

like, in the morning business segment, or perhaps the opening segment of the appropriations bill, to be able to dispatch that business and let whoever wants to talk, do it until they are exhausted.

You are speaking of a subject of some importance, I admit that. I am sympathetic to the issue you are raising. I hope that you perhaps would allow us to do the things we would like to do in preparation to get the bill to the floor.

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, retaining the floor, I am going to proceed on forward with a discussion of the marriage tax penalty. I withdraw my unanimous consent request if it is not going to be agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas has the floor.

Mr. BROWNBACK. I was proceeding earlier, before allowing the Senator from Nevada to speak before catching a plane.

A number of groups have taken notice of this issue of a marriage tax penalty and think that it is clearly time and it is important that we at this time address this particular issue.

The Independent Women's Forum has sent a letter urging Congress to "put the Tax Code where its rhetoric is."

I think that is a real interesting way they state that in the letter. "We should put the Tax Code where the Congress' rhetoric is." We talk a lot about families, values, and virtues, and those sorts of institutions that make for a civil society. We talk endlessly about those things. Yet, then we tax them; we tax them disproportionately. This group has the courage to be able to identify, well, I guess then you guys really don't mean it. You will say one thing and do another.

The Independent Women's Forum urges Congress to put the Tax Code where its rhetoric is and eliminate marriage penalties. Serious steps to reform tax laws would mean real liberation to those who work and those who may have to in the future. Marriage taxes can impose a nearly 50-percent marginal tax rate on second earners.

They are saying in their publication, most of which are spouses, obviously, this is a State-sponsored discrimination, the unintended consequence of which is to discourage—they are saying here—women from entering the labor force.

"If Congress is sincere in improving the lives of American families, it will eliminate tax loopholes that choke paychecks. Real support for the family begins with tax reform."

There is a strong letter that they are citing that we ought to change our Tax Code along that line.

Let's look at the Catholic Alliance, and what they say.

The Catholic Alliance Endorses the Marriage Tax Elimination Act.

Their president announces support for the Marriage Tax Elimination Act and the end of the marriage tax penalty. They say this:

Catholic Alliance promotes the primacy of the family as a matter of public policy. We

support the Marriage Tax Elimination Act as one step in the right direction. The current tax code, while it still exists, should be used as a vehicle to promote social responsibility. It certainly should not be used in a punitive manner toward the preeminent institution of marriage and family.

How better could you describe it than that? "It certainly should not be used in a punitive manner toward the preeminent institution of marriage and family."

They go on to state:

We welcome the Marriage Tax Elimination Act introduced today by representatives Dave McIntosh and Jerry Weller. This bill can be a first step in recognizing in law that the family is the first church, the first school, the first government, the first hospital, the first economy, and the first and most vital mediating institution in our culture. In order to encourage stable two-parent marriage bound households we can no longer support a tax code that penalizes them," Fournier said.

Then this is what Pope John Paul II said in a letter in a publication called "Christian Family in the Modern World." The Pope says this:

... families should grow in awareness of being "protagonists" of what is known as "family politics" and assume responsibility for transforming society; otherwise families will be the first victims of the evils that they have done no more than note with indifference.

There are some pretty strong terms that they noted.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I wonder if my colleague will yield for a suggestion that I would propound a unanimous consent. I have legislation that I know the Senator from Kansas is supportive of, and we want the Senate to be supportive. It would take me no more than 5 minutes to ask that it be brought up under a unanimous consent agreement.

I will speak for no more than 10 minutes, and probably less, because I have had an opportunity to make my views known; then, further, that the ranking member, Senator DORGAN, on the legislative appropriations, be given up to 15 minutes so that he might make his opening remarks on the legislative appropriations. That would be no longer than 25 minutes, and thereafter the Senator would retain the floor and the floor would return to him.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. BROWNBACK. Reserving the right to object, if at that point in time I would be able to retain the floor, I am willing to agree.

Mr. D'AMATO. That would be the agreement.

Mr. BROWNBACK. I can then continue with my statement and have it appear continuously in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from New York is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. D'AMATO. I thank my colleague from Kansas for being gracious, and Senator DORGAN, the ranking member,

for his suggestion so we can accommodate the needs of our colleagues.

SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING THE CULPABILITY OF SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC FOR WAR CRIMES

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Foreign Relations Committee be discharged from further consideration of S. Con. Res. 105, and, further, that the Senate proceed to its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 105) expressing the sense of the Congress regarding the culpability of Slobodan Milosevic for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide in the former Yugoslavia, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the concurrent resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. D'AMATO addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York.

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I believe we are about to take historic action that is so important, because, to date, what we have been doing is pleading, negotiating, hoping while the world burns in front of us. When I say "the world," I am talking of technically the people in this war-torn area of Kosovo.

It is incredible that 90 percent of the population there are ethnic Albanians under withering attack. In today's New York Times, it graphically speaks about it on the front page.

As a witness to this, a former paramilitary, former police officer in the Serbian police, said he can no longer stay there and work there as he watched innocent women and children being raped, killed, tortured and savaged—3 million people on the move, ethnic cleansing, moving them out of their homes, moving them out of their communities all because of one thing—all because of their ethnicity.

What we do today is the least we should be doing; and that is calling for the United States to, yes, utilize the provisions that the United Nations set up in terms of Security Council Resolution 827 creating the International Criminal Tribunal.

This man can and should be charged as the war crime criminal that he is. The documentation has already been chronicled in one of the best reports, which I have submitted to this body. The conclusions are inescapable. It is called "War Crimes and the Issue of Responsibility," prepared by Norman Cigar and Paul Williams. It documents the systematic slaughter and use of paramilitary groups against innocent civilians. There is no doubt that not only did he know about that but that he continues to perpetuate this kind of conduct.

To summarize briefly what Resolution 105 does, it says that we, the United States, should publicly declare its considered reasons to believe that Milosevic has committed war crimes; that we make the checks of information that can be supplied to the Tribunal as evidence to support an indictment and trial of Milosevic for war crimes against humanity and genocide; that we should undertake it as a high priority; all of the information that we collect should be provided to the Tribunal as soon as possible; and, thereafter, that we coordinate our activities with our allies, members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and others interested in a matter of discussion of what we can and should be doing to apprehend this war criminal and others.

Yes. Mr. President, the time has come to gather the evidence and to submit it to the Tribunal, and to see to it that this man is branded as the war criminal that he is instead of us all sitting back silently as innocent lives continue to be taken.

Mr. President, I thank all of the Members of the U.S. Senate for the relatively short period of time Senator LIEBERMAN and I began this effort in terms of gathering cosponsors and support several days ago.

It makes me proud to be a Member of this body, for people to come together in this way to see, yes, the indictment of this war criminal. And he is one of the most evil men of our period of time. Make no mistake about it.

Mr. BIDEN. Madam President, I rise today as a co-sponsor in support of S. Con. Res. 105, which expresses the sense of the Congress regarding the culpability of Slobodan Milosevic for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide in the former Yugoslavia.

Yugoslav President Milosevic is the walking definition of an unscrupulous politician. I have come to understand the stark truth that the only thing that matters to Milosevic is his own political survival. The only thing.

Since his rise to power in Serbia in the late 1980's, he has been a failure at everything he has attempted—except, I regret to say, in staying in power.

Slobodan Milosevic has been an unmitigated disaster for the Serbian people.

As a result of his insane attempt at creating a "Greater Serbia," the centuries-old Serbian culture in the Krajina and Western Slavonia in Croatia has been extinguished, the Bosnian Serb community has been decimated and impoverished, and Serbian life in Kosovo seems on the verge of eradication.

Of course, that is only half of the story, for Slobodan Milosevic has also been a curse for many of the neighboring peoples of the Serbs. His vile "ethnic cleansing" led to a quarter-million deaths and more than two million refugees and displaced persons in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosnian Muslims, Bosnian Croats, and Croats in Croatia were brutalized and murdered.

Most recently, Milosevic's special police storm troopers have moved their grisly activities to Kosovo where they are visiting upon the ethnic Albanian population the same horrors suffered by the Bosnians and Croats.

I would like to add a personal note. I believe that I am one of only a very few Senators who have met Milosevic, and I am certain that I am the only one who ever called him a war criminal to his face.

In April 1993, on the first of my many trips to Bosnia, I also stopped off in Belgrade to see Milosevic. In the course of a lengthy meeting that went on late into the evening, I went through the entire litany of the horrors that his Serbian troops had perpetrated and were continuing to perpetrate. Of course, Milosevic protested that he had no control over any of this.

Nonetheless, he later asked if I wanted to meet Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader who has subsequently been indicted as a war criminal. I said yes, and twenty minutes later Karadzic came running up the steps of Milosevic's palace, totally out of breath. Rather interesting for a guy who supposedly had no influence in Bosnia!

After all this, Milosevic looked across the table and asked, "What do you think of me?"

I answered, "I think you're a damn war criminal!"

Milosevic's reaction was like water off a duck's back. He just resumed talking as if nothing had happened. He might as well have said, "lots of luck in your sophomore year!" This is one brazen guy.

Mr. President, I said earlier that the only thing Milosevic cares about is his political survival. I believe that for the first time there is a reasonable chance that he may be failing in this arena too.

In the person of Milo Djukanovic, the dynamic, young reformist President of Montenegro, the junior partner of Serbia in the Yugoslav Federation, the democratic opposition to Milosevic has both a new leader and a constitutional means of expressing its opposition. We must continue to support Djukanovic and Montenegro in their struggle.

In the meantime, as S. Con. Res. 105 urges, the international community should speedily bring Milosevic to trial before the International Tribunal in the Hague for his criminal behavior.

There is no possibility for lasting peace in the Balkans until Serbia has a democratic government, willing to live in peace and equality with its non-Serb citizens and non-Serb neighbors. Removing Milosevic from power is the sine qua non for this to happen, and S. Con. Res. 105 charts the path.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the amendments at the desk, the resolution, and the preamble be agreed to, that the resolution, as amended, be agreed to, that the preamble be agreed to, as amended, and

that the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, and that any statements relating to the resolution appear at this point in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENTS NUMBERED 3212 AND 3213, EN BLOC

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendments.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from New York (Mr. D'AMATO) proposes amendments numbered 3212 and 3213, en bloc.

The amendments (Nos. 3212 and 3213) en bloc are as follows:

AMENDMENT NO. 3212

(Purpose: To make a technical correction)

On page 3, line 4, strike "probable cause" and insert "reason".

AMENDMENT NO. 3213

On page 5, strike lines 24 through page 6 line 5.

The amendments (Nos. 3212 and 3213) were agreed to.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 105), as amended, was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 105), as amended, with its preamble, is as follows:

S. CON. RES. 105

Whereas there is reason to mark the beginning of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia with Slobodan Milosevic's rise to power beginning in 1987, when he whipped up and exploited extreme nationalism among Serbs, and specifically in Kosovo, including support for violence against non-Serbs who were labeled as threats;

Whereas there is reason to believe that as President of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic was responsible for the conception and direction of a war of aggression, the deaths of hundreds of thousands, the torture and rape of tens of thousands and the forced displacement of nearly 3,000,000 people, and that mass rape and forced impregnation were among the tools used to wage this war;

Whereas "ethnic cleansing" has been carried out in the former Yugoslavia in such a consistent and systematic way that it had to be directed by the senior political leadership in Serbia, and Slobodan Milosevic has held such power within Serbia that he is responsible for the conception and direction of this policy;

Whereas, as President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), Slobodan Milosevic is responsible for the conception and direction of assaults by Yugoslavian and Serbian military, security, special police, and other forces on innocent civilians in Kosovo which have so far resulted in an estimated 300 people dead or missing and the forced displacement of tens of thousands, and such assaults continue;

Whereas on May 25, 1993, United Nations Security Council Resolution 827 created the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia located in The Hague, the Netherlands (hereafter in this resolution referred to as the "Tribunal"), and gave it jurisdiction over all crimes arising out of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia;

Whereas this Tribunal has publicly indicted 60 people for war crimes or crimes against humanity arising out of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia and has issued a number of secret indictments that have only been made public upon the apprehension of the indicted persons;

Whereas it is incumbent upon the United States and all other nations to support the

Tribunal, and the United States has done so by providing, since 1992, funding in the amount of \$54,000,000 in assessed payments and more than \$11,000,000 in voluntary and in-kind contributions to the Tribunal and the War Crimes Commission which preceded it, and by supplying information collected by the United States that can aid the Tribunal's investigations, prosecutions, and adjudications;

Whereas any lasting, peaceful solution to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia must be based upon justice for all, including the most senior officials of the government or governments responsible for conceiving, organizing, initiating, directing, and sustaining the Yugoslav conflict and whose forces have committed war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide; and

Whereas Slobodan Milosevic has been the single person who has been in the highest government offices in an aggressor state since before the inception of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, who has had the power to decide for peace and instead decided for war, who has had the power to minimize illegal actions by subordinates and allies and hold responsible those who committed such actions, but did not, and who is once again directing a campaign of ethnic cleansing against innocent civilians in Kosovo while treating with contempt international efforts to achieve a fair and peaceful settlement to the question of the future status of Kosovo: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the United States should publicly declare that it considers that there is reason to believe that Slobodan Milosevic, President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), has committed war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide;

(2) the United States should make collection of information that can be supplied to the Tribunal for use as evidence to support an indictment and trial of President Slobodan Milosevic for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide a high priority;

(3) any such information concerning President Slobodan Milosevic already collected by the United States should be provided to the Tribunal as soon as possible;

(4) the United States should provide a fair share of any additional financial or personnel resources that may be required by the Tribunal in order to enable the Tribunal to adequately address preparation for, indictment of, prosecution of, and adjudication of allegations of war crimes and crimes against humanity posed against President Slobodan Milosevic and any other person arising from the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, including in Kosovo;

(5) the United States should engage with other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and other interested states in a discussion of information any such state may hold relating to allegations of war crimes and crimes against humanity posed against President Slobodan Milosevic and any other person arising from the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, including in Kosovo, and press such states to promptly provide all such information to the Tribunal;

(6) the United States should engage with other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and other interested states in a discussion of measures to be taken to apprehend indicted war criminals and persons indicted for crimes against humanity with the objective of concluding a plan of action that will result in these inductees' prompt delivery into the custody of the Tribunal; and

(7) the United States should urge the Tribunal to promptly review all information re-

lating to President Slobodan Milosevic's possible criminal culpability for conceiving, directing, and sustaining a variety of actions in the former Yugoslavia, including Kosovo, that have had the effect of genocide, of other crimes against humanity, or of war crimes, with a view toward prompt issuance of a public indictment of Milosevic.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Senate shall transmit a copy of this resolution to the President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York.

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I thank this body and thank all of my colleagues for their support of what I consider to be a very important initiative. I certainly hope that the House acts quickly on this. I believe this is the least that we can and should do.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DORGAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from North Dakota is recognized for 15 minutes.

LEGISLATIVE APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, we are at some time going to take up the legislative branch appropriations bill formally. I wanted to make a couple of comments in response to the comments made by the chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Legislative Branch.

Senator BENNETT spoke about this work of the subcommittee. I have said before and I will say again I think he is an awfully good legislator. I appreciate very much the opportunity to work with him. We have worked in a cooperative spirit, in a bipartisan way, and have brought to the floor of the Senate a bill that I think reflects the right priorities and the prudent expenditure of the taxpayers' money for the things that are important and necessary.

I especially wish to commend Senator BENNETT. For those who don't know about his work on what is called Y2K or the year 2000 problem, I must say, having sat through all of the hearings we held, in every instance with every agency and every department, Senator BENNETT has been very determined to make certain that we are on the road to addressing the problems that confront us with the turn of the century and the programming and the computer software that exists around our country, and he has, of course, since been named chairman of a panel on this issue. A lot of people don't think too much about it because it is a year and a half away, but it is a very important issue. Senator BENNETT has been a leader on that issue, and I think the Senate owes him a debt of gratitude.

Let me just for a moment mention a couple of items in the appropriations bill itself. We have in this legislation provided for a Trade Deficit Review Commission. With the announcement once again today that the trade deficit hit another record high, and the trade deficit continues to swell and balloon

on us, I think it is important for our country to do a comprehensive review of what is happening and what is causing it, and what are the range of things we might do to address it.

On this issue, we have worked, in consultation with the Senate Finance Committee, to make some changes that would be satisfactory to them. These changes will be reflected in the managers' amendment, and I think this process of constructing this recommendation has been a very useful process. It has been a collaborative effort with the folks in Senate Finance and others.

As to this Trade Deficit Review Commission, the chairman of the full committee, Senator STEVENS, has been a very strong supporter and a cosponsor; the ranking member, Senator BYRD, from West Virginia, a cosponsor and a very strong supporter as well. I think, especially given the news once again today, it is timely and important, and I appreciate, again, the cooperation of the chairman of the subcommittee.

I want to mention the General Accounting Office which is funded in this bill. The GAO, which most people know it by, normally shows up in stories around the country that are written about the investigations they do. The GAO does first-rate investigative work. It is the investigative arm of Congress. It is not partisan, has never been partisan. It is a group of dedicated professionals who, at the direction of Congress, review and study, investigate, and evaluate a myriad of things we ask them to do about how the money that Congress appropriates is being spent.

The GAO is a very, very important organization. We have cut the GAO substantially over a number of years and now we have tried to stabilize it with the right kind of investments. It is a smaller organization than it was, but it is a strong and assertive organization that does wonderful work for Congress.

I am pleased that the recommendation we have in this particular appropriations bill reaches the level, albeit a much lower level of staffing at the GAO than had been there previously, a level which I think will give it the strength to do the job we expect them to do and the American people expect them to do. Anyone who has read their reports, read the news reports of the studies they have done, knows the value of the GAO.

I do want to make a point that I have made repeatedly as well. I am profoundly disappointed, with respect to the GAO, that 21 months have passed since the departure of the Comptroller General, who is the person who heads the GAO. Comptroller General Bowsher headed the GAO for many, many years, a respected professional in every quarter in this community and around the country.

Twenty-one months ago Mr. Bowsher left the GAO. That was not a surprise because he had reached the end of his rather lengthy term and had announced he was leaving. So we have