



Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 101ST CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

REGARDING ALBANIAN MINORITIES IN YUGOSLAVIA

Mr. ACKERMAN. Madam Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 385) expressing the sense of the Congress regarding human rights violations against the ethnic Albanian minority in southern Yugoslavia.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. CON. RES. 385

Expressing the sense of the Congress regarding human rights violations against the ethnic Albanian minority in southern Yugoslavia.

Whereas the human rights situation in certain areas of Yugoslavia, particularly in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, has deteriorated in the last two years;

Whereas the Department of State's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1989 and the Amnesty International Report for 1990 cite violations of internationally recognized human rights in Yugoslavia;

Whereas the human rights of all ethnic groups throughout Yugoslavia, including Kosovo, should be fully protected;

Whereas the Government of the Republic of Serbia used force in response to peaceful Albanian demonstrations resulting in the deaths and brutal treatment by police of some Albanian demonstrators, engaged in arbitrary arrests, detentions, summary trials, and imprisonment of ethnic Albanians, and has banned Albanian demonstrations and strikes;

Whereas the democratic movements in Kosovo have attracted mass Albanian support despite the severe restrictions on human rights and the democratic process and the continuing strong opposition of the Serbian governmental leadership;

Whereas in March 1989, Serbia curtailed the autonomous status of Kosovo against the wishes of the ethnic Albanians of Kosovo who comprise the overwhelming majority of the population of that province;

Whereas in July 1990, Serbia voted to dissolve the 188-member Provincial Assembly, took over the organs of the Kosovo Provincial Assembly, and shut down Albanian language news media;

Whereas the policies of the Serbian Government curtailed the possibility for the Albanian community to express opinions freely and defend its interests through a peaceful process, and thereby undermined the prospects for a peaceful democratic solution in Kosovo that would respect the rights of all citizens in the Province; and

Whereas these human rights abuses, the abridgment of the human rights of ethnic Albanians, and the many instances, over the last decade, of harassment and acts of violence by ethnic Albanians against Serbs and Montenegrins in that Province violate the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights, and the Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the Congress—

(1) condemns the use of force in Kosovo by any party;

(2) urges the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo to continue to show restraint and to continue pursuing peaceful and democratic avenues for resolution of problems in Kosovo;

(3) urges the Government of Serbia to abandon policies which exacerbate the severe ethnic crisis in southern Yugoslavia and increase tensions in that country, to refrain from violence, intimidation, and the threat or use of force, and to engage in peaceful dialogue with representatives of the Albanian Democratic Alliance Movement and other forces for peaceful dialogue;

(4) urges the Government of the Republic of Slovenia and the Government of the Republic of Croatia to meet their financial commitments to Kosovo and to remain engaged in working to resolve the grave economic conditions in Kosovo;

(5) commends the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Prime Minister Ante Markovic for past efforts to mediate between the Slavic minorities and ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, for explicit condemnation of violence on all sides, and for the pledge to investigate all human rights abuses, and urges the Federal Government and the Prime Minister to increase their efforts to reestablish a constructive dialogue as a step on the way to resolution of the current crisis; and

(6) requests the President to express, to the highest levels of the Government of Yugoslavia, the concerns of the Congress about the situation in Kosovo and the role of the Republic Governments involved.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the rule, a second is not required on this motion.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. ACKERMAN] will be recognized for 20 minutes, and the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Goss] will be recognized for 20 minutes.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. MOODY. Madam Speaker, I have a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. MOODY. Madam Speaker, could the Chair clarify the time allocation and go over that again? On the Democratic side there are those of us who are opposed to it, and do we have any time under the rule?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York [Mr. ACKERMAN] has 20 minutes, and the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Goss] has 20 minutes. Others seeking recognition will have to get time from one of those gentlemen.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. ACKERMAN].

Mr. ACKERMAN. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Madam Speaker, I rise in support of House Concurrent Resolution 385 expressing the sense of Congress regarding the human rights violations against the ethnic Albanian minority in southern Yugoslavia. This resolution was referred to two subcommittees of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and was adopted unanimously by the full committee during the past week. I would like to commend Representative BILL BROOMFIELD for his

hard work and diligence in bringing this resolution before the committee.

This resolution comes as a sensitive and pivotal time in the history of Yugoslavia, when its very existence is threatened by an outbreak of the kind of ethnic tensions and violence which have traditionally plagued that country. In supporting this resolution, which justifiably criticizes the authorities in the Republic of Serbia for their violations of the human and political rights of the ethnic Albanian population of the Kosovo Province, I would like to emphasize that in so doing, neither I nor other members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs are taking sides in the complex and sensitive ethnic disputes within Yugoslavia. We believe the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all peoples in Yugoslavia should be upheld whether it is a matter of Albanians in Serbia, Serbs in Croatia, or anywhere where the rights of ethnic minorities must be respected.

It is my view that in these times of instability and tensions we must continue to adhere to the official United States policy supporting the unity and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia today is undergoing fundamental changes. We wholeheartedly support the democratic process which is underway in the republics of Slovenia and Croatia and look forward to the multiparty elections in the other constituent republics of Yugoslavia, including Serbia, to be held before the end of the year. It is our hope that these elections—particularly in Serbia—will result in the kind of government which will put an end to human rights violations and ensure political freedoms for all ethnic groups.

I urge you to support this resolution.

Mr. GOSS. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Madam Speaker, I want to briefly explain my opposition to this concurrent resolution.

I think the entire world knows that over 60 ethnic Albanians were gunned down in the streets, and hundreds of ethnic Albanians have been injured and imprisoned. I do not believe that there is a documented record of ethnic Albanian abuse of Serbs in the province, and knowing that, I am a little bit puzzled by some of the language on page 2 which speaks about the many instances over the last decade of harrassments and acts of violence by ethnic Albanian against Serbs and Montenegrins, et cetera.

That is my principal purpose in objecting. I know there are others here who wish to address this.

Madam Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland [Mrs. BENTLEY].

Mrs. BENTLEY. Madam Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to House Concurrent Resolution 385. It is my understanding that controversial measures are not to be brought up under the rules of suspension. If that is so, then

this measure which has strong opposition—not only in this House—but from the U.S. Department of State, should not be handled in this fashion.

House Concurrent Resolution 385, which singles out a single republic, out of six, inside Yugoslavia for alleged human rights violations against an ethnic minority, completely disregards conditions in the country as a whole—including free multiparty elections scheduled for November in three republics and in December in the supposedly offending province, which is Serbia.

That human rights violations are going on in Kosovo—the target of this amendment—no one could or should try to deny—but to present the Albanians as persecuted minority when, in truth, they are in the majority enjoying freedom of religion—they are Moslems—and schools up through the university level where Albanian is the language. Serbs have been displaced from their homes there.

Albanians from Kosovo have served at cabinet levels in the Yugoslav Government and one has even been President of the entire nation of Yugoslavia.

To cast this militant, nationalistic group as a persecuted minority stretches the credibility of any one familiar with what is transpiring on the scene in that beleaguered country right now. The persecuted minority in Kosovo right now are the Serbs—who rightly or wrongly—are fighting to maintain Serbia as a part of the Yugoslav nation. But, the point I desire to make on this floor—to call your attention to—is that human rights violations going on in Yugoslavia at this time—are too complex and too widespread for this body to be weighing in for one republic against another without adding to the turmoil already tearing at the fabric of that fragile confederation.

Free, multiparty elections are being held in the various republics this fall. Croatia, and Slovenia have completed theirs. The remainder—Montenegro, Bosnia, Macedonia, and Serbia—are to be held in November and December. By prior arrangement, these must be completed before a national election can be held later.

Now is not the time for the American Government to take sides on what is going on in one of these republics. Would we dare to pressure Mr. Gorbachev on his current handling of what is going on in any one of the Soviet republics as they struggle to handle the new freedom sweeping that nation?

I believe that is why the State Department has been against House Congressional Resolution 385. The Department, on the scene with their people, are aware of what a traumatic transition period this is for the nation of Yugoslavia.

Like the rest of the Balkan States and central Europe, WWII left a terrible legacy not only of death and destruction, but of divided political and

religious strife. The conditions in modern Serbia with regard to the Albanian population were created by Tito when he encouraged Albanian migration into Kosovo to dilute the Serbian power base—a major source of the insurgency against him. Serbs were blacked out of Kosovo by the Tito government and Serbs who had left were not allowed to return. It was the old idea of divide and conquer.

And over 50 years later, I see the great body of the U.S. Congress being wheeled around to play a part in this old tragedy, a part, which might fuel the destruction of this modern nation trying so hard to deal with the old wrongs, the old injustices.

We should not be interfering in the affairs of Yugoslavian republics any more than we should be interfering with Russian republics. And, more especially, during this election time we should be wishing them only good luck and good fortune, not division and destruction. They should not be treated with threats as they try to work their way through this time of transition toward democracy.

□ 1850

Mr. ACKERMAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BONIOR].

Mr. BONIOR. Madam Speaker, I thank my colleague for yielding me this time.

Madam Speaker, I rise in strong support of House Concurrent Resolution 385.

I would like to thank the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the gentleman from New York [Mr. ACKERMAN], the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL], for reporting this resolution for us to consider on the House floor today. I would also like to commend my colleague, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD], who has played such an important role in bringing to the attention of the American public and to this body what is, indeed, happening in Kosovo.

While freedom has swept through Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union, the people of Kosovo are still struggling for democracy. Kosovo, whose population is 90 percent ethnic Albanian, has had its constitutional autonomy greatly restricted over the past year. Peaceful demonstrations for free elections and the release of political prisoners have been answered with bullets, with clubs, with tear gas, scores, scores, ladies and gentlemen, of ethnic Albanians have been killed since the crackdown on Kosovo which began in March 1989.

This July the Kosovo local government and Albanian language media were suspended effectively ending autonomy for Kosovo.

Recently 10,000 ethnic Albanians gathered to greet a Senate delegation investigating some of these human rights abuses. They were chanting "Freedom, freedom, freedom." They

were greeted, ladies and gentlemen, they were greeted in response by the police with billy clubs, with tear gas and other acts of brutality.

Ladies and gentlemen, this resolution calls for a peaceful dialog to end the crisis and the greater involvement of the Yugoslavian Federal government to protect the rights of these people.

We get up on this floor constantly and talk about the rights of the people all over the world, whether its was in Poland or East Germany, Romania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, China. These people have the same rights. They want dignity. They want self-determination. They want to be treated like their fellow citizens in Europe and around the world.

This is a balanced and a fair resolution to address a grave injustice, and I urge my colleagues to support this resolution and send a very strong signal that Congress is concerned about the human rights of these very brave people.

Mr. GOSS. Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from Nevada [Mrs. VUCANOVICH].

Mrs. VUCANOVICH. Madam Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to House Continuing Resolution 385.

Madam Speaker, when Yugoslavia was a one-party dictatorship the United States Congress did not concern itself with the human rights violations of all the peoples of Yugoslavia—the Serbs, Croats, Slovans, Montenegrins, Albanians, Macedonians. In fact, this House approved numerous aid bills to the country with no strings attached and quite probably in this way helped the dictator Tito stay in power for many years.

Now when the country and its republics are making the delicate transition to a multiparty democratic system, resolutions and amendments are being introduced which, if we are not careful, will slow down the road to full democracy.

Right now there are ongoing elections in several Republics in Yugoslavia. These elections must be held before the nation as a whole can vote for the leadership of the whole country.

Croatia and Slovenia have held their elections. The rest are scheduled to take place between November 11 in Macedonia, to continue on through the month in Bosnia and Montenegro finishing in Serbia on December 9.

These elections, the first since WWII, are a great challenge for the nation of Yugoslavia and are critical for its survival in this delicate period of transition from dictatorship to a democracy.

The State Department letter to Chairman ROBERT C. BYRD states that any action is more likely to have a negative rather than a positive impact both on human rights situations in Kosovo and the prospect for freedom and prosperity throughout Yugoslavia.

It must be remembered that Yugoslavia, in particular the Serbs, were

allies of the United States during two world wars and paid a high price for their loyalty to our country.

Therefore, we should vote no on this resolution which does not paint a true picture and which would exacerbate the situation. In gratefulness for the Serbs support to our allies in two world wars we should give them help when they need it—and that would require very little on our part at this time. We must give the emerging democracy of Yugoslavia and all its republics our confidence and full moral support on this critical junction in their history. We must show them our friendship and our best wishes for successful democratic elections.

Madam Speaker, I oppose this resolution.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. MOODY].

[Mr. MOODY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.]

Mr. MOODY. Madam Speaker, I am not of Serbian origin nor of any origin of any Yugoslav grouping, but I have spent considerable time in the country. I spent 2 years in Yugoslavia as a representative of the CARE organization and traveled every province, every republic, and virtually every town in that country, learned the language, and have friends in all of the six republics.

I believe this resolution should be rejected and rejected soundly, because it singles out a single republic for effectively condemnation, certainly for harsh commentary in what is at best a highly complex situation where there are many ethnic groups with grievances against one another. We have the Albanians, the Albanian minority, in Kosovo and other parts of Serbia; we have the Serbia minority, and, in fact, it is a minority in Kosovo itself, under a great pressure and difficulty. We have the Serbian minority in Croatia under great difficulty.

Of all of these, and I could go on and on, of the four or five other ethnic conflicts, of all of them, the only one that is addressed in this particular resolution by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD] is the situation in Kosovo. That is the only resolution at issue which is really brought to light with this particular resolution.

Therefore, it is highly one-sided. It is highly controversial. It is highly contentious, because it does so single out one particular area.

□ 1900

It is also highly explosive in a sensitive situation. Kosovo to the Serbs is as Jerusalem is to the Jews, the cradle of their civilization. They now find themselves an embattled minority pushed deeper and deeper into a corner in that area of the country. Obviously, they have reacted. To be insensitive to that and ignore that would be very unfair for this body to do. Can Members imagine how we would react

if we, say, the British Parliament passed a resolution condemning the North Dakota Legislature for its treatment of the Indians? We would say that is not their competence to do that, but it is much more emotionally explosive over there than that example would be over here.

It is also extremely bad timing of this resolution. A number of republics are about to enter upon free elections. Serbia has one scheduled for December 3. We should hold our fire until that takes place to see what the outcomes are. This is an example of micromanagement of foreign policy for domestic political reasons at its worst, and we should not do that. This may be a good time for domestic politics back home, but it would have a very bad effect. I want to share with my colleagues, in Yugoslavia, No. 1, it will diminish our ability to a nation to play the important role of honest broker in that country. It will undermine our own Embassy's ability to play a very important neutral role in that country as they try to assist the various ethnic groups from pressing on one another. It will take away our own State Department's ability to play a very important role.

In fact, our State Department strongly objects to the timing of this resolution coming up now. We should not override those sensitivities and those concerns. By appearing to take sides one way or the other, we inject Congress into a highly complex and sensitive situation.

As the gentlewoman from Nevada [Mrs. VUCANOVICH] mentioned a moment ago, the Serbs are traditional friends of the United States. They fought and bled for the United States as they were occupied by the Nazis in World War II. Many, many American flyers were saved through the heroism of the Serbs, those who were knocked down over Serbia, battling the Germans. For the United States to take this gratuitous step to insult and injure our steps without a thorough understanding of what is really going on here would do a great disservice to this body and to Yugoslavia. I urge a no vote on this resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore [Mrs. UNSOLD] The gentleman from Florida [Mr. GOSS] has 11½ minutes remaining, and the gentleman from New York [Mr. ACKERMAN] has 11 minutes remaining.

Mr. GOSS. Madam Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished ranking member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD].

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Madam Speaker, first of all, I want to thank the gentleman from Florida [Chairman FASCELL] and the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] for expediting the consideration of this legislation concerning human rights violations in Yugoslavia. They should be commended for their personal commitment for

ending the human tragedy in the province of Kosovo.

Madam Speaker, this condemns the use of force in Kosovo by any party, and urges the Government of Serbia to abandon its policies which worsen the ethnic crisis in southern Yugoslavia. It does commend ethnic Albanians in the Province of Kosovo for showing restraint. It calls upon President Bush to express America's concerns at the highest levels of the Government of Yugoslavia.

We are witnessing historic changes in Eastern Europe. Many countries are setting sail on the rising tide of democracy. There is growing respect for human rights around the world. I have to say, unfortunately, I do not believe in Yugoslavia.

Until last year, the ethnic Albanians who make up 90 percent of the population of the Province of Kosovo, enjoyed autonomy.

The Serbian Government has taken that autonomy away. Over 90 ethnic Albanian lives were lost in protesting that decision. In July, Belgrade took direct control of Kosovo's entire administration. All of this happened as millions of people in Eastern Europe were calling for democracy, freedom, and respect for individual liberties.

In an effort to gather facts about Kosovo, Senator DOLE recently led a delegation to that province. Serbian and federal police officers broke up the welcoming crowd of tens of thousands of ethnic Albanians. Many were hurt including a 19-year-old American citizen, who was badly beaten and jailed by police when they saw his American passport.

Equally disturbing was the recent expulsion from Kosovo of an official delegation from the Helsinki Federation for Human Rights. The investigation team was looking into human rights conditions in response to Yugoslavia's request for membership in the European Community.

Now I want to say that I appreciate the complexity, as pointed out by the gentlewoman from Maryland (Mrs. BENTLEY), regarding the complexity of Yugoslavia's problems, and the roots of this conflict.

Congress, however, cannot be silent about a pattern of serious human rights violations in Kosovo. We should tell Yugoslav authorities that in this age of great hope there is no excuse for gunning down peaceful protesters and resorting to terrorist activities. The solution to the problems of that country will not come through the barrel of a gun, but through a negotiating process. It is time for peace in that troubled land.

Madam Speaker, I hope the Members when we vote on this tomorrow will vote favorably.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Madam Speaker, may I inquire of the gentleman from Florida (Mr. GOSS) whether, if I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), he would be will-

ing to yield 1 additional minute to the gentleman from New York?

Mr. GOSS. Madam Speaker, I would be honored to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

Mr. ACKERMAN. Madam Speaker, in that case, we yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

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

Mr. GILMAN. Madam Speaker, in March 1989, ethnic Albanians in the autonomous province of Kosovo in the Serbian province of Yugoslavia took to the streets to protest amendments to Serbia's Constitution which they felt would destroy Kosovo's autonomy from Serbia. Kosovo, which is surrounded on all sides by Serbia, is home to 70 percent of the country's Albanians. Throughout the early part of this year, violence between the Albanian majority and the Serbian minority has led to deaths and injuries too numerous to mention.

I have been informed that during 1989, at least 4,500 people were detained for political reasons in Yugoslavia. The vast majority of those people were Albanians. Of those, some 1,700 were political prisoners of whom about 1,000 were imprisoned for up to 90 days for taking part in nonviolent protest strikes in the Kosovo province in February. At least 17 people were killed in March, November, and December during ethnic Albanian political demonstrations in March, November, and December. Their only crime was their protest against constitutional changes which would impugn their rights.

Those ethnic Albanians who were arrested and detained for political reasons were often denied a fair trial. In addition, allegations have surfaced that these prisoners have been beaten and ill-treated in other ways during their pretrial detention. At least one individual is known to have died during that period. Despite the non-violent nature of their offenses, sentencing was exceedingly harsh. One prisoner is known to have been executed, and another is already sentenced to death for the crime of murder.

In February, the political and economic crisis in the Kosovo province worsened. Protests by ethnic Albanians took the form of strikes. But let us consider why the Albanians did strike. They took this action because they wanted to protest constitutional changes which would limit the province's autonomy, thereby giving greater power to the Republic of Serbia, which includes Kosovo.

On February 27, 1990, the Federal authorities took emergency measures in the Kosovo province. Shortly after that, 50 more ethnic Albanians were arrested in connection with leading the strikes, and an additional 1,000 striking workers were sentenced to up to 60 days in prison. In March, the

proposed constitutional changes were adopted and in the demonstration that followed, over 100 people are believed to have died.

Madam Speaker, we have witnessed remarkable change in Eastern Europe during the last year. The political sea-change in Eastern Europe, which has been inspired by the Soviet Union's glasnost have resulted in improved human rights in other nations of Eastern Europe. Yet Yugoslavia has not experienced this. The State Department's Human Rights Report for 1989, as well as Amnesty International's report for 1990 cite a significant number of human rights practices in Yugoslavia that clearly violate internationally accepted human rights standards, and indicate that these violations are targeted against certain ethnic groups and regions, particularly, the ethnic Albanians of the Kosovo Province.

It is time for these violations to end. In short there has been indiscriminate killing of Albanian demonstrators; mass arbitrary arrest and detention of the ethnic Albanian population; summary trial and imprisonment of Albanian peasants and workers, as well as the prohibition of strikes by the ethnic Albanian population. These human rights abuses represent an abridgment of the human rights of ethnic Albanians and they are a violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the political obligations of Yugoslavia as a signatory to the Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Madam Speaker, on October 19, our State Department issued a policy statement on Yugoslavia, setting forth our government's concern about increasing political and ethnic tensions in Yugoslavia, stating "we would strongly oppose any use of force that would block democratic change in Yugoslavia." I would like to commend the distinguished ranking Republican member of our Foreign Affairs Committee, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BROOMFIELD), for his work on this issue, as well as the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for his outstanding leadership on this issue. All of us owe a great deal of gratitude to our former colleague, Mr. DiGuardi, and the Albanian-American Civic League for their diligence in keeping us apprised of current developments in that troubled region of the world.

□ 1910

Mr. GOSS. Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from Maryland (Mrs. BENTLEY).

Mrs. BENTLEY. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this additional time.

Madam Speaker, the one thing that has not been mentioned here on this floor is that along with the pressures that are going on in Yugoslavia today,

there is a very strong concern that there is a move toward separatism, that the Albanians in Kosovo want to annex Kosovo to Albania. In fact, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, leader of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, already has stated this publicly.

Now, let me just point out that in 1974 Tito gave full autonomy to Kosovo. In 1981, when that autonomy existed the Albanians rioted. That riot in essence was a real revolution, and that revolution was to push toward secession.

The federal army was sent in to maintain law and order. Then the federal government took control of Kosovo to contain peace there.

Actually what was happening with this revolt was that the Republic of Serbia was being denied a very important portion of its territory. Kosovo is as much a part of Serbia as Cook County is a part of Illinois.

What would happen if the citizens of Cook County would rebel and declare their independence of Illinois?

It is remindful of the efforts of the French-Canadians trying to pull Quebec out of the nation of Canada.

In 1987, Slobodan Milosovic, who has been criticized up and down, some persons being right and some wrong, opened up the issues again after he became President of Serbia. He wanted to show that Serbia really had been deprived of its Province, of its territory.

And in 1989, another effort was made to prove that Serbia had been denied its rightful state.

And more recently this summer, Madam Speaker, the incident which precipitated termination of certain freedoms was the vote by the Albanian Kosovo Parliament for a declaration of independence.

I want to emphasize, Madam Speaker, that when the free elections are held in December, the Kosovo Albanians will be able to vote in the same fashion as all of their fellow Serbian citizens, even though they have never recognized the sovereignty of their own state of Serbia.

There is article after article, Madam Speaker, about separatism and about annexation. Going beyond Kosovo and Serbia, in a February 23, 1990, report on Eastern Europe, the Radio Free Europe states:

On February 1 some 500 ethnic Albanians in the town of Tetovo in western Macedonia attempted to block the town center, but were quickly dispersed by local police. An account by Radio Belgrade described the police action as, "So swift that the demonstrators did not even know what had hit them." Reports indicate that the demonstrators were demanding that western Macedonia, which is heavily populated by ethnic Albanians, be granted independence. They chanted, "We want a greater Albania," and voiced solidarity with Kosovo's Albanians.

That is what is behind this.

Notions of separatism must not be encouraged from any outside interests, whether by nations or extraterritorial ethnic pressure groups. It is interest-

ing to me that in a Wall Street Journal article of October 11 there is a tragic report of conditions in Albania featuring on human rights violations against ethnic Greeks and the lack of religious freedom for all residents of Albania.

Considering such horror stories of a nation still locked in the old Stalinist hard line, I begin to wonder at the reports that the ethnic Albanians, with their freedom of religion and opportunity inside Yugoslavia, really want to annex Kosovo to Albania, under the conditions reported in the Journal. It has been documented that over 400 Albanians have escaped to Yugoslavia this year.

It is hard for me to understand why so many Albanians flee from Albania just to arrive in Yugoslavia where—supposedly—Albanians have no rights. Exactly the opposite. As I stated previously, Albanians living in Yugoslavia have much more freedom than Albanians living in Albania. It would seem only fair that, considering the struggle going on in Yugoslavia to hold elections—to give all the ethnic minorities an opportunity to be heard, that true human rights concerns should be turned toward Albania and the plight of the persecuted Greek minority and the native Albanians where no elections are planned, no lessening of tyranny even considered.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FEIGHAN].

Mr. FEIGHAN. Madam Speaker, I rise in opposition to House Concurrent Resolution 352. It cannot be denied that the Serbian authorities have acted irresponsibly in the conflict between the Serbs and the Albanians in the region of Kosovo. But this conflict is but one of several ethnic feuds that threaten to tear the country apart.

Yugoslavia is on the brink of civil war. In addition to the conflict addressed in this resolution, there are numerous other flashpoints in that country. Recently, the Serbian minority in Croatia took up arms against what they feel is a repressive Croat Government. In Bosnia and Hercegovina, violence between the Muslims, Croats, and Serbs, is on the rise. The Slovenians have already formed their own army.

In such a crisis it would be highly irresponsible if the House of Representatives were to neglect its duty of objectivity by passing judgement on one of the ethnic disputes to the favor of one of the ethnic groups.

Further, the resolution neglects recent history in which today's aggressors were yesterday's victims. Such conflicts will never end if the ethnic groups engage in an endless game of placing blame, especially if great powers like the United States are drawn into the game.

Let us not forget that the First World War had its immediate origins in the ethnic conflicts in what is now Yugoslavia. Those conflicts were al-

lowed to become the powder keg of world war precisely because the great powers took sides.

Madam Speaker, the passage of House Concurrent Resolution 352 by the House of Representatives would demonstrate an inability to learn the lessons of world history. Congress would be seen as favoring one side over another in a conflict in which no side can claim moral superiority. The passage of this resolution would be a symbolic abdication of America's duty as a protector of peace and guardian of human rights in Europe.

I strongly urge my colleagues to oppose this resolution.

Mr. GOSS. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD].

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Madam Speaker, the State Department on the 19th of this month issued a United States policy toward Yugoslavia that I think is significant. It states:

The U.S. Government is concerned about increasing political and ethnic tensions in Yugoslavia and their potential impact on the transition to democracy and free markets which we have encouraged throughout Central and Eastern Europe.

The U.S. firmly supports unity, democratic change, respect for human rights, and market reform in Yugoslavia.

We believe that democracy is the enduring basis for a united, prosperous, and voluntary Yugoslav union.

Free and fair elections, both at the republic and federal level, are essential to establishing democracy throughout Yugoslavia.

As in other elections in Central and Eastern Europe this year, the upcoming elections in all Yugoslav republics should be open to international observers.

We would strongly oppose any use of force that would block democratic change in Yugoslavia.

I just want to say one thing in conclusion. I am happy to see that the Department of State is being sensitive to the human rights crisis in Yugoslavia.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. KLECZKA].

Mr. KLECZKA. Madam Speaker, I thank my friend, the gentleman from New York, for yielding me this time.

Madam Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to House Concurrent Resolution 385.

Yugoslavia is undergoing great turmoil as it experiments with democracy and free-market economics. Greater freedom and increased disparity in incomes have allowed ethnic grievances to emerge among Yugoslavia's many diverse peoples.

This explosive situation could easily lead to civil war and a break-up of Yugoslavia.

At such a volatile moment, Congress must be very careful in what it says and does.

Unfortunately, based on its findings and the actions it urges, House Concurrent Resolution 385 will be viewed by Yugoslavs as siding with the Alba-

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nians against the Serbs in the conflict occurring in the Kosovo province.

Knowing how this resolution will be interpreted by those in Yugoslavia, what is the point of this legislation?

Rather than lowering tensions, it is likely to fan the flames of ethnic hatred. Instead of subtly taking sides as this measure does, we should be urging restraint on all parties.

The conflict in Kosovo, the birthplace and homeland of the Serbian people which now has a majority Albanian population, is complex and controversial. Congress should be wary of choosing sides in this centuries-old struggle.

Over the next 2 months, democratic elections will be held in Serbia and several other Yugoslav republics. Tensions are bound to be high as Yugoslavs adjust to democratic practices after more than a half century of dictatorship and war.

This is not a good time for the U.S. Congress to be approving legislation praising some groups while criticizing other groups.

I urge my colleagues to vote against this resolution.

□ 1920

Mr. GOSS. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. MOODY).

Mr. MOODY. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Madam Speaker, I will not necessarily take the full minute. I only want to summarize some key points that have been made.

No. 1, the timing is terrible. We are on the verge of a series of elections in Yugoslavia, at which point we should make certain we are absolutely neutral and not trying to tilt the situation one way or the other.

No. 2, the content is not balanced in this resolution. It can only be read as a criticism of one of the numerous ethnic groupings in Yugoslavia, namely the Serbs, even though I appreciate the fact that the resolution has been altered in its wording from the original resolution.

No. 3, Congress is not particularly good at writing history on the floor of the House of Representatives regarding who is at fault, who is not at fault, in this complex region of the world.

We in general should avoid, whenever we can, appearing to adopt one interpretation or another in any situation.

So I would urge that my colleagues do vote "no" on this resolution.

Mr. PORTER. Madam Speaker, I rise in support of human rights in Yugoslavia. I would like to take this time to share with my colleagues some thoughts on the abominable situation that currently exists in the Kosovo region of Yugoslavia.

While we celebrate the fact that the yoke of communism has been lifted throughout central and Eastern Europe, we cannot forget that there are still places where repression has not been lifted and where people live without respect for human rights. Coincidentally, it is in

these same places where ethnic tension has resulted tragically in violence and bloodshed. The Bulgarians oppress the ethnic Turks, the Romanians persecute the ethnic Hungarians, and the Serbs and ethnic Albanians are currently at a tense standoff in the Kosovo region.

Today respect for human rights is nonexistent in Kosovo. The ethnic Albanian population, which comprises almost 90 percent of the population in the province, has been almost completely suppressed by Serbian authorities in response to calls for human rights and political autonomy. Amnesty International reports that 1,700 ethnic Albanians were detained last February for taking part in nonviolent protest strikes in Kosovo. Some were reportedly beaten while in custody and the police have been accused of using excessive force against other demonstrators. Dozens were reportedly killed during this violence.

The heavyhanded response of the authorities to the situation in Kosovo, which has led to many human rights violations and not to solutions, threatens to tear the province apart. Further unrest in Kosovo can only be averted if all parties involved agree to peaceful dialogue. The continued democratization of Yugoslavia and the unity of this multiethnic federation depends upon a resolution to this crisis.

The potential exists for the Serbs and ethnic Albanians to live in harmony, but they must be aware that to make progress there must be an end to the atrocities and respect each other's rights. Hatred and bloodshed will engender only more violence. Cooperation and understanding will lead to peace and hope for the future in the Kosovo region.

The first step toward this understanding is a free and fair election in December in Serbia, in which competing parties have equal access to mass media and in which all the people of Serbia are allowed to vote, free of fear.

Mr. GOSS. Madam Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Madam Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. UNSOEL). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. ACKERMAN) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 385).

The question was taken.

Mrs. BENTLEY. Madam Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the provisions of clause 5, rule I, and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed until tomorrow.

October 23, 1990

H 11381

MEMBERS URGED TO VOTE NO ON HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 385 ON YUGOSLAVIA

(Mrs. BENTLEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, on this floor last night an effort was made to pass under suspension House Concurrent Resolution 385—formerly numbered 352—a controversial resolution condemning some human rights violations in one of the Republics of Yugoslavia, ignoring the rest of the human rights violations in that and other Republics and in neighboring Balkan countries. A rollcall vote will be taken later today.

This is discriminatory, inappropriate, and extremely ill-timed. In December a free, multiparty election will be held in the Republic of Serbia—object of this condemnation. This statement, coming from the Congress of the United States at this time, will be seen as taking sides.

The State Department does not support this kind of involvement referring to "centrifugal pressures within Yugoslavia that could precipitate a violent disintegration of the Yugoslavian Federation."

Separatism is in the air not only in Slovenia and Croatia, but the Albanians in the province of Kosovo, heart of the Republic of Serbia, have threatened to separate and even try to have Albania annex the province. An Albanian minority in Montenegro has been calling for annexation there.

If House Concurrent Resolution 385 were to pass—targeting support for the Albanians—at this critical time—much irreparable mischief could be done in a section of the world which already has triggered two world wars. This is a critical vote. Please vote "no" on 385.

October 23, 1990

D 1396

Albanian Human Rights: House failed to suspend the rules (two-thirds not having voted in favor) and agree to H. Con. Res. 385, expressing the sense of the Congress regarding human rights violations against the ethnic Albanian minority in southern Yugoslavia (failed by a yea-and-nay vote of 55 yeas to 362 nays, Roll No. 509).

The Boomfield Resolution was DEFEATED

H. Con. Res. 385

Expressing the sense of the Congress regarding human rights violations against the ethnic Albanian minority in southern Yugoslavia.

Whereas the human rights situation in certain areas of Yugoslavia, particularly in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, has deteriorated in the last two years.

Whereas the Department of State's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1989 and the Amnesty International Report for 1990 cite violations of internationally recognized human rights in Yugoslavia;

Whereas the human rights of all ethnic groups throughout Yugoslavia, including Kosovo, should be fully protected;

Whereas the Government of the Republic of Serbia used force in response to peaceful Albanian demonstrations resulting in the deaths and brutal treatment by police of some Albanian demonstrators, engaged in arbitrary arrests, detentions, summary trials, and imprisonment of ethnic Albanians, and has banned Albanian demonstrations and strikes;

Whereas the democratic movements in Kosovo have attracted mass Albanian support despite the severe restrictions on human rights and the democratic process and the continuing strong opposition of the Serbian governmental leadership;

Whereas in March 1989, Serbia curtailed the autonomous status of Kosovo against the wishes of the ethnic Albanians of Kosovo who comprise the overwhelming majority of the population of that province;

Whereas in July 1990, Serbia voted to dissolve the 188-member Provincial Assembly, took over the organs of the Kosovo Provincial Assembly, and shut down Albanian language news media;

Whereas the policies of the Serbian Government curtailed the possibility for the Albanian community to express opinions freely and defend its interests through a peaceful process, and thereby undermined the prospects for a peaceful democratic solution in Kosovo that would respect the rights of all citizens in the Province; and

Whereas these human rights abuses, the abridgment of the human rights of ethnic Albanians, and the many instances, over the last decade, of harassment and acts of violence by ethnic Albanians against Serbs and Montenegrins in that Province violate the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights, and the Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the Congress—

- (1) condemns the use of force in Kosovo by any party;
- (2) urges the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo to continue to show restraint and to continue pursuing peaceful and democratic avenues for resolution of problems in Kosovo;
- (3) urges the Government of Serbia to abandon policies which exacerbate the severe ethnic crisis in southern Yugoslavia and increase tensions in that country, to refrain from violence, intimidation, and the threat or use of force, and to engage in peaceful dialogue with representatives of the Albanian Democratic Alliance Movement and other forces for peaceful dialogue;
- (4) urges the Government of the Republic of Slovenia and the Government of the Republic of Croatia to meet their financial commitments to Kosovo and to remain engaged in working to resolve the grave economic conditions in Kosovo;
- (5) commends the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Prime Minister Ante Markovic for past efforts to mediate between the Slavic minorities and ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, for explicit condemnation of violence on all sides, and for the pledge to investigate all human rights abuses, and urges the Federal Government and the Prime Minister to increase their efforts to reestablish a constructive dialogue as a step on the way to resolution of the current crisis; and
- (6) requests the President to express, to the highest levels of the Government of Yugoslavia, the concerns of the Congress about the situation in Kosovo and the role of the Republic Governments involved.

Vote:
362-55

REGARDING ALBANIAN MINORITIES IN YUGOSLAVIA

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. The unfinished business, is the question of suspending the rules and agreeing to the concurrent resolution, House concurrent Resolution 385.

The Clerk read the title of the concurrent resolution.

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. ACKERMAN) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 385, on which the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 53, nays 362, not voting 16, as follows:

(Roll No. 906)

YEAS—53

- | | | |
|------------|-------------|------------|
| Ackerman | Boughton | Nelson |
| Berman | Eoyer | Owens (UT) |
| Bonior | Eyre | Purcell |
| Brockfield | Johnston | Rohrbacher |
| Brown (OO) | Kennedy | Seki |
| Carlin | Kildee | Schumer |
| Donnelly | Lantos | Serrano |
| Durkin | Lehman (FL) | Snowe |
| Early | Levine (CA) | Solars |
| Engel | Lewis (CA) | Syracuse |
| Fascell | Lightfoot | Tank |
| Frank | Markey | Upton |
| Gilman | McCarthy | Waxman |
| Goss | McFalls | Wells |
| Green | Miller (OH) | Wolpe |
| Hall (OH) | Miller (WA) | Yahn |
| Hastert | Moakley | |
| Henry | Molinari | |
| Hoyer | Neal (MA) | |

Those voting Nay voted for Serbia and against the Albanians

NAYS—362

NOT VOTING—1

- | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|------------|---------------|----------|--------------------|---------------|
| Alexander | Cooper | Grant | Lowry (NY) | Pertini | Smith, Robert (OH) | Brennan |
| Anderson | Costello | Gray | Lukas, Thomas | Petri | Smith, Robert (OR) | Carr |
| Andrews | Coughlin | Quarles | Machtley | Pickett | Stokes (OR) | Crockett |
| Annunzio | Courtes | Quarles | Madigan | Pickle | Solomon | Dickinson |
| Anthony | Coyne | Hall (TX) | Manton | Poehnd | Spocis | Dingell |
| Applegate | Craig | MacDonnell | Martinez | Price | Spratt | Casper |
| Archer | Cranst | Keenan | Martin (NY) | Quillen | Starr | Laska, Donald |
| Arvey | Danaher | Kennedy | Matsui | Rahall | Starnes | Martin (IL) |
| Aspin | Darwin | Kildee | Mavroules | Rangel | Stallins | Martinez |
| Atkins | Davis | Markey | Mastoli | Ravens | Stangland | McCullum |
| AuCoin | de la Garza | McCaulley | McCaulley | Ray | Stark | Morrison (CT) |
| Baker | DePasco | McCarthy | McCarthy | Rogus | Stearns | Murtha |
| Balderas | DeLay | McDade | McDermott | Rhodes | Steinbock | Rowland (CT) |
| Baron | DeLuca | McDermott | McEwen | Ridge | Stokes | Schwecke |
| Baron | Derrick | McEwen | McGrath | Rhodes | Stokes | Smith (VT) |
| Barrett | DeWine | McGrath | McHugh | Ritter | Stump | Terrill |
| Barton | Dicks | McHugh | McIntyre | Roberts | Sundquist | |
| Bateman | Dixon | McIntyre | McIntyre | Robinson | Swift | |
| Bates | Dorgan (ND) | McIntyre | McIntyre | Roe | Talton | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Tanner | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Tauzin | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Taylor | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Thomas (CA) | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Thomas (GA) | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Thomas (WY) | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Torres | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Town | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Trahan | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Traxler | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Udall | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Unsworth | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Valentine | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Vander Jagt | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Vento | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Vickroy | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Volz | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Vujanovich | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Walgren | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Walker | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Walsh | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Washington | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Waters | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Weber | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Weldon | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Wheat | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Whittaker | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Wicks | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Williams | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Wilson | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Wise | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Wolf | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Wyden | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Wylie | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Yatron | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Young (AK) | |
| Beahm | Dorgan (CA) | McIntyre | Meyer | Rosen | Young (FL) | |

HCR352SUB

HLC

[SUBSTITUTE TEXT FOR H. CON. RES. 352]
October 18, 1990

101ST CONGRESS
2^D SESSION

H. CON. RES. 385

Defeated by vote 362 to 55

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. _____ submitted the following concurrent resolution,
which was referred to the Committee on _____

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of the Congress regarding human rights
violations against the ethnic Albanian minority in southern
Yugoslavia.

2

Whereas the human rights situation in certain areas of Yugoslavia, particularly in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, has deteriorated in the last two years;

Whereas the Department of State's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1989 and the Amnesty International Report for 1990 cite violations of internationally recognized human rights in Yugoslavia;

Whereas the human rights of all ethnic groups throughout Yugoslavia, including Kosovo, should be fully protected;

Whereas the Government of the Republic of Serbia used force in response to peaceful Albanian demonstrations resulting in the deaths and brutal treatment by police of some Albanian demonstrators, engaged in arbitrary arrests, detentions, summary trials, and imprisonment of ethnic Albanians, and has banned Albanian demonstrations and strikes;

Whereas the democratic movements in Kosovo have attracted mass Albanian support despite the severe restrictions on human rights and the democratic process and the continuing strong opposition of the Serbian governmental leadership;

Whereas in March 1989, Serbia curtailed the autonomous status of Kosovo against the wishes of the ethnic Albanians of Kosovo who comprise the overwhelming majority of the population of that province;

Whereas in July 1990, Serbia voted to dissolve the 188-member Provincial Assembly, took over the organs of the Kosovo

HCR352SUB

3

Provincial Assembly, and shut down Albanian language news media;

Whereas the policies of the Serbian Government curtailed the possibility for the Albanian community to express opinions freely and defend its interests through a peaceful process, and thereby undermined the prospects for a peaceful democratic solution in Kosovo that would respect the rights of all citizens in the Province; and

Whereas these human rights abuses, the abridgment of the human rights of ethnic Albanians, and the many instances, over the last decade, of harassment and acts of violence by ethnic Albanians against Serbs and Montenegrins in that Province violate the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights, and the Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
7 *concurring), that the Congress:*

1 (1) condemns the use of force in Kosovo by any party;

4 (2) urges the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo to continue
5 to show restraint and to continue pursuing peaceful and
6 democratic avenues for resolution of problems in Kosovo;

7 (3) urges the Government of Serbia to abandon
8 policies which exacerbate the severe ethnic crisis in
9 southern Yugoslavia and increase tensions in that

HCR352SUB

4

1 country, to refrain from violence, intimidation, and the
2 threat or use of force, and to engage in peaceful
3 dialogue with representatives of the Albanian Democratic
4 Alliance Movement and other forces for peaceful dialogue;

5 (4) urges the Government of the Republic of Slovenia
6 and the Government of the Republic of Croatia to meet
7 their financial commitments to Kosovo and to remain
8 engaged in working to resolve the grave economic
9 conditions in Kosovo;

10 (5) commends the Government of the Socialist Federal
11 Republic of Yugoslavia and Prime Minister Ante Markovic
12 for past efforts to mediate between the Slavic minorities
13 and ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, for explicit condemnation
14 of violence on all sides, and for the pledge to
15 investigate all human rights abuses, and urges the
16 Federal Government and the Prime Minister to increase
17 their efforts to reestablish a constructive dialogue as a
18 step on the way to resolution of the current crisis; and

19 (6) requests the President to express, to the highest
20 levels of the Government of Yugoslavia, the concerns of
21 the Congress about the situation in Kosovo and the role
22 of the Republic Governments involved.

Strike all from line 21, page 182, through line 17, page 183, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

SEC. 599E. Six months after the date of enactment of this Act,

- (1) none of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available pursuant to this Act shall be obligated or expended to provide any direct assistance to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and
- (2) the Secretary of the Treasury shall instruct the United States Executive Director of each international financial institution to use the voice and vote of the United States to oppose any assistance of the respective institutions to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

Provided further that this section shall not apply if all six of the individual Republics of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have held free and fair multiparty elections and are not engaged in a pattern of systematic gross violations of human rights: Provided further that notwithstanding the failure of the individual Republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to have held free and fair multiparty elections within six months of the enactment of this Act, this section shall not apply if the Secretary of the State certifies that the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is making significant strides toward complying with the obligations of the Helsinki Accords and is encouraging any Republic which has not held free and fair multiparty elections to do so.



American Serbian Heritage Foundation

February 15, 1991

Sear Sir,


Enclosed written material may be of interest to you but it is of great concern to the Serbian people.

On October 23, 1990 the House of Representatives overwhelmingly voted down-362 to 55- the Broomfield resolution (H.CON. RES. 385, formerly numbered 352) which would have blamed all human rights violations in Kosovo on Serbia.

Now, congressman William Broomfield is accusing the Serbian people again. Mr. Broomfield writes: "Democracy may soon be brutally destroyed in the Republic of Croatia..because of Mr. Milosevic's blind drive to rebuild the Serbian kingdom of old."

The enclosed copy of the letter written to Mr. Broomfield provides a credible expose of Mr. Broomfield's unsubstantiated accusations against the Serbian people.

(To be inserted in the
Congressional Record as
Extension of Remarks)


William S. Broomfield
CONGRESSMAN
(D.7)

THE END OF DEMOCRACY IN CROATIA?

Mr. Speaker:

While the attention of the world is focused on events in the Persian Gulf, democracy may soon be brutally destroyed in the Republic of Croatia. I am deeply concerned about reports that the Yugoslav Federal Army and Communist officials may move against the democratic government of the Republic of Croatia and try to end the process of self-determination that is occurring there. I urge my colleagues to carefully monitor developments in Croatia and consider at what point legislative restrictions should be imposed on our economic relationship with Belgrade should the Yugoslav Federal Army use force in Croatia.

In 1989, the winds of change that swept across Eastern Europe brought democracy to some of the Yugoslav republics, with free elections being held in Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia. Those republics now have democratically elected governments with pro-Western orientations. Unfortunately, the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro have chosen governments which contain strong Communist elements. Pro-Communist forces in those republics and in the central government in Belgrade are planning to take the offensive against other republics which are proceeding with acts of self-determination.

The recent events in the Baltic States that so shocked the Free World may soon be replayed in Croatia, a republic that ousted the Communists in elections last spring. Just yesterday, the Yugoslav Federal Army threatened to place its troops at combat readiness unless all forces in the Republic of Croatia immediately disband. The Federal Army claimed that terrorist attacks against the army were being prepared in Croatia, and said it would take steps to ensure that military courts are able to prosecute the organizers of illegal armed groups.

The Yugoslav Minister of Defense, General Veljko Kadijevich, is a Communist and has threatened to use force against the democratic republics. He has called for the disarming of the police and national guard units in those republics. The general has described socialism as "one of the greatest achievements of contemporary civilization."

Slobodan Milosevic, who shares General Kadijevich's political orientation, is the President of the Republic of Serbia and a rabid Serbian nationalist. He succeeded in taking away the semi-autonomous status of the regions of Kosovo and Vojvodina in his blind drive to rebuild the "Serbian Kingdom" of old. Over 60 ethnic Albanians were killed and hundreds were wounded in the violence that ensued. His antiquated economic policies have created major problems for Serbia, and he has directly contributed to the serious political crisis which Yugoslavia faces today.

It is a modern-day tragedy that Croatia, a democratic republic with a pro-American orientation and a strong commitment to free-market economics, should be threatened by proponents of a failed ideology that is disappearing all over the world. Although some officials in Yugoslavia may think that the United States is not watching, I want them to know that Congress and all Americans are deeply concerned about events in Yugoslavia and will respond accordingly should Yugoslav officials unwisely choose to resort to violence in Croatia.



American Serbian Heritage Foundation

2531 E. 115th Place, Los Angeles, CA 90059 (213)567-7240

Mailing Address: P.O. Box 1817, Santa Monica, CA 90408

February 15, 1991

Hon. William S. Broomfield
2306 Rayburn Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Mr. Broomfield:

We just received a copy of your statement, undated, and titled "The End of Democracy in Croatia?," which was released by the Croatian American Association, Washington, D.C., with the notation "To be inserted in Congressional Record as Extension of Remarks." We American Serbs are also greatly concerned about the situation in Croatia, and in subsequent paragraphs of this letter will point out why we believe that our fears of bloodshed are wellfounded, considerations which seem to escape you.

What concerns us the most, however, is the way in which you have manipulated facts, engaged in half-truths and outright falsehoods, and distortions of information--so that if bloodshed came you could put all of the blame on the Serbs. Although multiparty elections were held in all six of the Yugoslav republics last year, you state that they were held only in Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia. The fact is also, Mr. Broomfield, that in Slovenia, Montenegro and Macedonia, the candidates of the Communist parties of these republics, Mr. Kucan, Mr. Bulatovic and Mr. Gligorov, respectively, were elected presidents of the republics. In Serbia, Mr. Milosevic, former communist and banker, was elected as a candidate of the Socialist Party, while in Croatia, Mr. Tudjman, former communist and partizan general, was elected as a candidate of the Croatian National Party. In Bosnia-Herzegovina Mr. Isambegovic was elected as a candidate of the Moslem Political Party.

Most serious is your attempt to identify the Federal Yugoslav authorities with Serbia.

Mr. Broomfield, it is a sad commentary that you seem to know so little about the Yugoslav political system. Under that system, the Federal Cabinet is headed by a prime minister (currently Ante Markovic, a Croat). The Federal Presidency is a collective body of 8 persons, in which each republic is represented. Under the Yugoslav Constitution, these governmental organs are vested with powers for the exercise of which they bear responsibility. They are not under thumb of Serbia or any other republic.

If there are threats to the unity of the state, would you expect these authorities just to sit on their collective hands? Is that what President Lincoln should have done?

Now as to our fears of bloodshed in Croatia. First of all, Serbs have not forgotten that nearly one million of their compatriots (men, women and children) were massacred during World War II in what was then Nazi Puppet state of Croatia, together with thousands of Jews and Gypsies. For any student of World War II, genocide in Croatia is an objective fact.

Secondly, the Yugoslav authorities have publicized a covert recording of conversations among present day Croatian leaders, including the Croatian Minister of Defense, Martin Spegelj, detailing plans for massacring of Serbs in Croatia as well as ethnic Serbs, members of the Yugoslav Army.

Recording of October 14, 1990, of Mr. Marting Spegeij, Croatian Minister of Defense:

"... then we just issue orders to our men to kill extremists, on the spot in the street, on the ground of the barracks, wherever, a bullet in the stomach, that's all. This will not be a war but a civil war in which there is no mercy for anyone. Not even women or children. Simply bombs thrown into family apartments."

On another occasion Mr. Spegeij declares:

"we need to organize two or three men to liquidate the most dangerous ones, for their physical liquidation. They go to their flat, they appear at the door, boom!, he goes down the steps, let them call the police to find out who did it..."

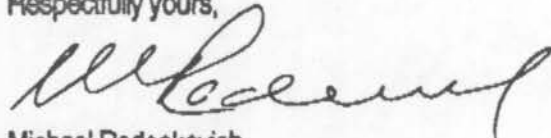
There will be no consideration for women, for children, for anything at all. The question does not arise."

Mr. Broomfield, a trascript in English on this documentary is enclosed for your reference.

It is ironic that in your statement there are references to supposed democratic and pro-American orientation of the Croats, when we remember that during the two world wars, they fought on the losing side and against the Americans. On the other hand, the Serbs were allied with America in both conflicts and shed their blood for freedom and democracy, only to be sold out to the Communists by their World War II allies.

Mr. Broomfield, I believe that we share a common interest in seeing American foreign policy succeed in this complex world of ours. That being the case, with all due respect, sir, I cannot avoid concluding that your ill-considered statement does not advance that goal.

Respectfully yours,



Michael Radenkovich
President

c.c. The White House
Department of State
U.S. Senate
U.S. House of Representatives
Senat Committee on Foreign Relations
House Committee on Foreign Affaires
Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust
The Conservative Caucus
American Jewish Congress
Veterans of Foreign Wars
Think Tanks

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Barbara F. Vukanovich Morris K. Udall Gus Yutron

Sidney R. Yates Henry A. Waxman

OTHERS

The White House Dept. of State Edward J. Derwinski

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Christopher J. Dodd Dennis DeConcini Strom Thurmond

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THE END OF DEMOCRACY IN CROATIA?

HON. WM. S. BROOMFIELD OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
THURSDAY, JANUARY 24, 1991

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, while the attention of the world is focused on events in the Persian Gulf, democracy may soon be brutally destroyed in the Republic of Croatia. I am deeply concerned about reports that the Yugoslav Federal Army and Communist officials may move against the democratic government of the Republic of Croatia and try to end the process of self-determination that is occurring there. I urge my colleagues to carefully monitor developments in Croatia and consider at what point legislative restrictions should be imposed on our economic relationship with Belgrade should the Yugoslav Federal Army use force in Croatia.

In 1989, the winds of change that swept across Eastern Europe brought democracy to some of the Yugoslav Republics, with free elections being held in Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia. Those republics now have democratically elected governments with pro-Western orientations. Unfortunately, the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro have chosen governments which contain strong Communist elements. Pro-Communist forces in those republics and in the central government in Belgrade are planning to take the offensive against other republics which are proceeding with acts of self-determination.

The recent events in the Baltic States that so shocked the free world may soon be replayed in Croatia, a Republic that ousted the Communists in elections last spring. Just yesterday, the Yugoslav Federal Army threatened to place its troops at combat readiness unless all forces in the Republic of Croatia immediately disband. The Federal Army claimed that terrorist attacks against the army were being prepared in Croatia, and said it would take steps to ensure that military courts are able to prosecute the organizers of illegal armed groups.

The Yugoslav Minister of Defense, General Veljko Kadijevich, is a Communist and has threatened to use force against the democratic republics. He has called for the disarming of the police and national guard units in those republics. The general has described socialism as 'one of the greatest achievements of contemporary civilization.'

Slobodan Milosevic, who shares General Kadijevich's political orientation, is the President of the Republic of Serbia and a rabid Serbian nationalist. He succeeded in taking away the semiautonomous status of the regions of Kosovo and Vojvodina in his blind drive to rebuild the Serbian kingdom of old. Over 60 ethnic Albanians were killed and hundreds were wounded in the violence that ensued. His antiquated economic policies have created major problems for Serbia, and he has directly contributed to the serious political crisis which Yugoslavia faces today.

It is a modern-day tragedy that Croatia, a democratic republic with a pro-American orientation and a strong commitment to free-market economics, should be threatened by proponents of a failed ideology that is disappearing all over the world. Although some officials in Yugoslavia may think that the United States is not watching, I want them to know that Congress and all Americans are deeply concerned about events in Yugoslavia and will respond accordingly should Yugoslav officials unwisely choose to resort to violence in Croatia.

504. 5257. Fiscal 1991 Labor-HHS Appropriations/Conference Report. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to appropriate \$182,181,734,000 for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services and Education and related agencies, including advance appropriations of \$21.1 billion in fiscal 1992 and \$319 million in fiscal 1993. The president requested \$174,845,772,000. The report includes the House provision prohibiting the use of funds to pay for an abortion, except if the life of the woman would be endangered. Adopted 335-74: R 92-74; D 243-0 (ND 162-0, SD 81-0), Oct. 22, 1990. (Story, p. 3607)

505. HR 5241. Fiscal 1991 Treasury Appropriations/Conference Report. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to appropriate \$20,906,325,000 in fiscal 1991 for the Treasury Department, Postal Service and other government agencies. The president requested \$20,712,458,000. Adopted 343-67: R 104-63; D 239-4 (ND 159-3, SD 80-1), Oct. 22, 1990. (Story, p. 3601)

506. HR 5021. Fiscal 1991 Commerce, Justice, State Appropriations/Conference Report. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to appropriate \$19,328,275,000 in fiscal 1991 for the Departments of Commerce, Justice and State, related agencies and the judiciary. President Bush requested \$20,009,388,000. Adopted 377-40: R 141-26; D 236-14 (ND 160-10, SD 76-4), Oct. 23, 1990. (Story, p. 3618)

507. HR 5021. Fiscal 1991 Commerce, Justice, State Appropriations/Supercomputer Exports. Smith, D-Iowa, motion to concur in a Senate amendment with an amendment to prohibit funds from being used to approve export licenses for supercomputers to any country whose government the president determines is assisting Iraq to improve its ballistic missile technology or chemical, biological or nuclear weapons capability, or to a country the president determines has made inadequate efforts to restrict nationals from assisting Iraq in such endeavors. Motion agreed to 381-39: R 166-3; D 215-36 (ND 141-27, SD 74-9), Oct. 23, 1990. (Story, p. 3618)

508. S 2830. Farm Programs Reauthorization/Conference Report. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to revise and extend federal farm price- and income-support programs for major commodities as well as Agriculture Department nutrition programs. Adopted 318-102: R 119-51; D 199-51 (ND 124-43, SD 75-8), Oct. 23, 1990. (Story, p. 3596)

509. H Con Res 385. Yugoslavian Human Rights Violations/Adoption. Motion to suspend the rules and adopt the concurrent resolution to express the sense of Congress condemning the use of arbitrary, brutal and fatal force by any party in the Kosovo region in Southern Yugoslavia against the Albanian minority and urging a peaceful resolution of the ethnic crisis between the government of Serbia, the Albanian Democratic Alliance Movement and other parties. Motion rejected 55-362: R 21-148; D 34-214 (ND 28-137, SD 6-77), Oct. 23, 1990. A two-thirds majority of those present and voting (278 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

510. HR 4333. Clean Coastal Beaches/Passage. Motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to authorize \$4 million in each of fiscal years 1991 and 1992 to establish uniform procedures for ensuring the quality of coastal recreational waters. The bill also authorizes \$3 million annually for federal matching grants to states to assist in complying with new Environmental Protection Agency standards. Motion agreed to 326-89: R 94-75; D 232-14 (ND 160-4, SD 72-10), Oct. 23, 1990. A two-thirds majority of those present and voting (277 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

511. H Con Res 382. Terms of Iraq and Kuwait Conflict Resolution/Adoption. Motion to suspend the rules and adopt the concurrent resolution to express the sense of Congress that the crisis created by Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait must be addressed and resolved on its own terms separately from the other conflicts in the region. Motion agreed to 406-5: R 166-1; D 240-4 (ND 158-4, SD 82-0), Oct. 23, 1990. A two-thirds majority of those present and voting (275 in this case) is required for passage under suspension of the rules.

KEY

- Y Voted for (yea).
- # Paired for.
- + Announced for.
- N Voted against (nay).
- X Paired against.
- Announced against.
- P Voted "present."
- C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
- ? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

Democrats Republicans

	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511
ALABAMA								
1 Callahan	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Dickinson	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
3 Browder	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4 Beville	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Flippo	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
6 Erdreich	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Harris	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ALASKA								
Al Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
ARIZONA								
1 Rhodes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Udall	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Stump	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y
4 Kyl	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
5 Kolbe	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ARKANSAS								
1 Alexander	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Robinson	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Hammerschmidt	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Anthony	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
CALIFORNIA								
1 Bosco	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Heger	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Pelosi	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Boxer	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
7 Miller	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
8 Dellums	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
9 Stark	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Lantos	?	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Campbell	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
13 Mineta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
14 Shumway	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
15 Condit	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
17 Pashayan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
19 Lagomarsino	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
20 Thomas	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
21 Gallegly	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
22 Moorhead	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
23 Sellenon	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
24 Waxman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
26 Berman	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
27 Levine	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
28 Dixon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
29 Hawkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	?
30 Martinez	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
31 Dymally	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
32 Anderson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
33 Dreier	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
34 Torres	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
35 Lewis	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
37 McCandless	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
38 Dornan	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
39 Dannemeyer	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
40 Cox	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
41 Lawery	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y

504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511

42 Rohrabacher								
	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
43 Packard								
	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
44 Bates								
	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
45 Hunter								
	?	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
COLORADO								
1 Schroeder	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
2 Skaggs	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
3 Campbell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Brown	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
5 Hefley	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
6 Schaefer	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
CONNECTICUT								
1 Kennelly	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Gejdenson	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Morrison	+	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
4 Shays	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
5 Rowland	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Johnson	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE								
Al Carper	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
FLORIDA								
1 Hutto	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
2 Grant	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 James	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 McCallum	N	Y	?	?	?	?	?	?
6 Stearns	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Young	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Bilirakis	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Ireland	Y	?	?	?	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Nelson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12 Lewis	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
13 Goss	-	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
14 Johnston	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Shaw	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
17 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
18 Ros-Lehtinen	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
19 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
GEORGIA								
1 Thomas	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Hatcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Ray	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
4 Jones	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Lewis	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
6 Gingrich	N	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
7 Darden	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Rowland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
10 Barnard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
HAWAII								
1 Saiti	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Mink	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
IDAHO								
1 Craig	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Stallings	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ILLINOIS								
1 Hayes	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Savage	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
3 Russo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
4 Sangmeister	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
5 Lipinski	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
6 Hyde	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
7 Collins	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
10 Porter	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
12 Crane	N	N	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
13 Fawell	N	N	?	Y	N	N	Y	Y
14 Hastert	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
15 Madigan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
16 Martin	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
17 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
18 Michel	?	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
19 Bruce	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
20 Durbin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
21 Castello	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
22 Poshard	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
INDIANA								
1 Visclosky	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
2 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
3 Hiler	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y

ND Northern Democrats SD Southern Democrats

	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511
4 Long	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
5 Jantz	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
6 Burton	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
7 Myers	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
8 McCloskey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
9 Hamilton	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
10 Jacobs	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	
IOWA								
1 Leach	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
2 Touke	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
3 Nagle	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
5 Lightfoot	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
6 Grandy	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
KANSAS								
1 Roberts	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
2 Slattery	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
3 Meyers	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
4 Glickman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
5 Whittaker	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
KENTUCKY								
1 Hubbard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
2 Natcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
3 Mazzoli	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
4 Bunning	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
5 Rogers	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
6 Hopkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
7 Perkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
LOUISIANA								
1 Livingston	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
2 Boggs	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
3 Tauzin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
4 McCreey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
5 Huckaby	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
6 Baker	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
7 Hayes	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
8 Holloway	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
MAINE								
1 Brennan	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	
2 Snowe	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
MARYLAND								
1 Dyon	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
2 Bentley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
3 Cordin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
4 McMillen	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
5 Hoyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
6 Byron	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
7 Miune	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
8 Morella	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
MASSACHUSETTS								
1 Conte	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
2 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
3 Early	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
4 Frank	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
5 Atkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
6 Mavroules	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
7 Markey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
8 Kennedy	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
9 Moakley	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
10 Shudds	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
11 Donnelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
MICHIGAN								
1 Conyers	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
2 Pursell	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
3 Wolpe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
4 Upton	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
5 Henry	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
6 Carr	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
7 Kildee	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
8 Traxler	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
9 Vander Jagt	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
10 Schuette	?	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
11 Davis	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
12 Bonior	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
13 Crockett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
14 Hertel	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
15 Ford	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
16 Dingell	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	
17 Levin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
18 Broomfield	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
MINNESOTA								
1 Peony	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	
2 Weber	Y	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
3 Frenzel	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
4 Vento	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	

	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511
5 Sabo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
6 Sikorski	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
7 Stangeland	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
8 Oberstar	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
MISSISSIPPI								
1 Whitten	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
2 Espy	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
3 Montgomery	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
4 Parker	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
5 Taylor	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
MISSOURI								
1 Clay	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
2 Buechner	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
3 Gephardt	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?	?	
4 Skelton	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	
5 Wheat	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
6 Coleman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
7 Hancock	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	
8 Emerson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
9 Volkmer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
MONTANA								
1 Williams	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
2 Marlenee	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
NEBRASKA								
1 Bereuter	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
2 Hoagland	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
3 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
NEVADA								
1 Bilbray	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
2 Vucanovich	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
NEW HAMPSHIRE								
1 Smith	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	
2 Douglas	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	
NEW JERSEY								
1 Vacancy	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
2 Hughes	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	
3 Pallone	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
4 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
5 Raukema	-	X	?	Y	N	Y	Y	
6 Dwyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
7 Rinalda	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
8 Roe	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
9 Torricelli	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	?	?	
10 Payne	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
11 Gallo	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
12 Courter	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
13 Saxton	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
14 Guarini	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
NEW MEXICO								
1 Schiff	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
2 Skeen	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
3 Richardson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
NEW YORK								
1 Hochbreckner	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
2 Downey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
3 Mrozek	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
4 Lent	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
5 McGrath	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
6 Flake	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
7 Ackerman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
8 Scheuer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
9 Manton	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
10 Schumer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
11 Towns	?	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
12 Owens	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
13 Solarz	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
14 Malinari	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
15 Green	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
16 Rangel	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
17 Weiss	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
18 Serrano	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
19 Engel	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
20 Lowey	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
21 Fish	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
22 Gilman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
23 McNulty	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
24 Solomon	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
25 Boehlert	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
26 Martin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
27 Walsh	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
28 McHugh	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
29 Harton	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
30 Slaughter	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
31 Paxon	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	

	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511
32 LaFalce	?	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
33 Nowak	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
34 Houghton	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
NORTH CAROLINA								
1 Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
2 Valentine	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
3 Lancaster	Y	Y	?	Y	N	Y	Y	
4 Price	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
5 Neal	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
6 Cable	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
7 Rose	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
8 Hefner	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
9 McMillan	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
10 Ballenger	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
11 Clarke	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
NORTH DAKOTA								
AL Dorgan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
OHIO								
1 Luken	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
2 Gradison	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
3 Hall	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
4 Oxley	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
5 Gillmor	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
6 McEwen	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
7 DeWine	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
8 Lukens	N	N	?	?	?	?	?	
9 Kapur	?	#	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
10 Miller	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
11 Eckart	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
12 Kasich	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
13 Pease	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
14 Sawyer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
15 Wylie	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
16 Regula	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
17 Traficant	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
18 Applegate	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
19 Feighan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
20 Oaker	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
21 Stokes	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
OKLAHOMA								
1 Inhofe	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
2 Synar	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
3 Watkins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
4 McCurdy	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
5 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
6 English	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
OREGON								
1 AuCoin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
2 Smith, B.	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
3 Wyden	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
4 DeFazio	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
5 Smith, D.	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	
PENNSYLVANIA								
1 Foglietta	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y</		