

governmental organizations, and others throughout the former Yugoslavia. In fact, the U.S. State Department spokesperson commented on March 14 of this year that: "There are a number of indicted war criminals who live in Croatia who have not been turned over to the War Crimes Tribunal. And there are certain individuals that we're watching very closely. We've told the Croatian government that we know who these people are. They've been named by the tribunal as indicted war criminals. We know where they live."

It has become clear that neither Serb authorities within Republika Srpska in Bosnia and Herzegovina nor Croat authorities in the Federation are meeting their obligations to hand over indicted war criminals—and that the United States is doing very little to force them to meet these obligations.

Regular reports about the whereabouts of several indicted war criminals indicate that many lead remarkably open lives. Last fall the Coalition for International Justice published a comprehensive report on the whereabouts, jobs, and everyday habits of 37 of the indicted war criminals. Earlier this year, Human Rights Watch/Helsinki issued a report documenting that many of the people running the towns, police forces and businesses of the Serbian portion of Bosnia are the same people who orchestrated the horrors of ethnic cleansing. In case you have not had the opportunity to see them, I have attached copies of both these reports.

The United States, unfortunately, must bear a large share of the blame for the fact that indicted war criminals remain at large in the former Yugoslavia.

In the letter to my office last October 10, you stated that "IFOR will detain indicted war criminals and hand them over to the International Tribunal if they are encountered by IFOR personnel during the normal course of their duties and the tactical situation permits." (This mandate regarding war criminals, I understand, has been subsequently extended to SFOR.) Even if we rule out some of the reported war criminal sightings as false, it defies credulity to suggest that so many people in the former Yugoslavia except for SFOR have had regular contact with indicted war criminals.

The SFOR rules of engagement regarding war criminals appear to be interpreted so narrowly that it seems that an indicted war criminal would, in effect, have to actively seek out and surrender to SFOR if SFOR troops were to arrest them.

Indicted war criminals must be arrested and brought to trial if the Tribunal is to have meaning as the ultimate international arbiter of guilt or innocence in the commission of war crimes. If indicted war criminals are not brought to justice, the international community will have betrayed both the legacy of Nuremberg and the victims of the war that tore Yugoslavia apart. This failure will also set a dangerous precedent that will give encouragement to others elsewhere in the world who may consider the use of rape and genocide as tools of war.

In addition, it is my firm belief that the continued presence of indicted war criminals in former Yugoslavia will set the stage for the renewal of violence, bloodshed, and civil war when SFOR departs next year. We will have sacrificed all the gains of the Dayton process because we will have chosen to compromise with war criminals.

I once again call upon you to take an aggressive stand to see that the indicted war criminals are brought to justice. Specifically, I encourage you to:

Examine the feasibility of the United States and SFOR taking a more active role to apprehend indicted war criminals still at large as well as cooperating more closely

with the United Nations, the International Civilian Police Task Force, and civilian authorities in the former Yugoslavia on this issue;

Investigate appropriate additional sanctions, which can be enforced either unilaterally or through the United Nations system for the Republika Srpska and Croatia, unless and until they cooperate fully with the Tribunal;

Explore the necessity of any additional U.S. assistance to the International War Crimes Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia; and,

Move quickly to implement the permanent international body with the power, authority, and resources to investigate, apprehend, and bring war criminals to trial that you spoke of earlier this year.

I would also appreciate your clarification of the SFOR rules of engagement for detaining war criminals.

Mr. President, you have been called upon to serve the United States at a time of great international change and uncertainty. Unless the United States takes a position of aggressive leadership on this issue in the international community, we run the risk that future historians will conclude that the lessons of current U.S. foreign policy are that crimes against humanity, genocide, and the use of rape as an instrument of war are acceptable—and that those who perpetrate these crimes can do so with impunity. Mr. President, I know that you share my belief that leaving such a legacy would be unacceptable.

I look forward to hearing your thoughts and plans on this very important matter.

Sincerely yours,

DIANNE FEINSTEIN,
U.S. Senator.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, June 19, 1997.

Hon. DIANNE FEINSTEIN,
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR DIANNE: Thank you for writing again regarding indicted war criminals in the former Yugoslavia. I continue to share your concerns. My foreign policy team is examining several options to assist and enhance the ability of the Tribunal to bring indicted war criminals into custody.

We are increasing pressure on the parties by linking multilateral and bilateral economic assistance to their compliance with their obligation under the Dayton Accords to turn over indicted war criminals. In addition, we have begun working with the UN and its International Police Task Force (IPTF) in Bosnia to improve the performance of the IPTF in identifying indictees and their whereabouts.

We continue to work closely with the Tribunal, especially the Office of the Chief Prosecutor, by providing a wide range of assistance, including legal and investigative support. The United States also provides the Tribunal intelligence and information pursuant to Section 555 of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act of 1997. On May 2 we contributed \$450,000 to the Tribunal's forensic exhumations program in the former Yugoslavia.

I have also nominated David Scheffer as Ambassador-at-Large for War Crimes Issues. If confirmed, Mr. Scheffer will coordinate our work in this area and focus on the tasks that are critical to the success of both the Yugoslav and Rwanda War Crimes Tribunals. Finally, knowing our mutual concern for this grave issue, I have asked Robert Gelbard, my Special Representative for Implementation of the Dayton Accords, to give you a confidential briefing as soon as possible on our specific plans to re-energize this

critical component of the Dayton peace process.

Thanks again for your letter and your continuing support for our efforts to bring peace and justice to the people of the Balkans.

Sincerely,

BILL.

CO-SPONSORSHIP OF SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 29

• Mr. ABRAHAM. Mr. President, I rise today to offer my support as a cosponsor to Senate Concurrent Resolution 29. This resolution recommends the integration of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Ever since the disintegration of the Soviet Union, there has been talk of expanding NATO membership to include countries of Central Europe and the former Baltic Republics. These Baltic countries are continually striving to transform their political and economic institutions in accordance with democratic ideals and free market principles. We have seen remarkable achievements in this respect, from countries that have endured many years of communist occupation.

I believe that expanding NATO to include Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia would benefit bi-lateral trade and investment through a stable security environment. Furthermore, these countries have made great strides in the areas of human rights, civil liberties and the rule of law, and have also actively participated in the Partnership for Peace. They should be rewarded for these efforts. Most importantly however, enlargement of NATO to include these Baltic States would secure a principal gain of the cold war by strengthening new free markets and democracies in the region.

Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia are all working very hard to satisfy the prerequisites of entry into NATO. As such, I am supportive of all efforts to integrate them in the membership of that organization as soon as the process permits.●

COSPONSORSHIP OF SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 19

• Mr. ABRAHAM. Mr. President, I rise today to offer my support as a cosponsor to Senate Concurrent Resolution 19. This resolution recommends the return of, or compensation for, foreign properties that were wrongly confiscated in formerly Communist countries and by certain foreign financial institutions.

I join my colleagues on the Helsinki Commission in calling for restitution to the many victims who have suffered property losses at the hands of Communist and Fascist dictatorships. These victims had their property confiscated solely because of their religion, national or social origin, or expression of opposition to the regimes in power. In fact, many churches, synagogues, and mosques were destroyed

and/or confiscated by these repressive regimes.

Private property ownership is one of the key hallmarks of a free society, as are the freedom to practice one's own religion, express one's own social or national traditions, and speak against one's government. Violation of these freedoms, and disrespect for these concepts, is a glaring signal that a country is ignoring democratic norms and violating international law.

Even more egregious is the fact that some financial institutions cooperated with these repressive regimes in converting to their own personal use those financial assets belonging to Holocaust victims, and their heirs and assigns. This is a clear violation of these institutions' fiduciary duty to their customers. We must not sit idly by while they enjoy their ill-gotten gains.

In this new and welcome period of transition for many of the formerly Communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe, it is my sincere hope that victims of confiscation will be sought out and compensated. Further, to expedite the compensation process, I fully support the elimination of any citizenship or residency requirement in order for those victims to make property claims.●

TRIBUTE TO LARRY DOBY

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, 50 years ago this week, a young 22-year-old rookie named Larry Doby took the baseball field for the first time as a Cleveland Indian. Although Larry did not make a hit during that first at bat, he did something more: he made history. On that day, July 5, 1947, Larry Doby became the first African-American to play in the American League. I have had the great privilege of knowing Larry since our days growing up together in the streets of Paterson, N.J. I have developed a deep admiration for him. I ask that the text of an article that appeared recently in the Washington Post that captures Larry's character be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

[From the Washington Post, July 8, 1997]

NEITHER A MYTH NOR A LEGEND—LARRY DOBY CROSSED BASEBALL'S COLOR BARRIER AFTER ROBINSON

(By David Maraniss)

There is only one person alive who knows what it was like to be a black ballplayer integrating the white world of the major leagues during the historic summer of 1947. If you are young or only a casual follower of baseball, perhaps you have not heard of him.

Larry Doby is 72 years old now, and his calm manner seems out of style in this unsporting age of self-obsession. He is neither a celebrity nor the stuff of myth, simply a quiet hero with an incomparable story to tell.

This season, as the national pastime commemorates the 50th anniversary of the breaking of the color line, the attention has focused inevitably on the first black player of the modern era, Jackie Robinson, who shines alone in baseball history as the symbol of pride against prejudice. But Doby was there, too, blazing his own trail later that

same year. He was brought up by the Cleveland Indians on July 5, 1947, three months after Robinson broke in with the Brooklyn Dodgers. Some of the strange and awful things that happened to No. 42 in the National League happened to No. 14 in the American League as well.

"I think I'm ahead of a lot of people because I don't hate and I'm not bitter," Doby says softly now. He has spent a lifetime "turning negatives into positives," but he is also sharp and direct in pointing out what he considers to be myths surrounding the events of a half-century ago.

Jackie Robinson in death has gone the way of most American martyrs, transformed from an outsider struggling against the prevailing culture into a legend embraced by it. In the retelling of his legend it sometimes sounds as though most people always loved him. Doby knows better. He was there and he remembers. After that first season, he and Robinson barnstormed the country with Negro leagues all-stars. They rarely discussed their common experience in white baseball ("no need to, we both knew what the situation was"), but a few times late at night they stayed up naming the players in each league who were giving them problems because they were black.

It was a long list.

"Many people in this world live on lies. Know what amazes me today?" Doby asks, his deep voice rising with the first rush of emotion. "How many friends Jackie Robinson had 50 years ago! All of a sudden everyone is his best friend. Wait a minute. Give me a break, will you. I knew those people who were his friends. I knew those people who were not his friends. Some of them are still alive. I know. And Jack, he's in heaven, and I bet he turns over a lot of times when he hears certain things or sees certain things or reads certain things where these people say they were his friends."

Playing and traveling in the big leagues that year was a grindingly lonely job for the two young black men. Which leads to Doby's second shattered myth: the notion that Robinson, by coming first, could somehow smooth the way for him.

"Did Jackie Robinson make it easier for me?" Doby laughs at his own question, which he says is the one he hears most often. "I'm not saying people are stupid, but it's one of the stupidest questions that's ever been asked. Think about it. We're talking about 11 weeks. Nineteen forty-seven. Now it's 50 years later and you still have hidden racism, educated racist people. How could you change that in 11 weeks? Jackie probably would have loved to have changed it in 11 weeks. I know he would have loved to have been able to say, 'the hotels are open, the restaurants are open, your teammates are going to welcome you.' But no. No. No way. No way."

THE EMBRACE

There was no transition for Larry Doby, no year of grooming in the minors up in Montreal like Robinson had. One day he was playing second base for the Newark Eagles of the Negro leagues, and two days later he was in Chicago, pinch-hitting for the Cleveland Indians in the seventh inning of a game against the White Sox. "We're in this together, kid," Bill Veeck, the Indians' owner, had told him at the signing, and that was enough for Doby. He trusted Veeck, then and always.

Doby was only 22 years old, and his life to that point had been relatively free of the uglier strains of American racism. At East Side High in Paterson, N.J., he had been a four-sport star on integrated teams. He remembers being subjected to a racist insult only once, during a football game, and he re-

sponded by whirling past the foul-mouthed defensive back to haul in a touchdown pass. That shut the guy up. In the Navy on the South Pacific atoll of Ulithi during World War II, he had taken batting practice with Mickey Vernon of the Washington Senators and found him to be extremely friendly and encouraging. Vernon later sent him a dozen Louisville Slugger bats and put in a good word for him with the Washington club.

Wishful thinking. It would be another decade before the Senators broke their lily-white policy, but Veeck, who had both an innate empathy for life's underdogs and a showman's readiness to try anything new, was eager to integrate his Indians as soon as possible. Doby was not the best black player (that honor still belonged to old Josh Gibson), but he was young and talented. Through the Fourth of July with the Newark club in 1947, he was batting .414 with a league-leading 14 homers.

His Newark teammates gave him a farewell present, a kit with comb, brush and shaving cream, but there was no celebration when he took off to join the Indians. "We looked at it as an important step as far as history was concerned, but it was not the type of thing you would celebrate in terms of justice for all, because you were going to a segregated situation," Doby says. "Maybe someone smarter than me would be happy about that, but I wasn't. You know you're going into a situation where it's not going to be comfortable. That's what you're leaving. What you're leaving is comfortable because you are with your teammates all the time, you sleep in the same hotel, you eat in the same restaurants, you ride in the same car."

When Doby was introduced to the Cleveland players that afternoon of July 5 a half-century ago, most of them stood mute and expressionless, essentially ignoring his existence. There were a few exceptions. Second baseman Joe Gordon told him to grab his glove and warmed up with him before the game, a practice they continued throughout the year. Catcher Jim Hegan showed he cared by asking him how he was doing. And one of the coaches, Bill McKechnie, looked after him. "He was like Veeck, but there every day on the road—nice man," Doby recalls.

But there was no roommate for him on the road, no one in whom he could confide. In every city except New York and Boston, he stayed in a black hotel apart from the rest of the team. Equally troubling for him, he rarely got the chance to play. After starting one game at first base, he looked at the lineup card the next day and was not there. Same thing the rest of the year. The manager, Lou Boudreau, never said a word to him about why he was on the bench. He was used as a pinch hitter, and could not adjust to the role. He finished the year with only five hits and no home runs in 32 at-bats over 29 games.

After the last game of the season, he was sitting at his locker, wondering if that was the end of the experiment, when McKechnie came over to him and asked whether he had ever played the outfield. No, Doby said, always infield, in high school, college at Long Island University for a year, Negro leagues, the streets, wherever. "Well," Doby recall McKechnie telling him, "Joe Gordon is the second baseman and he's going to be here a while. When you go home this winter get a book and learn how to play the outfield."

He bought a book by Tommy Henrich, the Yankees outfielder, and studied the finer points of playing outfield: what to do on liners hit straight at you (take your first step back, never forward), throwing to the right bases, hitting the cutoff man. He started the next season in right, and within a few weeks was over in center, where he developed into