

bearing in mind that it is the role of the Congress to authorize the use of force if, in fact, it is to be undertaken.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

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.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

#### KOSOVO

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, for a short while today and on Monday and on Tuesday, we will be debating a very short, clear, and concise proposal by the distinguished senior Senator from New Hampshire, Senator SMITH, relating to the use of American Armed Forces in combat in Kosovo and Yugoslavia.

Mr. President, I want to state as forcefully as I possibly can my support for that amendment. Senator SMITH states, I think with total accuracy, that the U.S. national security interests in Kosovo do not rise to a level that warrants military operations by the United States. It goes on to point out that any intervention on our part would be to engage the Armed Forces of the United States in a civil war inside the truncated but still nation of Yugoslavia.

Mr. President, there was an op-ed column in the Washington Post just 3 days ago in which the author set out three principles that struck me as totally sound and logical. Rule 1 is, don't involve yourself in a civil war; rule 2, if you do involve yourself in a civil war, take a side; rule 3, if you do involve yourself in a civil war and take a side, make certain that your side wins.

Mr. President, the proposed intervention in Kosovo on the part of the United States essentially violates all three of those rules. Clearly, it will involve us in a civil war. To a large extent, we will not have picked a side because we will not be promoting what those who are revolting against the Serbian authorities wish; that is to say, their independence. And we clearly aren't going in with the intention of winning in the sense of settling that conflict.

So we will follow the sorry example of this administration's military adventures so far: The billions of dollars we have spent in Haiti with troops still in that country now simply defending themselves, without having any discernible positive impact on that society; the low caliber war in which we have been engaged on and off in Iraq without any discernible prospect of removing Saddam Hussein from office; and our multibillion-dollar adventure

in Bosnia, an adventure that has no end, because we are attempting to force people to live together who have no intention and no willingness to do so; and, now here in Kosovo we propose to do exactly the same thing.

Mr. President, I believe that the situation would be different and perhaps more justifiable if the President were to go all the way and to say that the service of freedom requires liberating people who no longer wish to be a part of Yugoslavia and helping them attain their freedom. But we are not doing that. We continue to promote the fiction that borders will not be changed.

The Secretary of State has justified this intervention on three grounds: that it is vital to the survival of NATO, a strange proposition when we have gotten NATO into this position largely ourselves and largely by accident; second, that there are humanitarian reasons to save the victims of this civil war, a justification which will also require us to enter a civil war in Africa, and perhaps in Afghanistan, and in Lord knows how many other places around the world; and the ancient domino theory that if we don't stop this fighting here, it will next go over into Macedonia, into Greece, and into Turkey. But if we were to defend Macedonia, at least we would be defending a sovereign nation.

Mr. President, I am convinced that before the President commits our Armed Forces to combat in Kosovo that he should be required to seek the advice and consent of both of the Houses of the Congress of the United States. I am convinced that this is a matter on which the views of this body should be known formally after a debate, and by a vote. I am convinced that the amendment sets the issues in this case in stark and appropriate context. And I am convinced, Mr. President, that we should vote in favor of that Smith amendment; that we should not risk the lives of members of our armed services and the prestige of the United States to an undefined cause for undefined and secondary ends in a way in which those ends are highly unlikely to be met, or at least highly unlikely to be met without a permanent investment in both our money and in our Armed Forces.

#### THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Thursday, March 18, 1999, the Federal debt stood at \$5,639,558,556,809.78 (Five trillion, six hundred thirty-nine billion, five hundred fifty-eight million, five hundred fifty-six thousand, eight hundred nine dollars and seventy-eight cents).

One year ago, March 18, 1998, the Federal debt stood at \$5,537,179,000,000 (Five trillion, five hundred thirty-seven billion, one hundred seventy-nine million).

Five years ago, March 18, 1994, the Federal debt stood at \$4,554,111,000,000 (Four trillion, five hundred fifty-four billion, one hundred eleven million).

Twenty-five years ago, March 18, 1974, the Federal debt stood at \$471,215,000,000 (Four hundred seventy-one billion, two hundred fifteen million) which reflects a debt increase of more than \$5 trillion—\$5,168,343,556,809.78 (Five trillion, one hundred sixty-eight billion, three hundred forty-three million, five hundred fifty-six thousand, eight hundred nine dollars and seventy-eight cents) during the past 25 years.

#### SAFE DRINKING WATER FOR RURAL AMERICA

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, as the Congress works to provide billions of dollars to address a crisis affecting our neighbors abroad who have had their lives disrupted overnight by raging waters, I have become more and more concerned about another water-related crisis occurring every day in this nation. That crisis is the lack of a safe, reliable supply of drinking water for millions of rural American families. Since 1995, federal data outlining the sorry details of the safe drinking water crisis have been available and, yet, year after year, adequate funding for water and wastewater projects that would solve this crisis is not provided. Last night, my distinguished colleagues joined Senator STEVENS and me in sending a message to rural Americans that their crisis is not forgotten.

Yesterday evening, the Senate adopted an amendment offered by myself and Senator STEVENS to the supplemental appropriations bill that would provide \$30 million in additional funds for rural water and wastewater systems. This money would benefit the neediest of rural communities that are affected by extreme conditions that increase the cost of constructing water and wastewater systems, that have a high incidence of health problems related to water supply and poor sanitary conditions, or whose residents are suffering from a high rate of poverty.

Within the \$30 million in budget authority provided in this amendment, \$5 million would be allocated for loans and \$25 million for grants. The result would be a total program level of \$55,303,000. The reality of this funding is that this year, an additional 25 or more communities throughout the United States would get some relief from the fear of an inadequate, unsafe supply of drinking water.

Safe, reliable drinking water is not an amenity. Safe drinking water is essential to the health and well-being of every American. All life as we know it depends on the necessary element of water.

Most Americans take safe drinking water for granted. Most Americans just