very clear what this issue is. Let's make sure we have solvency in the Medicare system before tax cuts.

I thank the Chair.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I move to table the Kennedy motion, and I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from New York (Mr. MOYNIHAN) is absent due to surgery.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from New York (Mr. MOYNIHAN) would vote ''no.''

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 54, nays 45, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 84 Leg.]

YEAS—54

Abraham	Fitzgerald	McCain
Allard	Frist	McConnell
Ashcroft	Gorton	Murkowski
Bennett	Gramm	Nickles
Bond	Grams	Roberts
Brownback	Grassley	Roth
Bunning	Gregg	Santorum
Burns	Hagel	Sessions
Campbell	Hatch	Shelby
Chafee	Helms	Smith (NH)
Cochran	Hutchinson	Smith (OR)
Collins	Hutchison	Snowe
Coverdell	Inhofe	Stevens
Craig	Jeffords	Thomas
Crapo	Kyl	Thompson
DeWine	Lott	Thurmond
Domenici	Lugar	Voinovich
Enzi	Mack	Warner

NAYS—45

Akaka	Edwards	Levin
Baucus	Feingold	Lieberman
Bayh	Feinstein	Lincoln
Biden	Graham	Mikulski
Bingaman	Harkin	Murray
Boxer	Hollings	Reed
Breaux	Inouye	Reid
Bryan	Johnson	Robb
Byrd	Kennedy	Rockefeller
Cleland	Kerrey	Sarbanes
Conrad	Kerry	Schumer
Daschle	Kohl	Specter
Dodd	Landrieu	Torricelli
Dorgan	Lautenberg	Wellstone
Durbin	Leahy	Wyden

NOT VOTING—1

Moynihan

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I move to table the motion, and I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

VOTE ON DODD MOTION TO INSTRUCT

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, on behalf of my colleague from Vermont, myself and many others who supported this 2 weeks by a vote of 57–40 I want to express my gratitude to my Republican colleagues for supporting that amendment that day. Unfortunately, the House conferees, or potential conferees, have indicated they intend to drop this amendment which would add over 5 years $5 billion to the existing child care and development block grant, despite the fact that this was a bipartisan amendment supported by a bipartisan coalition of Members here in the Senate.

I would not be asking for this vote except I think it is important we send a clear message out of this Chamber that we care about working families who need child care assistance.

With the few seconds remaining, I yield to the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. President, I urge my colleagues on this side of the aisle to vote in favor of this motion. It will keep the issue alive.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, the Senate voted by a vote of 57 to 40 to approve this amendment when we had the budget resolution. We are going to go to conference and try to work it out. I am not asking anyone to vote against it. In terms of the chairman's position, vote however you wish. I don't think there is a total Republican position because 15 Republicans voted for it last time.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DODD. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. REID, I announce that the Senator from New York (Mr. MOYNIHAN) is absent due to surgery.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from New York (Mr. MOYNIHAN), would vote ''aye.''

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 66, nays 33, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 85 Leg.]

YEAS—66

Abraham	Edwards	Levin
Akaka	Feingold	Lieberman
Baucus	Feinstein	Lincoln
Bayh	Fitzgerald	Lugar
Biden	Frist	McCain
Bingaman	Graham	Mikulski
Boxer	Grassley	Murray
Breaux	Harkin	Reed
Bryan	Hatch	Reid
Byrd	Hollings	Robb
Campbell	Hutchinson	Roberts
Chafee	Hutchison	Rockefeller
Cleland	Inouye	Sarbanes
Collins	Jeffords	Schumer
Conrad	Johnson	Smith (OR)
Coverdell	Kennedy	Snowe
Daschle	Kerrey	Specter
DeWine	Kerry	Torricelli
Dodd	Kohl	Voinovich
Domenici	Landrieu	Warner
Dorgan	Lautenberg	Wellstone
Durbin	Leahy	Wyden

NAYS—33

Allard	Craig	Helms
Ashcroft	Crapo	Inhofe
Bennett	Enzi	Kyl
Bond	Gorton	Lott
Brownback	Gramm	Mack
Bunning	Grams	McConnell
Burns	Gregg	Murkowski
Cochran	Hagel	Nickles
Roth	Shelby	Thomas
Santorum	Smith (NH)	Thompson
Sessions	Stevens	Thurmond

NOT VOTING—1

Moynihan

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the motion was agreed to.

Mr. JEFFORDS. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the underlying motion to authorize the Chair to appoint conferees.

The motion was agreed to, and the Presiding Officer (Mr. SMITH of Oregon) appointed Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. NICKLES, Mr. GRAMM, Mr. GORTON, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. CONRAD, Mrs. BOXER and Mrs. MURRAY conferees on the part of the Senate.

Mr. VOINOVICH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. VOINOVICH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now proceed to a period for morning business, with Senators permitted to speak up to 10 minutes each.

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

THE CRISIS IN KOSOVO

Mr. VOINOVICH. Mr. President, I rise today to vehemently oppose sending American ground forces into Kosovo and to demand that if the President contemplates sending in ground troops, that decision be deliberated and authorized by the Congress of the United States.

I am an American of Serbian-Slovenian ancestry. My father's family is from southern Croatia, which is known as Krijna, and my mother's family is from Ljubljana and Stranje in Slovenia.

I want to make it clear—I don't oppose sending ground troops into Kosovo because I am Serbian. I oppose it because it is bad policy. However, my ethnic heritage does give me a special insight into the situation that someone else might not have.

I have always opposed the leadership of Slobodan Milosevic. Like most Americans, I consider him to be a war criminal.

However, Mr. President, I was 1 of 41 Senators who voted against the bombing because I was concerned that this bombing would not achieve our end of bringing Slobodan Milosevic to the negotiating table as contemplated by the Clinton Administration and NATO.

These negotiations were designed to get Milosevic to sign the Rambouillet agreement or something very similar, thereby guaranteeing the basic human

rights of the Albanian Kosovars and avoiding ethnic cleansing.

I also feared the bombing would only solidify Milosevic's leadership with the Serbian people and ruin any chance of cultivating alternative leadership within Serbia.

I have to say that our problem has not been with the Serbian people, but with their ruthless leader.

The main thing this bombing campaign has managed to do is fan the flames of centuries-old Serbian nationalism. Individuals who until the bombing campaign had little support for Milosevic and his activities in Kosovo, now firmly believe their national pride is at stake. They have thrown their support behind Milosevic and have expressed a willingness to follow his leadership and fight for their country.

It is extremely important to remember—this is very important—Kosovo is to the Serbian people what Jerusalem is to Jews, Christians and Muslims. To the Serbians, it is a holy place. It is the scene of the most important event in Serbian history—the battle of Kosovo in 1389 between the Turks and the Serbs, led by Tsar Lazar.

The battle of Kosovo has lived for centuries in Serbian literature. To this day, Serbian children sing songs and read epic poems celebrating this event.

The interesting thing about the battle of Kosovo is how outnumbered the Serbian people were—and they knew it. And even though they lost, it is considered a glorious defeat because they fought valiantly against overwhelming odds. To quote from the epic poem ''The Battle of Kosovo'':

> Then the Turks overwhelmed Lazar, And the Tsar, Lazar, was destroyed, With him was destroyed his army of seven and seventy thousand soldiers. All was holy, all was honorable and the goodness of God was fulfilled.

History, pride and heritage are deeply-seeded in Serb culture. That's why it is significant that Milosevic started his rise to political power in Kosovo and probably the most important event in his political career was when he spoke to 1 million citizens on the 600th Anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo—at the very site of the battle! I want you to also know, Mr. President, the most sacred Serbian Orthodox monasteries are located in Kosovo.

Considering Serbian history, and where Milosevic started his career, American and NATO leaders should have known that Milosevic couldn't give in without losing face. Especially when he was told ''either sign this or we'll bomb you''. Unfortunately, the Clinton administration presented Milosevic with an ultimatum which foreclosed all other options that could have led to a negotiated settlement.

Our bombing campaign has given Milosevic cover to move forward expeditiously with his policy of ethnic cleansing—precisely what we were trying to avoid in the first place. Now, because he and his forces are not being tightly monitored—and that's because all the observers were kicked out as soon as the bombing started—they can do as they wish. Therefore, we hear evidence of massacres and rape, and we have witnessed the forced relocation of hundreds of thousands of people and the total devastation of Kosovo.

To me there is no question that the decision to bomb Kosovo and Serbia was a terrible mistake in the first place, but now we face three bad choices—stop the bombing, continue the bombing, or go in with bombing and ground troops.

Although I disagreed with bombing in the first place, of the three, I believe the least objectionable is to continue the bombing campaign in hopes of securing the very negotiated settlement that has eluded us so far.

Many public officials and foreign policy experts are loudly advocating the introduction of ground troops to Kosovo in an effort to force Milosevic to yield his grip on the Kosovar Albanians and to ultimately ''win the war''. They claim it's the only way.

Let me say that I support the goal of restoring peace and stability to the region, returning to Kosovo those refugees that want to go back, negotiating a new agreement that will guarantee their safety and self-determination and establishing a multinational force to monitor the negotiated settlement. I support all this—but I absolutely oppose the use of American ground troops to implement this goal.

I oppose using American troops in this manner not because I don't think they can get the job done. Far from it. I believe our armed forces have performed magnificently, and I wholeheartedly admire the effort that each of them has been giving during the campaign in Kosovo. They are doing the job we have asked them to do.

However, I see a situation developing in the Balkans that could be just as brutal as that which developed in Vietnam. As opposed to the flat deserts of the Persian Gulf area, the Balkans are a very mountainous region that is ideal for a sustained campaign of guerrilla warfare.

A smaller, and less well-armed force could have the ability to use this natural terrain to impede the progress and mobility of a NATO invasion force for an extended period of time while racking up vast numbers of casualties.

Remember that in World War II, more than 500,000 Nazi soldiers thought that they could just roll through Yugoslavia. They did not, due in large part, to the determination of the Serbian people.

It has been reported that it will take 6 to 8 weeks to even prepare for a ground invasion. And I believe it will probably take even more than that because we don't even have the troops in the region, we haven't even mobilized and we haven't established a staging area.

This will give the Serbs ample time to disperse, fortify defensive works, stockpile their arms, and so on. The steps the Serbs take now will allow them to later harass the invasion force at every conceivable opportunity. It will make it that much more difficult for NATO to secure a victory without incurring heavy losses.

The most important thing I think the American people should know—if we put ground forces in Kosovo, we will go to war with Serbia. Period.

We will have to accept the fact that we will be at war, and that we will have to take out Milosevic. And that means a long, extended war with loss of life and a total destruction of the infrastructure in Serbia, in Kosovo, and what about Montenegro?

And another thing—we have to be seriously concerned about igniting the entire southeast Europe region with our actions. What will the neighboring nations do? What will Russia do? Will NATO's action perhaps cause the radical elements in Russia to come into power?

These are serious questions that may not be of concern now, but the consequences of our actions today may come back to haunt us tomorrow.

We must remember—our goal is to bring peace and stability to this region. I am concerned that the introduction of ground troops may have just the opposite effect and destabilize the region over the long term.

And what happens after we win that war? And it will be won, although at a high cost in terms of lives and infrastructure. What will happen? What will be the disposition of the Kosovar Albanians, hundreds of thousands of whom are now refugees? Are we going to have a greater Albania?

Who will monitor the ''peace'' and who will pay for the rebuilding of the infrastructure in Serbia and Kosovo? What kind of commitment will NATO have to ''Pick up the pieces'' and rebuild Serbia? Will it fall on the United States?

Make no mistake: the introduction of ground troops guarantees that we as a nation are committing to be involved for an extended period of time and the expenditure of many billions of dollars. In order to compare, my colleagues should remember that we have already spent—we have already spent—over $12 billion in Bosnia.

I can't help but feel touched at times like these, in the face of situations of national importance, to contemplate the times that I have visited the Vietnam Memorial. All of us who have done that cannot help but be moved. And I know on my part, tears always well up in my eyes.

Seeing the names carved on that wall, knowing that each name represents an individual who had loved ones and friends and had hopes, dreams and aspirations, is a poignant reminder of what it means to send young men and women into harm's way.

But let me just say that while I disagreed with the policy pursued to stop the humanitarian abuses in Kosovo, those abuses cannot be overlooked by the international community. You just

can't turn your head and forget about it. This morning, I participated in a commemoration of the Holocaust here in our Nation's Capitol. Let us remember so that we never forget.

I believe that in addition to pursuing our strategic interests and our trade interests, we must not forget that our status as a world power gives us a moral responsibility to defend human rights. I call upon my colleagues and all Americans to work toward a consensus on how we as a nation respond to acts of genocide internationally.

Looking away in Croatia was a failure when 250,000 Serbs were driven out. As President Clinton acknowledged, looking away in Rwanda was a mistake where almost a million people were killed between the Tutsi's and the Hutu's. And what about the Kurds in Iraq and Turkey, and all the other areas of the world where such troubles exist? We have it in many, many places in the world.

Thus far, full engagement through bombing has been a failure in Kosovo. Our moral responsibility is to identify the means and the goals available to us to deal with such incidents before they escalate beyond peaceful resolution. We would be well-served—we would be well-served—to have a coherent policy to guide us in the future as to when we go in and when we do not go in.

Mr. President, what this country does in the name of NATO over the next several weeks in regard to Serbia and Kosovo will have a dramatic impact on this country's future. It is our obligation to the American people to exercise our due diligence before we commit to a course of action from which we cannot extricate ourselves. This is very, very serious business that we are now considering.

We should pray to the Holy Spirit for the enlightenment to make the right decision for our country, for southeast Europe, and for the world. Let us be constantly reminded of Jesus's exhortation on the Sermon on the Mount that ''blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.''

Thank you, Mr. President. I yield the floor.

THE MILLENNIUM DIGITAL COMMERCE ACT

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I want to recognize the efforts of Senator ABRAHAM who authored and spearheaded the effort to pass the Government Paperwork Elimination Act during the 105th Congress.

This good government measure, which the President signed into law last year, requires federal agencies to automate their forms and allows computer users to complete, electronically sign, and submit government forms online.

Aside from saving thousands of square feet of storage space, this landmark legislation will significantly reduce the amount of time it takes Americans to complete government paperwork. The millions of hours freed up translates into billions of dollars saved over time. This legislation, which was supported by the Administration, will also help the federal government transition to a paperless document management system. One that allows agencies to collect and maintain forms and other records faster, easier, and cheaper.

Mr. President, Senator ABRAHAM, my friend and colleague, has once again demonstrated his leadership on electronic commerce issues by recently introducing the Millennium Digital Commerce Act. This bipartisan measure, which I cosponsored, is a direct outgrowth of and a natural extension to the Government Paperwork Elimination Act. It provides a national framework for online business to business transactions. This important interstate commerce measure provides legal standing for electronic signatures on contracts and other business transactions without preempting state law on intrastate commerce.

Electronic signatures are the equivalent of an online ''royal seal.'' Electronic signatures are highly controlled and are far more secure than manual signatures. As my colleagues are aware, it is not difficult to mimic someone's handwritten ''John Hancock.'' An electronic signature, however, is verifiable and it becomes invalid if any of the data in the electronic document is altered or eliminated. This revolutionary communication tool can also time and date stamp someone's unique electronic signature. It is an emerging technology that will serve as a springboard for electronic commerce.

Over the last few years, states have recognized the importance of authentication technology on trade and have already adopted rules governing its use. However, of the more than forty states that now have laws on the books, none has adopted the same approach. Congress should not allow an electronic signature hodgepodge to thwart the exponential growth occurring in electronic commerce.

In our fast-paced global and highly technical environment, where time is money, companies transacting business across state lines need assurance that electronically signed documents are fully and legally executable. Senator ABRAHAM's Millennium Digital Commerce Act will ensure that businesses located in different states are held to their agreements and obligations even if their respective states have different rules and approaches concerning electronically signed documents.

This much needed and timely legislation is a necessary precursor to state-by-state adoption of the Uniform Electronic Transactions Act (UETA). Once UETA is finalized, its enactment by all fifty states is not expected to occur for several years.

The Millennium Digital Commerce Act is an important interim step towards eventual national uniformity. It merely establishes the legal certainty of electronic signatures when used for interstate business transactions. It strikes a necessary balance between a state's individual interests and the need for reciprocity among and between states. It fosters the expansion of trade on a state-wide, national, and international basis while promoting continued innovation.

The Millennium Digital Commerce Act is technology neutral and allows businesses to determine the methods they want to utilize for executing an online transaction. This legislation also establishes guiding principles for the use of electronic signatures for international transactions. A framework based on open, non-discriminatory standards. Lastly, Senator ABRAHAM's bill requires federal agencies to identify rules or regulations that impede electronic commerce and recommendations for improvements.

Mr. President, the United States cannot lag behind our industrial trading partners. Already, the United Kingdom has called for the legal recognition of electronic signatures.

I look forward to working with Senator ABRAHAM and Chairman MCCAIN as the Commerce Committee gives prompt consideration to this important pro-technology, pro-electronic commerce legislation.

The Millennium Digital Commerce Act will help move our nation's economy forward into the 21st Century. I hope the rest of my colleagues will support this responsible measure which will benefit both American consumers and American businesses.

THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Monday, April 12, 1999, the federal debt stood at $5,663,866,732,410.23 (Five trillion, six hundred sixty-three billion, eight hundred sixty-six million, seven hundred thirty-two thousand, four hundred ten dollars and twenty-three cents).

Five years ago, April 12, 1994, the federal debt stood at $4,565,109,000,000 (Four trillion, five hundred sixty-five billion, one hundred nine million).

Ten years ago, April 12, 1989, the federal debt stood at $2,771,368,000,000 (Two trillion, seven hundred seventy-one billion, three hundred sixty-eight million).

Fifteen years ago, April 12, 1984, the federal debt stood at $1,486,599,000,000 (One trillion, four hundred eighty-six billion, five hundred ninety-nine million).

Twenty-five years ago, April 12, 1974, the federal debt stood at $473,967,000,000 (Four hundred seventy-three billion, nine hundred sixty-seven million) which reflects a debt increase of more than $5 trillion—$5,189,899,732,410.23 (Five trillion, one hundred eighty-nine billion, eight hundred ninety-nine million, seven hundred thirty-two thousand, four hundred ten dollars and