

I am delighted and pleased that ultimately President Bush came to realize that truth and that America did not go to war in the gulf without congressional authority. President Bush had made all of the same kinds of commitments to allies that we now hear that President Clinton has made to our NATO allies with respect to Kosovo. It would have been enormously embarrassing for President Bush had the Congress not approved his action. He risked that embarrassment because he recognized his constitutional responsibilities. He came to Congress. The vote was close. He ran the risk of losing that vote, but ultimately, the Congress approved America's going ahead with the gulf war. We went ahead with the gulf war.

Yes, we did take casualties, but we set a precedent that is in concert with the constitutional responsibilities that we all face. America could say we went to war with the proper constitutional authorization.

I fear we are on the verge of going to war without the proper constitutional authorization. I fear the President of the United States, because of his concern—if we can believe what we were told in the Capitol briefing yesterday—over our relationship with our allies, is not willing to risk his constitutional responsibility to come to Congress.

I wish that instead of perfecting his one liners for the correspondents dinner last night, the President had been working on a message to Congress. I wish the President of the United States would come before a joint session of the Congress and explain to us what vital national interests are at stake here and why it is necessary for the United States to consider attacking another sovereign nation.

Obviously, he must feel the reasons are compelling or he would not have gone so far down the road as he has already gone. Let him share those compelling reasons with the people of the United States. Obviously, he feels he has a case to make or he would not have pilots standing at the ready to begin bombing. Let him make that case before the Congress of the United States. Let him recognize that when he took an oath to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States, similar to the oath that we took, he cannot ignore the phrase in the Constitution that says that Congress has the right to declare war, not the President. It could not be clearer.

The difference in the President's priorities could not be clearer. Instead of preparing a message to Congress, he was preparing comedic one liners for a correspondents dinner.

Do my colleagues know what one of those one liners was, Mr. President? It is one of the things that offended me the most, reading the paper this morning. He referred to the fact that the vote in the Senate on the impeachment

trial had acquitted him and said, "If it had gone the other way, I wouldn't be here tonight." Then the appropriate comedic pause, and he said, "I demand a recount." Laughter.

Mr. President, I suggest, in the strongest terms I can muster, that the President should not be making light of the dangers of his appearing before a group of correspondents while his administration is in the process of preparing to send young Americans to their death. Flying over Kosovo with the air defenses that are embedded in those mountains firing at you is more dangerous than appearing before a group of correspondents who might write nasty columns about you. For the President to joke about the hazards of his appearing before that dinner on the eve of sending Americans into harm's way, where we are certainly going to see some of them come home in body bags, is to me deeply offensive.

Mr. President, I conclude with what is obvious about my position. The President of the United States has a constitutional duty before he sends Americans to war to come to the Congress of the United States and get some form of declaration of war. I believe he will abrogate his constitutional duty and violate his oath if he does not do that. Without his coming to us and without our adopting constitutionally accurate support for his actions, I will vote against everything that he proposes to do, against the appropriations.

I will vote in every way I can to say the President of the United States has violated his oath and violated the Constitution if he proceeds in the manner that we were informed about in our briefings yesterday.

Mr. President, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FRIST). The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. MURKOWSKI. I thank the Chair, and I wish the Presiding Officer a good morning.

INVOLVEMENT IN KOSOVO

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, a good deal has been said in the last several days concerning our potential involvement as part of a NATO peace-keeping operation in Kosovo. Having had an opportunity to be briefed on several occasions by the Administration, I am concerned that we have not given enough consideration to what we will do if the initial plan fails, or is somehow miscalculated.

Further, I am astonished that we do not have an end game for this exposure of our young men and women whom we

would send into battle. As we consider the consequences of involvement in the Kosovo matter, and my sympathy runs deep for those who are in harms way as a consequence of this continued conflict, I am terribly concerned for the American lives which would be in harms way if we send troops to Kosovo. I just don't think we can continue to be all things to all people.

There are certain times when we have to evaluate what is our appropriate role and when it is time to rally our allies in an efficient, effective coalition of support, of access, of supplies, some way short of a conflict.

When one looks at the armaments over there, we find Russian, we find Chinese, we find U.S., and we find European. As a consequence, had we taken steps some time ago to ensure that this sophisticated weaponry would not fall into irresponsible hands, we might have been able to avoid it. But we are down to a time when the administration obviously is reluctant to admit that, indeed, we are at the brink of entering into a war.

Some have suggested it could be the beginning of World War III. I am not going to dramatize, but do want to emphasize that I do not believe that we have given sufficient attention and strategic analysis to the alternatives to intervention, or to a withdrawal plan should we proceed to send troops to Kosovo. As a consequence, this Senator is not prepared to support an action at this time. I think the President of the United States owes it to the country, as well as to Congress, to come before the body with a clear-cut, committed plan that addresses the questions I have asked this morning.

I, as one Senator, want to put the White House on notice that support from this Senator from Alaska, at this time, is not there.

I also want to emphasize another point, Mr. President, concerning our potential intervention in Kosovo. We are about to enter into a recess at the end of next week and will not reconvene as a body until sometime in mid-April. Any action by the administration to send our troops, as a part of a NATO operation, into action during our absence, obviously puts the Congress in the position of having to support our troops—while we may not necessarily support the underlying action. Of course, we will want to support our troops, and we will support our troops.

But, because of the timing, we as a Congress must decide now—before our troops go in—whether or not we support this intervention. I encourage Members to express their opinions now, in fact plead that Members go on record with this issue, before we are asked to support our troops in Kosovo.

Mr. President, I see no other Member wishing to be recognized. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. BUNNING. Thank you.

PRESIDENT CLINTON SENDING AMERICAN SOLDIERS TO KOSOVO

Mr. BUNNING. In 1995, when I served in the House of Representatives, I and a large bipartisan majority supported a resolution which called for President Clinton to obtain congressional authorization before deploying troops to Bosnia. That resolution passed by a vote of 315 yeas to 103 nays.

Yet, despite that vote, President Clinton went ahead with a large-scale and long-term deployment of tens of thousands of troops to Bosnia without congressional authorization or any meaningful debate.

Back then, President Clinton spoke to us and promised us all that we would have a well-defined mission with a clear exit strategy. But even today there are no details on getting our troops out of Bosnia. We are still there and President Clinton has spent approximately \$12 billion on that mission without ever including Bosnia funds in his budget.

As a result, he is draining crucial defense resources from other critical areas and further putting our soldiers in harm's way. We still have almost 7,000 troops in Bosnia and we are all unsure of what their exact mission really is and when, if ever, they can come home to their families. So much for a clearly defined mission and exit strategy.

But now, all I can say is, "deja vu" and "here we go again."

Right now, American troops are deployed all over the globe in over 30 nations on missions of questionable value and unclear rules of engagement. And now, President Clinton is about to scatter roughly 4,000 more troops to intervene in Kosovo under a NATO mission to enforce a peace agreement. But there is no peace agreement to enforce because one does not exist.

The Serbs and the Albanians have been fighting in this southern region of Serbia for centuries. So is it any surprise that earlier this week in France, the Serbs would not accept the Kosovo peace plan that their rival ethnic Albanians have agreed to sign?

I do not believe that any amount of American involvement is going to end these ethnic conflicts that have raged for centuries. We have tried to resolve this problem for three years and have gotten nowhere. I do not understand why we think we can end this civil war by sending 4,000 additional troops.

President Clinton has not given us any answers as to why sending these

troops to Kosovo is so vital. President Clinton can tell us any time. But where is he? He has the bully pulpit.

I do not believe it is in our national security interest to get involved once again in another so-called peace-keeping mission in this region. In a few years, Kosovo will take its place in history books, along with Bosnia, Haiti and Somalia, as an example of a foreign policy that has no principled framework.

I want to hear from President Clinton as to why this region is of a national security interest to the United States and why he should risk the lives of our young troops by sending them to Kosovo.

And where is the European community in all of this? It seems as though we are risking the lives of our soldiers to clean up Europe's backyard. If anyone should take the lead on this intervention, it should definitely be from a European nation. This is Europe's problem, if anyone's, and not ours. Kosovo is not in our backyard.

An American soldier's job is to protect America's interests by destroying America's enemies on the battlefield. It is an insult to ask an American soldier to serve as a policeman under the umbrella of some international organization instead of the American flag.

There are many questions that President Clinton and his administration need to answer, and we are being left in the dark once again.

President Clinton, take these questions seriously.

When and how many troops are we deploying and how long will they be there?

What is their mission?

Will there be more troops deployed if our goals and missions are not met?

Will foreign commanders be commanding our troops under this NATO force?

What are the rules of engagement?

How will this mission be paid for, and will valuable dollars be pulled away from military readiness accounts to pay for this deployment?

What, if any, is our exit strategy?

As you have heard, President Clinton, I have many questions and I am not alone. You gave us no details and answers with regard to the Bosnia mission, and I fear we, as well, will be given very little, if any, details regarding our involvement in Kosovo.

But quite frankly, not getting answers from President Clinton does not surprise me.

I do not believe we have a compelling national interest to send troops to Kosovo. If they are sent, we all deserve answers from President Clinton before our troops are sent into another mess for years to come.

Our men and women in uniform are ready and willing to defend the interests of this great Nation, but not the interests of other nations. We cannot

undermine the oaths they take when they are sworn into the military to serve this great Nation.

President Clinton, do your job, and let us know what is happening with Kosovo.

God bless our troops.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

EXTENSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the period for morning business be extended until 11:45, under the same terms as previously granted.

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

Mr. THOMAS. Thank you, Mr. President.

SUPPLEMENTAL BUDGETS

Mr. THOMAS. I wanted to take an opportunity in morning business, Mr. President, to comment just a little bit on this whole business of budgeting; I guess more specifically, supplemental budgets and the problems that are there.

First of all, with respect to the budget that is before the Senate, I congratulate the leadership and the Appropriations Committee for the good work that they have done. I know that it is difficult. I think they have done a good job in seeking to offset the costs.

But I really believe that one of the things we need to change in the Senate is our method of budgeting, our method of supplemental budgeting particularly. First of all, in the broader sense, I am hopeful that we will consider this year the idea of a biennial budget, that we will come in at the beginning of the 2-year period, put down a budget, and have 2 years under which to operate so that in the second year we can do more of what we should be doing, and that is oversight of the expenditures of that budget.

I understand that under that circumstance there would be supplemental budgets, that you would probably be more likely to have one if you had the 2-year budget, but I think that is the thing we ought to be doing. Now we spend such a high percentage of our total time doing budgetary things and quite often bringing in things that are nonbudgetary on to budget bills. I think that is a mistake.

We are set up to have a Budget Committee. We are set up to have an Appropriations Committee that deals