

EXHIBIT NO. 4

On page , between lines and , insert the following:

SEC. . (a) Of the amounts appropriated in this Act under the heading "OVERSEAS CONTINGENCY OPERATIONS TRANSFER FUND" for military operations in Kosovo, not more than 50 percent may be obligated until the President certifies in writing to Congress that the European Commission, the member nations of the European Union, and the European member nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have, in the aggregate—

(1) obligated or contracted for at least 33 percent of the amount of the assistance that those organizations and nations committed to provide for 1999 and 2000 for reconstruction in Kosovo;

(2) obligated or contracted for at least 75 percent of the amount of the assistance that those organizations and nations committed for 1999 and 2000 for humanitarian assistance in Kosovo;

(3) provided at least 75 percent of the amount of the assistance that those organizations and nations committed for 1999 and 2000 for the Kosovo Consolidated Budget; and

(4) deployed at least 75 percent of the number of police, including special police, that those organizations and nations pledged for the United Nations international police force for Kosovo.

(b) The President shall submit to Congress, with any certification submitted by the President under subsection (a), a report containing detailed information on—

(1) the commitments and pledges made by each organization and nation referred to in subsection (a) for reconstruction assistance in Kosovo, humanitarian assistance in Kosovo, the Kosovo Consolidated Budget, and police (including special police) for the United Nations international police force for Kosovo;

(2) the amount of assistance that has been provided in each category, and the number of police that have been deployed to Kosovo, by each such organization or nation; and

(3) the full range of commitments and responsibilities that have been undertaken for Kosovo by the United Nations, the European Union, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the progress made by those organizations in fulfilling those commitments and responsibilities, an assessment of the tasks that remain to be accomplished, and an anticipated schedule for completing those tasks.

(c) If the President does not submit to Congress a certification and report under subsections (a) and (b) on or before June 1, 2000, then, beginning on June 2, 2000, the 50 percent of the amounts appropriated in this Act under the heading "OVERSEAS CONTINGENCY OPERATIONS TRANSFER FUND" for military operations in Kosovo that remain unobligated (as required by subsection (a)) shall be available only for the purpose of conducting a safe, orderly, and phased withdrawal of United States military personnel from Kosovo, and no other amounts appropriated for the Department of Defense in this Act or any Act enacted before the date of the enactment of this Act may be obligated to continue the deployment of United States military personnel in Kosovo. In that case, the President shall submit to Congress, not later than June 30, 2000, a report on the plan for the withdrawal.

EXHIBIT NO. 5

[From the New York Times, Mar. 20, 2000]

EUROPE'S TURN TO KEEP THE PEACE

(By Robert C. Byrd)

A year ago, American and NATO warplanes began 78 days of air assaults that halted the

murderous assault of Slobodan Milosevic on the Kosovar Albanians. If the United States has learned anything in the nine months of peacekeeping that followed, it should be that once again we are proving to be a lot better at waging war than we are at managing peace. Kosovo today appears to be on the verge of unraveling.

American and NATO peacekeepers skirt danger daily. Reconstruction has been negligible. Mr. Milosevic remains firmly in control in Serbia and, by most reckoning, is stepping up his effort to foment trouble along the border between Serbia and Kosovo. In the latest eruption of violence, ethnic Albanian insurgents have begun attacking Serbs across the border in Serbia.

The administration's response to this deepening crisis? Stern words to the Albanians, urgent pleas to our allies for more troops and money, and a request to Congress for a supplemental \$2 billion to continue American peacekeeping business as usual in Kosovo.

Is that really the best we can do?

I see three options we can practically consider at this juncture.

We can stay the course, reacting to events as they occur and hoping for the best as we settle into a semi-permanent role of soldiers on patrol and cops on the beat. We can pick a date and simply pull American troops out of Kosovo. Or Congress can give the administration unequivocal direction and a reasonable period of time—say three months—to craft a framework for turning the Kosovo peacekeeping operation over to our European allies. Congress can then examine the plan, gauge the progress being made, and vote either to stay or to go.

It is my firm belief that the United States should take steps to turn the Kosovo peacekeeping operation over to our European allies. NATO undertook the Kosovo mission with an understanding that Europe, not America, would shoulder the peacekeeping and reconstruction duties. The United States, with its outstanding military forces and weaponry, effectively won the war; the European allies were to keep the peace.

But now, as the United Nations interim administration in Kosovo teeters on the brink of bankruptcy, NATO allies are squabbling over the need for military reinforcements, and the international police that were supposed to help bring law and order remain undermanned, underfinanced, and unable to cope.

If Congress agrees to the administration's request for additional financing for Kosovo, it should be with the clear understanding that the money is tied to a plan for establishing an all-European peacekeeping force. The plan should have benchmarks, like numbers of European troops to be added to the forces by particular dates, and Congress should have an opportunity to vote on whether to keep troops in Kosovo if those benchmarks are not being met.

Removal of American troops from Kosovo need not be abrupt and need not mean that the United States is turning its back on the victims of Slobodan Milosevic. We can continue to support humanitarian relief and can provide support in military logistics, communications, intelligence and effective command.

It is just possible that the Europeans will excel at peacekeeping duties in Kosovo if ever they are allowed to emerge from the overwhelming shadow cast by the United States. Unfortunately, we will never know if we do not tie further American investment in Kosovo to a rock-solid plan to turn the peacekeeping operation over to them—sooner rather than later.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

AGAINST LIFTING THE TRAVEL BAN ON LIBYA

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, on Wednesday of this week, a team of State Department officials departed for Libya as part of a review of the travel ban that has been in effect since 1981.

State Department officials will be in Libya for 26 hours in the next few days, visiting hotels and other sites. They will then prepare a recommendation for the Secretary to help her determine if there is still "Imminent danger to . . . the physical safety of United States travellers," as the law requires in order to maintain the ban.

Because of the travel ban, American citizens can only travel to Libya if they obtain a license from the Department of the Treasury. In addition, the State Department must first validate a passport for travel to Libya.

The travel ban was imposed originally for safety reasons and predates the terrorist bombing of Pan Am Flight 103. But lifting the ban now, just as the two Libyan suspects are about to go on trial in the Netherlands for their role in that atrocity, will undoubtedly be viewed as a gesture of good will to Colonel Qadhafi.

Indeed, just after the State Department announced that it would send this consular team, a Saudi-owned daily paper quoted a senior Libyan official as saying the one-day visit by the U.S. Team was a "step in the right direction."

The official said the visit was a sign that "the international community was convinced that Libya's foreign policy position was not wrong and there is a noticeable improvement in Libya's relations with the world."

I have been in contact with many of the families of the victims of Pan Am Flight 103, and they are extremely upset by the timing of this decision. The families want to know why the Secretary of State is making this friendly overture to Qadhafi now—just six weeks before the trial in the Netherlands begins. They question how much information the State Department will be able to obtain by spending only 26 hours in Libya. They wonder why the Department cannot continue to use the same sources of information it has been using for many years to make a determination about the travel ban.

These courageous Americans have waited for justice for eleven long years. They feel betrayed by this decision. They have watched with dismay as our close ally, Great Britain, has rushed to reestablish diplomatic relations with Libya, before justice is served for the British citizens killed in the terrorist bombing. The State Department denies it, but the families are concerned that the visit signals a change in U.S. policy, undermines U.S. sanctions, and calls into question the Administration's commitment to vigorously enforce the Iran Libya Sanctions Act. That Act requires the U.S. to impose sanctions on foreign companies which

invest more than \$40 million in the Libyan petroleum industry, until Libya complies with the four conditions specified by the UN Security Council.

The bombing of Pan Am Flight 103, in which 188 Americans were killed, was one of the worst terrorist atrocities in American history. The State Department should not have sent a delegation to Libya now and it should not lift the travel ban on Libya at this time. The State Department's long-standing case-by-case consideration of passport requests for visits to Libya by U.S. citizens has worked well. It can continue to do so for the foreseeable future.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. THOMPSON. If there is no further business to come before the Senate, I now ask that the Senate stand in adjournment under the previous order following the remarks of Senator BYRD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection it is so ordered.

The distinguished Senator from West Virginia.

ALASKA'S MAN OF THE CENTURY

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to acknowledge my good friend Senator TED STEVENS' special honor as Alaska's Man of the Century, which I understand will be awarded to him this Saturday in Anchorage.

Speaking as a Senator from the State of West Virginia, it is a fitting tribute, I believe, for a man whose life has been devoted to Alaska since long before Alaska became a State.

Calvin Coolidge once said:

No person was ever honored for what he received. Honor has been the reward for what he gave.

Calvin Coolidge was a man of few words.

The Bible says:

A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver.

Calvin Coolidge spoke words that were fitly stated. Senator TED STEVENS has given much to Alaska, and he has given much to the Nation. He has given much to the Senate. He served his nation in war as a pilot in the 14th Air Force in World War II. As chairman of the Defense Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, which he also leads with great distinction, and as a cofounder of the Senate Arms Control Observer Group, Senator STEVENS has continued to look after U.S. national security interests and the men and women who serve, as he did, in the uniform of her armed forces.

Senator TED STEVENS has served his nation well in war, and he has served his nation well in peace, upholding the laws of the land as an attorney, as a U.S. attorney, and as a solicitor for the Department of the Interior. He has served in the executive branch of Gov-

ernment working as an assistant to the then Secretary of the Department of the Interior, Mr. Seaton, to create and pass legislation making Alaska the Nation's 49th State.

I am proud to have voted to support the entry of both Alaska and Hawaii into the National Union. I am the only person on Capitol Hill who voted for statehood for both Alaska and Hawaii. I believe that is right. I was in the House when I voted for statehood for Alaska.

Senator STEVENS has been a leader in the legislative branch as a Senator from Alaska, looking out first, last, and always for the unique interests of his unique State, as well as for the interests of the Nation while serving as the assistant Senate Republican leader, serving as the Republican whip, and serving as chairman of the Appropriations Committee. His legislative accomplishments in behalf of Alaska are many—many—and they reflect the challenges of living, working, and traveling in a State that possesses half of the coastline of the United States, some of the most varied and spectacular terrain in the Nation, ranging from giant glaciers to volcanoes, and some of the most punishing weather, as well as some of the most delightful weather, on the planet.

The old adage says that cream rises to the top, and it is safe to say then that Senator STEVENS is the cream of the cream, the very best, for he has risen to the top of every profession, every endeavor, every challenge that he has ever tackled. His fellow Alaskans will add the cherry on top of the cream of the cream by recognizing his multitudinous accomplishments, his supreme dedication, and his deep passion for service when they bestow upon Senator STEVENS the very distinct honor of naming a very special man, Senator STEVENS, Alaska's Man of the Century.

Now the century is not over yet. I hope the people of Alaska understand that. Our own people need to understand that as well. The century is not over yet, nor is the second millennium. It is still going on. The new millennium will begin next year, not this year, and the new century will begin next year, not this year. But this is the man, the Man of the Century for Alaska.

Although he was not born in the earliest years of this century, his legacy for Alaska is more than enough to span the century and to reach into the next century as well.

Senator STEVENS is a worthy representative of his great State. He is the kind of Senator whom the framers of the Constitution had in mind when, on July 16, 1787, they reached the Great Compromise out of which came this, the greatest Senate of the world in all of the history of man.

His sometimes fiery temper matches the fiery volcanoes that rim the Aleutians, while his dogged persistence mirrors the inexorable push of the icy gla-

ciers of the frozen North. His understanding of the appropriations process is as thorough as an Alaskan snowfall, blanketing every nook, every cranny, every corner of the budget. But his warm and courteous consideration of his colleagues and his staff reflects the loyalty and the teamwork necessary to survive in the cold wastes of faraway Alaska.

I know him to be a worthy competitor. I know him to be a loyal friend, a man of his word. What more can a man say? And only the Man of the Century could be like this man. He is an honest speaker of even the hardest and difficult truths, a man of surprising compassion and unexpected mirth. I am proud to see him honored. I wish I could be in Alaska when he is honored. I would like to just have a few minutes in Alaska to speak about this man to his own people. They know him best. The Bible says:

A prophet is not without honour save in his own country, and house.

But you see how this man's own house, how his own country, how his own State, how his own constituents, how his own people who know him best, how they honor him. I am proud to see him honored. I hope he enjoys the good wishes and the attention that will be his on Saturday.

Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes once said this:

Through our great good fortune, in our youth our hearts were touched with fire. It was given us to learn at the outset that life is a profound and passionate thing. While we were permitted to scorn nothing but indifference, and do not pretend to undervalue the worldly rewards of ambition, we have seen with our own eyes, beyond and above the gold fields, the snowy heights of honor, and it is for us to bear the report to those who come after us.

TED STEVENS of Alaska surely has a heart touched early by the fire of public service. That flame has fueled his passion through a long and distinguished career which continues to burn brightly. But the report on Senator STEVENS is already in. From his fellow Alaskans. And they view him admiringly. And in their eyes he has crowned the snowy heights of honor. And in my eyes he has also.

"How far away is the temple of fame?"

Said a youth at the dawn of the day,
He toiled and strove for a deathless name;
The hours went by and the evening came,
Leaving him old and feeble and lame,
To plod on his cheerless way.

"How far away is the temple of good?"
Said another youth at the dawn of the day,
He toiled in the spirit of brotherhood,
To help and succor as best he could.
The poor and unfortunate multitude,
In its hard and cheerless way.

He was careless alike of praise or blame,
But after his work was done,
An angel of glory from heaven came
To write on high his immortal name,
And to proclaim the truth that the temple of fame

And the temple of good are one.

For this is the lesson that history
Has taught since the world began;
That those whose memories never die,