Iraq Claims Fund, in the following order of priority to the extent funds are available in such fund:

(1) Payment of \$10,000 or the principal amount of the award, whichever is less.

(2) For each claim that has priority under section 802(c), payment of an additional \$90,000 toward the unpaid balance of the principal amount of the award.

(3) Payments from time to time in ratable proportions on account of the unpaid balance of the principal amounts of all awards according to the proportions which the unpaid

balance of such awards bear to the total amount in the Iraq Claims Fund that is available for distribution at the time such payments are made.

(4) After payment has been made of the principal amounts of all such awards, pro rata payments on account of accrued interest on such awards as bear interest.

(b) UNSATISFIED CLAIMS.—Payment of any award made pursuant to this title shall not extinguish any unsatisfied claim, or be construed to have divested any claimant, or the United States on his or her behalf, of any rights against the Government of Iraq with respect to any unsatisfied claim.

**SEC. 807. AUTHORITY TO TRANSFER RECORDS.**

The head of any Executive agency may transfer or otherwise make available to the United States Commission such records and documents relating to claims authorized to be determined under this title as may be required by the United States Commission in carrying out its functions under this title.

**SEC. 808. STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS; DISPOSITION OF UNUSED FUNDS.**

(a) STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS.—Any demand or claim for payment on account of an award that is certified under this title shall be barred on and after the date that is one year after the date of publication of the notice required by subsection (b).

(b) PUBLICATION OF NOTICE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—At the end of the 9-year period specified in paragraph (2), the Secretary of the Treasury shall publish a notice in the Federal Register detailing the statute of limitations provided for in subsection (a) and identifying the claim numbers of, and the names of the claimants holding, unpaid certified claims.

(2) PUBLICATION DATE.—The notice required by paragraph (1) shall be published 9 years after the last date on which the Secretary of the Treasury covers into the Iraq Claims Fund amounts allocated to that fund pursuant to section 803(b).

(c) DISPOSITION OF UNUSED FUNDS.—

(1) DISPOSITION.—At the end of the 2-year period beginning on the publication date of the notice required by subsection (b), the Secretary of the Treasury shall dispose of all unused funds described in paragraph (2) by depositing in the Treasury of the United States as miscellaneous receipts any such funds that are not used for payments of certified claims under this title.

(2) UNUSED FUNDS.—The unused funds referred to in paragraph (1) are any remaining balance in the Iraq Claims Fund.

**SEC. 809. DEFINITIONS.**

As used in this title:

(1) EXECUTIVE AGENCY.—The term "Executive agency" has the meaning given that term by section 105 of title 5, United States Code.

(2) GOVERNMENT OF IRAQ.—The term "Government of Iraq" includes agencies, instrumentalities, and entities controlled by that government (including public sector enterprises).

(3) UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION.—The term "United Nations Commission" means the United Nations Compensation Commission established pursuant to United Nations Security Council Resolution 687 (1991).

(4) UNITED STATES COMMISSION.—The term "United States Commission" means the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 247, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT) and a Member opposed will each control 5 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT).

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Chairman, since 1990, over \$1 billion in frozen Iraqi assets sitting in American banks have been available to satisfy the just claims of American citizens. But almost a decade later, this Congress has still not approved legislation that would let Americans collect.

This amendment would authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to vest this Iraqi money in an account known as the Iraqi Claims Fund and authorize the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission to begin the process of resolving these claims against that Iraqi money with just one stipulation: The first claims to be resolved should be those of our Desert Storm and Desert Shield veterans, many of whom have been plagued with all the physical ailments that are referred to as Gulf War Syndrome.

Mr. Chairman, these men and women gave their all against an enemy of the United States, and now these brave veterans deserve nothing less from the government of the United States.

The House has already gone on record twice to support this objective. In 1994, by a vote of 398 to 5, in support of a similar provision in a State Department bill, and in 1997, in support of my motion to instruct conferees to reject an outrageous Senate provision in the State Department authorization bill by a vote of 412 to 5, we stood up at those times and declared that the men and women who put their lives on the line for our country are second to no one. Now we must do so again.

Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON), the distinguished ranking member on the Committee on Armed Services.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time and allowing me to speak on this very important issue.

What we do today on this amendment not only draws a lot of attention but it sends a sincere and straightforward message to those young men and young women who today find themselves in uniform defending the interests of the United States of America.

The money is there, Mr. Chairman. The fund is there. What is wrong with following the precedent that we have already set by voting in this House to allow that trust fund to be created from the Iraqi funds in order to take care of those young men and young women who might well be suffering from the Gulf War Syndrome?

Saddam Hussein, the country of Iraq, did very, very wrong, and the Americans righted that wrong by getting them out of Kuwait. But in the process, those young men and young women, those veterans of that conflict, as a result of the toxics that they ingested in themselves, became victims. And I certainly think we can follow through and help them reclaim what is rightfully theirs; the dollars from that fund.

□ 1600

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Chairman, if no one is claiming time in opposition to this bill, I ask unanimous consent to control the 5 minutes allocated for opposition.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. HASTINGS of Washington). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT) is recognized for an additional 5 minutes.

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. EVANS), the ranking member of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT).

The intent of this amendment is clear, to give our veterans in the Persian Gulf War first priority in seeking claims against Iraqi assets frozen by our Government during the war.

This amendment has the strong support of veterans groups, including Gulf War veterans. They know that while we can never make up the losses that were incurred in the Gulf War, veterans and their families should have the assurances that we will continue to seek every chance to collect damages against those injuries that they have suffered from.

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. EDWARDS) who represents the largest military base in the world, Ft. Hood, Texas.

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Chairman, it is not good enough to honor veterans on just Veterans' Day and Memorial Day. It is not good enough to just honor veterans with our speeches and our words. It is time we honored veterans with our actions.

Veterans do not need our rhetoric. They need our support. A vote for the Doggett amendment today is a vote to put veterans first where they should be. We have a clear choice. We can vote to give Desert Storm and Desert Shield veterans first claim on \$1 billion of frozen Iraqi assets, or we can vote to let countries who sold cigarettes to Saddam Hussein put their claims before our American veterans.

We can vote to support those who put their lives on the line fighting against Saddam Hussein, or we can vote to support those who made profits selling to Saddam Hussein.

Whose side are we on? That is the question before us. American veterans who were on the front lines in fighting against Saddam should not be put in the back of the line when Iraqi assets are unfrozen. Vote for our veterans. Vote for the Doggett amendment.

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDENSON), the ranking member on the Committee on International Relations.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Chairman, I would like to commend the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT) for bringing this to the floor. This is the right action to take here.

We ask our military personnel to take the first action in defending America's interests, the West's interests, our economic interests, our political interests, and our security interests. They should not be anywhere else in line but first when it comes to claiming their duly deserved compensation.

This is an excellent amendment. The gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT) is doing the right thing, and we should unanimously support him.

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Chairman, how much time remains, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT) has 6 minutes remaining.

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself an additional 3 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, it appears that no one will rise to speak against this amendment. I am pleased about that, and I know that our Nation's veterans will be pleased about it.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Gulf Veterans Resource Center have been active in supporting this measure. When this measure came before the Committee on International Affairs back in 1993, these organizations and other veterans organizations spoke out in favor of this provision.

Yet, why is it that with such strong support from veterans, with a near unanimous vote of this House in 1994 on a strong bipartisan basis, again on my motion in 1997 a strong bipartisan basis, we have not provided our veterans with the mechanism to have a chance to get some recovery from the frozen assets of Saddam Hussein that are sitting in banks right here in the United States?

It is because there are some who have claims that are competing with the veterans and do not want veterans to have a first claim on these assets.

Some of the entities that have registered their claims with regard to these assets are the very companies that supplied Saddam Hussein with the means to have weapons of mass destruction, chemical and biological weapons, components that could be used in the development of nuclear weaponry, conventional weapons that were made available to Saddam Hussein. They now are competing with our veterans.

Another group of entities that are competing and seem to have played a big role in this bill during the last Congress are the major tobacco companies. They also have claims. One has a claim of some \$12 million.

Now, I am not suggesting that any of those, even those that supplied Saddam Hussein with the means for his war machine, ought not to have their day in court or the day before the commission. But I am suggesting that before they have their day in court we should

at least resolve the claims of those who put their lives on the line and some of whom actually sacrificed and gave their lives and others of whom will be plagued for the rest of their lives, bright young men and women with a shining future who now suffer disability as the result of Gulf War Syndrome.

I would say, as to those young men and women who gave their all to this country, who put their country first and made this sacrifice, that they deserve to have their claims put ahead of the companies that supplied weaponry and the means to develop weaponry to Saddam Hussein and that they deserve to be placed ahead of the major tobacco companies that say they want their claims settled, not that they are left out, but that our veterans go first.

I know that there are others across this Capitol, Mr. JESSE HELMS in particular, that disagree with this approach. But I believe this House, for a third time having spoken out with, I hope, a unanimous voice and a recorded vote, will be sending a message that we will not leave our veterans behind anymore and that, as we close out this millennium, we will finally put our Gulf War veterans first and let them have a claim, a legitimate claim, against these assets of Saddam Hussein.

Mr. Chairman, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. EDWARDS).

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Chairman, I just want to thank the gentleman for his efforts.

I would like to point out that I think it is outrageous if Members do not have the courage to come in the light of day on the floor of this House to say they oppose the amendment of the gentleman, an effort to put veterans first, and yet behind closed doors in conference committee this effort seems to be killed.

I would hope that the silence and opposition to this amendment would indicate that this will pass through the conference committee. I hope that the veterans organizations in America will be watching this effort very, very carefully.

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EDWARDS. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Chairman, I ask the gentleman to respond to this question.

I believe the gentleman was here on the floor in 1997 when we had our motion to instruct. It took up an entire hour of time. Am I not correct that, in the course of that debate, only one Member of this entire House on either side of the aisle or a Republican colleague of ours rose to oppose the motion to instruct and after the debate he voted with us in favor of the motion to instruct to tell JESSE HELMS and all the members of the conference committee do not put veterans last, because if we put them last, given the

size of the claims of some of these companies that helped fuel Saddam Hussein's war machine and supplied tobacco to the children and adults of Iraq, if we put the veterans down behind them, the veterans will not get a penny; it will not be a matter of putting veterans last, it will be a matter of putting veterans out and they will never get a dime? Is that not correct?

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Chairman, reclaiming my time, that is correct.

It is my hope, Mr. Chairman, that every major veterans group in American will watch like a hawk what happens in conference committee on this. It would be unfair and morally wrong to our Nation's veterans to take this language out in conference committee.

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Chairman, I have no further speakers, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT).

The question was taken; and the Chairman pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Chairman, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to House Resolution 247, further proceedings on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT) will be postponed.

The point of no quorum is considered withdrawn.

It is now in order to consider Amendment No. 37 printed in Part B of House Report 106-235.

AMENDMENT NO. 37 OFFERED BY MR. ENGEL

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

Part B amendment No. 37 offered by Mr. ENGEL:

Page 84, after line 16, add the following (and conform the table of contents accordingly):

**SEC. 703. KOSOVAR ALBANIAN PRISONERS HELD IN SERBIA.**

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress makes the following findings:

(1) At the conclusion of the NATO campaign to halt the Serbian and Yugoslav ethnic cleansing in Kosova, a large, but undetermined number of Kosovar Albanians held in Serbian prisons in Kosova were taken from Kosova before and during the withdrawal of Serbian and Yugoslav police and military forces from Kosova.

(2) Serbian Justice Minister Dragoljub Jankovic has admitted that 1,860 prisoners were brought to Serbia from Kosova on June 10, 1999, the day Serbian and Yugoslav police and military forces began their withdrawal from Kosova.

(3) International humanitarian organizations, including the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and Human Rights Watch, have expressed serious concern with the detention of Kosovar Albanians in prisons in Serbia.

(4) On June 25, 1999, Serbia released 166 of the detained Kosovar Albanian prisoners to the ICRC.

(5) On July 10, 1999, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, comprised of parliamentarians from Across Europe, the United States and Canada, adopted a resolution calling upon Serbia and Yugoslavia, in accordance with international humanitarian law, to grant full, immediate and ongoing ICRC access to all prisoners held in relation to the Kosovo crisis, to ensure the humane treatment of such prisoners, and to arrange for the release of all such prisoners.

(b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the Serbian and Yugoslav Governments should immediately account for all Kosovar Albanians held in their prisons and treat them in accordance with all applicable international standards;

(2) the ICRC should be given full, immediate, and ongoing access to all Kosovar Albanians held in Serbian and Yugoslav prisons; and

(3) all Kosovar Albanians held in Serbian and Yugoslav prisons should be released and returned to Kosova.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 247, the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL) and a Member opposed each will control 5 minutes.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to claim the time in opposition to the Engel amendment although I am not opposed to the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL).

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 2½ minutes.

Mr. Chairman, after the allies won the war in Kosovo, when the Serbian forces left Kosovo to go back to Serbia, they kidnapped anywhere from 1,800 prisoners, Kosovar Albanian prisoners, to up to 5,000 Kosovar Albanian prisoners, and took them back to Serbia, away from their homes, and jailed them.

The Serbian justice minister mentions a total of 1,860 Kosovar Albanians jailed. But I have from a very respected newspaper, *Koha Ditore*, a list of 5,000 ethnic Albanian prisoners who are now detained in jails in Serbia.

This amendment simply would call on the International Committee of the Red Cross to be allowed to visit these prisoners to call for an accounting of these prisoners and to give the International Committee of the Red Cross access to all Kosovar Albanians detained in Serbian prisons.

It also asks for the release and return to Kosovo of all these people and is virtually identical to a resolution that was passed by the OSCE recently which contained the same provisions and was the European parliamentarians' same request.

We cannot allow Slobodan Milosevic to capture these people and to keep them there as virtual prisoners. It is

absolutely important that the world community stand up and say that we will not tolerate the continued Serbian aggression.

Mr. Chairman, I include for the RECORD the list of prisoners and two articles, one from the Washington Post and one from the Los Angeles Times, which highlights this problem and the problem of the Kosovar Albanians who are captured and kidnapped in Serbian prisons.

THE LIST OF KOSOVAR PRISONERS HELD IN SERBIA TAKEN FROM KOHA DITORE

*City Prison-Pozharevc (Serbia):*

Lutfi Xhaferi, Muhamet Bajrami, Fadil Salihu, Naser Osmani, Rijad Begu, Isak Abazi, Xhemshit Ferati, Shaqir Pllana, Afrim Salihu, Ibrahim Bajrami, Sylejman Bejtullahu, Xhevdet Bejtullahu, Agron Pllana, Nexhat Brahimi, Hazir Peci, Milaim Hajrizi, Fehmi Hasani, Shaban Duraku, Adem Tahiri, Rushit Strana, Isa Aliu, Ferit Pllana, Kaplan Salihu, Sami Hasani, Nuhi Januzi, Behxhet Maloku, Besim Brahimi, Sabit Strana, Rexhep Uka, Hamit Maleta, Ismet Pllana, Xhelal Bejtullahu, Hajrullah Peci, Agim Peci, Ismail Peci, Miftar Gashi, Feti Asllanaj, Sejdi Lahu, Skënder Sadiku, Sejdi Zekaj, Fazli Kadriu, Ramadan Bislimi, Skënder Haxha, Shaban Zuhranaj, Bajram Rukolli, Imer Haziraj, Xhevdat Mustafa, Zani Mustafa, Sabit Arifi, Bexhet Zeneli, Miftar Sahiti, Mustafa Ramadan, Sabri Osmani, Agim Islami, Aziz Islami, Kadri Durguti, Abdyl Kleçka, Behajdin Kleçka, Burim Ejupi, Sabit Shehu, Zeqir Shehu, Jusuf Kollari, Xhevdet Durguti, Mehdi Kollari, Arben Shala, Destan Nurshaba, Mujedin Korenica, Veton Mulija, Beqir Kollari, Fahredin Dina, Bashkim Hoxha, Arsim Haska, Fadil Isma, Esad Kasapi, Zijadin Miftari, Eshref Kleçka, Selami Sharku, Lan Isufaj, Rasim Isufaj, Njazi Isufaj, Naim Hadergjonaj, Rasim Selmanaj, Jahir Agushi, Visar Muriqi, Ragip Ahmeti, Ramadan Gashi, Fatmir Shishani, Agim Leka, Hazir Stoliqi, Gani Ahmetxhekaj, Mujë Zekaj, Salih Zariqi, Jakup Rexhepi, Bajram Gashi, Nezir Bajraktari, Mustafë Mehmetaj, Arben Bajraktaraj, Nexhat Dervishaj, Demë Ramosaj, Shaban Mehmetaj, Sadik Haradini, Ramiz Isufaj, Ministet Shala, Ismet Paçarizi, Izet Zenuni, Gani Baqaj, Sali Gashi, Skënder Bajraktari, Llmi Zeneli, Xhafer Qufaj, Gëzim Zeçaj, Bujar Goranci, Muhamet Gashi, Xhemë Morina, Florim Zekaj, Asllan Asllani, Shpend Dobrunaj, Luan Ahmetxhekaj, Besnik Ismaili, Xhavit Musëshabanaj, Driton Zekaj, Llmi Karaxha, Nikollë Markaj, Ukë Golaj, Dervish Zekaj, Rasim Gjota, Skënder Hajdari, Ardian Kumnova, Flamur Krasniqi, Isak Hoti, Ramadan Morina, Ismet Krasniqi, Demir Limaj, Lavdim Tetaj, Arsim Krasniqi, Arton Krasniqi, Avni Shala, Hazir Krasniqi, Llir Krasniqi, Fahri Krasniqi, Zhujë Gashi, Muhamed Avdiaj, Bekim Istogu, Azem Buzhala, Faik Topalli, Nysret Hoti, Nazim Zenelaj, Adnan Topalli, Musli Leku, Remzi Morina, Avni Memia, Avdi Kabashi, Ibrahim Ferizi, Visar Demiri, Bekim Rama, Tahir Rraci, Blerim Camaj, Reshat Nurboja, Ibrahim Gashi, Astrit Elshani, Hasan Vërslaku, Avduallah Lushi, Lush Marku, Mustafë Gjocaj, Rrustem Jetishi, Bekim Maçi, Asllan Nebihi, Afrim Vërslaku, Kujtim Jetishi, Avdyli Maçi, Skënder Hoxha, Muhamet Këçina, Fadil Avdyli, Bajram Avdyli, Sokol Sylja, Hasan Berisha, Luan Mazrreku, Enver Hoxhaj, Ismet Gashi, Zeqir Gashi, Fadil Topalli, Bujar Sylaj, Agim Gashi, Hetem Elshani, Isa Topalli, Flurim Haxhymeri, Haki Haxhimustafa, Beqir Alimusaj, Bajram Shala, Gazmend Zeka,

Fadil Jetishi, Isa Shala, Isuf Shala, Ylber Dizdari, Milaim Cekaj, Musa Krasniqi, Ismet Berbati, Ramiz Gjocaj, Demë Batusha, Reshat Suka, Tahir Panxhaj, Sylë Salihu, Ismet Isufi, Ukë Rexha, Fehmi Kukiqi, Arslan Selimi, Fetah Shala, Milazim Shehu, Nait Hasani, Riza Alia, Gani Cekaj, Sefedin Morina, Sadri Tërdevci, Habib Morina, Elmi Morina, Rexhep Morina, Isa Morina, Lajet Mola, Sylejman Bajgora, Feriz Çorri, Raif Hasi, Smail Hasi, Rrahim Limani, Sadik Limani, Jakup Limani, Agim Nimani, Besnik Heta, Afrim Ruçaj, Qamil Pllana, Hashim Mecinaj, Shemi Shaqiri, Avdush Hysi, Miftar Dobra, Nexhat Ahmeti, Fadil Ajeti, Bahri Istrefi, Bedri Qerimi, Nexhat Mustafa, Izet Miftaraj, Fuat Buçinca, Reci Dosti, Naim Haziri, Sali Azemi, Kenan Hasani, Rifat Dobra, Shaban Rexhepi, Daut Rrahmani, Ali Haradini, Latif Ismaili (minor), Fehmi Jashari, Naim Peci, Gani Arslani, Muharrem Zymeri, Elmaz Hasani, Ukshin Hasani, Hakif Duraku, Sherafedin Hasani, Jashar Istrefi, Rrahman Istrefi, Gani Muja, Rrahman Ahmeti, Ferid Zeneli, Duka Aliu, Nuredin Jashari, Ilmi Jashari, Hajro Brahimi, Fahri Berisha, Naim Pllana, Shkëlzen Pllana, Fehmi Pllana, Megdia Pllana, Behxhet Sejdiaj, Faik Sejdiaj, Bekim Sejdiaj, Tafil Prokshi, Shemi Miftaraj, Ahmet Murati, Dibran Krasniqi, Shefki Tahiri, Shefket Duraku, Beqir Bialku, Ibrahim Krasniqi, Mehmet Xhelili, Idriz Klinaku, Ahmet Hasani, Përparim Mustafa, Halil Mustafa, Milazim Mustafaj, Fatos Asllanaj, Enes Kalludra, Hajriz Islami, Ismet Laka, Fazli Adem, Mujë Shabani, Avdyli Sejdiu, Rifat Hasani, Ejup Sejdiu, Nasuf Deliaj, Agim Ahmetaj, Kasem Ahmetaj, Mustafë Ahmetaj, Ekrem Avdiu, Nexhmedin Llausha, Shpend Kopriva, Lulzim Ymeri, Ertan Bislimi, Krenar Telçiu, Bashkim Gllgovci, Ilir Hoxha, Luan Sejdiu, Agim Morina, Fehmi Muharremi, Ibrahim Berisha, Mustafë Berisha, Gani Baliqi, Osman Kastrati, Shaban Çupi, Arben Hajaj, Ardian Haxhaj, Mehmet Memçaj, Agim Lumi, Skënder Hoti, Sokol Morina, Fazli Gashi, Besim Kastrati, Sherif Berisha, Shefket Topojani, Naim Krasniqi, Mujë Prekuni, Elmi Cujani, Qazim Sejdia, Ali Çuliqi, Isak Shabani, Selim Gashi, Shkëlzen Zariqi, Agron Tolaj, Hajdin Ramaj, Ismet Gashi, Muhamet Rama, Esat Shehu, Selman Ukëhaxhaj, Agim Sylja, Hasan Rama, Ramadan Nishori, Hidajim Morina, Sadik Bytyçi, Enver Hashani, Besim Rama, Valon Berisha, Nexhat Shulaku, Edmond Dushi, Naser Shurnjaku, Visar Dushi, Agim Hoda, Mustafë Ahmeti, Arsim Bakalli, Menduh Duraku, Muhedin Zeka, Kreshnik Hoda, Admir Pruthi, Nexhmedin Baraku, Mehdi Ferizi, Fisnik Zhaveli, Muhamet Guta, Faik Mustafaj, Selami Curraj, Artan Nasi, Yll Kusari, Yll Ferizi, Përparim Efendiija, Arbnor Koshi, Petrit Vula, Idriz Feta, Jeton Rizniqi, Genc Xhara, Behar Hoti, Qamil Haxhibeqiri, Fahri Hoti, Adnan Hoti, Fatmir Tafarshiku, Shpetim Hoxha, Esat Ahma, Hysen Juniku, Yll Pepa, Erdogan Mati, Shkëlzen Nura, Esat Zherka, Shpend Musacana, Adriatik Pula, Labinot Pula, Gëzim Sada, Bekim Jota, Emin Delia, Zog Delia, Alb Delia, Yll Delia, As Ahmeti, Yll Kastrati, Adnan Haxhibeqiri, Gazmend Zhubi, Gent Nushi, Enver Dula, Mithat Buza, Bekim Rragomi, Aliriza Truti, Skënder Zhina, Petrit Jakupaj, Elmi Tahiri, Agim Muhaxheri, Faton Hoda, Agron Pula, Tahir Kajdomçaj, Florent Trudi, Adriatik Vokshi, Ymri Ahmeti, Armond Koshi, Atli Kryeziu, Dukagjin Pula, Jusuf Brovina, Gani Gexha, Sulejman Brovina, Hasan Halilaj, Halil Guta, Albert Koshi, Fatos Dautaga, Sami Morina, Luan Xheka, Tahir Skënderaj, Bjerem Juniku, Sabit Beqiri, Djamant Mici, Nexhat Vehapi, Fadil Lushaj, Binak Haxhija, Avdyli Precaj, Xhamajl Thaçi, Nazim Morina,

Flamur Pana, Fatos Deva, Musat Ukaj, Ardian Tetrica, Driton Aliaga, Bekim Mullahasani, Bashkim Mustafa, Besfort Mullahasani, Driton Ballata, Diamant Manxhuka, Rinor Lama, Fatmir Pruthi, Ferhat Luhani, Bekim Musa, Petrit Këpuska, Mithat Guta, Agim Hasiqi, Gëmbi Batusha, Hysni Hoda, Hivzi Perolli, Mazlrom Grushiti, Jeton Bytyçi, Bujar Hasiqi, Petrit Sahatqija, Vllaznim Radogoshi, Imer Guta, Shefqet Bokshi, Kastriot Zhubi, Florent Zhubi, Edmond Shtaloja, Burim Dobruna, Isa Axhanela, Driton Xhiha, Hasan Zeneli, Rasim Rexha, Haqif Ilazi, Bilbil Duraku, Sejdi Bellanica, Defrim Rifaj, Nehat Binaku, Enver Berisha, Jakif Mazreku, Hysni Krasniqi, Haki Elshani, Avni Koleci, Shaban Kolgeci, Rexhep Agilaj, Arif Kabashi, Azem Nedrotaj, Xhevat Shukolli, Zaim Çatapi, Milaim Kabashi, Xhavit Kolgeci, Maliq Sokoli, Haxhi Ukaj, Ramadan Kokollari, Arben Basha, Feriz Haziri, Sedji Haziraj, Hazir Zenelaj, Xhavit Krasniqi, Milaim Matoshi, Mustafë Kolgeci, Arsim Gashi, Emin Kryeziu, Sherif Ilazi, Arsim Ziba, Defrim Kiqina, Zenel Ademi, Fadil Xhulani, Qamil Rama, Pjetër Çira, Bilbil Shehu, Isuf Bardoshi, Ilir Kortoshi, Osman Tortoshi, Sulo Kuçi, Sulejman Deliu, Gazmend Krasniqi, Zil Qipa, Shaban Rama, Jahë Sadrija, Muharrem Pajazit, Naser Tahirsylaj, Muhamet Tahiri, Arben Dobani, Besim Zogaj, Xhavit Gashi, Sali Cunaj, Fatmir Kokollari, Nezir Zogaj, Naim Baleci, Agron Borani, Rakip Mirana, Bekim Krasniqi, Rexhep Luzha, Ramiz Bajrami, Ali Gashi, Ramadan Berisha, Abdullah Cunaj, Sinan Bytyçi, Shemi Galloperi, Shefqet Kabashi, Fazli Pranca, Musli Avdyli, Ibrahim Isufaj, Sulejman Bytyçi, Muharrem Qypaj, Ahmet Demiri, Xhafer Shala, Sami Gashi, Agron Berisha, Sahit Ziba, Nijazi Kryeziu, Hasan Shala, Abaz Beqiri, Filip Pjetri, Nazmi Haliti, Agim Ibraj, Haxhi Barjaktari, Ruzhdi Morina, Bashkim Jusufi, Burim Musliu, Himë Shala, Haki Haziraj, Valdet Rama, Gasper Selmanaj, Besnik Kuçi, Adem Kuçi, Jeton Alia, Ademali Metaj, Naim Balaj, Halit Ndrecaj, Bajram, Bajraj, Xhavit Kacaniku, Naim Zejnaj, Feriz Zabelaj, Nexhat Sylaj, Nuhi Boka, Hajrullah Samadaxha, Naser Kalimoshi, Qazim Krasniqi, Ali Isa, Kadri Jaha, Ymer Krasniqi, Sali Ahmed, Hajdin Alia, Asllan Lumi, Xhemajl Sallauka, Murat Kabashi, Hamit Buzhala, Lumni Matoshi, Gazmend Bytyçi, Xhavit Malaj, Daut Gashi, Zymer Gashi, Mehdi Gashi, Nasuf Gorani, Osman Llugaxhia, Fatmir Berisha, Hasan Istogu, Milaim Kastrati, Rexhep Alimusaj, Abdullah Shala, Ukë Kolgeci, Hasan Kuçi, Sali Loshi, Burim Bllaca, Sedat Kolgeci, Albert Kolgeci, Emri Loshi, Sherif Hamza, Ukë Thaci, Nazmi Franca, Naim Leku, Riza Krasniqi, Tafë Kurtaj, Ismet Beqiraj, Bahri Beqaj, Sali Maliqaj, Muhedin Nivokazi, Ramadan Zymeraj, Haki Ademaj, Hajzer Hajrullah, Hekuran Cari, Adem Zenuni, Dul Cunaj, Ferit Tafallari, Sinan Tafilaj, Shaqir Selmanaj, Hasan Sadikaj, Blerim Krasniqi, Maki Begolli, Behar Jetishi, Agim Jetishi, Kastriot Jetishi, Zenel Jetishi, Skënder Kelmendi, Nexhat Krasniqi, Bashkim Dvorani, Bekim Mazrreku, Izet Sejjfaj, Rexhep Xhemajli, Xhemajl Muharremi, Ismet Sukaj, Besim Ramaj, Blerim Shala, Adem Morina, Hasan Mulaj, Frashër Shabani, Xhevat Haziri, Ismet Musaj, Fatos Malaj, Haki Mahmudademaj, Kamber Goxholi, Mustafë Shala, Avni Sylja, Ahmet Kapitaj, Pashk Quni, Driton Berisha, Luan Bajrami, Selim Sutaj, Riza Tahirukaj, Rexhë Jakupi, Hamdi Hyseni, Mersin Berisha, Nexhëdet Kida, Lahë Mataj, Naim Kidaj, Ismet Ademi, Tahir Salih, Arben Bazi, Arif Ahmeti, Istref Sadrija, Sadik Zeqiri, Bajram Merqa, Gëzim Abazi, Sahit Haxhosaj, Idriz Asllanaj, Agim Makolli, Halil Deliu, Bektsh

Qahili, Adil Kollari, Avdyll Jetishi, Burim Jetishi, Shkëlzen Kida, Skender Çakolli, Qerim Jetishi, Mikel Dodaj, Lekë Pëvorfi, Brahim Pepshi, Rrahmon Jonuzaj, Fitim Halimi, Behar Jetishi, Bedri Shabanaj, Shkumbin Malaj, Zenel Kurmehaj, Jeton Malaj, Sejdi Begaj, Misin Rexha, Hasan Daloshi, Fatmir Kurtaj, Agim Reqica, Shpëtim Krasniqi, Zeqir Leshani, Ylber Topalli, Shefqet Beqa, Besim Zymberi, Qamil Abazi, Brahë Beqiraj, Din Gjoni, Skender Gashi, Shaban Beka, Agron Ramadani, Arif Vokshi, Nebi Tahiri, Skender Racaj, Ilaz Bislimi, Rexhë Gashi, Sabri Arifaj, Nizat Morina, Ahmet Ahmeti, Burim Brovina, Përparim Zejnullahu, Abdurrahman Naha, Artan Morina, Falmur Godeni, Valdet Krasniqi, Adnan Brovina, Fatmir Bytyçi, Mexhit Zenelaj, Rizo Bekiq, Milazim Kolgeci, Vesel Llugaxhia, Arben Llugaxhia, Selim Hasani, Arben Morina, Gani Igalli, Genc Kida, Ajet Ibraj, Mujë Ibraj, Tarap Kida, Samat Gati, Leonard Krasniqi, Bashkim Haziraj, Bashkim Kabashi, Çausht Sevgja, Ramiz Berisha, Gjon Sefaj, Arsim Kullashi, Hasan Zariqi, Mehmet Rexhaj, Agim Hulaj, Mujë Tafilaj, Ramadan Avdiu, Raim Aliu, Isuf Zekaj, Smajl Smajli.

*Prison of Sremska Mitrovica (Serbia):*

Bedri Zymer Shabanaj, Liman Shefki Haxholli, Sami Kamer Ajeti, Rasim Xheladin Muja, Luan Ajet Statovci, Gezim Nazmi Statovci, Enver Hamit Sekiraja, Bekim Ilmi Istogu, Sylejman Bejtullaj Sopjani, Isak Iljaz Kurshumlija, Lek Mihilja Pervulfi, Ragip Syle Ahmeti, Fehim Rustem Vrelaku, Ilmi Musli Karagani, Bekim Avdulla Mazreku, Agim Sylejman Kelmendi, Rexhep Rushit Musliu, Hysni Rustem Nursedi, Izet Sadik Sadriu, Faton Zymer Malaj, Muharrem Jahe Krasniqi, Naser Bajram Istogu, Abdyl Jusuf Jetishi, Riza Hajdar Dembogaj, Zeqir A. Pacolli, Gani Asllan Daci, Liman Fazli Aliu, Muhamer Avdiu, Shkumbin S. Malaj, Lah Haxhi Mataj, Shmeret Zenel Ahmeti, Halip Hajrullah Reshica, Bajrush Muharrem Xhemaili, Gent Jakup Nushi, Dem Halil Ranoshaj, Xhemajl Muharrem Muharremi, Xhavit Shaban Mustapani, Ahmet Sefë Ahmeti, Skender Sylejman Gjiha, Fahri Rexhep Ejupi, Bastrri Jahim Azemi, Iljaz Gani Gashi, Shefqet Aziz Kosumi, Jakup Hasan Ademi, Behar Kadri Zymeri, Florijan Hilmi Istogu, Habib Shaban Shabani, Shaip Malë Berisha, Hasan Ahmet Jashari, Halim Ramadan Musliu, Abdullah Haxhi Hoxha, Ajet Liman Zariqi, Agron Beqir Ejupi, Asllan Jusuf Zekaj, Skender Haxhi Kelmendi, Ridvan Shaip Salihu, Rasim Ramadan Zota, Bekim Nevruz Ragipi, Bajram Mustafë Tah, Ukë Mehmet Goxhaj, Halil Hajrullah Nashica, Bajrush Muharrem Gjemaili, Xhemajl Muharrem Muharremi, Ahmet Sefa Ahmeti, Fahri Rexhep Ujupi, Iljaz Gani Gashi, Jakup Hasan Ademi, Ergjylent Elbasan Gashi, Arben Ahmet Bajraktari, Adem Jusuf Morina, Nezir Tafil Sh., Bekim Ibrahim Istogu, Afrim Ismet Uka, Drestan Islam Sukaj, Fadil Kosum Gashi, Bujar Xhafer Goranci, Fejzullah Hasim N., Ramiz Ibrahim Isufaj, Avdyll Beqir Kreqka, Imer Bajram Zhushi, Mirsad Vesel Bashota, Izet Sabri Zenuni, Mehmet Rexhep Gashi, Osman Haxhi T., Fejzullah Zenel Avdyli, Bexhet Isë Gashi, Zeqir Abdullahu, Shkëqim Rrahim Selimi, Sylë R. Murati, Kujtim H. Sh., Musa Hajriz Gashi, Abedin Mugaj, Osman Isuf Hoti, Ramiz Riza Sopjani, Braim Muharrem Isufi, Muhamet Bexhet Thaçi, Azem Hazir Sylejmani, Avdi Zejnullah Ajeti, Sokol Xhafer Jakupi, Xhevat Esat Aziri, Qamil Abaz Abazi, Sinan Sylejman Kelmendi, Kastriot Qazim Jetishi, Beqë Isuf Ukhshini, Arbër Shefqet Pervuku, Ahmet Mustafë Kapitaj, Besim Muhamet Zymberi, Mexhëdet Ramadan Kida, Mustafë Emin Shaqa, Rexhë Brahim Jakupi, Faton

Vesel Istogu, Bahtir Hamdi Bahtiri, Rexhep Tafil Topalli, Feriz Aziz Kaqili, Isuf Asllan Sylaj, Besim Hasan Jashari, Rrahim Avdi Nika, Florim Sadri Dervishi, Tomorr Haxhi Hoxha, Shaban Haxhi Hoxha, Agim Likë Brahimi, Shkelzen Ramadan Kida, Mersin Beqir Berisha, Durak Riza Gërbeshi, Shaban Hamëz Frashëri, Bujar Ibrahim Çuni, Beqir Akil Abazi, Kamber Sylë Buçolli, Hasan Beqir Mula, Haxhibeqir Masar Ajdini, Avdyll Xhabir Skilferi, Enver Muhamed Dula, Agim Sadri Çeku, Gani Elez Baqaj, Behxhet Kadir Krasniqi, Sabri Bajram Arifaj, Hazir Mustafë Stoliqi, Hysen Abdyl Blakqori, Idriz Bajram Cufaj, Basri Mehmet Dragusha, Shpëtim Feriz Gashi, Arben Jakup Gashi, Zenel Asllan Myftari, Gani Xhemë Ahmetgjakaj, Hajredin Hajdar Hyseni, Arton Ruzhdi Bashota, Shpend Fazli Dobruna, Xhemsat Malë Shehaj, Avni Ibrahim Memija, Haki Osman Haziraj, Adnan Ismajl Topalli, Hysni Xhelaladin Dautaj, Bujar Hasan Sylaj, Sylejman Faik Bytyçi, Fadil Zenun Xhavitaj, Fazli Myftar Franca, Zijadin Abdullah Blakqori, Valdet Qazim Jetishi, Nebi Dibran Rama, Vitim Nazmi Halimi, Remzi Idriz Dacolli, Fehmi Zejnullah Uka, Zenel Myftar Jetishi, Nazim Xhavit Halili, Gazmend Mustafë Tahiraj, Halil Sylejman Xhelili, Agim Nurë Jetishi, Hilmi Tahir Begolli, Ekrem Zejnel Jusufi, Azem Hasan Hasani, Skender Sokol Topalli, Sevdie Rrahman Muratoviqi, Xhevat, Shaban Tahiri, Sherif Zeqir Demaj, Halil Muhamet Kadrijaj, Nizat Morina, Ylber Shanë Kastrati, Mehmet Banë Kelmendi, Luan Selman Ahmetgjakaj, Skender Ramë Bajraktari, Arsim Shaban Berisha, Hashim Ramadan Krasniqi, Halil Sahit Lika, Suat Beqir Lushtaku, Refik Hamdi Hasani, Bedri Izet Ademi, Sali Sylë Ramaj, Bashkim Mehdi Sadiku, Hysni Sejdi Drenica, Azem Ramadan Jetrova, Afrim Feriz Seferi, Zymer Hamit Toplani, Safet Rexhep Kelmendi, Blerim Sadik Shatri, Behxhet Ymer Rmoku, Rexhep Selim Koça, Rexhë Fazli Gashi, Rasim Muhamet Selmanaj, Enver Ibrahim Thaçi, Luan Sylë Bajrami, Behar Gani Jetishi, Jeton Zymber Mala, Strelci i epërm, Abedin Mursel Meha, Prekazi ultë, Sahit Musli Pllana, Leskoshiq, Valon Idriz Gashi, Balince, Klinë, Besim Musë Ramaj, Prishtina, Nexhat Murat Krasniqi, Negroc, Gllgoc, Bekim Sadri Cikaqi, Doberdelan, Bislim Selan Bajraktari, Klina e epërme, Bashkim Shefqet Diorani, Terstenik, Gllgoc, Isat Selim Shala Barilevë, Prishtinë, Sali Sylë Gashi, Klinë, Hysni Rustem Podrimçaku, Krejtkovm Gllgoc, Arben Rizë Shabani, Dashevc Skenderaj, Dervish Kadri Zukaj, Pejë, Ministret Xhafer Shala, Prizren, Syl Abdullah Avdyli, Likoshan, Skender Smail Asani, Likoshan, Sylejman Sali Bajgora, Herticë Podujevë, Ekrem Selim Leci, Barilevë, Fadil Jashar Makolli, Prishtina, Gani Kadri Elshani, Gllgoc, Xhevat Bexhet Podvorica, Dumosh, Podujevë, Abaz Ilaz Krasniqi, Vuçjak, Gllgoc, Muj Halil Zekaj, Cerobreg, Deçan Ismet Islam Suljka, Obri Gllgoc, Aziz Ibrahim Hamzaj, Gjinovcë Suha Reke, Gazmend Rafret Zhubi, Gjakovë, Qerkin Mehmet Brajshori, Shaban Prishtinë. Gëzim Muhamet Zeçaj, Samodrexh, Suharekë, Fatmir Bajram Canolli, Marevc, Prishtinë, Selim Sadri Sutaj, Lluca e Epërme, Deçan Xhemshir Rafat Aliti, Çikatov, Gllgoc, Alban Muharrem Elshani, Korotic, Gllgoc, Muharrem Gashi, Prishtinë, Isuf Haxhi Hadri, Gjakovë Skender Bekë Mekaj, Nabrgje, Pejë, Pashk Pren Çuni, Talibare, Gjakovë, Burim Syl Morina, Suharekë, Ramadan Bajram Jakupi, Prapashticë, Safet Balja, Gllarevë, Klinë, Ramiz Shefki Sylejmani, Konçul Bujanoc, Yenel Haxhi Kolmehaj, Strelci i epërm, Deçan, Hasan Mustafë Alija Kraljan, Gjakovë, Agron Shaban Prokshi, Brbatovc, Gllgoc,

Abdullah Islam Bajraktari, Gllgoc, Arsim Idriz Hasani, Podujevë, Fatmir Ismail Shishani, Dobroshec, Ramiz Shefki Vitia, Marevc, Xhevdet Sherif Murseli, Shtrubullo, Gllgoc, Sadri Idriz, Krasniqi, Makoc, Osman Rrahman Murati, Tupall, Medvegj, Xhevdet Adem Stublla, Alabak, Podujevë, Xhavit Xhafer Ajazi, Dobratin, Ibrahim Bahtir Grbeshi, Marec, Ali Rrustem Berisha, Graboc, Agim Musë Buzoku, Marec, Bajram Pacolli Marec, Nysret Sadik Sadiku, Veternik, Ilir Idriz Krasniqi, Vrahovc Pejë, Yojë Sefer Gashi, Pejë, Arsim Isa Krasniqi, Prishtinë, Agim Isa Krasniqi, Prishtinë, Naser Selim Pajaziti, Orlan Podujevë, Shaban Imer Mehmetaj, Rudice, Klinë, Blerim Zeqir Shala, Vuçjak Gllgoc, Kadri Sylja, Mulliqi, Xhem Sadri Morina, Ratkovc, Florin Zokaj Belegë, Deçan, Salih Selman Zariqi, Baicë, Xhemail Avdi Elshani, Krajkovë, Ekrem Shejki Ejupi, Sekiraç, Podujevë, Sejdi Tahir Bega, Jezerc, Nezir Rexhep Bajraktari, Radicë, Klinë, Hasan, Ali Ademi, Karaq, Vushtrri, Nazif Ahmet, Çulani, Baicë, Neki Selajdin Sadiku, Gjakovë, Isuf Smajl Hajrizi, Keçekoll, Avdi Abdullah Vitija, Hajvali, Barsi Bajram Gashi, Vrbica, Gjilan, Ismet Mahmuti, Podujevë, Arif Toskaj, Novo Sellë, Pejë, Driton Osman Berisha, Gjakovë, Avdi Zeqir Pacolli, Marec, Agim Vrshevc, Domanek, Bekim Shala, Trud, Prishtinë, Nexhid Hamid Zani, Abedin Mustafë, Mehmeti, Klinë e mesme, Ismet Paçarizi, Dragobil, Namon Murati, Topalle, Enver Beselica, Prishtinë, Pjetër Buzhalja, Pejë, Tefik Shabani, Prishtinë, Albert Sadiku, Pejë, Mitat Buza, Gjakovë, Valdet Halilaj, Trdevc, Haki Mahmut Demaj, Sreoc, Deçane, Rrustem Letaj, osekhill, Gjakovë, Hazir Krasniqi, Negroc, Mustafë Mehmetaj, Rodicë, Klinë, Tefik Salihu, Trstenik, Fatmir Krasniqi, Lukare, Ibrahim Bekë Pepoci, Dujakë, Gjakovë, Jakup Rexhepi, Gilogoc, Ramadan Gashim Svrhë, Klinë, Visar Muriqi, Pejë, Fazli Hajdari, Dobroshec, Besnik Ismaili, Tuçevac, Kamenicë, Ilmi Zenili, Petriç, Klinë, Xhafer Cufaj, Prilep, Deçan, Aslan Selim Asllani, Brovinë, Gjakovë, Predrag Ismail Hasani, Dobruska, Istok, Zija Xhelili, Prelepnica Gjilanë, Haki Kastrati, Radost Rahovec, Nikoll Markaj, Radac Gjakovë, Naser Shporta, Prizren, Migjen Shala, Truda, Prishtinë, Bakë kamani, Prishtinë, Bekim Begolli, Trnovë, Podujevë, Sabit Thaçi, Ilapuzhnik, Faruk Dakaj, Cerovik, Veli Kajtazaj, Prishtinë, Nexhmedin Gashi, Hajvali, Shefqet Beqa, Dac, Kaçanik, Bujar Maksuti, Prishtinë, Muhamet Bega, Jezerc, Ferizaj, Riza Tahirukaj, Luka e epërme, Deçan, Hajriz Murati, Shakovicë, Rexhep Veseli, Shkup, Abdullah Gjunaji, Konjush, Sali Kautaj, Shillovë.

*City Prison of Krushevc (Serbia):*

Veli Zogaj, Agim Qemal Bajrami.

*City Prison of Vranje (Serbia):*

Njazi Hajdari, Besim Ramadan, Fadil Kallaba, Sabit Hoxha, Mubijan Arifi, Ejup Morina, Bekim Bunjaku, Shefik Maksuti, Ziadin Mehmeti, Murat Baralia, Fehmi Lecaj, Naim Shaqiri, Muharrem Bajrami, Xhemajl Xhemajli, Rasim Rulani, Bejtullah Novobrdalia, Jeton Vllasalia, Besim Ahmeti, Shaban Asani, Adem Asani, Ramiz Bajrami, Ahmet Aliu, Zulfi Gashi, Ruzhdi Jashari, Bajram Demiqi, Rrustem Demiqi, Fahri Baftia, Islam Lipovica, Zeqir Morina, Fevzi Lekiqi, Fazil Abdullahu, Xhevat Demiri.

*City Prison of Zajëcar (Serbia):*

Braim Mehmet Shala, Canë Nimon Shoshaj, Isat Ramadan Shoshaj, Agim Syle Shoshaj, Fazli Zenel Shoshaj, Kamber Zenel Shoshaj, Vedat Ramadan Shoshaj, Selman

Sadik Çekaj, Xhevdet Rama Qorraj, Afrim Avdi Blakaj, Afrim Shaban Alilaj, Mustafa Rrustem Alilaj, Fetah Ukë Alilaj, Sali Shaban Asllani, Mentor Dervish Balaj, Fahri Rrustem Balaj, Arbnor Xhelal Bajraktari, Arjanit Xhelal Barjaktari, Ilir Avdi Barjaktari, Avni Musa Barjaktari, Muharrem Rexhep Barjaktari, Ibish Musa Pepaj, Agim Halil Berisha, Muhamet Ibër Berisha, Aziz Ikër Kerisha Xhavit Idriz Berisha, Skënder Isa Berisha, Rasim Maxhun Berisha, Mujo Maxhun Berisha, Ramiz Muharrem Berisha, Osman Ramë Berisha, Zenun Selim Berisha, Kujtim Smajl Berisha, Shefqet Sokol Berisha, Tahir Musa Berisha, Muharrem Musa Berisha, Driton Ibish Blakaj, Gëzim Muharrem Blakaj, Rexho Haxhi Buçollli, Bujar Ismajl Mavraj, Ramiz Emshir Cërnovrshani, Rashid Emshir Cërnovrshani, Bekim Çausht Dautaj, Fidan Aziz Dervishaj, Kemajl Hasan Dobra, Shefqet Arif Dreshaj, Arif Bajram Dreshaj, Agim Zymer Dreshaj, Hasim Kadri Dukaj, Avni Kadri Dukaj, Fadil Smajl Berisha, Florent Isa Ukaj, Atdhe Bajram Gashi, Isuf Bajram Gashi, Bashkim Caca Gashi, Jusuf Ibish Gashi, Haxhi Smajl Gashi, Arif Smajl Gashi, Ajet Mujo Gecaj, Armend Ibrahim Grudi, Sadri Muharrem Haxhij, Jahë Sali Haxhij, Adem Zeqë Halili, Dem Isuf Haradinaj, Armend Shpend Hasaj, Zeqo Adem Hasaj, Afrim Smajl Hasaj, Agron Zenel Hasanaj, Islam Ajet Hysenaj, Isa Smajl Hysenaj, Rrustem Sadri Husaj, Zenel Idriz Husaj, Huharem Sadri Idrizaj, Burim Osman Kabashi, Faruk Isuf Kabashi, Imer Sherif Kelmendi, Milazim Haxhi Kelmendi, Mustafa Jusuf Kelmendi, Fidan Rama Kelmendi, Erzen Ramadan Kelmendi, Safet Rama Kabashi, Agron Avdyl Krasniqi, Gani Tahir Krasniqi, Xhavit Selman Kuqi, Kujtim Mehmet Leka, Labinot Ali Lipoveci, Tahir Adem Madonaj, Ahmet Binak Mahmutaj, Bedri Binak Mahmutaj, Lavdim Beqir Mavraj, Besar Dema Mavraj, Petrit Emin Mavraj, Hamdi Feriz Mavraj, Ragip Januz Mavraj, Fadil Miftar Mavraj, Nazmi Muharem Navraj, Aush Musa Mavraj, Kadri Musa Mavraj, Abedin Nezir Mavraj, Nesret Nezir Mavraj, Muhamet Nezir Mavraj, Hasan Ali Mazrekaj, Rrustem Ali Mazrekaj, Rame Selman Mazrekaj, Avni Adem Mehmetaj, Durim Ramadan Mehmetaj, Hajdar Ramo Mekaj, Miftar Ramo Mekaj, Smajl Shaban Miftaraj, Selim Binak Morina, Arkin Azem Muqkurtaj, Muhamet Qamil Thaqi, Muhamet Mustaf Qetaj, Shaban Bajram Muriqi, Kaplan Bajram Muriqi, Kaplan Selim Nikqi, Hys Selim Nikqi, Ymer Beko Nitaj, Sefer Beko Nitaj, Besim Ismet Nitaj, Zenel Miftar Nitaj, Zeke Hajdar Osmanaj, Arben Sadri Osmanaj, Shaqir Ahmet Osmanaj, Shaqir Ahmet Osmanaj, Faton Ymer Osmani, Fitim Osman Osmani, Ymer Ukshin Osmani, Xhemajl Justafe Lajiqi, Valdet Muhemet Lekaj, Ramadan Tahir Keimendi, Sulo Qazim Rexhaj, Elzen Ahmet Rexhaj, Agush Muharem Rexhaj, Mehmet Musa Rexhaj, Mustafa Tahir Rexhaj, Agron Zenun Rexhaj, Rexho Ahmet Fetahaj, Qazim Sejdi Sejdiqaj, Ahmet Haxhi Sulaj, Shefqet Hasan Thaqi, Ismet Xhemo Tuzi, Azem Xhemo Tuzi, Azem Xhemo Tuzi, Hajim Haki Vranezi, Zeqe Mete Zeqa, Mexhid Mehmed Zeqaj, Aziz Mehmed Zeqaj, Nukman Zeqir Zemaj, Agim Haxhi Zumeri, Vegim Qamil Zuna.

*City Prison of Leskovac (Serbia)*

Ali Hajdin Zeneli, Bekim Syl Kalamoshi, Murtez Dam Islamaj, Shkelzen Selmon Zukaj, Sherif Zeqir Krasniqi, Shaban Binak Thaqi, Shkelzen Xhemajli, Muslijaj, Beqir Arif Beqiraj, Isuf Smajl Ymeri, Kadri Smajl Ymeri, Gazmend Siqan Bajrami, Xhevdet Rem Bajrami, Beqir Tahir Loxhaj, Vilaznim Ibrahim Perxhexhaj, Agron Ibrahim Koçaku, Binak Mislim Selmonaj, Beke Smajl

Selmonaj, Sadik Lush Danaj, Musa Nazir Beqiraj, Nimon Maxhun Zekaj, Islam Miftar Qestaj, Kujtim Ymer Salihaj, Xhafer Meta Maloku, Rexhe Xhemajl Abdulahu, Arif Salih Fetahaj, Skender Ali Mehmeti, Abdullah Sadik Hoxha, Behar Adem Bahri, Shaban Rrustem Hadergjonaj, Ndreç Zef Kqiro, Idriz Halil Ramoni, Zef Ndue Markaj, Ali Dervish Curaj, Shaqir Azem Hajdaraj, Fazli Zeke Rexhaj, Kristijan Gjoke Bibiqaj, Ibrahim Rexhep Salcaj, Nikol Frat Berisha, Islam Rame Qekaj, Isuf Bajram Krasniqi, Isuf Bajram Krasniqi, Shpetim Bajram Hoti, Deme Hasan Bunjaku, Lutfi Zeke Miroci, Smajl Muharem Ramqaj, Haxhi Muharem Zubaj, Zija Rasim Humaj, Xhafer Zenel Lotaj, Bekim Adem Memaj, Riza Rrustem Mavraj, Xheme Elez Mavraj, Sami Rame Shala, Him Misin Balaj, Valdet Beqir Barjaktari, Naim Gjon Tuzi, Rame Mehmet Muqaj, Musli Qazim Berisha, Hamdi Elez Mavraj, Arif Deme Neziraj, Afrim Bilal Shabani, Selmon Hisen Osmanaj, Haxhi Duqa Mehmetaj, Izet Nezir Kuqi, Ferad Sali Berisha, Zenel Syle Iberdemaj, Musa Tahir Blakaj, Deme Maxhun Berisha, Nexhmedin Tahir Mavraj, Avni Zenun Balaj, Ilo Shefki Seniku, Zef Pren Bicaj, Deli Mustafe Mavraj, Sali Musa Belaj, Ragip Azem Vranezi, Mahmutaj Rame Nexhaj, Fadil Ramadan Quliqi, Milazim Sadik Blakaj, Iso Rexhep Kelmendi, Xhelo Shaban Shala, Naim Dervish Balaj, Faruk Azem Kelmendi, Riza Rame Ceku, Ismajl Sherif Kelmendi, Nexhat Januz Kabashi, Bajram Rexhep Kelmendi, Nexhdet Isuf Bajramaj, Avni Nimon Shoshaj, Idriz Zeko Blakaj, Halil Sait Gashi, Hamdi Ymer Shoshaj, Blerim Ymer Kelmendi, Hasan Adem Cocaj, Adem Sheremet Berisha, Tahir Isuf Barjaktari, Skender Hasan Shoshaj, Skender Rizo Shabaj, Avdyl Mahmut Husaj, Xhavit Musa Dresh, Arif Cafe Hysaj, Luarez Jusuf Kelmendi, Muhamed Zeke Bajraj, Fadil Binak Qalaj, Florim Deme Gashi, Xhafer Deli Gashi, Halil Adem Gashi, Arif Rexhep Gashi, Sejdi Qerim Gashi, Gezim Rame Kabashi, Ise Ali Kabashi, Mustafe Duat Bajramaj, Riza Ibish Ukaj, Flakron Hajdar Nekaj, Blerim Bajram Beqiraj, Qerim Bajram Elshani, Rifat Hasan Nurina, Shaban Osman Gashi, Xheme Rexhep Berisha, Ali Deme Qelaj, Sejdi Binak Ahmeti, Sulejman Sejdi Zekaj, Ismajl Rexhe Zekaj, Abdulla Avdi Zekaj, Ise Rame Tahiraj, Sadri Ali Zekaj, Tahir Rize Aliqaj, Valon Osman Zekaj, Zeqir Osman Morina, Rexhep Tahir Kurtaj, Ramadan Avdije Zekaj, Mustafe Feka Nimonaj, Ismajl Shaban Hysa, Bashkim Deme Gashi, Shaban Deme Gashi, Syle Rexhep Bytyqi, Pajzit Hazir Gashi, Xhevat Xhemajl Gashi, Arben Mehmet Gashi, Zenun Bajram Bajrami, Enver Mehmet Gashi, Bajram Zenun Bajrami, Nezir Tahir Gashi, Haser Sadik Gashi, Fadil Daut Gashi, Nimon Nezir Gashi, Mehmet Ibrahim Gashi, Avni Rrustem Mavraj, Mehdi Memet Zeqaj, Driton Bali Hysaj, Hajredin Binak Mavraj, Agim Myftar Abdullahu, Bajram Rame Kelmendi, Sadri Rexhep Kelmendi, Berat Murat Kabashi, Isa Shaban Shabaj, Ramiz Sadik Berisha, Valdet Sali Mavraj, Jahe Elez Mavraj, Mentor Qaush Dautaj, Rrustem Hajdar Mamaj, Florent Ali Lipoveci, Rame Tahir Haziraj, Gazmend Hasan Kameraj, Albert Rexhep Salihi, Bekri Sadik Rrustemaj, Avni Rezi Shala, Nezir Hajdar Latifi, Hasan Jusuf Ukaj, Pjeter Matej Ndrecaj, Pal Pren Ndrecaj, Riza Mete Sadriqaj, Xhafer Musa Zeneli, Rasim Adem Hysenaj, Hasan Puka, Muharem Donaj, Vesel Murta, Bashkim Arif Bajrami, Eduard Rifat Muharemi, Mal Tahir Ajdinaj, Vladimir Momqillo Vrdar, Vladimir Tonko Dupalo, Blerim Uke Hetaj, Suad Etem Hetaj, Shefqet Isuf Osmanaj, Xhafter Isuf Osmanaj, Mehmet Qazim Krasniqi, Qaush Nezir Shpatollaj, Ramadan Ahmet Sopjani, Neset Xhemajl Zhabeli, Esat Ibrahim Zeka,

Musa Omer Sinani, Tahir Arslan Mehmetaj, Dede Mark Gecaj, Hamze Gani Luboja.

*City Prison of Nish (Serbia):*

Hasan Zeneli, Ramadan Kokulaj, Arben Basha, Jahir Mazreku, Sejdi Haziraj, Haxhi Ukaj, Ferik Haziri, Mustafe Alimusaj, Hasan Shala, Haqif Ilazi, Enver Berisha, Milaim Kabashi, Hysni Krasniqi, Mexhit Zenelaj, Arif Kabashi, Arsim Kabashi, Defrim Rifaj, Rexhep Aliaj, Hazir Zenelaj, Sejdi Belanica, Bylbyl Duraku, Selim Kadriu, Rizo Gjekiq, Zaim Qatani, Zadin Berisha, Xhavit Krasniqi, Nijazi Kryeqiu, Xhevat Daciq, Sylejman Ziba, Arsim Ziba, Xhemajl Salauka, Murat Kabashi, Arben Llugaxhiu, Arben Kolgeci, Emri Loshi, Arben Morina, Jemin Kryeziu, Hasan Istogu, Milaim Kastrati, Hasan Muqa, Burim Bllaca, Selim Gashani, Uke Ndrecaj, Nazmi Franca, Zymer Gashi, Vesel Llugaxhiu, Uke Kolgeci, Osman Llugazhiu, Mehdi Gashi, Avni Kolgeci, Daut Gashi, Xhevat Shukolli, Agron Perteshi, Maliq Shukolli, Nasuf Dvorani, Mustafe Kolgeci, Naser Hysaj, Sokol Morina, Sherif Berisha, Ismet Krasniqi, Shaban Quiqi, Neqir Shala, Hilmi Krasniqi, Arton Krasniqi, Shaban Kolgeci, Hamit Buzhala, Xhavit Mala, Abdullah Shala, Shefqet Topolani, Riza Krasniqi, Sahit Ziba, Gezim Ziba, Asllan Lumi, Skender Hoti, Milazim Kolgeci, Lum Matoshi, Naim Leku, Gani Iballi, Milaim Matoshi, Haki Elshani, Sali Loshi, Uke Thaqi, Xhavit Kolgeci, Gazmend Bytyqi, Sherif Hamza, Sedat Kolgeci, Isa Ismalaj, Ramadan Morina, Asim Morina, Selim Lokaj, Selim Gashi, Demir Limaj, Ali Xhulliqi, Mustafe Berisha, Ibrahim Berisha, Muhamet Rama, Mehmet Memqia, Agim Lumi, Shkelzen Zllanoga, Halim Shatri, Gani Balia, Isak Hoti, Adrian Haxhaj, Vehbi Mhuarremi, Lavdim Tetaj, Fazli Gashi, Arben Lukaj, Asman Kastrati, Muje Prekupi, Visar Balovci, Ralif Qela, Libum Aliu, Shaban Beka, Arif Vokshi, Agim Sylaj, Ilaz Dugolli, Ilaz Bislimi, Brahe Beqiraj, Agron Ramadani, Enver Dugolli, Ramadan Nisholli, Skender Recaj, Besim Rama, Avdija Mehmedoviq, Dine Gjocaj, Zejnullah Shala, Selman Ukehazhaj, Maliq Muharemoviq, Rexhep Oruqi, Shabedin Asallri, Valon Berisha, Idriz Musliu, Luz Marku, Blerim Camaj, Naim Lushi, Musa Krasniqi, Leonard Krasniqi, Hasan Vrelaku, Ismet Berbati, Isa Shalaj, Arif Vrelaku, Fadil Jetishi, Arbnor Koshi, Hasan Rama, Esat Shehu, Luan Sejdiu, Shefqet Vokshi, Elmi Gjulan, Naim Krasniqi, Ismet Alia, Maki Degolli, Hil Qira, Nazim Zenelaj, Artan Hasi, Blerim Krasniqi, Arsim Jullashi, Naser Shunjaku, Meduh Duraku, Faik Mustafa, Kreshnik Hoxha, Fisnik Zhaveli, Bislim Zoqaj, Asllan Selimi, Dylber Beka, Arben Selmoni, Avdi Kabashi, Faton Hoxha, Fatmir Tafarshiku, Asim Bakalli, Filip Pjetri, Shefqet Kabashi, Mithat Zeka, Shpend Ganinmusa, Besnik Mezini, Muhamet Guta, Muhedin Zeka, Jeton Xharra, Nexhmedin Varaku, Lulzim Qerimi, Yll Kusari, Endogand Mati, Mustafe Gjocaj, Agron Dvorani, Bekim Krasniqi, Fadil Topalli, Bashkim Jusufi, Ruzhdi Morina, Huhamet Kiqina, Ylber Dizdari, Astrit Elshani, Rrustem Jetishi, Ramiz Gjocaj, Enver Hoxha, Hekuran Qarri, Rexhep Sejdiu, Jusuf Shala, Hysen Reka, Xhavit Gashi, Naim Baleci, Ismajl Musa, Naser Kalimshi, Isa Alia, Gani Quekaj, Hddin Alia, Esat Afma, Hysen Juniku, Ismet Gashi, Shpejtim Hoxha, Naim Zejna, Hamdi Hareqi, Azem Krasniqi, Hasan Berisha, Selim Qekaj, Sali Hameli, Kadri Jahaj, Naser Qerimi, Ramadan Avdiu, Boge Hereqi, Riza Alia, Jeton Alia, Bekim Maqi, Kujtim Jetishi, Bajram Avdyli, Naim Lulaj, Sami Gashi, Avdyll Maqi, Luan Mazreku, Sami Hasani, Arton Morina, Genc Kida, Sali Mariqi, Bali Beqaj, Nuhi Bokaj, Avdi Rrahmani, Flamur Godeni, Isuf Zekaj, Hajrullah Samadraxha,

Gani Gexha, Fatmir Bytyqi, Afrim Caka, Skender Sina, Adnan Brovina, Sylejman Brovina, Agim Muhaxheri, Remzi Krasniqi, Jusuf Brovina, Jahir Shala, Skender Tasholli, Bashkim Berisha, Ymer Krasniqi, Arif Meta, Ismet Beqiraj, Tahir Hyseni, Feriz Zabelaj, Fejzi Krasniqi, Sadik Rexhaj, Rrahim Aliu, Fatmir Malaj, Reshat Behluli, Adriatik Vokshi, Flamur Hana, Genc Batusha, Rifat Thaci, Xhemajl Thaci, Dritero Baleta, Befort Mullahasani, Binak Haxhijai, Shefki Frazlijaj, Kastriot Gerkuqu, Tahir Kajdomqai, Florent Rudi, Feriz Bozhdaraj, Driton Aliaga, Hysni Hoxha, Luan Xheka, Bashkim Mustafa, Sabit Lushaj, Rinor Lamaj, Avdyll Ndrecaj, Nazim Morina, Mustaf Ukaj, Ferat Luhani, Jeton Bytyqi, Mazllom Grushi, Hasan Aliaj, Hivzi Perolli, Bujar Hasiqti, Sami Morina, Burim Hasiqi, Ramadan Xhogaj, Adem Morina, Agim Hasiqi, Valdet Krasniqi, Avni Bytyqi, Ardian Tetrica, Naser Mema, Ruzhdi Abazi, Beqir Belani, Azem Buzhala, Merxhan Zhubi, Visar Dushi, Mustaf Ahmeti, Isa Axhanela, Istref Hasani, Halil Ademaj, Hesel Jajja, Ndre Mati, Hilmi Hajdari, Kastriot Zhubi, Bajram Mustafa, Adrian Kumnova, Alban Koshi, Admand Shtaloja, Edmond Dushi, Nexhat Shujaku, Driton Xhiha, Burim Dobruna, Agron Lama, Florent Zhubi, Mehdi Ferizi, Yll Ferizi, Agron Sylja, Yll Pepa, Sadik Zeqiri, Limon Abazi, Emin Deliu, Shkelzen Nura, Selim Curraj, Lulzim Delia, Burim Zhubi, Petrit Vula, Idriz Pepa, Adnan Koshi, Adratik Pula, Genc Xharra, Fahri Koshi, Jeton Reznqi, Admir Pruthi, Behar Koshi, Labinot Pula, Genc Sada, Bekim Lota, Lir Lota, Zog Delia, Vllazerim Radogoshi, Ahmet Asllani, Agim Hoda, Istref Sadrija, Fatmir Pruthi, Jusuf Kollari, Zeqir Hyseni, Perparim Zejnullahu, Agim Mehmeti, Nexhat Vehapi, Dijamant Mici, Arben Abazi, Mithat Guta, Fatos Deva, Bekim Musa, Petrit Kepuska, Djemant Manxhuka, Qamil Beqiri, Tahir Skenderaj, Dukogjin Pula, Agron Pula, Fatos Dautaga, Bruim Brovina, Ymer Guta, Petrit Sahatqiu, Muhamet Zymi, Ahmet Hyseni, Arben Shala.

[From the Washington Post, July 10, 1999]

AMONG THE MISSING: PRISONERS OF SERBIA  
(By William Booth)

POZAREVAC, YUGOSLAVIA.—The most famous prisoner in Serbia shuffled into the deputy warden's office today, her boots missing their laces and her hands clasped behind her back. She was pale and her fingers trembled, but she was defiant and angry.

Flore Brovina, a middle-aged pediatrician and poet with dyed blond hair, beloved in her native Kosovo but accused of being an enemy of the state by Yugoslav authorities, is among hundreds of ethnic Albanians who were taken from jails in Kosovo in the last days of the war last month and moved to prisons in Serbia.

Brovina is among the lucky ones; she has been found. Most of the prisoners have yet to be accounted for, and they are among the larger ranks of missing ethnic Albanians whose fate is one of the great human rights mysteries of the Kosovo conflict. Over the three months of war, thousands of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, mostly men of fighting age, were pulled from their homes and from columns of refugees streaming into Albania, Macedonia and Montenegro.

They vanished without a trace.

Some were killed, and only the digging in graves and forensic investigations will tell their stories. But many were incarcerated in seven prisons around Kosovo. Many were held without formal charges, allowed under a martial law decree that governed Yugoslavia during the war.

At war's end, as NATO forces advanced into Kosovo province, some prisoners es-

caped—how many is unknown. At least 800 were marched to the Albanian border and released by Yugoslav security forces. The rest were taken in a long convoy of buses and trucks to Serbia.

Today, Brovina took a seat before her captors and announced to her first visitor since her arrest in April, "I do not consider myself a prisoner, but a slave."

She said, "I have only one question: Why am I here?"

For the next two hours, as the deputy warden and a guard by turns grimaced with shame or anger, disbelief or disgust, Brovina, 50, described her journey through the Serbian criminal justice system, where she is charged with being a terrorist.

Serbian Justice Minister Dragoljub Jankovic said in an interview this week that his staff has accounted for 1,860 prisoners brought to Serbia from Kosovo on June 10, the day Yugoslav forces began withdrawing from the province. The prisons of Kosovo are now empty, and the largest, at Istok, was bombed into rubble—and prisoners killed—by NATO airstrikes in late May.

According to Jankovic, there are 800 of the missing at the prison here in Pozarevac; 400 in Nis; 330 in Sremska Mitrovica; 180 in Leskovac; 95 in Prokuplje; and 55 in Zajecar. These cities are all in Serbia.

The minister said he will soon turn over the names and locations, still being tabulated, to the International Committee for the Red Cross.

The 1,860—or more—brought to Serbia from Kosovo are approximately the same number of missing prisoners circulating among humanitarian groups and lawyers in Serbia and Kosovo, its southern province. But even Jankovic acknowledged the final tally may grow. He said that many prisoners were moved, but their case files and other documentation, including investigative and trial proceedings, were lost in the race by Yugoslav forces and Serbian authorities to withdraw from Kosovo. Serbia is the dominant republic in the Yugoslav federation.

"We're doing the best we can under very difficult circumstances," Jankovic said.

The Belgrade government released 166 ethnic Albanian prisoners in June. Jankovic said another 200 would probably be freed soon.

The chief warden here, Stipe Marusic, said he received 647 prisoners from Kosovo on the last day of the war, of which 579 were ethnic Albanians, most of whom are not yet convicted of any crime but are listed on his manifests as "detainees" or "under investigation." Others are simply prisoners arrested in the last four months by the Serbian special police.

"We expect some to be convicted" of charges of terrorist activities, he said, "and some to be exchanged."

Human rights activists here and in Kosovo have faulted NATO leaders for not including in the peace accords more language about what is to be done with the prisoners.

Brovina said she believed they were being held as "bargaining chips," and were being "fattened" up in Serbian prisons before some are eventually released.

For weeks, Brovina's lawyer was not sure where she was. The Serbian Ministry of Justice could not find her. Confused about her misspelled name, the authorities said they were looking for a man, Jankovic assisted a reported in finding Brovina. Brovina has been in trouble with Serbian authorities since the early 1990s, when ethnic Albanians in Kosovo began actively resisting a decree by Slobodan Milosevic, who was then president of Serbia, to strip the province of its limited autonomy and bring the majority ethnic Albanian population to heel.

In the purges that followed, Brovina was fired from her job at the hospital in Pristina,

the Kosovo capital, but then founded the League of Albania Women, which sponsored protests against massacres and repression. She also opened a center for vulnerable women and children.

"Our slogan was very simple," she said. "It was STOP." Brovina said they just wanted peace. But she admitted today that her sympathies clearly lie with the separatist Kosovo Liberation Army, which battled Yugoslav forces for 16 months in an effort to win independence. "We didn't have anything to do with the KLA," Brovina said. "But if those were our sons, our husbands, our fathers, of course we liked them."

Brovina remained in Pristina at the start of the NATO airstrikes on March 24. But on April 20, she was arrested.

She was taken to the prison in Lipljan, on the outskirts of Pristina. She claims to have seen ethnic Albanian prisoners, arrested under Articles 125 and 136 as terrorist enemies of the state, lying naked on the floor, being beaten with ropes on the genitals in cells in the Lipljan jail.

She charges that the Yugoslav army erected an anti-aircraft battery at the prison. "We were not prisoners," she said. "We were made targets."

Brovina said the prisoners at Lipljan were forced to say "Long Live Serbia" before they were allowed to use the toilets. Many complained about the food and the stingy rations, but Brovina and her warden agreed that the whole Kosovo was doing without.

At the prison here today, two men held in Lipljan gave differing accounts. Neither saw an anti-aircraft battery or soldiers, but one man, Hajdari Mursel, 63, a retiree, said he spent two weeks at Lipljan, where the guards "screwed with us," and "beat people with rubber hoses."

All prisoners at Lipljan said that conditions there were much worse than in their new Serbian jails. Indeed, several prisoners went out of their way to say that they were well treated here at Pozarevac.

"They have not harassed me in any way," said Becir Bilalli, 44, the owner of a small shop. "I have only one problem now, that I am away from my family, and these charges against me."

Bilalli said that he was arrested at a checkpoint outside Kosovska Mitrovica in Kosovo last August. He is charged with terrorist activities. The reason, Bilalli said, is that like many in Kosovo he stood duty with a rifle on his shoulder outside his village at night.

"Everybody was on guard in Kosovo," he said. Bilalli, like the other prisoners, said he has not communicated with his family since the NATO air war began, and that he does not know where his wife and sons are. They do not know he is in prison in Serbia.

On the eve of the final withdrawal of all Yugoslav army and security forces from Kosovo on June 10, Brovina and hundreds of other prisoners were loaded onto buses and driven to other parts of Serbia. They were ordered to keep their heads down, Brovina said, and told not to look out of the windows.

"We did not know where we were being taken," she said. Some prisoners feared they would be taken to a field and shot. Others wore all their clothes so that in event they were beaten, the blows would not be as punishing. There were few women in the prison convoys, Brovina said, but all the young ones feared they might be raped. There were not.

Many of the 579 ethnic Albanians taken to this prison came from Dubrava prison in the Kosovo town of Istok. Before the war, the Istok prison was the largest, and most modern, in Serbia. Built on the Swedish model, the prison had recreation rooms, a motel for conjugal visits and a decent library.

Enver Ramadani, 21, who was convicted of racketeering before the war, and confessed today he was indeed guilty of the crime, was at Istok. He called the prison "super."

But that was before the NATO bombing. In late May, Istok prison was hit for five days by NATO airstrikes. The exact number of dead and wounded are still unknown. What is known is that the prison was filled with prisoners, many of them ethnic Albanians detained in the last weeks of the war.

Initially, Serbian officials said that 44 prisoners and guards were killed. Jankovic, the Serbian justice minister, said his latest information is that only six were killed, and 196 wounded, 20 seriously.

Ramadani said that he saw 30 dead bodies in the prison yard, covered from the sun by blankets. For five days, NATO bombed, and he described a scene from hell: The guards fled into the woods, leaving the prisoners to fend for themselves. They raided the kitchens. They hid from the bombs down manholes into the sewers, packed like rats, waiting for the concussions to end. He said that many were wounded and were treated by "so-called doctors" among them, who did the best they could. There was blood everywhere.

Ramadani did not see prisoners executed by Serbian security forces, although reporters who returned to Istok saw bullet holes in the walls and bloody mattresses, where heads would have lain.

Jankovic said that for the five days of the bombing, his people were not in charge. He does not know what happened during the bombardment, and seemed to suggest that if any atrocities occurred, it was others—special police, paramilitaries—who were responsible. NATO officials stated that the site was a legitimate military target. "That was a military barrack, and we attacked it twice," said NATO spokesman Jamie Shea after the initial bombings. "Whether the Serbs were using it to house other people—that's a different thing."

Husnija, an ethnic Albanian attorney working in Serbia and Brovina's newly appointed lawyer, said that one of the most disturbing things he has uncovered is that during the war, Serb prisoners in Kosovo were moved north to Serbia, while ethnic Albanians incarcerated in Serbia were moved to Kosovo. He does not know why.

Natasa Kandic, a human rights attorney based in Belgrade, said that she initially feared that many of the missing were dead. Now, she believes they are in prisons around Serbia. That is not good, she said, but it is better than the missing being found in mass graves.

[From the Los Angeles Times, July 9, 1999]

#### DETAINEES LOST IN MAZE OF YUGOSLAV PRISON SYSTEM

(By Mark Fineman)

BELGRADE, YUGOSLAVIA.—When they boarded the Fati Tours bus from Slovenia to Kosovo last July, Baljaj Naim, Zogaj Enver and Hrecaj Haljit were much like the 51 other ethnic Albanian passengers.

Like the others, the three men were contract workers going home—their pockets full of hard-earned construction wages—to wives, children and parents they hadn't seen for months.

But nearly a year after all the workers were detained at a Serbian police checkpoint in Kosovo on suspicion of being terrorists, the three men and 12 others still haven't made it home.

After a torturous eight months of trials and appeals that moved them from prison to prison, the 15 men—who were convicted on vague terrorist charges just weeks before NATO launched its air war March 24—personify the problem now known simply as "the prisoners."

They are among an estimated 2,000 ethnic Albanian detainees and convicts who, the Yugoslav government acknowledges, were in Kosovo's prisons during NATO's air war. An undetermined number of those prisoners were moved to jails elsewhere in Serbia during the final weeks of the conflict.

The fate of imprisoned ethnic Albanians is moving to center stage in the aftermath of NATO's war on Yugoslavia. And the saga of the men from the bus, say their lawyers here, epitomizes their advocates' frustrated search for justice.

Eight of the 15 passengers, missing since May, finally turned up this week in a Serbian prison in Nis. The other seven—including Naim, Enver and Haljit—simple vanished in the chaos and killing that was Kosovo during and after NATO's 11-week air war. They are among hundreds of prisoners whose fate is unknown.

On Thursday, the head of an International Committee of the Red Cross delegation, which interviewed its first 330 ethnic Albanian prisoners in Serbia this week, said tracing the rest and resolving their cases rank among the most enduring and confounding problems of the postwar period.

"It's Benedictine work," Dominique Dufour said. "This will probably keep us busy for many, many years to come."

Compounding the problem, he and other Western officials said, is the fact that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Yugoslav officials never addressed the issue of the ethnic Albanian prisoners when they negotiated the withdrawal of Yugoslav troops from Kosovo last month.

"The attitude of the Serbian government about these Albanian prisoners is, 'We are holding a number of Yugoslav citizens detained within Yugoslavia and still being detained within Yugoslavia for crimes committed in Yugoslavia,'" explained Dufour, who stressed that the Justice Ministry of Serbia, the dominant republic in Yugoslavia, has been cooperating in the effort to trace them.

"So now, in their eyes, you're talking about some form of amnesty," Dufour said. "But there was no agreement reached between the Western powers and Yugoslavia regarding these prisoners, and there probably needs to be."

Human rights workers in Kosovo and elsewhere in Serbia say that, in addition to prisoners who were formally charged before and during the air war, Serbian authorities searching for members and supporters of the separatist Kosovo Liberation Army, or KLA, plucked hundreds of ethnic Albanian refugees out of the columns of those fleeing last spring and detained them despite having little or no known documentation of a crime.

Serbian authorities have, in fact, released about 1,000 of those prisoners in recent weeks: About 800 were freed near the Albanian border last month as Yugoslav troops withdrew from the province, and 166 prisoners were turned over to the Red Cross here this month.

The Yugoslav government says the issue is further complicated by the rapid withdrawal from the province last month of Yugoslav troops, court personnel and judicial staff, which left prisoners' court files in disarray.

But Dufour and others working to resolve the issue say that, in most of the cases involving ethnic Albanian prisoners who were removed from Kosovo or are missing, Serbian authorities kept detailed records of court proceedings and prisoner transfers. Justice Ministry officials, defense lawyers and the Red Cross are working to reconstruct the records.

Extensive court records exist in the case of the 15 "terrorists" seized from the Fati Tours bus.

The records obtained by The Times, help illustrate just why so many ethnic Albanians landed in prisons in the first place. Combined with witness accounts during the war and other documents here, the records also indicate that NATO might have helped obscure the fate of those prisoners and hundreds of other missing ethnic Albanians when its warplanes bombed Kosovo's largest prison, in the town of Istok, at the height of the air war.

For the Fati 15, returning last year to the province with pockets filled with wages, the nightmare began when they reached a Serbian police checkpoint in the city of Podujevo on July 20 during heavy fighting between Yugoslav forces and KLA rebels.

Here's how the Serbian judge, who found all 15 guilty after a four-day trial in February, described in this final judgment what happened next:

"Police stopped them. They checked the passengers and luggage and found on them the hard currency. [Police] immediately understood that it was being carried to Kosovo, that they were bound to join the terrorist organization [KLA] to buy arms and ammunition for the hard currency. They were escorted to Pristina . . . and arrests ensued."

After an investigation that lasted months—during which Serbia's justice minister labeled the 15 passengers "terrorists" in an article that appeared in a state-run newspaper months before the trial—prosecutors dropped all charges against 39 other passengers and released them.

For the remaining 15, the court record shows, not a single witness testified against them during their trial in the Serbian city of Prokuplje, about 120 miles southeast of Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia and Serbia. No hard evidence was introduced linking them to the KLA, and the judge wrote that his guilty finding was based on the \$56,000 worth of German marks the men carried, the fact that they were construction workers who left Slovenia at the height of that former Yugoslav republic's building season, and that they were "smuggling" the money into Yugoslavia "in their pockets."

In his appeal to Serbia's Supreme Court in April, the passengers' Belgrade-based ethnic Albanian lawyer, Husniya Bitic, called the verdict "totally upside down . . . an attack on the legal system and the state . . . a political pamphlet or a speech of some political leader at one of his [Serbian] nationalist rallies."

Bitic stressed in his Supreme Court brief that few of the 54 passengers knew each other when they boarded the bus; that witnesses told the court that the cash was for the workers families and for the families of their co-workers; that the money had come from performing legitimate construction work; and that the bus was on a regularly scheduled, twice-weekly route.

"Had such a verdict been delivered somewhere in Afghanistan [or] Papua New Guinea . . . perhaps it may be said this was being done by people who know nothing of the law," Bitic stated in the appeal. "But for such a verdict to be passed in the middle of civilized Europe . . . this we could not expect."

That was in April, after NATO had begun bombing Yugoslavia. The court rejected the appeal, and the 15 men continued to serve sentences ranging from 3½ to 4 years.

Then the real trouble started.

"Until April 23, those 15 people were in Prokuplje," Bitic said here Wednesday. "On April 26, they moved them to Istok. And on June 10, all prisons in Kosovo were deserted. Until today, I've only found eight of them in prison in Nis. I'm still searching for the others."

Given what happened at Istok's Dubrava penitentiary on May 19, it's a miracle Bitic

managed to find the eight. NATO bombed the prison several times that day, and foreign journalists who visited the scene between bombing runs described tense, hellish scenes of prison guards struggling to control about 1,000 inmates after the bombs killed 19 inmates and guards, breached the prison wall and left the facility's records in ruin.

When asked that day why NATO had bombed the modern, Swedish-built prison complex, which was widely known throughout Europe as one of the continent's largest such facilities, NATO spokesman Jamie Shea replied: "That was a military barracks, and we attacked it twice. . . . Whether the Serbs were using it to house other people—that's a different thing."

But the overwhelming majority of the 1,004 inmates that Serbian authorities and the Red Cross say were being held in Dubrava when the bombs fell were ethnic Albanians. Most of them were like the Fati 15, charged or convicted under counter-terrorism laws. Western reporters and camera crews who visited the abandoned prison after the Yugoslav withdrawal found bullet-pocked walls, bloodied bedclothes and other signs of possible reprisals by prison guards.

An Italian film crew also found 94 fresh, unmarked graves a few miles from the prison, where unconfirmed reports persist among villagers of an unsuccessful prison break and a massacre of inmates after the NATO bombardment.

For Bitic, who is in touch almost daily with relatives of the missing seven, their case is "a tremendous weight on my back. What will I tell the family? Well, at least for now, we're still looking."

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I strongly support the Engel amendment.

Only last week we passed a resolution calling on Mr. Milosevic to release the humanitarian workers for the CARE organization. Those workers had his thugs arrested and convicted.

It is also reported that Milosevic's troops have imprisoned up to 2,000 citizens of Kosovo inside Serbia long after the war's end. Those prisoners must be released. Serb authorities must provide the Red Cross access to those prisoners and then turn them over to the custody of the U.N.

Our committee is going to be taking a long look at the manner in which Milosevic has been holding on to power and ways in which we can help to bring the Democratic opposition to power through elections in Serbia.

The world now knows Milosevic is a war criminal, and the list of his crimes will only grow as the investigations and investigators continue their work in Kosovo.

This amendment serves notice that we are watching what is happening with regard to the 2,000 prisoners that he is holding. Accordingly, I urge our colleagues to fully support the Engel amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. MORAN).

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Mr. MORAN of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from New

York for yielding me the time, but more importantly for his leadership on this issue. This is an important amendment. I would hope that it would pass unanimously.

The gentleman from New York has mentioned a list of 5,000 people who are unaccounted for. We know the ruthless, lawless way in which the Serbian military, paramilitary and police have treated Kosovar Albanians. But these 5,000 people are represented by families, thousands of people who do not know whether their loved ones have been executed in any number of the brutal massacres that we know have occurred in Kosovo or whether they are being held in prison.

If we allow access by the International Committee of the Red Cross, we will at least enable the parents, the families, to know what might have happened to their loved ones. It also means that we will be able to impose some limits on the conditions in which these people are living.

There is a good reason why the Red Cross has not been allowed access, we are afraid, and, that is, that they do not want us to know what they are doing, how they are treating the prisoners in their jails.

This is a good amendment and it should pass unanimously.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), the distinguished chairman of our Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. HASTINGS of Washington). The gentleman from New Jersey is recognized for 3½ minutes.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I thank my very good friend for yielding me this time and rise in strong support of the Engel amendment and thank him for offering it to us this afternoon.

Mr. Chairman, the people of Kosovo suffered greatly in the past 18 months, especially during the brutal ethnic cleansing campaign which paralleled the NATO air strikes from March to June of this year.

While now is the time for Kosovars to return and rebuild their homes and their lives, many continue to be held in Serbian prisons, wrongly held, and illegally held.

Over the 3 months of the conflict, thousands of Albanians in Kosovo, mostly men, were pulled from their homes and from columns of refugees. Some were killed and only the excavation of mass graves and subsequent forensic investigations will tell their stories. But many were incarcerated in seven prisons around Kosovo, without formal charges, under a martial law decree that governed Yugoslavia during the war. At war's end as NATO forces advanced into Kosovo province, some prisoners escaped, others were marched to the Albanian border and released by Yugoslav forces, and the rest were taken in a long convoy of buses and

trucks to Serbia. We do not know the exact numbers, but these are the people that we speak to in this amendment.

I would like to point out that recently I led a delegation to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe Parliamentary Assembly of the OSCE in St. Petersburg. I want to commend the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CARDIN) because he was able to raise the issue during the course of those deliberations and we got language in the concluding document, the St. Petersburg Declaration, that raised this issue in a way that hopefully will get the attention of the entire international community and especially of Belgrade to let them go.

The bottom line, Mr. Chairman, is that the continued incarceration of Kosovar Albanians by Serbian authorities is in violation of the Geneva Conventions, as is the denial of outside access by other international observers like the Red Cross. This must be corrected. It is very important that we go on the record, hopefully unanimously, saying: Let these people go.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Chairman, as I mentioned before, the Parliamentary Assembly of the OSCE, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, passed a resolution similar to our amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CARDIN), the author of that resolution.

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL) for authoring this amendment. It is a very important amendment. It does carry out what we have done in the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly.

Mr. Chairman, international organizations, including U.N. officials, have reported that between 1,500 to 5,000 prisoners were transferred from Kosovo to jails in Serbia around the time of the entry of international forces into Kosovo and that the Serbian Ministry of Justice has acknowledged that such transfers were made.

International humanitarian law requires humane treatment of all prisoners seized in conjunction with the Kosovo crisis, and Red Cross access to such prisoners is guaranteed under international law. They must be released without delay after the cessation of active hostilities. That has not occurred.

The Belgrade authorities have provided inaccurate lists and have not allowed access by the Red Cross. The illegal detention of these individuals is unacceptable. The OSCE has adopted a resolution that I authored on behalf of the United States delegation, a very similar resolution.

It is time that the United States Congress also acts. I encourage my colleagues to approve this resolution.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent for an additional 2 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Without objection, both sides will be granted an additional 2 minutes.

There was no objection.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. OLVER).

Mr. OLVER. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the indulgence of the body for that additional time. This resolution seems not to have any significant opposition and I assume it is going to be adopted unanimously, but I thought I would make just a couple of comments and also describe a little bit of the experience of the congressional delegation that went to Kosovo that was built out of the leadership of the chairman of the Subcommittee on Military Construction of the Committee on Appropriations of which I am the ranking member just a matter of a week or so ago.

The men and boys that are involved in this resolution are those largely that were randomly pulled from columns of refugees and taken without trial, held without trial, without contact as an act really of terrorism on the part of the paramilitary Serbian forces at that time.

Now, they should be released. They should be, and we should adopt that resolution unanimously. If there are problems, if there are people who were actively law-breakers, then what should happen is that the detention process that is happening in every one of the occupation zones in Kosovo should take over.

We visited a detention camp where there were several Serbs and about twice as many Albanian ethnics, Kosovars, who were being detained because they had committed some crime, which could have been murder or arson or robbery or whatever after the agreement had been reached. And ultimately if there are people who have committed a crime, they should be dealt with in the same way because we need to build a system, a legal system in which people can trust.

I would hope that this amendment would be adopted unanimously without dissent.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Chairman, I just want to thank my colleagues. This obviously is supported on both sides of the aisle very strongly. I want to thank the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) for his wonderful work on human rights and the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) and all the people on both sides of the aisle who have supported this.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as she may consume to the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. KELLY).

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Chairman, I rise today in support of the amendment offered by my colleague and good friend from New York. The Kosovar Albanians that are being held in the Serbian prisons must be released and accounted for. Think of the agony felt by the families of these 5,000 men who do not know what happened to their fa-

thers, husbands and sons. The events that have taken place that have affected the families in Kosovo during the last several years have been atrocious and we cannot stand by and continue to allow this blatant disregard for the peace agreement. With the implementation of the Military Technical Agreement on June 9, the peacekeeping forces in Kosovo have been working to bring peace and stability back to this historically troubled region, but this job has only begun. The Kosovar Albanians held in these prisons are there without any formal charge, are being held in clear violation of international law, and this can only prove to erode the faith in the peace agreement.

Mr. Chairman, despite the end of the military action that the international community had engaged in to bring about an end of the Serbian aggression, the war is not over for these 5,000 people. They still have a long way to go, they have lived through a terrible time, until they can live in peace and not fear for their safety.

Mr. Chairman, Congress has to weigh in on this important issue.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL).

The question was taken; and the Chairman pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Chairman, I demand a recorded vote.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 247, further proceedings on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL) will be postponed.

AMENDMENTS EN BLOC OFFERED BY MR. GILMAN

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, pursuant to the authority granted in H. Res. 247, I offer amendments en bloc.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Clerk will designate the amendments en bloc.

The text of the amendments en bloc is as follows:

Part B amendments en bloc offered by Mr. GILMAN, consisting of the following:

Amendment No. 4 offered by Mr. GEJDENSON:

Page 8, after line 12, insert the following:  
(c) CIVIL BUDGET OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION.—For the fiscal year 2000, there are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to pay the full amount for the United States assessment for the civil budget of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Amendment No. 11 offered by Mr. GEJDENSON:

Page 35, after line 9, insert the following:  
**SEC. 211. REPORT CONCERNING PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS.**

Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees a report containing—

(1) an assessment of whether the global trade in small arms poses any proliferation problems including—

(A) estimates of the numbers and sources of licit and illicit small arms and light arms in circulation and their origins;

(B) the challenges associated with monitoring small arms; and

(C) the political, economic, and security dimensions of this issue, and the threats posed, if any, by these weapons to United States interests, including national security interests;

(2) an assessment of whether the export of small arms of the type sold commercially in the United States should be considered a foreign policy or proliferation issue;

(3) a description and analysis of the adequacy of current Department of State activities to monitor and, to the extent possible ensure adequate control of, both the licit and illicit manufacture, transfer, and proliferation of small arms and light weapons, including efforts to survey and assess this matter with respect to Africa and to survey and assess the scope and scale of the issue, including stockpile security and destruction of excess inventory, in NATO and Partnership for Peace countries;

(4) a description of the impact of the reorganization of the Department of State made by the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1998 on the transfer of functions relating to monitoring licensing, analysis, and policy on small arms and light weapons, including—

(A) the integration of and the functions relating to small arms and light weapons of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency with those of the Department of State;

(B) the functions of the Bureau of Arms Control, the Bureau of Nonproliferation, the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement, regional bureaus, and any other relevant bureau or office of the Department of State, including the allocation of personnel and funds, as they pertain to small arms and light weapons;

(C) the functions of the regional bureaus of the Department of State in providing information and policy coordination in bilateral and multilateral settings on small arms and light weapons;

(D) the functions of the Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security pertaining to small arms and light weapons; and

(E) the functions of the scientific and policy advisory board on arms control, nonproliferation, and disarmament pertaining to small arms and light weapons; and

(5) an assessment of whether foreign governments are enforcing their own laws concerning small arms and light weapons import and sale, including commitments under the Inter-American Convention Against the Illicit Manufacturing of an Trafficking in Firearms, Ammunition, Explosives, and Other Related Materials or other relevant international agreements.

Amendment No. 23 offered by Mr. GEJDENSON:

Page 84, after line 16, insert the following:  
**SEC. 703. SENSE OF THE CONGRESS REGARDING COLOMBIA.**

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress makes the following findings:

(1) Colombia is a democratic country fighting multiple wars—

(A) a war against the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC);

(B) a war against the National Liberation Army (ELN);

(C) a war against the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC) and other paramilitary organizations; and

(D) a war against drug lords who traffic in deadly cocaine and heroin.

(2) In 1998 alone, 308,000 Colombians were internally displaced in Colombia. Over the last decade, 35,000 Colombians have been killed.

(3) The operations of the FARC, ELN, AUC, and other extragovernmental forces have

profited from, and become increasingly dependent upon, cooperation with the illicit narcotics trade.

(4) The FARC and ELN have waged the longest-running anti-government insurgencies in Latin America and control roughly 60 percent of the country, including a demilitarized zone ruled by the FARC.

(5) Representatives of the Government of Colombia and the FARC are scheduled to begin peace talks on July 20, 1999.

(b) SENSE OF THE CONGRESS.—It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the United States should recognize the crisis in Colombia and play a more proactive role in its resolution, including offering U.S. political support to help Colombia with the peace process;

(2) all extragovernmental combatant groups, including the FARC, ELN, and AUC, should demonstrate their commitment to peace by ceasing to engage in violence, kidnapping, and cooperation with the drug trade; and

(3) the United States should mobilize the international community pro-actively engage in resolving the Colombian wars.

Amendment No. 25 offered by Mr. HASTINGS of Florida:

Page 84, after line 16, insert the following:  
**SEC. 703. SENSE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CONCERNING HAITIAN ELECTIONS.**

The House of Representatives supports the critically important Haitian parliamentary and local elections scheduled for November 1999 and urges the Department of State to review embassy operations to ensure that the embassy has sufficient personnel and resources necessary to carry out its important responsibilities during the run-up to the fall elections.

Amendment No. 32 offered by Mrs. CAPPS:  
Page 84, after line 16, insert the following new section:

**SEC. 703. SENSE OF CONGRESS COMMENDING THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL FOR REAFFIRMING THE DEMOCRATIC IDEALS OF ISRAEL IN ITS ELECTIONS.**

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress makes the following findings:

(1) Since its creation in 1948, Israel has fulfilled the dreams of its founders who envisioned a vigorous, open, and stable democracy.

(2) The centerpiece of Israeli democracy is its system of competitive and free elections.

(3) On May 17, 1999, the Israeli people—Israeli Jews and Israeli Arabs—went to the polls in large numbers in a remarkably peaceful election.

(4) This election is only the latest example of Israel's commitment to the democratic ideals of freedom and pluralism, values that it shares with the United States.

(b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—The Congress—

(1) commends the people of Israel for reaffirming, in the May 17, 1999, election, its dedication to democratic ideals;

(2) congratulates Ehud Barak on his election as Prime Minister of Israel; and

(3) pledges to work with the President of the United States and the new Government of Israel to strengthen the bonds between the United States and Israel and to advance the cause of peace in the Middle East.

Amendment No. 34 offered by Mr. ANDREWS:

Page 84, after line 16, insert the following:  
**SEC. 703. SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING THE SOVEREIGNTY OF TERRITORIES IN THE AEGEAN SEA.**

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress makes the following findings:

(1) The maritime borders between Greece and Turkey in the Aegean have been delimited in international law and are regarded as having been agreed, established, and settled.

(2) A fundamental principle of international law is that, once agreed, a boundary shall remain stable and predictable.

(3) Turkey is claiming sovereignty to numerous islands and islets and unspecified "gray areas" in the Aegean Sea.

(4) In Article 15 of the Treaty of Peace with Turkey, and Other Instruments, signed at Lausanne on July 24, 1923, Turkey renounced in favor of Italy all right, title, and interest of Turkey in the 12 enumerated island in the Dodecanese region that were occupied at the time of the treaty by Italy, including the Island of Calymnos, and the islets dependent on such islands.

(5) The Convention Between Italy and Turkey for the Delimitation of the Territorial Waters Between the Coasts of Anatolia and the Island of Castellorizo, signed at Ankara on January 4, 1932, established the rights of Italy and Turkey in coastal islands, waters, and rocks in the Aegean Sea and delimited a maritime frontier between the two countries.

(6) A protocol dated December 28, 1932, annexed to that Convention memorialized an agreement on a water boundary between Italy and Turkey which placed the Imia Islets under the sovereignty of Italy.

(7) In Article 14 of the 1947 Paris Treaty of Peace with Italy, Italy ceded to Greece the Dodecanese Islands under Italy's control, including the Island of Calymnos and the adjacent Islets of Imia.

(8) By resolution dated February 15, 1996, the European Parliament resolved that the water boundaries established in the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923 and the 1932 Convention Between Italy and Turkey, including the protocol annexed to such Convention, are the borders between Greece and Turkey.

(9) Greece, as the successor state to Italy under the above-enumerated treaties, conventions, and protocols, acceded to sovereignty under the same treaties, conventions, and protocols.

(10) Turkish Government claims to territories in the Aegean delimited as Greek sovereign territory under the above-enumerated treaties, conventions, and protocols contravene these same treaties, conventions, and treaties.

(11) Both Greece and Turkey are members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and allies of the United States.

(12) It is in the interest of the United States and other nations to have disputes resolved peacefully.

(13) The Eastern Mediterranean region, in which the Aegean Sea is located, is a region of vital strategic importance to the United States.

(b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the water boundaries established in the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923 and the 1932 Convention Between Italy and Turkey, including the Protocol annexed to such Convention, are the borders between Greece and Turkey in the Aegean Sea; and

(2) any party, including Turkey, objecting to these established boundaries should seek redress in the International Court of Justice at The Hague.

Amendment No. 35 offered by Mr. ANDREWS:

Page 84, after line 16, insert the following:

**SEC. 703. SENSE OF CONGRESS THAT THE PRESIDENT SHOULD SEEK A PUBLIC RENUNCIATION BY THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA OF ANY USE OF FORCE, OR THREAT TO USE FORCE, AGAINST TAIWAN, AND THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD HELP TAIWAN IN CASE OF THREATS OR A MILITARY ATTACK BY THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.**

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress makes the following findings:

(1) In March of 1996, the political leadership of the People's Republic of China used provocative military maneuvers, including missile launch exercises in the Taiwan Strait, in an attempt to intimidate the people of Taiwan during their historic, free, and democratic presidential elections.

(2) The People's Republic of China refuses to renounce the use of force against Taiwan.

(3) The House of Representatives passed a resolution by a vote of 411-0 in June 1998 urging the President to seek, during his July 1998 summit meeting in Beijing, a public renunciation by the People's Republic of China of any use of force, or threat of use of force, against democratic Taiwan.

(4) Senior United States executive branch officials have called upon the People's Republic of China to renounce the use of force against Taiwan.

(5) The use of force, and the threat to use force, by the People's Republic of China against Taiwan threatens peace and stability in the region.

(6) The Taiwan Relations Act, enacted in 1979, states that "[i]t is the policy of the United States . . . to consider any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means, including by boycotts or embargoes, a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific area and of grave concern to the United States".

(7) The Taiwan Relations Act states that it is the policy of the United States to provide Taiwan with arms of a defensive character.

(b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—

(1) The Congress commends the people of Taiwan for having established a democracy in Taiwan over the past decades and repeatedly reaffirming their dedication to democratic ideals.

(2) It is the sense of the Congress that—

(A) the President of the United States should seek a public renunciation by the People's Republic of China of any use of force, or threat to use force, against Taiwan, especially in Taiwan's March 2000 free Presidential elections; and

(B) the United States should help Taiwan defend itself in case of threats or a military attack by the People's Republic of China against Taiwan.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Clerk will report the amendment, as modified.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment No. 41, as modified, offered by Mr. GILMAN:

Page 84, after line 16, insert the following:

**SEC. 703. SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING SUPPORT FOR THE IRAQI DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION.**

It is the sense of Congress that the United States Government should support the holding of a plenary session of the Iraqi National Assembly in the near future.

Mr. GILMAN (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment, as modified, be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 247, the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) and the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDENSON) each will control 10 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Mr. GILMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume. I appreciate the contributions that our Members have made to the bill and their willingness to en bloc their provisions.

One of the provisions included in this group in the en bloc is the amendment offered by the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDENSON), the ranking Democrat of the Committee on International Relations, that addresses the situation in Colombia.

I believe that the gentleman from Connecticut has made a good faith effort in this amendment to identify many of the concerns that we all share regarding the situation in Colombia, and I thank the gentleman for his agreement to include a reference to increased aid in this amendment. We have an obligation to provide political support but appropriate forms of aid as well for a democracy in real trouble. I would hope that the administration would get off the dime and get the aid down where we have already appropriated the moneys for to fight drugs.

I note Colombian President Pastrana himself has stated today, according to news reports, that he is losing patience with the rebels and that they are throwing obstacles in his path to find peace. We may be praising a peace process headed for the dustbin of history as another failed effort at appeasement.

With regard to the amendment offered by the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. ANDREWS) on Taiwan, the President should continue to call upon the People's Republic of China to renounce the use of force against Taiwan in determining the future of that island democracy. Our Nation has indeed had an abiding interest in peace and stability in East Asia and China's refusal to renounce the use of force against Taiwan is provocative and destabilizing. Any use of force by the PRC against Taiwan would be of grave concern to our Nation as stated in the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act.

I call upon the parties on both sides of the Taiwan Strait to make certain that Taiwan's future will be resolved in a peaceful manner and consistent with the desire of the people of Taiwan.

Let me also state that there are reports circulating that the administration has been considering curtailing security assistance to Taiwan due to its displeasure with President Lee's recent statements and a desire to mend relations with Beijing. If that is true, these

shortsighted, wrongheaded sanctions are not in our Nation's best interest, they will undermine Taiwan's fundamental security, and could destabilize the fragile peace in Northeast Asia.

Recently, the appropriate committees in the Congress have expressed willingness to consider two notifications for armed transfers to Taiwan. It appears that these transfers were never notified to the Congress due to the administration's decision to punish Taiwan and to curry favor with China. I cannot accept undercutting Taiwan's national security and its rights under the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act to receive appropriate security assistance from our Nation to meet its legitimate self-defense needs.

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Accordingly, as a result of these concerns, I plan at this point to withhold my approval for arms transfers notified to the Congress until this matter is resolved to our satisfaction.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I note that the en bloc amendment includes my amendment calling on our Nation's government to support the holding of a plenary session of the Iraqi National Assembly in the near future. This amendment is our response to the July 7, 1999, letter from the Executive Council of the Iraqi National Congress to Secretary of State Albright seeking our support for holding an Iraqi National Assembly meeting in Salahuddin in Iraq. I am supporting the holding of such a meeting. We are reiterating our continued support for the Iraqi democratic opposition and the policy of replacing the Saddam Hussein regime which we endorsed in last year's Iraq Liberation Act.

Mr. Chairman, we have discussed a number of important issues during the debate of this measure and the many amendments for this bill, AIDS in Africa, the North Korean threat and international family planning. Here at the end of this day, however, we must focus on one vital issue, security for those brave Americans who serve our Nation abroad.

Last year, and let me remind our colleagues, 12 Americans were killed when our embassies in Kenya and in Tanzania were bombed by Osama bin Ladin's cowardly terrorists. Bipartisan Review Board chaired by Admiral William Crowe recommended that we fund upgrades to our embassy security at the level of \$1.4 billion per year for a 10-year period.

This bill meets those recommended levels, and Admiral Crowe has endorsed it along with several former secretaries of state. Last year, we in Congress indicated our commitment to Americans serving our government abroad by appropriating an initial \$1.4 billion for embassy security. Today we have the opportunity to follow through on that commitment.

This measure has been endorsed, as I noted, by former Secretary of State James Baker and Secretary Larry

Eagleburger. It is the right thing to do, and I urge my colleagues to fully support this bill, the American Embassy Security Act.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Mrs. CAPPS) who has done such exemplary work on the peace process in the Middle East, a former member of the committee that we miss.

Mrs. CAPPS. Mr. Chairman, I thank my colleague for yielding me the time, and I am very pleased to rise in support of this en bloc amendment, and I thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) and the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDENSON) for their hard work and kind support.

This amendment contains a provision that I have authored with the gentleman from New York (Mr. HOUGHTON) commending Israel for reaffirming its democratic ideals in the recent election. The amendment reminds the American people that Israel and the United States share the values of freedom and pluralism.

The amendment also congratulates Ehud Barak on his election as prime minister, and it reaffirms the commitment of Congress to strengthen the bonds between our two nations and to advance the cause of peace. Yesterday, Mr. Barak concluded his first visit to Washington as prime minister. He spent the day here in this capital meeting with many of us in Congress. The Prime Minister has pledged to work hard to nurture warm relations with our country. His trip to Washington has breathed new life into the peace process.

Mr. Chairman, I ask the House to formally congratulate Mr. Barak and commend our friend and ally, Israel, for its magnificent display of democracy.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. ANDREWS).

(Mr. ANDREWS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, I thank Mr. GEJDENSON for yielding this time. I would like to express my appreciation to the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) and the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDENSON) for their cooperation in including two items of legislation I have proposed in the en bloc amendment.

I am very proud of my country. Throughout history, great powers have used their power usually when they are attacked or to gain treasure or territory. I am very proud of the fact that our country, as a great power, has chosen to exert its considerable power and influence to promote a cause, and that cause is that nations should resort to peaceful means of negotiation and law to resolve their disputes rather than resorting to violence.

My two amendments speak to that principle. Amendment No. 34 expresses our sense that the water boundaries established in the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923 and the 1932 convention between Italy and Turkey established the borders between Greece and Turkey in the Aegean today, and it calls upon Turkey to resort to the ordinary processes of international law and not violence if it objects to that conclusion.

I appreciate the gentleman from New York mentioning my amendment with respect to China. It calls upon the President to continue to urge the People's Republic of China to renounce any offensive strike policy against the free people of Taiwan. Certainly there are differences between Taiwan and the People's Republic of China, but we recognize that the proper method to resolve those differences is by international law and negotiation, not by conflict. The free people of Taiwan and the free people of the United States deserve no less.

Again I appreciate the cooperation of the chairman and the ranking member, and I urge my colleagues to support these amendments as well as the entire en bloc amendment.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. BILIRAKIS).

(Mr. BILIRAKIS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Mr. Chairman, I thank the chairman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Chairman, as to the Andrews amendment and the water boundaries in the Aegean, I rise in support. My parents were born on the island of Kalymnos only miles from an occupied islet of Imia. The group of islets have always been considered Greek territory, and at no previous time has Turkey questioned Imia's territorial ownership.

The European Parliament overwhelmingly approved a resolution which stated that, and I quote, the islets of Imia belong to the Dodecanese group of islands on the basis of the Lausanne Treaty of 1923, the protocol between Italy and Turkey of 1932, the Paris Treaty of 1947, and whereas even on Turkish maps from the 1960s the islets are shown as Greek territory. Turkey has been invited by Greece to take their case to the International Court of Justice at the Hague; and to this day, Turkey has not sought redress. Although Turkey is an ally, Mr. Chairman, its actions must not go unquestioned. Turkey must respect and abide by international law. As President Eisenhower once stated and I quote him, there can be no peace without law, and there could be no law if we were to invoke one code of international conduct for those who oppose us and another for our friends.

Mr. Chairman, enough is enough. We must support the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I rise also in support of the Andrews amendment regarding

Taiwan. Taiwan has been one of our oldest and closest friends in Asia since 1949. The people of that republic live in a free democratic society, and we should commend Taiwan for its dedication to democratic ideals. Last year, the House overwhelmingly approved a resolution reaffirming the importance of the Taiwan Relations Act and our commitment to the people of Taiwan. Congress must once again send a strong message to the People's Republic of China and the world that we intend to stand by our friends and allies. The United States must dispel any notion on the part of China's leaders that we will tolerate the use of force in determining the future of Taiwan. The people of Taiwan must be responsible for determining their own future in a peaceful and democratic fashion.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Andrews amendment on recognition of the Sovereignty of the Territories in the Aegean Sea. On December 25, 1995, a Turkish cargo ship ran aground on one of the Imia islets. The ships' captain refused assistance from the Greek Coast Guard on the basis that the Islet was Turkish.

Tensions began to mount and by January 29, 1996, both Greece and Turkey had dispatched naval vessels to the area. On January 31st, through U.S. mediation, both sides agreed to withdraw. While I am thankful that this incident did not lead to an armed conflict then, this matter still remains unresolved today because Turkey continues to breach international law.

As you may know, my parents were born on the island of Kalymnos—only miles from Imia. The group of islets have always been considered Greek territory and at no previous time has Turkey questioned Imia's territorial ownership. Indeed, past Greek foreign minister Theodore Pangalos stated "This is the first time that Turkey has actually laid claim to Greek territory."

The European parliament overwhelmingly approved a resolution which stated that "The islets of Imia belong to the Dodecanese group of islands, on the basis of the Lausanne Treaty of 1923, the protocol between Italy and Turkey of 1932, the Paris Treaty of 1947, and whereas even on Turkish maps from the 1960's, the islets are shown as Greek territory."

Moreover, the governments of Italy and France have publicly stated their support of Greek sovereignty over Imia, as provided by international law.

Turkey has been invited by Greece to take their case to the international court of justice at the Hague. To this date, Turkey has not sought redress.

Although Turkey is an ally, its actions must not go unquestioned. Turkey must respect and abide by international law. As President Eisenhower once stated, "There can be no peace without law. And there can be no law if we were to invoke one code of international conduct for those who oppose us and another for our friends."

Mr. Chairman, enough is enough.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1¼ minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER), vice chairman of our committee.

(Mr. BEREUTER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for this time as we wind up debate on the Embassy Security Act of 1999. We have had good debate here on a variety of issues. We have had some close votes occasionally; but I think despite those close votes, all Members of this body should feel good about this legislation. The proper emphasis has been on embassy security, as the title implies, and as we close debate, I want to remind my colleagues of our responsibilities here.

Think back just to last August. On August 7, terrorists successfully attacked U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. Over 220 people were killed including 12 Americans, 40 local hires. While all in this body would like to believe this could never happen again, unfortunately, it can. And terrorist attacks are becoming more sophisticated, more deadly all the time.

We had a rocket attack against our embassy in Moscow, we had a rocket attack a couple years ago against our embassy in Athens, a NATO country, a friendly country. Only because of technical failures did we escape any damage and loss of life. We had the windows blown out of our embassy in Uzbekistan in February from an auxiliary explosion nearby.

In fact, there have been too many attacks, and we had to close our embassies in Africa last month because of extraordinary threat against a number of them by Bin Ladin. The Crowe report urges a total of \$1.4 billion be authorized. In this bill we are and appropriated for dealing with the security issues for our embassies and consulates abroad. Remember it is our responsibility ultimately for the safety and soundness of the people that represent us abroad, the State Department personnel, but it goes beyond that to include personnel from many other agencies that are housed in our consulates and embassies and the people that we hire from those countries. None of us want to have a responsibility falling on this body because we fail to do what is recommended to us by a blue ribbon commission. I urge my colleagues to strongly support an excellent piece of legislation.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The gentleman from New York is recognized for 15 seconds.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I want to indicate that the legislative history of this bill is the same as the legislative history of the provisions of H.R. 1211 that were identical to those in H.R. 2145. H.R. 1211 was a bill from which H.R. 2415 was derived, and, Mr. Chairman, I want to thank the staff, and I want to thank the Chairman pro tempore for his patience in this bill and thank our minority members for being patient and helping us get this bill through at this point.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I would just like to join the gentleman from New York in expressing my appreciation for the cooperation and support for Members on both sides of the aisle and staff in accomplishing our work in a good spirit and an effort to try and achieve a bipartisan goal here of a better policy. Sometimes we succeed, sometimes we fail, but we are all working for the best interests of the country.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of the Andrews amendment, part of the en bloc, and thank my colleague from New Jersey for offering it. In February of this year, I introduced a bill, H. Con. Res. 36, that is very similar to my colleague's amendment. Like the amendment, it expresses the Sense of the Congress that the islets of Imia in the Aegean Sea are sovereign Greek territory under international law.

As those who are familiar with this issue know, for some three and a half years now Turkey has stood firm in its totally groundless claim that it has sovereignty over the Greek islets of Imia.

On December 25, 1995 a Turkish bulk carrier ran ashore on the islets of Imia, one of two uninhabited islets which are part of the Dodecanese islands group in the Aegean Sea. This incident nearly escalated into armed conflict between NATO allies Turkey and Greece due to Turkey's belligerent claim that the islets, which are sovereign Greek territory, belonged to Turkey. Hostilities were avoided after the Greek government refused to attack a detachment of Turkish commandos who had been dispatched to the islets and President Clinton personally intervened to help defuse the crisis.

Despite Turkey's continued insistence that the islets are Turkish territories, the historical record on this issue is clear. As this amendment, as well as my bill details, the Dodecanese islands group was ceded by Turkey to Italy in the Lausanne Treaty of 1923. The boundaries delineating the exact sovereignty between Turkey and the islands group were finalized in a December 1932 protocol between Turkey and Italy. That protocol, which was annexed to the Convention Between Italy and Turkey for the Delimitation of Anatolia and the Island of Castellorizio, placed the islets of Imia under the sovereignty of Italy. In the 1947 Paris Treaty of Peace with Italy, Italy ceded the Dodecanese islands groups to Greece.

The legal status of the Dodecanese islands group remained unchallenged by Turkey until its bulk carrier ran aground in late 1995 and Ankara began making its unfounded claims in 1996. That same year, the European Parliament approved a resolution reaffirming the historical record. The 1996 resolution stated that the water boundaries established in the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923 and the 1932 protocol to the convention between Italy and Turkey, are the borders between Greece and Turkey.

Despite all of these readily available and irrefutable facts, Turkey continues to promote instability in the region by ignoring the historical record with its claim of sovereignty over the islets of Imia.

Mr. Chairman, Turkey's unfounded claim should not go unnoticed by Congress. The United States Congress should follow the precedent of the European Parliament and reaffirm the historical record in a show of support for territory that is unquestionably sovereign to Greece and for the rule of international law in general. The United States should also pressure Turkey to resolve this issue, and all other outstanding territorial disputes with Greece—the most notable of which is the nearly 25 year old invasion of Cyprus—in a peaceful fashion. To that end, in addition to reaffirming Greece's sovereignty over the islets of Imia, both my bill and the Andrews amendment include language urging Turkey to agree to bring the dispute in the Aegean over Imia to the International Court of Justice at the Hague for a resolution.

I encourage all Members to join myself and Mr. ANDREWS in formally putting the United States on record in support of Greek sovereignty and in opposition to Turkey's seemingly endless campaign to subvert international law and destabilize the entire Mediterranean region.

I urge support of the en bloc amendment.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of the Andrews amendment, which expresses the Sense of Congress that the water boundaries established by the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne and the 1932 Convention between Italy and Turkey are the borders between Greece and Turkey in the Aegean Sea. The amendment further states that any party, including Turkey, that objects to these boundaries should seek redress in the International Court of Justice at The Hague.

What could be more reasonable? Certainly, the stability of the eastern Mediterranean and the stability of international boundaries are of fundamental interest to the United States, as well as respect for international law.

Yet the Government of Turkey continues to claim sovereignty to the islets in the Aegean Sea called Imia by Greece and Kardak by Turkey. These disputes were settled over 67 years ago. The international community regards them as agreed and settled, yet Turkey continues to raise unilateral objections to these boundaries, but has cited no legal authority for such claims.

As recently as February 15, 1996, the European Parliament adopted a resolution that the water boundaries established in the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923 and the 1932 Convention between Italy and Turkey are indeed the borders between Greece and Turkey. The United States should accept this position, as well as supporting Greece's proposal to Turkey that it should refer its claims to the International Court of Justice in The Hague for adjudication. Turkey has thus far refused to take such a step and has rejected the Greek proposal.

Clearly it is in the interest of the United States, Europe and the Mediterranean region to have this dispute resolved once and for all, and resolved peacefully. Turkey needs to agree to bring this matter before the International Court of Justice at The Hague, Netherlands, for a resolution. And the United States needs to recognize that the islets of Imia in the Aegean Sea are the sovereign territory of Greece under international law and to state that it accepts the present maritime boundaries between Greece and Turkey in the Aegean.

I urge my colleagues to stand up for international law and support the Andrews amendment.

Mrs. MEEK of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

I rise in strong support of the gentleman from Florida, Mr. HASTINGS' amendment (#36) to the State Department authorization bill, expressing the sense of the House's support for the parliamentary and local elections scheduled for November 1999 in Haiti.

The establishment of a constitutional government and functioning parliament in Haiti demands a commitment to support free and fair elections. It is essential that the State Department ensure that the U.S. Embassy in Haiti have sufficient personnel and resources to carry out its election-related activities.

Earlier this year, President Rene Preval's government and six political parties signed an agreement aimed at resolving a costly and contentious political standoff that has left Haiti without a functioning government for the past two years.

This agreement paves the way for new parliamentary elections. The gentleman's amendment will help to assure that these elections are successful.

Mr. Chairman, the situation in Haiti is fragile. We know that since the resignation of the Prime Minister in June 1997, this impoverished country has been experiencing some very disturbing violence.

These conditions have alerted the country's landscape in ways that, among other things, have limited Haiti's ability to advance business deals and to provide needed services to a desperate people.

The United States has made a significant commitment to democracy in Haiti. A Democratic Haiti is in our national interest. The United States should stay the course and support democracy in Haiti.

Supporting the Hastings amendment.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, along with my colleagues Mr. GOSS, Mr. RANGER and Mr. CONYERS, I returned from a visit to Haiti in January of this year convinced that good elections were essential in Haiti. Judge HASTINGS recently brought a resolution before our International Relations Committee regarding the Haitian elections which was approved. I thank him for his gracious efforts to achieve a consensus with this side of the aisle on that measure.

I thank the gentleman from Florida for offering this amendment which underscores U.S. congressional support for Haiti. However, I am concerned that the upcoming parliamentary and local elections must be credible in order to help Haiti move forward.

Regrettably, the election process in Haiti is getting off to a rocky start. President Preval finally signed a decree prepared by Haiti's electoral authorities on Friday of last week. That measure was carefully framed by Haiti's provisional electoral council to be the cornerstone of the upcoming elections.

I am deeply disappointed that President Preval modified the electoral law and, in particular, eliminated a provision in the law calling for elections for 19 Senate seats. This particular element of the electoral measure would have provided for a transparent resolution of the disputed April 1997 elections.

The State Department is hoping that Haiti's electoral council can act to correct President Preval's elimination of the "19 seat" provision. There must not be any further delay in fully enacting this critically important measure.

The United States and our allies in the international community stand poised to provide substantial support for these elections. However, statutory restrictions and common sense require there to be a transparent settlement of the disputed 1997 elections. Only then will U.S. assistance be able to flow to these critically important elections that can and should be Haiti's way out of its protracted and costly crisis.

I support the Hastings amendment. However, I hope that the gentleman from Florida will agree with me that securing a good election first requires a transparent resolution of the 1997 elections, and will then require both support and sustained vigilance from the international community.

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida. Mr. Chairman, since the time for debate on this amendment is limited, I will be brief. I traveled recently to Haiti with Senator BOB GRAHAM and Congressman DELAHUNT. What I saw there reinforced my strong belief that Haiti is in dire need of our support. The stability of Haiti rests on the transparency and legitimacy of the upcoming parliamentary elections.

Our approach to Haiti must be multi-dimensional. To assist in maintaining stability in Haiti and strengthening the roots of the rule of law there we must do the following: illustrate our support for the election monitors on the ground; recognize the invaluable good works that our armed forces have carried out in Haiti; salute the electoral authorities for striving to be fair and judicious; and condemn any person or persons, including President Preval, who attempts to abrogate, alter, or delay the implementation of the electoral laws which have been so painstakingly crafted.

Mr. Chairman, my amendment is simple: it expresses the sense of this body in support of parliamentary elections in Haiti, and urges the Department of State to ensure that the U.S. Embassy in Haiti has sufficient personnel and resources necessary to carry out its responsibilities related to these elections.

I believe that all persons in this body, no matter where they stand on the issue of U.S. involvement in Haiti, can support this simple resolution. While it demands little of us in the way of expenditures of personnel and resources, it illustrates the importance which the U.S. places on free, fair and transparent elections in Haiti. Please support this amendment.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Chairman, the Hastings amendment is well meaning in restating the obvious that it is the sense of Congress to support Democratic elections scheduled for November 1999 in Haiti. Continued encouragement is appropriate considering the fact that the Clinton-Gore administration has already committed millions of dollars in election assistance, as have other countries. So I would characterize the Hastings amendment as a benign placebo—the problem is Haiti needs strong medicine—in large doses. Since January, 1999, there has been plenty of bad news from Haiti, only one small piece of it good. Now even that has been spoiled by Haiti's own home-style power mongers. An independent election commission has tentatively

announced a transparent reasonable resolution of the fraudulent 1997 elections, which were the trigger event of today's Government crisis in Haiti.

But a spokesman for former President Aristide described this development this way: "You are declaring war on Aristide. This is a second coup d'etat against Aristide . . . The CEP (electoral council) must correct it immediately if it wants elections to really take place . . ." Mr. Chairman, with all due respect to former President Aristide, these are not the words of a democrat or someone committed to the rule of law. They are the threatening words of a dictator intent on maintaining his control over the country at any price. And now Aristide's handpicked successor, President Rene Preval, did not sign the election law as drafted but he gutted it first. Mr. Chairman the United States has given Haiti every possible opportunity to embrace democracy. It is an absolute tragedy that some of the Haitian leaders care more about power than they do democracy and the needs of the Haitian people. I wish my friends on the other side of the Aisle and the political advisors in the Clinton administration would end the pretense and admit that poor Haiti is sick—really sick. My good friend and colleague from Florida's placebo isn't going to cure what's wrong. And neither are the current expensive and misguided policies of the Clinton-Gore administration, which seems to focus more on happy face diagnoses, over-optimistic prognoses and expensive treatments that cure nothing. Democracy in Haiti is dying fast. It is being deliberately smothered by emerging dictatorship. What's worse is that the Clinton-Gore administration is tolerating it—if not helping people hold the pillows. This is equivalent of Dr. Kevorkian foreign policy and it needs to stop.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Chairman, as Chairman of the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee, I rise in support of the amendment offered by the Ranking Democrat of the International Relations Committee and the other cosponsors who have joined in this bi-partisan effort to support a peaceful resolution of the conflict in Colombia.

I want to thank the distinguished Chairman of the International Relations Committee, BEN GILMAN, for including this important initiative in the en bloc amendment.

This amendment condemns the continued violence being carried out by the FARC and ELN guerrillas and the paramilitaries of the United Self-Defense Forces in the conflict and urges the leadership of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia to begin substantive negotiations to end the conflict.

I especially want to commend our colleagues, Mr. ACKERMAN, our Subcommittee's Ranking Democrat, Mr. BALLENGER, and Mr. DELAHUNT, for helping to bring this provision to the Floor.

As Subcommittee Chairman I have been very supportive of the counter-narcotics efforts of the Colombian National Police and our own law enforcement agencies to stem the flow of dangerous drugs from Colombia. But despite the valiant efforts of the Colombian Police, who have sacrificed so much in their thus far successful efforts against drugs, I am concerned that their 4,000 strong elite DANTE

counter-narcotics force may be no match for the 20,000 strong guerrilla forces of the FARC and the ELN. And, as long as the FARC and ELN continue to use their substantial military power to protect the drug trade, I fear the police will not be able to achieve ultimate success over drugs.

Therefore, I believe it is critical that we support the Colombian government's attempts to bring the long and deadly guerrilla insurgency to an end. Despite the recent announcement that the peace talks have been suspended because of the continued violence, a condition which lies squarely on the shoulders of the FARC, it will only be through a negotiated settlement of this insurgency that Colombia can realistically expect to end the violence and turn its full attentions to a nationwide commitment to end the deadly narcotics trade which plagues that nation and brings so much destruction, human suffering and violence to communities around the world.

While we should support peace efforts, as embodied in this amendment, we must be firm in condemning the unacceptable kidnappings and violence of the guerrillas and paramilitaries against innocent civilian populations, and especially against human rights workers and American citizens. These unprovoked attacks and acts of violence strain the patience of many Americans and others who are willing to give peace a chance.

At the same time, Mr. Speaker, we as a nation, should reassess our current limited support for the Colombian military in the event the peace process fails to bring an end to the violence. The fact that the FARC refuse to enter into a cease fire and continue to attack Colombian government institutions, can only lead one to doubt the sincerity of the FARC's real interest in a peaceful resolution. If this is true, we must help the Colombian government and its military protect the democracy and those freedoms we in this country so cherish.

This amendment expresses our support for the efforts to bring about a peaceful resolution to the conflict being pursued by President Pastrana and will help him in those efforts.

Mr. Chairman, I urge the House to adopt this amendment.

Mr. FARR of California. Mr. Chairman, Colombia, South America is one of the most beautiful and diverse countries in the world. Its location on both the Caribbean and Pacific Oceans where the snow capped mountains can be seen from tropical beaches is the second most biologically diverse country on the planet.

The people of Colombia created and maintain what is now the oldest democracy in Latin America. As one of the original Peace Corps countries, Colombia was a leader in the Alliance for Progress during the 1960's.

Drug demand in North America created a market for illegal cultivation in a country once rich in agricultural diversity. Now, whole regions are dependent on illegal crops. Drug profits corrupted the Colombian economy and led many farmers to stop growing sustenance crops in favor of marijuana, coca, and poppies.

The war against drugs, combined with regional violence, has led Colombia to near collapse. Hundreds of thousands of people are displaced and tens of thousands have died in the civil war that is tearing the country apart. With the election of President Andres Pastrana, Colombians were given new hope that the killings and kidnappings would finally come to an end.

The willingness of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) to negotiate with the Pastrana Administration was a much needed leap toward peace. I was extremely pleased that long sought negotiations between the Colombian government and the FARC were set to begin this week. Unfortunately, those talks have been postponed.

This, however, does not diminish the importance of Mr. GEJDENSON's amendment to support the peace process in Colombia. In fact, it is all the more important to support peace now when it is in jeopardy of falling apart. I feel that, as their neighbors, we have a responsibility to foster an environment in which that peace can blossom. This will affect the daily lives of Colombians, the stability of the region and the ability to combat drug traffickers.

Having lived in Colombia during my service in the Peace Corps, I have a special affinity for the Colombian people. I know they want peace. I know they are willing to work for it. I know they will be successful given time and support. And I want to do everything possible to help them through this long process. This amendment is one step in that process.

I encourage my colleagues to support this amendment, and send a strong message to the Colombian people that we stand behind them and encourage them to continue to work toward peace.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The question is on the amendments en bloc offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

The amendments en bloc were agreed to.

SEQUENTIAL VOTES POSTPONED IN COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to House Resolution 247, proceedings will now resume on those amendments on which further proceedings were postponed in the following order: Amendment No. 36 in Part B offered by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT); Amendment No. 37 in Part B offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL).

The Chair will reduce to 5 minutes the time for any electronic vote after the first vote in this series.

AMENDMENT NO. 36 OFFERED BY MR. DOGGETT

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The pending business is a demand for a recorded vote on amendment No. 36 offered by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT) on which further proceedings were postponed and on which the ayes prevailed by voice vote.

The Clerk will redesignate the amendment.

The Clerk redesignated the amendment.

RECORDED VOTE

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. A recorded vote has been demanded.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 427, noes 0, not voting 6, as follows:

[Roll No. 328]

AYES—427

Ackerman	Bachus	Barcia	Bass	Engel	Klink
Aderholt	Baird	Barr	Bateman	English	Knollenberg
Allen	Baker	Barrett (NE)	Becerra	Eshoo	Kolbe
Andrews	Baldacci	Barrett (WI)	Bentsen	Etheridge	Kucinich
Archer	Baldwin	Bartlett	Bereuter	Evans	Kuykendall
Arney	Ballenger	Barton	Berkley	Everett	LaFalce
			Berman	Ewing	LaHood
			Berry	Farr	Lampson
			Biggert	Fattah	Lantos
			Bilbray	Filner	Largent
			Billirakis	Fletcher	Larson
			Bishop	Foley	Latham
			Blagojevich	Forbes	LaTourrette
			Bliley	Ford	Lazio
			Blumenauer	Fossella	Leach
			Blunt	Fowler	Lee
			Boehler	Frank (MA)	Levin
			Boehner	Franks (NJ)	Lewis (CA)
			Bonilla	Frelinghuysen	Lewis (GA)
			Bonior	Frost	Lewis (KY)
			Bono	Gallegly	Linder
			Borski	Ganske	Lipinski
			Boswell	Gejdenson	LoBiondo
			Boucher	Gekas	Lofgren
			Boyd	Gephardt	Lowe
			Brady (PA)	Gibbons	Lucas (KY)
			Brady (TX)	Gilchrest	Lucas (OK)
			Brown (FL)	Gillmor	Luther
			Brown (OH)	Gilman	Maloney (CT)
			Bryant	Gonzalez	Maloney (NY)
			Burr	Goode	Manullo
			Burton	Goodlatte	Markey
			Buyer	Goodling	Martinez
			Callahan	Gordon	Mascara
			Calvert	Goss	Matsui
			Camp	Graham	McCarthy (MO)
			Campbell	Granger	McCarthy (NY)
			Canady	Green (TX)	McCollum
			Cannon	Green (WI)	McCoy
			Capps	Greenwood	McGovern
			Capuano	Gutierrez	McHugh
			Cardin	Gutknecht	McInnis
			Carson	Hall (OH)	McIntosh
			Castle	Hall (TX)	McIntyre
			Chabot	Hansen	McKeon
			Chambliss	Hastings (FL)	McKinney
			Clay	Hastings (WA)	McNulty
			Clayton	Hayes	Meehan
			Clement	Hayworth	Meek (FL)
			Clyburn	Hefley	Meeks (NY)
			Coble	Heger	Menendez
			Coburn	Hill (IN)	Metcalf
			Collins	Hill (MT)	Mica
			Combest	Hilleary	Millender-
			Condit	Hilliard	McDonald
			Conyers	Hinche	Miller (FL)
			Cook	Hinojosa	Miller, Gary
			Cooksey	Hobson	Miller, George
			Costello	Hoefel	Minge
			Cox	Hoekstra	Mink
			Coyne	Holden	Moakley
			Cramer	Holt	Mollohan
			Crane	Hoolley	Moore
			Crowley	Horn	Moran (KS)
			Cubin	Hostettler	Moran (VA)
			Cummings	Houghton	Morella
			Cunningham	Hoyer	Murtha
			Danner	Hulshof	Myrick
			Davis (FL)	Hunter	Nadler
			Davis (IL)	Hutchinson	Napolitano
			Davis (VA)	Hyde	Neal
			Deal	Inslee	Nethercutt
			DeFazio	Isakson	Ney
			DeGette	Istook	Northup
			Delahunt	Jackson (IL)	Northwood
			DeLauro	Jackson-Lee	Nussle
			DeLay	(TX)	Oberstar
			DeMint	Jefferson	Obey
			Deutsch	Jenkins	Olver
			Diaz-Balart	John	Ortiz
			Dickey	Johnson (CT)	Ose
			Dicks	Johnson, E. B.	Owens
			Dingell	Johnson, Sam	Oxley
			Dixon	Jones (NC)	Packard
			Doggett	Jones (OH)	Pallone
			Dooley	Kanjorski	Pascrell
			Doolittle	Kaptur	Pastor
			Doyle	Kasich	Paul
			Dreier	Kelly	Payne
			Duncan	Kildee	Pease
			Dunn	Kilpatrick	Pelosi
			Edwards	Kind (WI)	Peterson (MN)
			Ehlers	King (NY)	Petri
			Ehrlich	Kingston	Phelps
			Emerson	Kleczka	Pickering

## NOT VOTING—6

Abercrombie Kennedy Peterson (PA)  
Chenoweth McDermott Towns

□ 1704

Mr. RADANOVICH changed his vote from “no” to “aye.”

So the amendment was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

## ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN PRO TEMPORE

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. HASTINGS of Washington). Pursuant to House Resolution 247, the Chair announces that he will reduce to a minimum of 5 minutes the period of time within which a vote by electronic device will be taken on the additional amendment on which the Chair has postponed further proceedings.

## AMENDMENT NO. 37 OFFERED BY MR. ENGEL

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The pending business is the demand for a recorded vote on amendment No. 37 offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL) on which further proceedings were postponed and on which the ayes prevailed by voice vote.

The Clerk will redesignate the amendment.

The Clerk redesignated the amendment.

## RECORDED VOTE

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. A recorded vote has been demanded.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 424, noes 0, not voting 9, as follows:

[Roll No. 329]

AYES—424

Abercrombie Berry Callahan  
Ackerman Biggart Calvert  
Aderholt Bilbray Camp  
Allen Bilirakis Campbell  
Andrews Bishop Canady  
Archer Blagojevich Cannon  
Armey Bliley Capps  
Bachus Blumenauer Capuano  
Baird Blunt Cardin  
Baker Boehlert Carson  
Baldacci Boehner Castle  
Baldwin Bonilla Chabot  
Ballenger Bonior Chambliss  
Barcia Bono Clay  
Barr Borski Clayton  
Barrett (NE) Boswell Clement  
Barrett (WI) Boucher Clyburn  
Bartlett Boyd Coble  
Barton Brady (PA) Collins  
Bass Brady (TX) Combust  
Bateman Brown (FL) Condit  
Becerra Brown (OH) Conyers  
Bentsen Bryant Cook  
Bereuter Burr Cooksey  
Berkley Burton Costello  
Berman Buyer Cox

Coyne Hilliard McNulty  
Cramer Hinchey Meehan  
Crane Hinojosa Meek (FL)  
Crowley Hobson Meeks (NY)  
DeLoach Menendez  
Cummings Hoefel  
Cunningham Hoekstra  
Danner Holden  
Davis (FL) Holt  
Davis (IL) Hooley  
Davis (VA) Horn  
Deal Hostettler  
DeFazio Houghton  
DeGette Hoyer  
Delahunt Hulshof  
DeLauro Hunter  
DeMint Hutchinson  
Deutsch Hyde  
Diaz-Balart Inslee  
Dickey Isakson  
Dicks Istook  
Dingell Jackson (IL)  
Dixon Jackson-Lee  
Doggett (TX)  
Dooley Jefferson  
Doolittle Jenkins  
Doyle John  
Dreier Johnson (CT)  
Duncan Johnson, E. B.  
Dunn Johnson, Sam  
Edwards Jones (OH)  
Ehlers Jones (NC)  
Ehrlich Kanjorski  
Emerson Kaptur  
Engel Kasich  
English Kelly  
Eshoo Kildee  
Etheridge Kilpatrick  
Evans Kind (WI)  
Everett King (NY)  
Ewing Kingston  
Farr Kleczka  
Fattah Klink  
Filner Knollenberg  
Fletcher Kolbe  
Foley Kucinich  
Ford Kuykendall  
Fossella LaFalce  
Fowler LaHood  
Frank (MA) Lampson  
Frank (NJ) Lantos  
Frelinghuysen Largent  
Frost Larson  
Gallegly Latham  
Ganske LaTourrette  
Gejdenson Lazio  
Gekas Leach  
Gephardt Lee  
Gibbons Levin  
Gilchrest Lewis (CA)  
Gillmor Lewis (GA)  
Gilman Lewis (KY)  
Gonzalez Linder  
Goode Lipinski  
Goodlatte LoBiondo  
Goodling Lofgren  
Gordon Lowey  
Goss Lucas (KY)  
Graham Lucas (OK)  
Granger Luther  
Green (TX) Maloney (CT)  
Green (WI) Maloney (NY)  
Greenwood Manullo  
Gutierrez Markey  
Gutknecht Martinez  
Hall (OH) Mascara  
Hall (TX) Matsui  
Hansen McCarthy (MO)  
Hastings (FL) McCarthy (NY)  
Hastings (WA) McCollum  
Hayes McCrery  
Hayworth McGovern  
Hefley McHugh  
Hergert McInnis  
Hill (IN) McIntosh  
Hill (MT) McIntyre  
Hilleary McKeon  
McKinney

Saxton Stabenow Udall (NM)  
Scarborough Stark Upton  
Schaffer Stearns Velazquez  
Schakowsky Stenholm Vento  
Scott Strickland Visclosky  
Sensenbrenner Stump Vitter  
Serrano Stupak Walden  
Sessions Sununu Walsh  
Shadegg Sweeney Wamp  
Shaw Talent Waters  
Shays Tancredo Watkins  
Sherman Tanner Watt (NC)  
Sherwood Tauscher Waxman  
Shimkus Tauzin Weiner  
Shows Taylor (MS) Weldon (FL)  
Shuster Taylor (NC) Weldon (PA)  
Simpson Terry Weller  
Sisisky Thomas Wexler  
Skean Thompson (CA) Weigand  
Skelton Thompson (MS) Whitfield  
Slaughter Thornberry Wicker  
Smith (MI) Thune Wilson  
Smith (NJ) Thurman Wise  
Smith (TX) Tiahrt Wolf  
Smith (WA) Tierney Woolsey  
Snyder Toomey Wu  
Souder Traficant Wynn  
Spence Turner Young (AK)  
Spratt Udall (CO) Young (FL)

## NOT VOTING—9

Chenoweth Forbes Peterson (PA)  
Coburn Kennedy Towns  
DeLay McDermott Watts (OK)

□ 1714

So the amendment was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Stated for:

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Chairman, on rollcall No. 329, I was inadvertently detained. Had I been present, I would have voted “yes.”

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Chairman, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty's remarkable response to the Kosovo crisis demonstrates why we need to continue to support this station at current or even enhanced funding levels. As you know, I have been a longtime supporter of RFE/RL both because of its contribution to the cause of freedom during the cold war and because of its continuing assistance to post-communist countries who are still struggling to complete the transition to democracy and free market economies. But RFE/RL's effort during the Kosovo crisis convinces me that we need RFE/RL now more than ever.

As the crisis deepened last year, RFE/RL and in particular its South Slavic Service rapidly expanded their broadcasts to the region. In April, 1999 the Prague-based radios increased surge broadcasting in cooperation with other American and European stations to ensure that the Serbs received the kind of reliable information 24 hours a day that their government sought to prevent them from obtaining. And they set up an Albanian language unit that provided news to Kosovars both in that region and in the refugee camps.

Our government and NATO commanders have praised RFE/RL's efforts, noting that just as in Bosnia, such broadcasting has helped to

calm the situation, explain NATO's mission, and thus helped the alliance to overcome the resistance of those who had earlier opposed it. And perhaps even more important, those listening to these broadcasts have sent letters and e-mails pointing out that these broadcasts helped them to survive through a most difficult time.

But despite these contributions, contributions that cost very little, many question why we should maintain RFE/RL when we also spend money to support the Voice of America. To my mind, there are several good reasons for this, all of which have been highlighted by the Kosovo crisis.

First of all, RFE/RL's South Slavic Service is unique in broadcasting to all the peoples of the former Yugoslavia in different languages but with a common perspective on the need for peaceful, democratic development. RFE/RL did not broadcast to Yugoslavia during the Cold War. Had it done so, we might be facing fewer problems today.

In addition, RFE/RL continues to be a "home service" for people whose governments often deny them the chance to have a free media. The Voice of America proudly presents America's position on the issues; RFE/RL makes sure that its listeners be they in Belgrade or in Kosovo have the information they need about their own country as well. These are complementary missions; we need both.

And finally, in Eastern Europe, RFE/RL not only has real brand loyalty but also represents an important symbol of American concern about the region. People there continue to listen to RFE/RL because it provides reliable information that they need, and they see the existence of this station as reflecting America's longstanding commitment to freedom and democracy in their own countries. VOA also plays a role, and it also enjoys this kind of support. But in our time particularly, symbols matter, and RFE/RL's broadcasts remain an extraordinarily important one.

Not only is RFE/RL effective in promoting our national interests, but it is remarkably efficient: It now broadcasts more hours each week than it did a decade ago when both its budget and its number of employees were three times larger than they are now. That is a record few other broadcasters or government agencies can match. And it is one that we should reward rather than punish, continue rather than stop.

As the tragic events of Kosovo and NATO's recent military conflict with Serbia have demonstrated, the transition to a peaceful and democratic Europe is far from complete. We should support RFE/RL's vital work as we enter the 21st century.

□ 1715

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. HASTINGS of Washington). Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. PEASE) having assumed the chair, Mr. HASTINGS of Washington, Chairman pro tempore of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that the Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 2415) to enhance security of United States missions and personnel overseas, to authorize appropriations for the Depart-

ment of State for fiscal year 2000, and for other purposes, pursuant to House Resolution 247, he reported the bill back to the House with sundry amendments adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en gros.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

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AUTHORIZING THE CLERK TO MAKE CORRECTIONS IN THE EN-GROSSMENT OF H.R. 2415, AMERICAN EMBASSY SECURITY ACT OF 1999

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that, in the engrossment of the bill, H.R. 2415, the Clerk be authorized to correct section numbers, cross-references, punctuation, and indentation, and to make the other technical and conforming changes necessary to reflect the actions of the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

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PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. HAYES. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoidably absent from Monday evening's votes. Had I been here, I would have supported three measures, H.R. 1033, House Resolution 25, and H.R. 1477, that passed under suspension overwhelmingly. Again, I would have voted "yea" on rollcall votes 308, 309, and 310.

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CONTINUATION OF NATIONAL EMERGENCY WITH RESPECT TO IRAQ—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 106-102)

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, without objection, referred to the Committee on International Relations and ordered to be printed:

*To the Congress of the United States:*

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. In accordance with this provision I have sent the enclosed notice, stating that the Iraqi emergency is to

continue in effect beyond August 2, 1999, to the *Federal Register* for publication.

The crisis between the United States and Iraq that led to the declaration on August 2, 1990, of a national emergency has not been resolved. The Government of Iraq continues to engage in activities inimical to stability in the Middle East and hostile to United States interests in the region. Such Iraqi actions pose a continuing unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and vital foreign policy interests of the United States. For these reasons, I have determined that it is necessary to maintain in force the broad authorities necessary to apply economic pressure on the Government of Iraq.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.  
THE WHITE HOUSE, July 20, 1999.

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LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

(Mr. RANGEL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to inquire from the majority as to what will be the remainder of the schedule for today, specifically as it relates to tax legislation.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANGEL. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I do not know how I found myself in the position other than the fact that I am standing at this microphone. But I do have a strong message that we are going to have a brief recess and then plan to reassemble. I would say check in about early evening.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, so that the Members will have an opportunity to plan the rest of the evening, is it possible to have some guesstimate as to what time the majority will be prepared to return to the floor?

Mr. GOSS. Approximately 6 p.m.

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REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 2561, DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2000

Mr. GOSS, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 106-247) on the resolution (H. Res. 257) providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 2561) making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2000, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

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REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 1074, REGULATORY RIGHT-TO-KNOW ACT OF 1999

Mr. GOSS, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report