

sure that Americans have been prepared for anything but the best-case scenario, and that is a disservice to the American people and a disservice to our military.

This resolution calls for an estimate of the full costs associated with military action against Iraq, including, but not limited to, providing humanitarian aid to the Iraqi people and to neighboring nations in light of possible refugee flows, reconstructing Iraq with or without allied support, and securing long-term political stability in Iraq and the region insofar as it is affected by such military action. I can tell you that right now in the Budget committee, we are flying blind, trying to make fiscally responsible decisions for the future while the Administration remains unwilling to provide an honest accounting of what this war will cost, or what it will cost to meet the humanitarian needs of Iraq, or what the long process of reconstruction will cost. We know that these are not small figures. And unfortunately, it looks as though we will be proceeding without a great deal of international support, meaning less burden-sharing and more shouldering of this cost on our own. And that is why this resolution also calls for an accounting of the anticipated short and long term effects of military action on the United States economy and the Federal budget.

I feel strongly that we should have demanded this information long ago. But we continue to ask, because Congress continues to have constitutional responsibilities. And I continue to hear from a tremendous number of my constituents who are deeply concerned about the prospect of a war with Iraq. The sources of their concern and their views on the issue vary, but in virtually all cases, they want to understand the range of options before us, and they are demanding more information about the costs and commitments they will incur as a result of decisions that we make here. They are right to insist on that information, to insist that we exercise some foresight here and wrestle honestly with the consequences that may follow from taking military action. Without such a discussion, we cannot hope to answer the most important question before us—will a given course of action make the U.S. more or less secure in the end.

I urge my colleagues to support this resolution, and to insist that the Administration provide this information before war breaks out. I voted against the resolution authorizing the use of force in Iraq last fall, because I was uncomfortable with the Administration's shifting justifications for war, dissatisfied with the vague answers available at the time relating to our plans for dealing with weapons of mass destruction and reconstruction in Iraq, and most of all, because I was concerned that this action would actually alienate key allies in the fight against terrorism. But even those who voted differently surely must believe that we

have a responsibility to answer these questions now, and to share the answers with our constituents, so that this great country is operating not on wishful thinking or simple ignorance, but with an understanding of the facts before us, and the awesome task ahead.

#### SUBMITTED RESOLUTIONS

##### SENATE RESOLUTION 83—COMMENDING THE SERVICE OF DR. LLOYD J. OGILVIE, THE CHAPLAIN OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE

Mr. FRIST (for himself and Mr. DASCHLE) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

###### S. RES. 83

Whereas Dr. Lloyd J. Ogilvie became the 61st Senate Chaplain on March 13, 1995, and has faithfully served the Senate for 8 years as Senate Chaplain;

Whereas Dr. Ogilvie is the author of 49 books, including "Facing the Future without Fear"; and

Whereas Dr. Ogilvie graduated from Lake Forest College, Garrett Theological Seminary of Northwestern University and New College, University of Edinburgh, Scotland, and has served as a Presbyterian minister throughout his professional life, including being the senior pastor at First Presbyterian Church, Hollywood, California: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That—

(1) the Senate hereby honors Dr. Lloyd J. Ogilvie for his dedicated service as the Chaplain of the United States Senate; and

(2) the Secretary transmit an enrolled copy of this resolution to Dr. Ogilvie.

##### SENATE RESOLUTION 84—PROVIDING FOR MEMBERS ON THE PART OF THE SENATE OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON PRINTING AND THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS ON THE LIBRARY

Mr. LOTT (for himself and Mr. DODD) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

###### S. RES. 84

*Resolved*, That the following named Members be, and they are hereby, elected members of the following joint committees of Congress:

JOINT COMMITTEE ON PRINTING: Mr. Chambliss, Mr. Cochran, Mr. Smith, Mr. Inouye, and Mr. Dayton.

JOINT COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS ON THE LIBRARY: Mr. Stevens, Mr. Lott, Mr. Cochran, Mr. Dodd, and Mr. Schumer.

##### SENATE RESOLUTION 85—TO AMEND PARAGRAPH 2 OF RULE XXII OF THE STANDING RULES OF THE SENATE

Mr. MILLER submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

###### S. RES. 85

*Resolved*, That paragraph 2 of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended to read as follows:

"2. (a)(1) Notwithstanding the provisions of rule II or rule IV or any other rule of the Senate, at any time a motion signed by 16 Senators, to bring to a close the debate upon any measure, motion, other matter pending before the Senate, or the unfinished business, is presented to the Senate, the Presiding Officer, or clerk at the direction of the Presiding Officer, shall at once state the motion to the Senate, and 1 hour after the Senate meets on the following calendar day but 1, he shall lay the motion before the Senate and direct that the clerk call the roll, and upon the ascertainment that a quorum is present, the Presiding Officer shall, without debate, submit to the Senate by a yeas-and-nays vote the question: "Is it the sense of the Senate that the debate shall be brought to a close?"

"(2) If the question in clause (1) is agreed to by three-fifths of the Senators duly chosen and sworn—except on a measure or motion to amend the Senate rules, in which case the necessary affirmative vote shall be two-thirds of the Senators present and voting—then that measure, motion, or other matter pending before the Senate, or the unfinished business, shall be the unfinished business to the exclusion of all other business until disposed of.

"(3) After cloture is invoked, no Senator shall be entitled to speak in all more than 1 hour on the measure, motion, or other matter pending before the Senate, or the unfinished business, the amendments thereto, and motions affecting the same, and it shall be the duty of the Presiding Officer to keep the time of each Senator who speaks. Except by unanimous consent, no amendment shall be proposed after the vote to bring the debate to a close, unless it had been submitted in writing to the Journal Clerk by 1 o'clock p.m. on the day following the filing of the cloture motion if an amendment in the first degree, and unless it had been so submitted at least 1 hour prior to the beginning of the cloture vote if an amendment in the second degree. No dilatory motion, or dilatory amendment, or amendment not germane shall be in order. Points of order, including questions of relevancy, and appeals from the decision of the Presiding Officer, shall be decided without debate.

"(4) After no more than 30 hours of consideration of the measure, motion, or other matter on which cloture has been invoked, the Senate shall proceed, without any further debate on any question, to vote on the final disposition thereof to the exclusion of all amendments not then actually pending before the Senate at that time and to the exclusion of all motions, except a motion to table, or to reconsider and one quorum call on demand to establish the presence of a quorum (and motions required to establish a quorum) immediately before the final vote begins. The 30 hours may be increased by the adoption of a motion, decided without debate, by a three-fifths affirmative vote of the Senators duly chosen and sworn, and any such time thus agreed upon shall be equally divided between and controlled by the Majority and Minority Leaders or their designees. However, only one motion to extend time, specified above, may be made in any 1 calendar day.

"(5) If, for any reason, a measure or matter is reprinted after cloture has been invoked, amendments which were in order prior to the reprinting of the measure or matter will continue to be in order and may be conformed and reprinted at the request of the amendment's sponsor. The conforming changes must be limited to lineation and pagination.

"(6) No Senator shall call up more than 2 amendments until every other Senator shall have had the opportunity to do likewise.

"(7) Notwithstanding other provisions of this rule, a Senator may yield all or part of

his 1 hour to the majority or minority floor managers of the measure, motion, or matter or to the Majority or Minority Leader, but each Senator specified shall not have more than 2 hours so yielded to him and may in turn yield such time to other Senators.

“(8) Notwithstanding any other provision of this rule, any Senator who has not used or yielded at least 10 minutes, is, if he seeks recognition, guaranteed up to 10 minutes, inclusive, to speak only.

“(9) After cloture is invoked, the reading of any amendment, including House amendments, shall be dispensed with when the proposed amendment has been identified and has been available in printed form at the desk of the Members for not less than 24 hours.

“(b)(1) If, upon a vote taken on a motion presented pursuant to subparagraph (a), the Senate fails to invoke cloture with respect to a measure, motion, or other matter pending before the Senate, or the unfinished business, subsequent motions to bring debate to a close may be made with respect to the same measure, motion, matter, or unfinished business. It shall not be in order to file subsequent cloture motions on any measure, motion, or other matter pending before the Senate, except by unanimous consent, until the previous motion has been disposed of.

“(2) Such subsequent motions shall be made in the manner provided by, and subject to the provisions of, subparagraph (a), except that the affirmative vote required to bring to a close debate upon that measure, motion, or other matter, or unfinished business (other than a measure or motion to amend Senate rules) shall be reduced by 3 votes on the second such motion, and by 3 additional votes on each succeeding motion, until the affirmative vote is reduced to a number equal to or less than an affirmative vote of a majority of the Senators duly chosen and sworn. The required vote shall then be an affirmative vote of a majority of the Senators duly chosen and sworn. The requirement of an affirmative vote of a majority of the Senators duly chosen and sworn shall not be further reduced upon any vote taken on any later motion made pursuant to this subparagraph with respect to that measure, motion, matter, or unfinished business.”

**SENATE RESOLUTION 86—TO AUTHORIZE TESTIMONY AND LEGAL REPRESENTATION IN W. CURTIS SHAIN v. HUNTER BATES, ET AL.**

Mr. FRIST (for himself and Mr. DASCHLE) submitted the following resolution, which was considered and agreed to:

S. RES. 86

Whereas, in the case of W. Curtis Shain v. G. Hunter Bates, et al., No. 03-CI-00153, pending in Division II of the Oldham Circuit Court, Twelfth Judicial Circuit, Commonwealth of Kentucky, an affidavit has been requested from Senator Mitch McConnell;

Whereas, pursuant to sections 703(a) and 704(a)(2) of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978, 2 U.S.C. §§288b(a) and 288c(a)(2), the Senate may direct its counsel to represent Members of the Senate with respect to any subpoena, order, or request for testimony relating to their official responsibilities;

Whereas, by the privileges of the Senate of the United States and Rule XI of the Standing Rules of the Senate, no evidence under the control or in the possession of the Senate may, by the judicial or administrative process, be taken from such control or possession but by permission of the Senate;

Whereas, by Rule VI of the Standing Rules of the Senate, no Senator shall absent him-

self from the service of the Senate without leave; and

Whereas, when it appears that evidence under the control or in the possession of the Senate may promote the administration of justice, the Senate will take such action as will promote the ends of justice consistent with the privileges of the Senate: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That Senator McConnell is authorized to provide testimony in the case of W. Curtis Shain v. G. Hunter Bates, et al., except concerning matters for which a privilege should be asserted and when his attendance at the Senate is necessary for the performance of his legislative duties.

SEC. 2. The Senate Legal Counsel is authorized to represent Senator McConnell in connection with any testimony authorized in section one of this resolution.

**SENATE RESOLUTION 87—COMMEMORATING THE CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGE SYSTEM**

Mr. NELSON of Florida (for himself, Mr. GRAHAM of Florida, Mr. INHOFE, Mr. JEFFORDS, Mr. DASCHLE, Mr. CRAPO, Mr. KERRY, Ms. CANTWELL, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mr. BINGAMAN, Mr. WARNER, Mrs. MURRAY, Mrs. HUTCHISON, Ms. MIKULSKI, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. CHAFEE, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. LEAHY, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. HARKIN, Mr. VOINOVICH, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mrs. BOXER, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Mr. AKAKA, Mr. CONRAD, Mr. ALLARD, Mr. DODD, and Mr. EDWARDS) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. RES. 87

Whereas March 14, 2003, will mark the Centennial Anniversary of the National Wildlife Refuge System;

Whereas the United States Senate continues to fully support the mission of the National Wildlife Refuge System, and shares President Theodore Roosevelt's view that: "Wild beasts and birds are by right not the property merely of the people who are alive today, but the property of unknown generations, whose belongings we have no right to squander";

Whereas President Theodore Roosevelt's vision in 1903 to conserve wildlife started with the plants and animals on the tiny Pelican Island on Florida's East Coast, and has flourished across the United States and its territories, allowing for the preservation of a vast array of species; and

Whereas the National Wildlife Refuge System of 540 refuges, that now hosts 35,000,000 visitors annually, with the help of 30,000 volunteers, is home to wildlife of almost every variety in every state of the union within an hour's drive of almost every major city: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Senate—

(1) congratulates the National Wildlife Refuge System on its Centennial Anniversary;

(2) expresses strong support for the National Wildlife Refuge System's continued success in the next 100 years and beyond;

(3) encourages the National Wildlife Refuge System in its continued efforts to broaden understanding and appreciation for the Refuge System, to increase partnerships on behalf of the National Wildlife Refuge System to better manage and monitor wildlife, and to continue its support of outdoor recreational activities; and

(4) reaffirms its commitment to continued support for the National Wildlife Refuge Sys-

tem, and the conservation of our Nation's rich natural heritage.

**SENATE RESOLUTION 88—HONORING THE 80TH BIRTHDAY OF JAMES L. BUCKLEY, FORMER UNITED STATES SENATOR FOR THE STATE OF NEW YORK**

Mr. HATCH submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. RES. 88

Whereas James Buckley served in the United States Senate with great dedication, integrity, and professionalism as a trusted colleague from the State of New York;

Whereas James Buckley served with distinction for more than a decade as a Circuit Judge on the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit;

Whereas James Buckley's long and distinguished career in public service also included serving in the U.S. Navy during World War II, as Undersecretary of State for Security Assistance, and as President of Radio Free Europe;

Whereas James Buckley celebrated his 80th birthday earlier this week: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Senate—

(1) acknowledges and honors the tremendous contributions made by James Buckley during his distinguished career to the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the United States; and

(2) congratulates and expresses best wishes to James Buckley on the celebration of his 80th birthday.

**SENATE RESOLUTION 89—HONORING THE LIFE OF FORMER GOVERNOR OF MINNESOTA ORVILLE L. FREEMAN, AND EXPRESSING THE DEEPEST CONDOLENCE OF THE SENATE TO HIS FAMILY ON HIS DEATH**

Mr. DAYTON (for himself and Mr. COLEMAN) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. RES. 89

Whereas the Senate has learned with sadness of the death of former Governor of Minnesota Orville L. Freeman;

Whereas Orville L. Freeman, born in Minneapolis, Minnesota, greatly distinguished himself by his long commitment to public service;

Whereas Orville L. Freeman, football star, student council president, and Phi Beta Kappa honors student, graduated magna cum laude from the University of Minnesota;

Whereas Orville L. Freeman, a Major in the Marine Corps, served the United States with honor and distinction during World War II, and was awarded a Purple Heart for wounds associated with his heroism;

Whereas the organizational leadership of Orville L. Freeman helped build the Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party into a successful political party;

Whereas, in 1954, Orville L. Freeman became the first Democratic-Farmer-Labor candidate to be elected Governor of Minnesota;

Whereas Orville L. Freeman, elected to 3 consecutive terms as Governor, advanced the concept of governance now known as "the Minnesota Consensus," which views government as a positive force in the lives of citizens, and government programs as investments in Minnesota's future;