

parties have not recognized that fact, and they have, sent men and women into areas of peril without taking the Congress along with them.

I think we learned in Vietnam that unless the American people are behind an effort such as that, it cannot succeed. I believe that Congress ought to fulfill its duties. But I also believe that Congress has to take a stand and demand that its constitutional prerogatives be recognized. No President can carry on a war without the support of Congress or without the support of the American people. I am sure the distinguished majority leader feels the same way about it. We are on the edge of a great precipice here of national danger. And what is happening in the Balkans is something that should be of great concern to all of us and to the people of the world. It was from that area, may I say to my friend, that the Roman legions procured their fiercest fighters. There has been turmoil and fighting in that area of the world for hundreds and hundreds of years. We are seeing there today an individual, Mr. Milosevic, who has a strong will and who is absolutely ruthless in his determination to subjugate and to massacre and to exterminate other peoples.

The President needs to get out front and tell the American people why it is, if we are going to send our men and women into conflict there. If we are going to send planes in there, some of those planes may be shot down. Americans may be held hostage. Americans may be killed. The American people need to know what we are about to do and why and what the end game is and what the exit strategy is, what the motivations are, what the costs are going to be, before we get out there on a limb and have a lot of people killed.

I hope the President will take the lead. Sandy Berger or the Secretary of State or even the Vice President cannot speak for the one man in the country who is the President of the United States, whether he is a Democrat or Republican. The President has the responsibility to get out front, tell the American people what we face and if we are about to send men and women into war, and when this will end, if we ever go there, ever begin bombing. We need to know this. The President needs the Congress behind him. He can't do this alone. He needs the Congress behind him. He needs Republicans and Democrats. We can only be behind him if we understand what we are being asked to do. We don't really understand.

I compliment the majority leader and the minority leader for requesting—they should not have to request this—this hearing in the presence of the President of the United States. That is the man we need to hear from. He is the man who has to put his name on the line. He has to get out front. He has to tell the American people the

truth, and he has to tell Congress. He has to keep Congress informed. He must not get out too far in front of Congress, because, otherwise, he will look behind him and wonder where the troops are one day, meaning the congressional battalions.

I thank the distinguished majority leader.

EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 1999

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

AMENDMENT NO. 81

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, on behalf of the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, I now call for the regular order with respect to amendment No. 81.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the pending amendment.

The bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Texas (Mrs. HUTCHISON) proposes an amendment numbered 81.

AMENDMENT NO. 124

(Purpose: Prohibiting the use of funds for military operations in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) unless Congress enacts specific authorization in law for the conduct of those operations)

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk to the pending Hutchison amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report that amendment.

The bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Mississippi (Mr. LOTT) proposes an amendment numbered 124 to the amendment No. 81.

The amendment is as follows:

Strike all after the word SEC. and insert the following:

FINDINGS.—

The Senate Finds That—

(1) United States national security interests in Kosovo do not rise to a level that warrants military operations by the United States; and

(2) Kosovo is a province in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a sovereign state:

SEC. . RESTRICTION ON USE OF FUNDS FOR MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA (SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO).

(a) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subsection (b), none of the funds available to the Department of Defense (including prior appropriations) may be used for the purpose of conducting military operations by the Armed Forces of the United States in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) unless Congress first enacts a law containing specific authorization for the conduct of those operations.

(b) EXCEPTIONS.—Subsection (a) shall not apply to—

(1) any intelligence or intelligence-related activity or surveillance or the provision of logistical support; or

(2) any measure necessary to defend the Armed Forces of the United States against an immediate threat.

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I send a cloture motion to the desk to the pending second-degree amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The bill clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the Lott amendment No. 124 prohibiting the use of funds for military operations in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia:

Trent Lott, Paul Coverdell, Bob Smith of New Hampshire, Jeff Sessions, Don Nickles, Charles E. Grassley, Sam Brownback, Tim Hutchinson, Michael B. Enzi, Bill Frist, Frank Murkowski, Jim Inhofe, Conrad Burns, Mitch McConnell, Ted Stevens, and Jim Bunning.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, the purpose of the procedure that I just undertook was to make sure we had an opportunity today and on Monday to begin to debate the issue surrounding Kosovo and to decide what the Senate's role should be and what action we will take. This may not be the amendment we wind up considering in the end, but to make sure that we have this opportunity for this debate, I thought it was essential we go ahead and take this action now.

I have been working with the minority leader for the last 2 days in an effort to try to reach an agreement with respect to the situation in Kosovo, as to how we could consider it and when that would be. Unfortunately, because of the evolving circumstances and because of the briefings that occurred on Thursday and again today, we have not been able to best decide how to proceed.

Therefore, I did call up the Hutchison amendment, which primarily had to do with the things that would have to occur, information we would have to receive from the President before the deployment of ground troops in Kosovo. I then sent to the desk an amendment to that which said, basically, that military action could not be undertaken without the Senate having considered this issue. That is basically the Smith of New Hampshire proposal.

Again, I reiterate, so we can lock in the guarantee that we will have an opportunity to discuss this, a cloture motion was filed, but hopefully it won't be necessary to have this vote occur on cloture. We will need to continue to talk about how to proceed, how long we will need, what a vote would be, or to make the decision not to go forward with it would also be an option. I will continue to work with Senators on both sides of the aisle who wish to be heard on this to try to come to a conclusion about how we want to have this vote.

We also have the situation where next week the budget resolution will be taken up on Tuesday afternoon, and we have 50 hours of debate on that. It is

our intent to complete action on that before we leave so that we can, for the first time in a long time, meet the April 15 deadline in having a budget resolution agreed to. We have a lot of work to do. I want to try to set this up.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there now be 30 minutes equally divided, for debate only, on Tuesday, March 23, beginning at 11:45, and a cloture vote occur at 12:15 on Tuesday, and the mandatory quorum under rule XXII be waived.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I ask the majority leader whether or not, given the fact it does not now appear that we will have votes on Monday and Senators will just be coming back, we could schedule the vote for 2:15, immediately following the caucus, so that we would have the opportunity to discuss this matter in caucus and decide what course of action we may take; 2:15, I think, would probably accommodate many Senators who might not otherwise have the opportunity.

Mr. LOTT. If the Senator would yield, I think that is a reasonable request. My only purpose in trying to get it to begin and be completed before the policy luncheon is so we could go right to the budget resolution right after lunch. I think to just have the vote right after lunch at 2:15 and then go to the budget resolution is a reasonable request. We will have Monday in which Senators can begin to express themselves. Senator BYRD and I just had a little colloquy. We will have more Members, I hope, available, as we go forward, and Senators are already calling to indicate they would like to be heard even this afternoon or Monday, to discuss this. We will have the opportunity Tuesday morning.

I want to say, again, we may decide to vitiate all of this. We are just not ready to go forward. If that is the case, then we will do so.

I will modify my request to say that—I would like to have the time still equally divided before the luncheon—the vote occur at 2:15 instead of 12:15.

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

Mr. LOTT. I thank Senator DASCHLE for his cooperation. I thank Senator CLELAND. I thought it was just going to be a couple of minutes. You have been very patient. Thank you for yielding this time.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

GRATITUDE AND THANKS TO
SENATOR BYRD

Mr. CLELAND. Mr. President, I want to say a word of gratitude and thanks to the distinguished senior Senator from West Virginia for several observations.

First of all, as the war clouds gather in the Balkans, hopefully this Nation and NATO will not be drawn into war. If we are drawn into war, I hope we will, as a country, keep in mind the axiom by Baron von Clausewitz that one must know the last step one takes in terms of war before one takes the first step. That should be fully debated here on the floor of the Senate.

The distinguished senior Senator from West Virginia had some wonderful observations about life itself and about spring.

I could not help but identify with his wonderful comments about his great granddaughter and his love for tomatoes and the things that grow in the spring. My father has a similar love for vegetable gardens and particularly for Better Boy and Big Boy tomatoes. I was very touched by Senator BYRD's comments about me, and I appreciate his thoughts immensely.

The last week or two has been fascinating in my life where I learned some things about my own experience in war that have, in effect, triggered a lot of the emotions of war and, hopefully, will lead to a deeper healing of the wounds I incurred there.

The story is in the Hill newspaper, and Senator BYRD was kind enough to enter that into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I thank him personally for that, and it is an honor to be serving with him. He has been one of my personal heroes for many, many years.

I wanted to say those words, Mr. President, because we have an incredible human being with us in the Chamber, Senator BYRD, whose light and life continues to guide us all.

I yield the floor, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who seeks recognition?

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. 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 KOSOVO COMMITMENT

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I am pleased that we are now going to talk about the Kosovo situation. I think it is a very fluid resolution that we have before us but, nevertheless, I think it is very important that we begin to talk about the situation there, because, frankly, in the last 24 hours, things have changed greatly. When the Serbs refused to sign the peace agreement, that started a different dynamic.

Many Members of Congress have been in constant meetings with members of the administration, including the President, about just where we are

now, where is NATO, what are the commitments and, most important, I think from all of the meetings, it has become very clear that many Members of Congress want to know what is the totality of the commitment.

We are beginning to have to address the issue of what kind of hostile possibilities will there be if the NATO forces, which includes the United States, go forward into any kind of a military intervention in Kosovo.

We do not know what Milosevic is planning. I believe if President Milosevic starts to take human lives, that is going to trigger a very swift response.

I hope the President of Serbia will realize that he could solidify this Congress in a way that nothing else would if he decides that he is going to embark on that course, because I think our forces are ready to stop something that would be the annihilation of innocent people.

Mr. President, I think many are not prepared to go into a full-scale altercation with a sovereign country until we have looked at the entirety of that commitment. We need to know the entirety of the commitment of our allies and what we ourselves are willing to do in light of our own principles and our own standards for when we would put American troops into harm's way, into foreign conflicts, and into a situation in which there is no peace agreement. There is even a question of whether it is a real peace agreement if that peace agreement is arrived at through bombing.

This is a watershed period for our country, and the Members of Congress who have been participating in the meetings are trying to put before the President and the administration and the people of this country exactly what are our options.

I believe it is going to be very important in the next week or so that we do know what our commitments are, if we are going to propose to take any kind of hostile action, that we know what is the end game, what is the strategy, what is the commitment of dollars as well as potential lives. The President of the United States must come forward and not only inform Congress, not only work with Congress on these plans, but inform and work with the American people to explain exactly what is proposed and what will be the end game if we get into this kind of conflict.

Mr. President, this is a sobering time. I am pleased that my amendment is the pending business.

I am pleased that Senator LOTT has now offered a second-degree amendment, because we now have two options. We have the option of an up-or-down vote on whether we are ready to send troops into Kosovo, or we have a second approach, which is, if we are going to do this, let's have a plan.