

(1) An unconditional halt in the bombing of Serbia proper. This would deprive Milosevic use of the air war as a tool for mobilizing Serbian nationalism on his behalf. (2) The establishment of a no-fly, no-tank, no-troop-movement zone covering all Serbian forces in Kosovo, and enforced by NATO aircraft. Serbian forces would be told that they will not be attacked if they remain in their barracks, but will come under attack if they engage in military action against Kosovar civilians. Such attacks, when initiated, would be directed solely against those forces directly involved in armed violence against civilians. (3) The imposition and enforcement by NATO of a total economic blockade against Serbia, excluding only food and medical supplies. (4) The restarting of NATO-Serbia negotiations over the future of Kosovo, with assistance provided by Russia and other third parties. No preconditions should be set regarding the identity of any armed international force deployed in Kosovo to protect the Kosovars, but it should be made clear that Serbia will have to accept some armed international presence. (5) A promise that economic sanctions will be lifted as soon as Serbia agrees to a just and enforceable settlement in Kosovo, allowing the Albanian Kosovars to return under armed international protection. Also, a promise that Serbia would be able to benefit from future regional reconstruction and redevelopment programs supported by the EU and other such bodies.

Such a strategy, I believe, would deprive Milosevic of any further propaganda victories while affording full protection to the remaining Albanian civilians in Kosovo. It is also likely to receive strong international support and increase the pressures (and incentives) for Serbia to agree to a just and peaceful resolution of the crisis in Kosovo.

[From *Newsday*, Apr. 4, 1999]

KOSOVO FAILURES SHOW PATH TO REAL PEACE
(By Michael Klare)

The time has come to acknowledge that the current U.S.-NATO strategy in Yugoslavia is a failure. Not one of the air war's objectives—the cessation of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, the weakening of Slobodan Milosevic or the prevention of a wider conflict—has been achieved. Instead, the atrocities are getting worse, Milosevic is stronger than ever, and the war is spreading. Nor is there any indication that an expanded air campaign will prove more successful. We must look for other options.

Without alternatives, we could be doomed to involvement in a conflict lacking any discernible conclusion. The United States and NATO launched the air war under the naive assumption that Milosevic would quickly succumb to a dramatic (and relatively cost-free) show of force. Evidently, no thought was given to the possibility that he would not. Now, it seems that the alliance's only option is to extend the bombing to an ever-widening array of targets in Serbia. Such attacks are not, however, likely to end the fighting, ensure the safety of the Albanians in Kosovo, or produce a lasting and stable peace in the Balkans. Unless Milosevic loses his nerve—something for which he has shown no prior inclination—the attacks will simply grind on with no visible end in sight. Meanwhile, the unity heretofore shown by the NATO countries is likely to crumble and the prospects for a Dayton-like peace accord are likely to vanish.

That is strategy based solely on air strikes would achieve all of NATO's objectives was a dubious proposition from the start. By bombing Serbia, we provided a pretext for Milosevic to silence his opposition at home and to escalate the killing in Kosovo—an outcome that should have been obvious to NATO war planners. It should also have been

obvious that the Serbian population—highly nationalistic to begin with—would respond to the bombing by rallying around its leadership.

Many analysts have spoken of the practical obstacles to an effective air campaign in Yugoslavia: the difficult terrain, the bad weather, the interspersing of military and civilian installations and so on. Certainly, these are important factors. But it was NATO's failure to calculate the political outcome of the campaign that has proved most calamitous: The more we have bombed, the stronger—not weaker—Milosevic has become.

NATO officials now contend that the way to alter this equation is by increasing the level of pain being inflicted on Serbia from the air. This will be done by attacking government buildings in downtown Belgrade and civilian installations—such as bridges and factories—throughout the country.

Supposedly, this will erode public support for Milosevic and persuade elements of the Yugoslav Army to seek peace with NATO. But it could easily produce the opposite effect: intensifying Serbian hostility to the West and provoking Serbian military incursions into neighboring countries. We see the start of this already, with the shelling of Albania and the seizure of U.S. soldiers in Macedonia.

NATO could also alter the equation by sending ground troops into Kosovo. This would permit allied forces to engage those Serbian units most directly involved in the slaughter of ethnic Albanians. It is doubtful, however, that NATO forces could get there soon enough and in sufficient strength to make a difference. Once troops are deployed there, moreover, it may prove impossible to bring them back. Given the Serbs' growing hostility to the West, any hope of achieving a lasting peace in the region—one that does not require the presence of a large, permanent NATO force to police it—has all but disappeared.

One lesson we should all draw from this is that military force—and particularly the frequently unanticipated political fallout from such force—is very difficult to control. Once Clinton gave the go-ahead for air strikes, he set in motion forces that are not subject to easy manipulation. If Washington backs down now, the credibility of NATO will be seriously impaired—hence the temptation to escalate the conflict rather than to admit failure. With each new escalation, however, the stakes grow higher and it becomes even more difficult to extricate ourselves from the spiral of conflict. This is, of course, precisely how the United States became so deeply ensnared in Vietnam.

There is also the issue of casualties—American, allied, Kosovar and Serbian. It is hard to conceive of any type of escalation, whether in the air or on the ground, that will not produce a higher rate of casualties. It may be, as some pundits have argued, that we have to risk higher casualties in order to produce a desirable outcome. But it would be an unforgivable mistake to incur higher casualties simply in order to rescue a strategy that is flawed to begin with.

Rather than think about escalating the conflict, therefore, we have to find ways of de-escalating it—of reducing the level of violence while providing real protection to the remaining Albanians in Kosovo.

Is this a realistic option? There are still grounds to think so. The key to a lasting peace in the Balkans is persuading the Serbs that they have more to gain from participating in the stability and prosperity of the West than from continued defiance and pendency.

The way to do this, I believe, is to stop the bombing of Serbia proper while deploying a NATO air umbrella over Kosovo and adjacent areas of Serbia. NATO should resolve to allow safe passage to all Yugoslav military

units in Kosovo that elect to return to their bases in Serbia. But any such forces that continue fighting in Kosovo, or that seek to enter the region from Serbia, will be attached on sight.

Likewise, any Serbian military aircraft that enter Kosovar airspace, or that interfere with the operation of the NATO air umbrella, would be shot down—as with the existing “no-fly zone” over southern Iraq.

To give this strategy some added teeth, NATO could infiltrate special commandos equipped with air/ground communications systems and laser target-designators. These units would avoid battle themselves, but could pinpoint the exact location of any Serbian forces still engaged in ethnic cleansing for instant attack from the air. The ultimate goal should be a regime of zero tolerance for Serbian assaults on civilians in Kosovo. This is precisely the sort of operation at which the special units involved in the recent rescue of the downed American F-117 fighter pilot are especially proficient.

At the same time, Serbia itself should be placed under a draconian trade embargo, similar to that imposed on Iraq—allowing in nothing but food and medical supplies. All roads and rail lines leading into Serbia would be closely monitored, and any attempts to circumvent the embargo would provoke a harsh response from NATO. Then we could offer the option of negotiations. The choices for Belgrade should be framed as follows: If you agree to a just settlement in Kosovo, the sanctions will be lifted and Serbia will be allowed to rejoin Europe and benefit from its prosperity; if not, you will be spared from further bombing, but you will live in perpetual isolation and poverty. Such an approach would deprive Milosevic of the political advantage he now enjoys from the NATO bombings, while increasing the attraction of a permanent peace accord.

The lesson of recent international peace negotiations—including the Oslo accords on Israel and Palestine and the settlement in Northern Ireland—is that agreement is reached most easily when all parties involved perceive a mutual advantage in reaching accommodation. Merely threatening pain is not enough: The Serbs must believe they will enjoy genuine benefits from granting independence or autonomy to the Albanian Kosovars.

A strategy of this sort, resting on the de-escalation of violence, will be much easier to sustain—and far more effective—than the present policy of escalation. It can be implemented immediately, without exposing the Albanian Kosovars to increased danger. Most of all, it would allow the United States and NATO to articulate a lasting outcome to the crisis that we can live with in good conscience.

HONORING CATHERINE O.
SPATOLA

HON. NYDIA M. VELÁZQUEZ

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1999

Ms. VELÁZQUEZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in honor of Catherine O. Spatola, the principal of P.S. 123K in Brooklyn, New York. For over 20 years Ms. Spatola has been a beacon in the community and a role model to her students, and this week her service to the community will be officially recognized as the auditorium at P.S. 123K is named in her honor.

This honor is fitting for a woman who has worked so hard and touched so many lives in so many ways. Her teaching and her leadership have been dynamic. She has sought to bring out the best in the students and the best in the community by ensuring that the educational experience at P.S. 123K has been complete, engaging and dynamic.

Using her experience as an accomplished drama and music instructor, she worked to develop special initiatives such as Glee and Dance Clubs which perform city-wide. Her program has developed outstanding performers who enrich the community while improving themselves.

She has created and implemented essay, art and storytelling competitions within the school that has helped students tap into and expand their creative powers. Because of her efforts, students are participating in state, city and district-wide writing and art contests. The program she created boasts the citywide winner of the 1992 Storytelling Contest and the first place statewide winner of the 1993 SABE Essay Contest.

Ms. Spatola challenges students' thinking by holding school-wide celebrations which honor the rich and varied cultures and traditions reflected in the community. The celebrations honor Puerto Rico Discovery Day, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and African-American History, Pan-American Day, as well as Asian, Italian, Jewish and Irish heritages. By exposing her students to these diverse traditions, she not only enhances their educational experience, but deepens the roots of the community and strengthens its fabric.

In addition to ensuring that students have the tools to succeed in the future, Ms. Spatola has worked to provide them with an inside view into the working world by creating a Career Conference Day. Through this initiative, students are able to meet with individuals from a variety of fields and a number of different occupations. This forum gives the students a chance to explore ideas and possibilities that exist for them, and find out the challenging and exciting futures that they can pursue.

All of these attributes make Ms. Spatola an important member of P.S. 123K and a valued member of our community. She stands out to all of us as a model for leadership and her contributions underscore the important role that educators play in the lives of our children and in the future of our communities. I ask my colleagues to join me in congratulating Ms. Spatola and wishing her well as she continues to touch the future.

HONORING SEVEN ACRES JEWISH SENIOR CARE SERVICES

HON. KEN BENTSEN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1999

Mr. BENTSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to honor Seven Acres Jewish Senior Care Services, which will celebrate the Sara Feldt Memorial Annual Older American's Day in recognition of Older American's Month. Many of Seven Acres' residents volunteer in schools and philanthropic organizations.

Seven Acres began in 1943, when a small, determined group of men and women of the Jewish faith purchased a frame house on

Branard Street in Houston. Their vision was to create a warm, friendly Jewish environment for 14 elderly citizens. As the concept and the need grew, there were milestone expansions. In 1954, a new facility with broader capabilities was built on Chimney Rock Road, initially serving 31 and eventually accommodating 98 residents. During the 1970's, planning began for a new and ambitious facility. By 1977, the present Seven Acres campus was dedicated to the mission of "Honor[ing] thy Father and thy Mother."

In 1998, a major renovation created today's modern campus. Throughout its history, Seven Acres has promoted a sense of satisfaction with life so that the humanity, dignity, independence, and strengths of each resident are realized to the fullest.

Mr. Speaker, at a time when America is aging and our parents are growing older, it is imperative that facilities like Seven Acres exist to care for the elderly. Our elderly are a tremendous asset and a source of great talent and inspiration. I commend them for their good works and Seven Acres for its great contributions to the community.

VETERANS APPRECIATION MONTH

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1999

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, the people of our Nation have great appreciation and admiration for the many men and women who have served this country in the armed forces to protect and preserve our freedom and safety and that of others across the globe. In addition to a debt of gratitude, our Nation has a long tradition of providing concrete assistance to veterans to readjust to civilian life, to find employment therein, and to buy a home. We owe even more to those veterans who became disabled as a result of their service to our Nation. That assistance we provide usually pays benefits back to our society manyfold as veterans utilize their hard-earned skills, discipline, and loyalty in civilian life and their communities.

To help promote the many valuable programs our Nation, States, localities, and the private sector have to assist veterans, many States, including my own State of California, have proclaimed "veterans appreciation months." May is Veterans Appreciation Month in California, so declared by Governor Gray Davis. I wish to draw the attention of the Congress to that declaration and to urge my colleagues and the Nation as a whole to do all that we can to assist our Nation's veterans, including utilizing the employment assistance programs operating by many States and in California by the Employment Development Department.

TAX FREEDOM DAY

HON. RON PACKARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1999

Mr. PACKARD. Mr. Speaker, today is Tax Freedom Day. This is the day when American

taxpayers have symbolically "paid off" their tax burden to the government and begin working for themselves.

The hard working men and women of this country are now working 131 days simply to pay their debt to the government. When Bill Clinton and AL GORE were first elected, Tax Freedom Day was April 30. Today, Tax Freedom day does not come until well into May. In fact, Americans are now working an additional eleven days before they can start bettering their own lives and the lives of their families.

To put it in basic terms, the average person who works an 8 hour day, actually works almost three hours just to pay their federal, state and local taxes! The simple fact is Americans pay more in taxes than food, clothing, shelter and transportation combined. It is time we put a stop to this and provide some much needed tax relief for American families. After all, a surplus is nothing more than an overpayment by taxpayers. We should give it back.

Mr. Speaker, we need to continue the fight for lower taxes. It is time to eliminate the estate tax, the marriage penalty tax, and provide a larger child tax credit and provide an across the board income tax cut. American families know best how to spend their money, not Washington bureaucrats.

TRIBUTE TO THREE "CALIFORNIA DISTINGUISHED SCHOOLS"

HON. STEVEN T. KUYKENDALL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 11, 1999

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize three special schools in my district: West High School (Torrance, CA), Richardson Middle School (Torrance, CA), and Palos Verdes Peninsula High School (Palos Verdes, CA). These schools are among the 158 within the State of California that have earned the prestigious title "California Distinguished Schools" by the state's Department of Education.

My three schools were awarded the designation for their outstanding examples of teaching and learning. They have also incorporated strong teamwork and professional development components within the respective curricula. "Through the efforts of skilled and committed personnel, we can work even more efficiently to improve the educational system for your children," said Superintendent Delaine Eastin when bestowing the award.

The California State Department of Education began the California Distinguished Schools Program in 1985 to honor elementary and secondary schools in alternate years. To be eligible for the distinguished School title, a school must demonstrate a commitment to improve the quality of its educational services and performances. In this manner, it is an effective way of encouraging reform and does so in a manner that encourages local participation by those who matter most: parents, teachers, administrators, students.

I am a firm believer that education is the key to improving the lives of our children who are the future of this country. I am encouraged by the State's creativity in developing the Distinguished School concept and commend these three exceptional schools in my district for making a positive difference in the lives of our children and community.