The Senate met at 11 a.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

**PRAYER**

The Chaplain, Dr. Lloyd John Ogilvie, offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, the only source of lasting authentic courage, we thank You that You use ordinary people to do extraordinary things. This morning, we turn to the psalmist and to Jesus for the bracing truth about courage to see things through, not just to the end of the Senate session but to the accomplishment of Your ends. David reminds us: “Be of good courage, and He shall strengthen your heart, all you who hope in the Lord”—Psalm 31:24. And Jesus challenges us to take courage (John 16:33). We know that we can take courage to press on because You have taken hold of us and called us to serve You because You have chosen to give Your work done through us. So bless the Senators as they confront the issues of the budget, consider creative compromises, and seek to bring this Senate session to a conclusion. In this quiet moment, may they take courage and press on. Through our Lord and Savior. Amen.

**PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE**

The Honorable JAMES INHOFE, a Senator from the State of Oklahoma, led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

**RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER**

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. INHOFE) The Senator from Ohio.

**SCHEDULE**

Mr. VINOVIICH. Mr. President, today the Senate will be in a period of morning business until 12 noon, with Senator VOINOVICH in control of the first 30 minutes and Senator DURBIN in control of the second 30 minutes.

For the information of all Senators, the final appropriations items were filed last night and are expected to be considered in the House throughout the day. Therefore, following morning business, it is expected that the Senate will begin consideration of the final appropriations items as they are received. Members will be notified as the schedule for consideration becomes clearer.

The Senate may also consider any legislative or executive items cleared for action during today’s session.

I thank my colleagues for their attention.

Mr. REID addressed the Chair.

**BANKRUPTCY REFORM**

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I appreciate the Senator outlining for us what the intent is for the day. I hope that part of what we are going to do is to work on completing the bankruptcy bill. I say to my friends in the majority that we only have a few amendments remaining. I have spoken to Senator LEAHY and his staff, and I am ready to offer a unanimous-consent request. I will not ask that the Senator accept this, recognizing that he must speak with the manager of the bill, Senator GRASSLEY. But what I would like to do is ask unanimous consent that the following amendments numbered 2517, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2658, 2666, 2667, 2747, 2748, 2753, 2759, 2761, 2763, and 2670, and any amendment agreed upon by the two managers be the only amendments—those I have just read and those agreed to by the two managers—in order to S. 625, the bill to amend title 11, United States Code, and for other purposes, and that following the disposition of all the above-described amendments, the bill be immediately advanced to third reading; that the Senate then proceed to the House companion bill, H.R. 833; that all after the enacting clause be stricken, the text of the Senate bill, as amended, be inserted; that the bill be advanced to third reading; that a vote occur on passage of the bill without any intervening action, motion or debate; that the Senate insist on its amendments, request a conference with the House, and the Senate bill be placed back on the calendar.

Mr. President, that is the unanimous-consent request that I spread across the RECORD of the Senate, recognizing that at this time there will not be an objection to it. We will make this unanimous-consent request at some later time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. REID. I am not asking. Mr. President, that there be objection. I am not asking unanimous consent at this time.

I say to the majority that we have enumerated 14 amendments. Seven of them have tentatively been agreed upon or they will be withdrawn. Only seven amendments are now between completing the bankruptcy bill and not completing it this year. The only two amendments of the seven that I understand are causing any controversy are the ones dealing with gun manufacturers and clinic violence.

On the gun manufacturing amendment, the proponents have agreed to a 70-minute time agreement, and on the amendment relating to clinical violence, the proponent has agreed to 30 minutes. So there is really not much left to complete this bill. I hope that during the day there can be discussions ongoing to complete this bill. We would be willing at any time the majority wants to lock in these amendments; we would be willing to come back and I would propose this unanimous consent request, or we could have the majority do so, so that this bill could be completed in a reasonably short period of time.

**RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME**

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, leadership time is reserved.

**MORNING BUSINESS**

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there will now be a period for the transaction of morning business not to extend beyond the hour of 12 noon, with Senators permitted to speak therein up to 5 minutes.

Under the previous order, the time until 11:30 shall be under the control of the Senator from Ohio, Mr. VOINOVICH, or his designee.

**ORDER OF PROCEDURE**

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, my colleague from Nevada spent several minutes outlining a unanimous consent. It was on the time of the Senator from Ohio. I wonder if we might accommodate that.

Mr. REID. Absolutely.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Ohio have charge of the time until 11:30 and then the remainder of the time under the charge of the designee of the minority leader.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

**THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE BALKANS**

Mr. VOINOVICH. Mr. President, as the first session of the 106th Congress...
comes to a close, I want to remind my colleagues that the aftermath of our nation’s largest foreign policy initiative this year and a 78-day air war will be our nation’s biggest foreign policy concern next year.

As my colleagues are aware, I opposed our nation’s “sign or we’ll bomb” diplomacy. It studiously led to the decision to conduct the air war over Kosovo and Serbia earlier this year. Instead, I believed that we should have done all that we could to negotiate a real diplomatic solution. Nevertheless, at the conclusion of the conflict, I came to the Senate floor and commented that “some good always blows in an ill wind.”

The “good” that I saw in the ill wind of the bombing campaign was the opportunity afforded the United States to provide the impetus for a lasting peace throughout Southeastern Europe. Since that time, my staff and I have spent hours working hard to ensure that some good does blow in and that we must seize this opportunity to promote peace, stability and prosperity in that region of our world.

To ensure the future of Southeast Europe, it is important to understand its past. Every student of history is well aware that this century’s two most horrific wars had deep roots in the Balkans, but few people are aware of the level of violence, bloodshed, hatred and destruction that has been commonplace in the region for centuries. Indeed, the Balkans have been the site of numerous wars and countless battles, and have been fought over by every major regional power since the days of the Roman legions. Over the last 10 years, regional ethnic tensions have resulted in yet another nightmare for the people of the Balkans. And for the third time this century, Europe, reluctantly, has turned its attention to their southern neighbors.

Their concern can be attributed to self-interest; an attempt to get Southeast Europe to settle down so as to avoid any possible spillover that could bring unrest to their nations, and a genuine concern over the ethnic cleansing and human rights violations in the region. To do this, Europe has involved the international community, and in particular, the United States, which, for the first time in our history, has immersed itself politically and militarily in the region.

Our willingness to get involved and lead should have come earlier. Indeed, when conflict began in Bosnia in the early 1990’s, it was reported that a top foreign policy official of the Bush Administration made the statement that “we have no dog in this fight.” History records that nothing could have been further from the truth. According to Ambassador Richard Holbrooke in his book, “To End A War”: Europe believed it could solve Yugoslavia without the United States; Washington believed that, with the Cold War over, it could leave Yugoslavia’s hour had not dawned in Yugoslavia; Washington had a dog in this particular fight.

The overconfidence of Europe and the disengagement of the United States contributed greatly to the tragedy of the post-Yugoslav states. When we finally realized it was important for the U.S. to get involved, we dealt with, and thus, legitimized three war criminals—Slobodan Milosevic, Franco Tudjman and Alija Izetbegovic—at the Dayton Peace Accords.

Unfortunately, the legitimitization of Milosevic caused us to continue to have a relationship with him at a time when we should have been working with opposition leaders to get rid of him. Then, when he showed his true colors, we were reluctant to be as aggressive as we should have been. We misjudged him, we underestimated him, and now we’re paying the price for our mistake. As a result, we have spent at least $18 billion in operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Serbia and elsewhere. We will, no doubt, spend billions more. In addition, we have placed a tremendous strain on the equipment and personnel of our Armed Forces due to our past and present involvement in peacekeeping missions in Southeast Europe. Also, the State Department has paid an incredible amount of attention to the Balkans. And finally, we have complicated our relations with other nations on the international scene—primarily, Russia and China.

A November 1 article written by Elizabeth Sullivan for the Cleveland Plain Dealer, indicates that the Russians harbor resentment and incredulity towards the United States over our assuming an air of moral superiority regarding their actions in Chechnya. They see our attitude as a double standard, which affects our ability to harbor resentment and incredulity towards the United States over our assuming an air of moral superiority regarding their actions in Chechnya. They see our attitude as a double standard, which affects our ability to appeal to their better instincts. She writes:
The Kremlin is resolutely turning deaf ear to U.S. admonitions for restraint in Chechnya. The criticisms have inflamed anti-U.S. feelings in Russia where it’s bitterly recalled that NATO’s unpopular bombing killed hundreds of Yugoslav civilians. It is the first big loss of lost U.S. influence after Kosovo.

It is clear that instability in Southeast Europe has the potential to threaten America’s overall interests throughout the rest of Europe. However, for the first time in Southeast Europe into the whole European community would remove the burden and expense of maintaining a constant peacekeeping force, end years of diplomatic wrangling and political posturing, and more important, end the death and destruction that has plagued the region.

Recently, I met with a number of Ambassadors from the Balkans region in the LBJ room here in the Capitol. They made it very clear to me that they are ready to work together. I was pleased that they realized they have a symbiotic relationship—a relationship that must be cultivated in order to bring about peace and implement a modern, free-market economy. The fact is, it was definitively present in that room. There was an aura of enlightenment among those leaders, and we must capitalize on the momentum of this cooperative spirit if we are to successfully bring the region into the broader European fold.

Consider that not so many years ago, no one would have thought that European political and economic cooperation, let alone union, was possible. After all, two world wars had been fought in the trenches and on the fields of Europe, fostering tremendous ill-will among many nationalities.

Today, those feelings have largely dissipated. Germans, French, Italians—all share the same currency, they share national boundaries freely. They work cooperatively to solve economic problems because it is in their collective best interest. We are seeing that in terms of competition right now. The Ambassadors I met with see this cooperation and wish for their nations, but, they are also quite frustrated with the lack of speed by the international community in responding to the humanitarian and economic needs of the region.

The NATO air war triggered immense human suffering which has not yet been fully remedied. Here are some facts:
The refugee exodus from Kosovo decimated the economies of surrounding nations, especially in Macedonia. Macedonia’s reaching out to help their fellow man was done at a great sacrifice to their economy and the quality of life of their people.

In the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), there are still 500,000 refugees from Slavonia, Krijina, and Bosnia. Another 150,000 were displaced during the Kosovo bombing. Kosovo, the international community has had to deal with 700,000 refugees who have returned after the conflict. 500,000 of these refugees are still officially considered “internally displaced persons,” without any place to call their own.

Kosovo has turned into an armed camp where soldiers from numerous countries are forced to keep the peace and prevent further bloodshed. The lack of an effective internal police force has led to virtual chaos, where organized crime and illegal drug trafficking is said to be rampant and a cause of great concern among its citizens.

On this last point, a senior official from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, OSCE, told me that the reason there is no effective police force in Kosovo is because there
Julie Mertus of the Ohio Northern University wrote an excellent piece which was recently published in the Washington Post. Professor Mertus specializes in international law. Here is what she has to say:

How does a freezing and hungry Yugoslavia advance U.S. policy goals? Certainly Milosevic will not be hungry this winter. The American public, however, may be. The name Milosevic means, “let’s get going!” The best way I can summarize the attitude at the meeting I had with the ambassadors, and the meeting I had with the Serbian opposition leaders is a word in Serbo-Croatian—“edemo”—which means, “get some green!” On balance, I believe there has been some real progress made on a number of fronts in our policy towards Southeast Europe in recent months. The Stability Pact is moving ahead—albeit slowly and indeed need of some additional leadership, particularly ours. The policy toward sanctions seems to be finessed a bit and real work finally is being done on the ground in the region to deal with humanitarian concerns. I am pleased the administration is starting to soften up on this a little bit.

The administration is meeting with Serbian opposition leaders and financial support is beginning to trickle into the movement. Southeastern European nations are beginning to think regionally with the understanding they have a symbiotic relationship in their efforts to promote and develop their economies. That is wonderful. However, in many respects, things are much better off today than they were after the war, the momentum has to be increased significantly, and that is the challenge of this Congress and this administration.

The administration, working through the State Department, bears the responsibility of bringing about real change in Serbia and honoring the commitments the United States has made to friendly governments in Southeast Europe. Congress has an obligation for oversight and support to the administration’s policies towards the restoration of peace and stability in the region.

To that end, I look forward to working with my colleagues in the next session of Congress to loosen some of the restrictive language that was placed in the Foreign Operations appropriations bill, language that the State Department claims has made it difficult, and continues to make it difficult, for them to do the kinds of things they would like to be doing in Southeast Europe.

The Senate has already made a positive start with the recent unanimous passage of the Serbia Democratization

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Although it’s hard to grasp the extent of the problem, for the last several months, the U.S. has been working through the United Nations and the International Committee for the Red Cross to deal with the needs of the region. Both the UN and the Red Cross claim that they will be able to keep people fed, clothed and sheltered through the upcoming winter. Yet, I have received a number of credible reports in recent weeks which indicate that in fact we will witness a humanitarian catastrophe in the region in the months ahead because of a lack of shelter, heat, food and medical care.

I am aware that there are individuals in the foreign policy community who are opposed to providing significant assistance to the people of Serbia. They believe that humanitarian suffering will lead to political discontent which will, in turn, lead to a popular movement that will bring about the removal of Slobodan Milosevic. I disagree.

With the exception of South Africa, crippling sanctions have not successfully brought about a change in political leadership. Just look at Saddam Hussein in Iraq. We don’t know what is going on there anymore.

To emphasize this point, Professor Julie Mertus of the Ohio Northern University wrote an excellent piece which was recently published in the Washington Post. Professor Mertus specializes in international law. Here is what she has to say:

How does a freezing and hungry Yugoslavia advance U.S. policy goals? Certainly Milosevic will not be hungry this winter. The name Milosevic means, “let’s get going!” The best way I can summarize the attitude at the meeting I had with the ambassadors, and the meeting I had with the Serbian opposition leaders is a word in Serbo-Croatian—“edemo”—which means, “get some green!” On balance, I believe there has been some real progress made on a number of fronts in our policy towards Southeast Europe in recent months. The Stability Pact is moving ahead—albeit slowly and indeed need of some additional leadership, particularly ours. The policy toward sanctions seems to be finessed a bit and real work finally is being done on the ground in the region to deal with humanitarian concerns. I am pleased the administration is starting to soften up on this a little bit.

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Act. I believe we need to build on that progress. Southeast Europe is strategic to our national interests and key to our efforts to maintain peace in the world. Until the nations of Southeast Europe are welcomed into the broader European community, those efforts will remain unfulfilled. The United States must provide the leadership because we do "have a dog in this fight."

I thank the Chair. I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Voinovich). Without objection, it is so ordered.

MILITARY STATE OF READINESS

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I was presiding when the distinguished Senator from Ohio was talking about the problems the U.N. faces in Kosovo. I share all of the concerns the Senator from Ohio expressed. In addition to that, since I am the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Readiness Subcommittee, I have another concern, and that is the deployment of troops in 1995 into Bosnia, then again to Kosovo, and the way they are being deployed today put us in an apparent condition in terms of our state of readiness.

It is very unfortunate that during this administration we have had a cut 90 percent, only to find out just last week that two of our Army divisions are now rated at C-4. That means they are not capable of combat today. Those two divisions are the 10th Army Division, of which most are located in Bosnia, and the 1st Infantry Division located in Kosovo.

This means that if something should happen, we are not in a ready condition to defend America, where we do have national security interests which, in my opinion, we do not have and never had in either Bosnia or Kosovo. I stood side by side with the Senator from Ohio in trying to keep us from making that deployment. We were not successful. I do believe we should be looking very soon at any way we can bring our troops back to a state of readiness, to do what we are supposed to be doing, the No. 1 function of Government, and that is to defend America.

VIEQUES

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I have been a little disturbed not knowing the certainty of the schedule and how long we will have to get some things done at the last minute. I want to bring up one issue that has to be discussed briefly, and that is the issue of the range that has been used for 58 years on the island of Vieques, located 6 miles off the shores of Puerto Rico.

I am concerned about this because we started using this range 58 years ago. We have become dependent upon it because it is the only range we can use that offers a high-intensity, high-altitude type of training—first, high-altitude bombing; second, the type of protection that comes from the ships to the shore using live fire; and third, the Marine expeditionary amphibious movements. All three of those can be done simultaneously and have been done successfully over the last 58 years.

The problem we have with this range is that there is no place else in the Western Hemisphere that we can actually give the training to our troops. Right now, we have deployed into the Persian Gulf the U.S.S. Kennedy. Because this President put a moratorium on training in Vieques, only half of those deployed on the U.S.S. Kennedy have ever had the necessary training, should they have to become involved in combat.

We have scheduled for the 18th of February the deployment of the U.S.S. Eisenhower Battle Group. If this battle group goes through the Mediterranean and goes to the Persian Gulf, the chances are better than 50-50 they will see combat. If we do not allow them to have the training on the island of Vieques prior to their deployment, they will have to go into combat very likely without ever having any live ordnance training. This goes for the pilots flying the F-18s and the F-14s that will be deployed off the U.S.S. Eisenhower.

I was there 3 weeks ago and watched them during their training, but they were unable to use live ordnances and use that range. It goes for the 24th Marine Expeditionary Unit and the others who would be deployed at the same time.

I would like to quote, if I could, Gen. Wes Clark. Of course, he is one for whom we all have a great deal of respect. We watched the way he worked commanding the European forces and the NATO forces. He said:

"The live fire training that our forces were exposed to at training ranges such as Vieques helped ensure that the forces assigned to this theater—"

We are talking about Kosovo, those 78, 79 days—

"were ready-on-arrival and prepared to fight, win and survive."

What General Clark is saying is, we were successful. Even though we should not have been in Kosovo to start with, once we made that decision, we were successful in dropping our cruise missiles in there and our bombs because of the training those pilots had on the island of Vieques.

Capt. James Stark, Jr., the commanding officer of the Roosevelt Roads Naval Station, said:

When you steam off to battle you’re either ready, or you’re not. If you’re not, that means casualties. That means more POWs. That means less precision and longer campaigns. You pay a price for all this in war, and that price is blood.

We are talking about American blood. I am very proud of all the military, uniformed and others. This is the first time in the years I have served in the Senate that they have been willing to stand up for something they know is right, not knowing for sure where the President is going to be on this issue.

The President has imposed a moratorium on training on the island of Vieques. We are going to try our best to encourage him, for the lives of Americans, to allow us to use it to train those people who are on the U.S.S. Eisenhower, ready to be deployed.

Richard Danzig, the Secretary of the Navy, said:

"Only by providing this preparation can we fairly ask our service members to put their lives on the line."

In a joint statement between the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Chief of Naval Operations, and the Commandant of the Marine Corps, they said: Vieques provides integrated live-fire training "critical to our readiness," and the failure to provide for adequate live-fire training for our naval forces before deployment will place those forces at unacceptably high risk during deployment.

This is military language to mean casualties, those who can be killed in action.

I am proud of Admiral Johnson, the Chief of Naval Operations, and General Jones, the Commandant of the Marine Corps, when they say: Without the ability to train on Vieques, the U.S.S. Eisenhower Battle Group and the 24th Marine Expeditionary Unit scheduled for deployment in February 2000 would not be ready for such deployment "without greatly increasing the risk to those men and women who we ask to go in harm's way."

Lastly, Admiral Murphy, the Commander of the Sixth Fleet of the Navy, said: The loss of training on Vieques would "cost American lives."

It is a very serious thing. I sometimes listen to the complaints we hear from some of the Puerto Ricans, but mostly from the people of the Island of Vieques, who say: Wait a minute. How would you like to have bombs dropped and live ordnances fired where you are? You don’t do anything about that. They actually have a 10-mile buffer range between the bombing range and where people live.

I happen to represent the State of Oklahoma. We have a very fine organization there called Port Sill, where we do all our artillery training. I have said on the floor here several times before that, while on Vieques they have a 10-mile buffer zone, we have only a 1-mile