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# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 105<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

## SENATE—Monday, April 12, 1999

The Senate met at 12 noon 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, ultimate Ruler of this world, Lord of all nations and the One to whom all leaders are accountable for the realms of responsibility entrusted to them by You, we return to the work of this Senate in the midst of an international crisis. Like Senates before us in history, we face soul-sized issues with profound humanitarian implications. Bless the Senators as they seek to determine the extent of our Nation's further involvement in finding a solution to the seemingly insolvable problems caused by the bloody civil war in Kosovo. O Dear God, we come to You for guidance and then for the strength and fortitude to act with courage. You are Lord of Serbs and Kosovars, and the nations of NATO. Intervene to bring an end to the merciless persecution, the suffering of homeless refugees, the hate-motivated slaughter of people. Cleanse from Slobodan Milosevic's heart the evil practice of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. And since the United States now is so strategically involved in this crisis, show the Senators and the administration the way to finish the work that has been begun in a just a righteous way that brings peace to that troubled part of the world. In Your all-powerful name. Amen.

### RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The able Senator from Nebraska is recognized.

Mr. HAGEL. I thank the Chair.

### SCHEDULE

Mr. HAGEL. Mr. President, this morning the Senate will be in a period of morning business until 2 p.m., with Senators permitted to speak up to 10 minutes each. Following morning busi-

ness, the Senate may consider any legislative or executive items cleared for action. The leader has announced that there will be no rollcall votes during today's session. So any votes ordered today will be postponed to occur on Tuesday at a time to be determined by the two leaders. It is hoped that the conferees on the budget resolution will be able to complete their work early this week so the Senate may begin consideration of the budget conference report and have a final vote by Thursday.

### MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, there will now be a period for the transaction of morning business not to extend beyond the hour of 2 p.m.

### MEASURES PLACED ON CALENDAR—S. 754 and S. 755

Mr. HAGEL. Mr. President, I understand there are now two bills at the desk due for their second readings.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 754) to designate the Federal building located at 310 New Bern Avenue in Raleigh, North Carolina, as the "Terry Sanford Federal Building".

A bill (S. 755) to extend the period for compliance with certain ethical standards for Federal prosecutors.

Mr. HAGEL. Mr. President, I will object to further consideration of these measures at this time.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bills will be placed on the calendar.

Mr. HAGEL. I thank my colleagues, Mr. President, for their attention. Since there are no other Senators in the Chamber, I note the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

(The remarks of Mr. THURMOND pertaining to the introduction of S. 763 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

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

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

### PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Anthony Blaylock and Shannon Hamm be granted the privilege of the floor for the day.

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

### KOSOVO

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, as the Senate reconvenes from a 2-week Easter recess, I am sure a number of my colleagues will be coming to the floor to discuss the challenges and the difficulties and the circumstances that exist now with respect to the action being taken in Kosovo. I am one of those who voted to support airstrikes in Kosovo. We voted to give the President the authority to commit U.S. troops and airplanes to conduct airstrikes only, along with our NATO allies, to respond to the ethnic cleansing and the genocide that has been occurring in Kosovo.

I believe it is in our national interest to respond in these circumstances when we see genocide being committed. When we see ethnic cleansing on the scale as has been committed in Kosovo, we have a responsibility as a community of nations to respond to it, to try

● This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a member of the Senate on the floor.

to help and to save the lives of those poor, innocent people who are being repressed and in a good many cases murdered, and certainly in hundreds of thousands of cases removed from their homeland, by a tyrant, by someone who does not respect international law. Over 630,000 refugees have been forced from their homes in Kosovo, 25,000 of them loaded on trains in scenes that are reminiscent of the late stages in World War II, sending of the folks to the death camps in the Second World War. Reports of mass executions, burned villages, rapes and robberies—all of this is rampant.

I supported the airstrikes as part of a NATO response to stop this ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. The United States is doing this as a part of NATO, but the United States shoulders the bulk of the burden of the airstrikes in that region. There are 400 U.S. war planes, 400 U.S. aircraft involved in this operation, and about 200 aircraft from the allied nations. During the first week of the war, the United States flew about 90 percent of the sorties. In other words, 90 percent of the pilots and about 90 percent of the airplanes during the first week of that war were U.S. planes and pilots.

I expect we will have briefings this week about the consequences of the airstrikes that have been launched. We have seen substantial television coverage. There has been a great deal of news analysis of all of this, and I think probably everyone here in the Senate is concerned and nervous about what is happening. There is discussion now about whether ground troops ultimately will be needed in that region in order to complete the mission of NATO. I do not know the answer to that, but I do feel very strongly that the introduction of U.S. forces on the ground in the Balkans could be a very, very significant mistake.

The NATO allies, it seems to me, the NATO countries, particularly the European countries, have a greater responsibility, especially in their neighborhood, in their area of the world, to do what is necessary to make the commitment if ground troops are necessary to support this effort. We do not know the consequences of NATO action. We know the consequences of taking no action. That would be the continuation and perhaps the finality of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, perhaps the murder of tens of thousands of additional people, certainly the displacement of hundreds of thousands and more from Kosovo to refugee camps and to other places in the world.

That is unacceptable. None of us want 5 and 10 years from now to look back and say, "What shame has been wrought upon this world with this ethnic cleansing and this genocide that we did nothing about it." That is the reason I think this country and the NATO allies decided we will not allow this to stand; we must take action. So we took

action with airstrikes, and those airstrikes continue.

The next decision, I think, will be, Will there be ground troops needed? I will just say, speaking for myself, I am very concerned about the introduction of U.S. ground forces in the Balkans. I believe very strongly that the NATO countries, particularly the European countries, must bear a greater responsibility of that burden. If ground troops are needed for intervention in the Balkans, then I believe that the European countries ought to commit under NATO those ground troops. But I would be very concerned about a decision to commit U.S. ground troops in the Balkans.

Those of us in leadership on the Republican and Democratic side, both in the Senate and in the House, have been invited to meet with President Clinton tomorrow at the White House late in the morning. We will be discussing this issue, I suspect, in greater detail: What have the airstrikes accomplished? What is the mission? How does that mission now continue toward some kind of conclusion, and what might we expect that conclusion to be?

I do not agree with my colleagues at all who say our mission must be to be successful; our mission must be to win with respect to the goals we have established in this area. But no one should mistake that this is a very difficult set of circumstances. We acted because we had to, but this remains a very difficult set of circumstances for this country and for the NATO allies.

It is my hope that very soon Mr. Milosevic will understand that he cannot continue, that this country and many of us in this body view him as a war criminal. I am one who believes he should be tried as a war criminal in front of an international tribunal. I know some are reluctant to do that because then they say you are negotiating ultimately with a war criminal if you negotiate an end to the hostilities.

The fact is, because genocide is being committed, we are persuaded to go in to stop it. By definition, when we began this process, we decided this person was a war criminal at the start. Why are we reluctant now, at anyplace along this process, to ask an international tribunal to brand him, try him in absentia, if necessary, as a war criminal?

There will be much more to discuss on the subject of Kosovo in the coming days. I will be interested, as well, in the views of my colleagues and interested in the meeting with President Clinton tomorrow with the joint leadership of the House and the Senate.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak on a different subject, the subject of family farming and agriculture, for another 8 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### FAMILY FARMING AND AGRICULTURE

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I urge my colleagues to join me, as we turn towards the agenda before the Senate, from now perhaps until the Fourth of July, to understand that we face an urgent situation in rural America. Family farmers today, in my State and your State, if you represent the farm belt, went to the bank and were told that their investments, all of their 20 or 30 years invested in their farm are gone. They will not be able to plant the ground and raise a crop this year because they are out of money.

I want to read a letter I received from a woman. I talked to her by phone this morning. I was so struck by it, because she represents so well the dilemma and the urgency that we face in family farming.

This is a woman named, Susan Jorgenson, who is from North Dakota. Her husband died last August. She said that he had diabetes. She writes:

... what I really feel caused his death was trying to make a living as a farmer.

I had an auction last week to sell the [farm] machinery, so that I can pay off some of the debt that [we] incurred after 26 years of farming. I have a 17 yr. old son who would not help me prepare for this auction and did not get out of bed the day of the [auction] sale, because he is so heartbroken that he can not continue [to farm] this land.

My husband was an excellent manager and fully educated.

He had a masters degree.

He chose to farm rather than to live in Phoenix where he had a job with Motorola [early on], because he wanted to raise his children in a place with clean air, no crime and good schools. He worked very hard, physically and emotionally to make this farm work and its failure was . . . no fault of his own.

What do we say to families who live on America's farms when prices collapse for the product they produce? And when they take a truckload of grain to the elevator, that elevator operator says, "Well, the grain market for this grain you produced has no value"? The farmer who worked to plant and harvest the crops, risked the money to farm to get that grain to the elevator thinks, "Gosh, that's a strange set of circumstances. I'm told my crop has no value, and yet much of the world goes to bed with an ache in their belly because they don't have enough to eat."

People are starving in other parts of the world. We have images of old women climbing trees scavenging for leaves to eat because there is nothing else to eat. We had a report recently noting a country with a million to a million and a quarter people on the abyss of starvation, and our farmers are told their crops have no value.

The challenge for us in this Congress is to decide whether family farmers matter in our country.

I have a chart that shows all of those counties in America, shown in red,