

The Senate may also consider the Department of Defense authorization conference report under a 2-hour time limit.

Finally, the fiscal year is coming to an end. Therefore, Members should expect late sessions during next week, and they should anticipate being in session each day—Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday—so that we can complete action on the Department of Defense authorization conference report, the Interior appropriations bill, the HUD, and the Veterans' Administration appropriations bills, and any other actions that can be cleared.

I think we have made good progress today in spite of the rain and sometimes windy weather. I think we made the right decision to stay here. As a result of us staying and working today, we passed the Treasury and Postal Service appropriations conference report, the District of Columbia appropriations conference report, and the Transportation appropriations bill, and have put in place a process to move a number of Federal judicial nominations.

I thank my colleagues for their patience, and for being here today as we have made that effort.

AUGUST 1999 VISIT TO THE HAGUE, UKRAINE, ISRAEL, JORDAN, EGYPT, KOSOVO, AND ITALY

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, on August 14, I landed in Amsterdam, Holland, and proceeded directly to the War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague. There, I met with a team of the leading prosecutors/investigators at the Tribunal including John Ralston, Bob Reid, Graham Blewitt, and J. Clint Williamson. Ralston, Reid, and Blewitt are all Australians who got their start together hunting Nazis who had immigrated to Australia following World War II. They have been at War Crimes Tribunal since 1994. Williamson is an American who used to work for the Department of Justice.

Recently the prosecutors obtained a very important indictment against five individuals: Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic, the President of Serbia, the Serbian Interior Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister of Yugoslavia, and the Chief of Staff of the Yugoslav Army. They have been charged with crimes against humanity in the deportation of more than 700,000 ethnic Albanians from Kosovo and mass murder. Their theory of prosecution is that the atrocities in Kosovo were so systematic and widespread that they must have been orchestrated at the highest levels of the Yugoslav/Serbian government and military.

No arrests in connection with this indictment have been made to date. When I asked about the prospects of detaining Milosevic and bringing him to trial, my hosts told me that this will happen only when a new government comes to power in Yugoslavia. It is possible that such a government may

quickly find that Milosevic is too great a liability and hand him over.

I also asked about the prospects of capturing another indicted war criminal, Radovan Karadzic, the leader of the Bosnian Serbs during the fighting in Bosnia. Karadzic is still in Bosnia and to date remains at large. Karadzic is believed to be in the French sector of Bosnia, and the French have shown no interest in arresting him. Unfortunately, the United States has also shown a lack of resolve on this issue. I believe that capturing Karadzic and trying him before the War Crimes Tribunal would send a powerful signal to leaders around the world that they are not immune from prosecution, and that prosecution will not be limited merely to the troops on the ground. Had Karadzic been in custody in the Hague awaiting or standing trial, one wonders whether Milosevic would have acted as brazenly as he did in Kosovo.

The war crimes team all stressed that there was a great deal of work to do collecting evidence of the war crimes in Kosovo and that this work needed to be done prior to October, when winter weather would prevent further excavations until the Spring. They also told me that the work was particularly challenging because the Serbs had gone to great lengths to hide their crimes, including burning the bodies of their victims, bulldozing houses in which mass murders took place, and dispersing bodies from mass graves.

In early summer, the FBI sent a team of forensic experts to help collect evidence of war crimes in Kosovo, and the FBI was preparing to send a second team at the end of August. I had helped to get funding for these FBI missions, and was interested in hearing about what the FBI was doing. The team at the War Crimes Tribunal told me that the FBI had been sent to work at a number of massacre sights where most of the evidence had been destroyed, usually by burning the victims' corpses. Despite the difficulties, the FBI was able to find evidence, including bone fragments, blood stains, shell castings, and petrol cans used to start the fires. They have exhumed victim bodies and conducted autopsies. This evidence will prove invaluable when the individuals under indictment are finally brought to trial.

I asked my hosts if they needed any additional resources. Mr. Blewitt told me that resources continued to be a problem—the tribunal was currently borrowing against other areas of its budget in order to fund its Kosovo operations and would run out of money by early October. He mentioned that the \$9 million dollars recently pledged by President Clinton would carry them through the end of 1999.

After leaving the War Crimes Tribunal, we proceeded to meet with General Wesley Clark, the Supreme Allied Commander of NATO forces. General Clark ran our war effort in Kosovo and continues to manage the day-to-day

operations there, and is a valuable source of information about the situation on the ground.

I asked the General about the odds of capturing Milosevic and bringing him to trial. The General stated that he was optimistic that one day Milosevic and the others would indeed be captured and brought to justice. I also asked him about the chances of capturing Karadzic. He mentioned that Karadzic is in hiding, surrounded by guards, and goes to great lengths to avoid being located such as avoiding the use of cell phones. Still, I got the impression that if NATO were truly determined to capture him, they could do so.

I also asked General Clark about the Apache helicopters that were sent to Kosovo with much fanfare but were never used. He told me that the Pentagon had conducted a risk/benefit analysis and decided that the risk of losing one of these expensive helicopters outweighed the benefit that could be derived by their use. I expressed my view that there is no point in having all of this high priced machinery unless it is going to be used.

Our next stop was Kiev, the capitol of Ukraine. We arrived in Ukraine shortly before the celebration of its 8th Independence Day. During this short period, Ukraine has become an important country for U.S. foreign policy. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Ukraine was left with one of the largest nuclear arsenals in the world. Our work with Ukraine has eliminated all of these nuclear weapons. In addition, Ukraine is a young country making the difficult transition from totalitarian rule to democracy and from a planned economy to a market economy. If Ukraine succeeds, it can lead the way for Russia and other former Soviet Republics to follow. If Ukraine fails, it could revert to communism and possibly join Russia and others in a union that would once again seek to pursue global power through militarism. The United States has a lot at stake here.

During my stay in Ukraine, I met with the top leadership of the country including President Leonid Kuchma, Prime Minister Valeriy Pustovoitenko, Deputy Foreign Minister Oleksandr Chalyi, and Secretary Volodymyr Horbulyn, who is the head of the National Security and Defense Council. These meetings provided valuable information on the challenges facing Ukraine and the role the United States can play to help this country on the difficult path to democracy and free markets.

President Kuchma is up for reelection this October. He is generally considered to be a reformer and a man who will continue down the path towards democracy and free markets. His strongest opponents are the Communists and the Socialists, who have opposed Kuchma's market reforms.

I was curious to know what my hosts thought would be the major issues in the campaign. Both President Kuchma

and Prime Minister Pustovoitenko agreed that one of the most important issues in the campaign would be unpaid pensions and government salaries. The government has missed a number of monthly payments of pensions and salaries this year and last. Naturally, people owed money are likely to vote for the party they believe is most likely to pay it to them.

Beyond the specific issue of back pay, the economy in general will also play a pivotal role in the campaign. My hosts told me that they felt threatened on economic issues, because there are many who believe that their lives were better under Communism and would therefore support the Communists. The Prime Minister noted that as an opposition party, the Communists have been criticizing President Kuchma's economic reforms and have blocked more meaningful reform. President Kuchma agreed that it is possible, although unlikely, that the Communists could come to power and return the country to totalitarian rule.

Although Kuchma is considered to be a reformer, there have been complaints that the pace of reform is too slow and that his initiatives have been too modest. When asked about the pace of reform, my hosts put the blame largely on the shoulders of the left wing parties. They told me that the Communists, Socialists and some others are blocking the most important reform legislation his government has introduced. They suggested that the pace of reform would pick up after the election, provided President Kuchma wins.

Prime Minister Pustovoitenko confirmed that Ukraine has eliminated all of the nuclear arms in the substantial arsenal it inherited from the Soviet Union. Today, of course, countries are competing in the most aggressive way to acquire nuclear arms. Being a member of the nuclear club gives a country great prestige and bargaining power in the world. It is for this reason that I find it truly remarkable that Ukraine had voluntarily given up its nuclear arsenal.

I asked my hosts why they would agree to do this voluntarily. President Kuchma mentioned that after the disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear reactor, which is in Ukraine, Ukrainians understand better than most people the danger posed by nuclear power and simply did not want them. Deputy Foreign Minister Chalyi also gave me an interesting answer. He told me that he and others decided that the best development model for Ukraine to follow was Japan, which disarmed and focused on building its economy. Nuclear arms do not bring prosperity.

Given Ukraine's voluntary disarmament, I was interested to know what my hosts thought about the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and the failure of the U.S. Senate to ratify this treaty. All of the government officials I spoke with felt very strongly that the Test Ban Treaty was an extremely important way to seek to

prevent the proliferation of nuclear arms and slow this dangerous arms race. Likewise, they all agreed that the failure of the U.S. to ratify this Treaty was a serious impediment to the goal of disarmament. As President Kuchma noted, ratifying the Treaty gives a country the moral right to pressure others to stop their testing and construction of nuclear arms. Prime Minister Pustovoitenko sounded a similar note when he said that the United States must set an example for the world when it comes to disarmament and would be in much stronger position to pressure other countries to stop their tests once they formally committed to stopping their own.

Deputy Foreign Minister Chalyi told me a very interesting story in response to my question about the Test Ban Treaty. Mr. Chalyi serves as the Chairman of the South Asia Taskforce, a group of Asian nations and their trading partners including China, Japan, Australia, Argentina and Brazil. He told me that during a visit to Pakistan, he urged his Pakistani counterparts to ratify the Treaty. A Pakistani official responded that he did not see why Pakistan should have to ratify the Treaty when the Americans had not.

While in Ukraine, I also had a meeting with representatives of the Ukrainian Jewish Community. Of the 6 million Jews killed in the Holocaust, 1.7 million came from Ukraine. After the War, the Holocaust, and continuing emigration, the Ukrainian Jewish community now numbers approximately 500,000. I feel special concern for this community since both of my parents were Ukrainian Jews.

I found these Jewish leaders to be upbeat, even optimistic, about the future of their community. They told me that since the break-up of the Soviet Union, the Jewish community has begun to develop rapidly. Rabbis are coming to the country, and many Jewish schools and camps are opening. They told me that there is religious freedom and opportunities for Jews in every sector of society.

During the Communist era, I was told, Ukraine was one of the most anti-Semitic republics in the Soviet Union. No Jew could hope to be a leader in politics or industry. In contrast, one of the Jewish leaders we met with was a successful businessman and an advisor to President Kuchma. I was informed that a former Prime Minister of Ukraine was Jewish. Another Rabbi from the Lubavitcher Hasidic movement told me that he has been walking back and forth to synagogue in his town for two years without any incident. This is certainly different from the days when the Cossacks used to ride up and down the streets of my father's town looking for Jews to harass.

The only complaint I heard was on the issue of communal property. Jewish property confiscated by the Nazis became government property under the Soviet Union. Now that Communism is gone, representatives of the Jewish

community would like to retrieve Jewish communal property—graveyards, synagogues, schools, etc. Some feel that the government has not moved fast enough on this issue. Others stressed that this is a sensitive topic affecting many ethnic groups in Ukraine and feared that to push too loudly for restitution would lead to anti-Semitism.

A number of the leaders I met with, including President Kuchma, asked that the United States repeal the Jackson-Vanik Amendment as it applies to Ukraine. Jackson-Vanik was originally passed during the days of the Iron Curtain as a way of pressuring the Soviet Union to allow Jews and other religious minorities to emigrate. Today in Ukraine, there are open borders and free emigration. The Ukrainians don't understand why they must come to the U.S. every year and ask for a waiver from the Jackson-Vanik sanctions, and they believe that the repeal of the amendment would have great symbolic importance.

When I met with the Jewish leaders, I asked them about this issue. They agreed that there is free emigration from Ukraine and seemed open to the idea of repealing Jackson-Vanik. Some raised a concern, however, that today Jackson-Vanik applies to issues beyond emigration, such as the restoration of communal property, and should therefore not be repealed until the communal property issue is settled. The U.S. Congress should review this issue.

On my final night in Kiev, I met with a group of American businessmen living in Ukraine to hear their view of the Ukrainian economy and business climate. They all complained about the slow pace of reform, corruption and inefficiency. They contrasted Ukraine with countries such as Poland, which have converted well to capitalism. Ukraine, they argue, is still a state run economy in many important ways. Private firms have made progress in some consumer product fields such as brewing beer and making chocolates. But in major industries, the government-owned companies still dominate. Despite these problems, however, these Americans still believed in the potential of Ukraine and were devoting themselves to the task of developing their economy.

From Ukraine we flew to Israel where we had a series of meetings relating to the Mid-East peace process. Our first meeting was with Israeli Prime Minister Barak. I found the Prime Minister to be optimistic about the prospects for peace in the Middle East. He stated that Israel will resume implementation of the Wye Accords as soon as possible. When I asked him about the risks of peace making, Barak explained to me why he is seeking to make peace so quickly. If Israel does not make peace now, he said, then he is certain that there will be another war in the Middle East. While he is confident that Israel will win this war and survive, he knows that Israel will never

win an unconditional surrender from her Arab neighbors. So after Israel and her neighbors have buried their dead and repaired their cities, they will sit down to negotiate exactly the same issues that are on the table now. The Prime Minister believes that by making peace now he will avoid this futile loss of life.

In addition, Barak believes that Israel is strong enough to take the risks inherent in pursuing peace. He drew a strong contrast between his view of Israel in the Middle East and the view of his predecessor, *Binyamin Netanyahu*. He noted that *Netanyahu* once analogized the situation of Israel in the Middle East to that of a carp in a tank of sharks. Barak rejected this analogy and stated that Israel is not a carp, but a "benign killer whale." His message was clear—Israel is strong enough that it does not have to fear making territorial concessions to its neighbors.

But the Prime Minister is also a realist and he stressed that Israel will only enjoy peace so long as it is stronger than its neighbors. He stated, I believe correctly, that there is no second chance for the weak in the Middle East. During the peace process, Israel must stay militarily strong and even supplement her strength to compensate for lost military assets, namely land and strategic depth. Towards this end, he stressed the importance of U.S. aid and the need to continue to provide the aid to help convince the Israeli public that the peace process will not jeopardize Israel's security.

Under the Wye River accords, the U.S. pledged to provide \$1.2 billion in aid to Israel beyond the almost \$3 billion it currently receives in annual economic and military assistance. This \$1.2 billion is meant to pay for the costs of moving two military bases that are currently located in territory that will be handed over to the Palestinians under Wye. The money will also pay for additional missile defense deployments and research.

I told the Prime Minister that while there is support in Congress for such aid, there will be difficulties in procuring it. Because of the caps established under the '97 Budget Act, there is great difficulty in meeting existing requirements in the FY 2000 budget. Nevertheless, I told the Prime Minister that I believed the U.S. would ultimately provide the promised funds to implement the Wye Accord.

After leaving Prime Minister Barak's office, we drove directly to Ramallah, a city in the West Bank which is under the control of the Palestinian Authority. There we met with Chairman *Yasser Arafat* and a number of his deputies. Mr. Arafat had some complaints about the pace of negotiations with Israel, but he was still optimistic that there would be progress.

Some of Arafat's deputies seemed more pessimistic. Towards the end of my talk with Arafat, *Saeb Erakat* entered the room. Mr. Erakat is the Pal-

estinians' chief negotiator with the Israelis over the terms for resuming implementation of the Wye accord, and he had just returned from a negotiating session with the Israelis. I asked Mr. Erakat how the negotiations went. He refused to go into details, but was clearly frustrated with the lack of progress. He complained that the Israeli settlers had too much influence and were refusing to compromise. The next day the papers reported that the Israeli-Palestinian talks had reached and impasse over the release of Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails.

Under the Wye Accords, the U.S. agreed to provide \$400 million in aid to the Palestinians. I asked Arafat how he would use this money. He told me that it would go towards a variety of projects, including building a road from Jenin to Nablus, building a high tech industrial zone, and funding programs to help establish the rule of law in the Palestinian Authority territories.

I also asked Chairman Arafat about Syria and the possibility that Syria would cease to harbor Palestinian groups still pursuing terrorism against Israel. Mr. Arafat told me that some of these groups may abandon terrorism on their own initiative. He told me that he is conducting negotiations with two reductionist groups—George Habash's Poplar Front for the Liberation of Palestine and Nayef Hawatmeh's Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine about the terms for ending hostilities against Israel and entering the political arena. If these negotiations succeed, the only major Palestinian groups opposed to peace with Israel will be the fundamentalist groups such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

Despite rumors about his poor health and the lip tremors that have been evident for some time, Mr. Arafat met me at his office at 8:30 in the evening. When our meeting ended at 9:40 he walked me out the door and then, I'm sure, returned to work.

The next morning we drove to Tel Aviv for a meeting with Foreign Minister David Levy. Mr. Levy was born in Morocco and moved to Israel in his teens. He speaks French, Arabic and Hebrew, but no English, so we spoke with the assistance of a translator. Mr. Levy reiterated the Prime Minister's commitment to quickly resume implementation of the Wye Accords. On Syria, he sounded a less optimistic note than Prime Minister Barak had. He stated that Israel cannot accept Syria's precondition for resuming negotiations that Israel accept Syria's interpretation of where negotiations with Prime Minister Rabin left off. Foreign Minister Levy stressed that Barak would be a tougher negotiator.

After these meetings with Barak and Levy, I thought it would be worthwhile to hear from someone who is opposed to the peace process they are pursuing. Perhaps no Israeli politician has been more consistent in his opposition to

territorial concessions that former Prime Minister *Yitzhark Shamir*. So we dropped by Mr. Shamir's office in Tel Aviv for a visit. True to form, Mr. Shamir dismissed Oslo and Wye as dangerous concessions by Israel to her implacable enemies. He said that the Palestinians are real enemies of the State of Israel and that Syria will never be able to change. Shamir added that he would like to see 5 million more Jews move to Israel, but that there would be no room for such an expansion if the proposed territorial concessions take place.

After finishing our business in Jerusalem, we drove to Amman for a brief stay in the Jordanian capitol. Each time I visit Amman, I notice that the city has grown and developed substantially since my last visit.

We met with the new King of Jordan, King Abdullah, at his palace. I express my condolences to the King on the loss of his father, King Hussein. King Hussein was truly a valuable force for peace in the Middle East, and I am hopeful that King Abdullah will fill the void his father's death left behind.

The King was upbeat about the situation in the Middle East. He believed that Ehud Barak was sincere about pursuing peace and making the sacrifices it entailed. He was also optimistic that President Assad would be flexible about negotiating with Israel and would relent on its insistence that the peace talks pick up exactly where he believes they left off with Rabin. He told me that Syria is prepared to accept all of Israel's requests regarding security arrangements in exchange for the Golan.

I also asked the King about the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and the failure of the U.S. to ratify it. He expressed his view that this was an important treaty for the safety of the world and told me that he hoped that the United States would ratify it.

From Amman we flew to Alexandria, Egypt, a teeming city on Egypt's Mediterranean Coast. Egypt's leaders often spend the hot summer months by the sea in Alexandria. When I met with President Mubarak in Washington this past June, he told me that he, too, would be in Alexandria for much of the summer.

President Mubarak shared the optimism of the other leaders I met that the Israeli-Palestinian track was going in the right direction. He was less sanguine about the Israel-Syria track, but felt that progress with the Palestinians would help bring the Syrians along. He suggested that Syria is looking to receive more from the Israelis than the Egyptians received in their peace treaty to justify the 20-year delay in making peace.

President Mubarak also stressed that it is essential that Israel and the Palestinians reach a peace agreement while *Yasser Arafat* is still alive. Mubarak fears, for good reason, that after Arafat's death there will be a power struggle among various Palestinian

factions for control of the Palestinian Authority, and that terrorism against Israel will become a feature of this competition.

I asked Mubarak about reports that he wanted to hold a summit on terrorism. He told me that he does intend to hold such a summit, and that he would like the focus of this summit to be terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. I think this is an excellent idea and encouraged President Mubarak to proceed with his plans.

I asked the President his opinion of the situation in Iran and what the U.S. policy towards Iran should be. Mubarak was not optimistic that Iran would abandon its extremism any time soon. He told me that the Iranians have named a street in Teheran after the man who assassinated President Sadat. When President Mubarak complained about this, the Iranians placed a large mural of the assassin above the street that bears his name.

I next asked President Mubarak when he would warm up his relations with Israel. Mubarak blamed the cold peace with Israel on Prime Minister Netanyahu. He told me that prior to Netanyahu, things were warming up and economic cooperation was beginning. When I asked him if Egypt's relations with Israel would warm up now that Netanyahu was out of office, he responded that this would "take time." I reminded President Mubarak that a lot of time has already passed since Egypt and Israel signed their peace treaty.

From Alexandria we flew to Skopje, Macedonia, where we met representatives of the U.S. army for a one-day tour of neighboring Kosovo. We were flown by helicopter from Skopje to Prishtina, the major city in Kosovo. On the way, we flew over a number of Kosovar villages and towns. In almost every village, we saw the burnt-out remains of houses that once belonged to the Kosovar Albanians.

In Prishtina, we met with Bernard Kouchner, the UN's top official in Kosovo. Mr. Kouchner told us that he has witnessed some positive developments since coming to Kosovo. Most importantly, he noted that the large majority of Albanians who fled Kosovo during the war have already returned home. In addition, the Kosovo Liberation Army appears willing to accept the transition from paramilitary force to civil service. KLA members will be given approximately 2,500 places in the UN-sponsored Kosovar police force.

The return of the Kosovar Albanians to Kosovo is creating challenges for the UN. Mr. Kouchner told us that 60,000 homes were destroyed in Kosovo during the war, and that the UN would not be able to provide sufficient housing for all of the returnees prior to winter. The UN is going to have to rely on winterized tents and rehabilitating damaged homes to make up for the shortfall.

Mr. Kouchner told us that the major challenge facing the UN in Kosovo is

protecting the Serbian community from Albanian retribution attacks. While he felt he was making some progress in this area, Mr. Kouchner noted that there were still a number of attacks taking place on a daily basis, including assault, arson, and murder.

I asked Mr. Kouchner how long the UN would have to stay in Kosovo. He estimated that it would take "several years" until the UN could leave.

From Prishtina we flew by helicopter to Camp Bondsteel, the base for the U.S. contingent in NATO's Kosovo Force. There we were briefed by Brigadier General Peterson and his staff on the Army's mission in Kosovo. Although U.S. forces had only been in the country for 63 days, we saw a small city coming to life with rows of tents and some more permanent structures being built.

Although the war may be over, our forces still face great danger in Kosovo. General Peterson told us that up until 6 nights prior to our visit, U.S. forces had taken hostile fire every night since their arrival, mostly in the form of sniper and mortar fire at U.S. positions. Although there have been no fatalities from these attacks, some U.S. soldiers have been injured.

Our briefers confirmed that almost all of the Kosovar Albanians who left the U.S. sector during the fighting have since returned. Echoing what the UN's Kouchner told us, the soldiers said that one of the major problems they are now confronting is protecting the Serb population from retribution attacks by Albanians. Since some Albanians have sought to prevent the Serbs from harvesting their crops by targeting Serbian farmers, the U.S. must provide protection to Serbian farmers in the fields.

I asked the soldiers how long they thought the U.S. Army would need to be in Kosovo. They refused to hazard a guess. They pointed out that the region is less complex than Bosnia, since there are only two nationalities fighting each other in Kosovo, as opposed to three in Bosnia. On the other hand, they told me that by time the U.S. entered Bosnia, the Bosnians were exhausted from fighting and ready to lay down their arms. It is not clear that the parties in Kosovo have exhausted their will to fight.

Next we flew to the Kosovar village of Vlastica to view the sight of a massacre that took place during the war. As we entered the village, a large crowd of Albanian villagers came out to greet us. These people were clearly grateful for what the U.S. had done for them, and they were excited to hear that we wanted to help them rebuild and wanted to bring the war criminals to justice.

As we walked through the village, we passed a number of burned-out houses. Even the village mosque had been burned. We stopped at the charred remains of a home where 13 Albanians had been killed in one night. There, we met a 13-year-old girl named Vlora

Shaboni. Vlora used to live in the house with her family, and she was at home the night the Serb soldiers came. She told us that the Serbs broke down the door and ordered everyone in the house to line up with their hands above their heads. Then they shot everyone with automatic weapons. To hide the evidence of this massacre, the Serbs set the house on fire and bulldozed the remains.

That night, Vlora saw the Serbs kill her mother and her brother. Vlora herself was shot in her face and the bullet lodged in her jaw, but she remained conscious and was able to escape before the house burned down. Vlora told me that she did not know her attackers but that she would be able to recognize them if she ever saw them again.

Vlora told her story with an anxious tremble in her voice and the frightened, downcast eyes. I don't know where she found the strength to talk about what happened that night at all.

The burnt remains of the victims of this massacre were left in the house, and have been recovered by a Canadian forensic team. That evidence, together with the statements of Vlora and others, will help the War Crimes prosecutors in The Hague prove their theory that Serbia's leaders orchestrated the systematic and widespread destruction of Albanian life in Kosovo.

From Skopje we flew to Naples, Italy, to visit the headquarters of Allied Forces Southern Europe, or "AFSouth," which is NATO's southern command. There we were briefed by Lieutenant General Jack Nix, Jr., the Chief of Staff of AFSouth, and members of his staff. AFSouth is responsible for the region surrounding the Mediterranean and Black Seas. This region includes a number of hot spots such as the Middle East and the Balkans. AFSouth has been responsible for operations in both Bosnia and Kosovo.

We were briefed on the details of the air war in Kosovo. The allied bombing campaign was effective in Kosovo, and only 12% of bombing targets escaped without some damage. Still, our hosts agreed that there were problems with the air campaign. Most importantly, they noted that our forces were largely incapable of mounting the air campaign during bad weather. This experience convinced these soldiers that the U.S. must develop all-weather munitions that will free our forces from these weather-related limitations.

I asked if any broader military lessons could be learned from the Kosovo campaign. I noted that during the debate over whether to authorize the air campaign, some military experts had argued that a war can never be won by air power alone. Did Kosovo prove these experts wrong? My hosts responded that, in fact, our forces did not win in Kosovo by air power alone. Ground forces played a pivotal role in the conflict—they just weren't NATO ground forces. Towards the end of the conflict, the Kosovo Liberation Army began major ground operations against

Serbian positions. These operations pinned down large numbers of Serb troops in concentrated groups. These concentrations made the Serbian forces vulnerable to Allied air attacks for the first time in the war, and they sustained large numbers of casualties during this period. Had the KLA not undertaken this campaign, Serbian forces would have remained spread out and largely invulnerable to air attack.

During the air campaign, AFSouth was in charge of Operation Allied Harbor, which provided shelter to the hundreds of thousands of refugees who fled Kosovo. My hosts told me that during the height of the crisis, AFSouth actually exhausted the world's supply of tents in its effort to provide shelter for all the refugees. Now AFSouth is overseeing the repatriation of the Kosovar refugees to Kosovo. Our briefers confirmed what we heard in Kosovo—that most of the Kosovar Albanians who fled Kosovo during the war have already returned home. All of the refugee camps in Albania have been shut down. Among the small percentage of refugees who have not returned to Kosovo are the 20,000 who were brought to the United States and will most likely choose to remain here.

On August 26, I returned from Rome to Philadelphia.

THE NEED FOR MEDICARE COVERAGE OF PRESCRIPTION DRUGS

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, in the coming weeks, the Finance Committee will begin consideration of legislation to reform the Medicare program. While I am not a member of that Committee, I would like to urge my colleagues to take this opportunity to address one of the most widespread problems facing senior citizens today—the lack of prescription drug coverage under the Medicare program.

Providing access to prescription medication is essential to ensuring our older Americans receive the health care they need. Today more than ever, medical treatment is focused on the use of drug therapies. Prescription drugs are an effective substitute for more expensive care or surgery, and they are the only method of treatment for many diseases.

Medicare beneficiaries are particularly reliant on prescription medication. Nearly 77 percent of seniors take a prescription drug on a regular basis. Consequently, although seniors make up only 14 percent of the country's population, they consume about 30 percent of the prescription drugs sold. However, the Medicare program, the national program established to provide seniors with vital health care services, generally does not cover prescription drug costs.

Medicare beneficiaries can obtain some coverage for drugs by joining Medicare HMOs. However, these HMOs are not available in many parts of the country, particularly in the rural areas. As we have learned in Maryland,

where 14 of our rural counties will no longer be served by any Medicare HMO as of next year, private companies cannot be relied upon to provide a benefit as crucial to the health of our older Americans as prescription drug coverage. Drug coverage must be added as a core element of our basic Medicare benefits package.

Beneficiaries may also purchase drug coverage through a Medigap insurance policy. However, these plans are extremely expensive and generally provide inadequate coverage. In addition, for most Medigap plans, the premiums substantially increase with age. Thus, just as beneficiaries need drug coverage the most and are least able to afford it, this drug coverage is priced out of reach. This cost burden particularly affects women who make up 73 percent of people over age 85.

Those with access to employer-sponsored retiree health plans do generally receive adequate drug coverage. However, only about one quarter of Medicare beneficiaries have access to such plans. Thus, although most beneficiaries have access to some assistance, only a lucky few have access to supplemental coverage that offers a substantial drug benefit. Moreover, at least 13 million Medicare beneficiaries have absolutely no prescription drug coverage.

To make matters worse, the cost of prescription drugs has been rising dramatically over the past few years. Pharmaceutical companies claim that today's higher drug prices reflect the growing cost of research and development. However, recent increases in drug prices have also resulted in large part from the enormous investment the industry has made in advertising directly to the public.

Moreover, recent studies have shown that seniors who buy their own medicine, because they do not belong to HMOs or have additional insurance coverage, are paying twice as much on average as HMOs, insurance companies, Medicaid, Federal health programs, and other bulk purchasers. Medicare beneficiaries are paying more as the pharmaceutical industry is facing increasing pressures from cost-conscious health plans to sell them drugs at cheaper prices. In addition, the industry offers lower prices to veterans' programs and other Federal health programs because the price schedule for these programs is fixed in law. Apparently, pharmaceutical companies are making up the revenues lost in bulk sales by charging exorbitant prices to individual buyers who lack negotiating power.

Despite these market pressures and increased research and development costs, the prices being charged to seniors and other individual purchasers are hardly justified when financial reports show drug companies reaping enormous profits.

Many seniors live on fixed incomes, and a substantial number of them cannot afford to take the drugs their doc-

tors prescribe. Many try to stretch their medicine out by skipping days or breaking pills in half. Many must choose between paying for food and paying for medicine.

In the context of the budget resolution debate, proposals were made to provide for the added cost of including prescription drug coverage in the Medicare program. I voted for an amendment to create a reserve fund of \$101 billion over 10 years to cover the cost of Medicare reform including the addition of a prescription drug benefit. This provision was included in the final version of the Senate budget resolution. However, legislation creating the drug benefit still must be enacted before coverage could be extended.

Helping senior citizens get the prescription drugs they need should be one of our top priorities this session. Unfortunately, the Majority is more interested in enacting deep and unreasonable tax cuts that largely benefit the wealthy. Just before the August recess, Congress passed the Majority's FY 2000 budget reconciliation bill. I voted against this bill because it would spend nearly all of the on-budget surplus projected to accrue over the next ten years and would use none of this projected surplus to protect the Social Security System, to shore up Medicare, or to give senior citizens the prescription drug benefit they so desperately need.

I am pleased that the Finance Committee will be focusing on Medicare reform, and I hope that the legislation they develop will establish a prescription drug benefit for our older Americans. Providing seniors with drug coverage is essential to ensuring they receive quality health care. I believe that access to quality health care is a basic human need that in my view must be a fundamental right in a democratic society.

THE ABCs OF GUN CONTROL

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, students in Detroit are now back in school, just like their peers across the river in Windsor, Ontario. Each classroom of students is going through virtually the same routine. They are writing about their summer vacations, obtaining textbooks, signing up for sports teams, and trying to memorize locker combinations. They are figuring out bus routes, testing new backpacks and worrying about that third period teacher who assigns too much homework. There is just one major difference between the students in Detroit and those in Windsor. Students in Detroit have to worry about guns in school.

In the United States, another classroom of children is killed by firearms every two days. That doesn't mean that every few days, there is another Columbine mass murder. But statistics show that each day 13 children die from gunfire, and every two days, the equivalent of a classroom of American children is struck by the tragedy of gun violence. In Windsor, the Canadian town