

the things that happen in China, of course, but in terms of the WTO negotiations, we find, for example, that we are going to make some arrangements to reduce the 40-percent to probably 10-percent tariff on our meat. That will be a very good forward move.

I am hopeful we can find a way to get the largest potential customer in the world into the WTO so that not only will it open markets but we do not have to deal unilaterally with someone; if we have an agreement, then there is the World Trade Organization to enforce those agreements.

We are talking about the tax relief for agriculture. We had income averaging last year, which is very good because the income of the farmers and ranchers varies very much. We have a proposition to have farm accounts which allow farmers to put the money into sort of an IRA for a period of time and draw it out before they pay taxes on it so that they tend to level out in income.

Estate tax relief: I hope that is one of the things we talk about when we deal with the tax reform—estate tax relief. Currently legislation is there to do that.

Meat labeling: I think we need to have, as we have proposed it here—and will again—meat labeling so that we know what the products are and so buyers, when they go to the grocery store, can determine whether the product is domestic. They need to have an opportunity to do that.

Also, grading: USDA grades are for domestic products, and will be used that way. Again, current legislation is pending.

One of the problems of the livestock industry has been, allegedly—and I agree with it—the concentration of packers. We have the latest figures, and I heard that about four packers kill about 87 percent of the product, which would cause you to think that there may be some legislation on pricing. And we need to do that.

We met with the Attorney General and asked that we, again, take a look at the potential of monopoly activities that may be there and do something about the concentration of packers. If they find again that there is nothing illegal being done, as they have in the past, it seems to me that we ought to take a look at the underlying legislation, the Packers and Stockyards Act, to see if, in fact, that needs to be changed. We need to have more competition. Things like owning the cattle, for example, and then using their own cattle instead of going into the market, which can manipulate the price—that fact, that there is buying without reporting the market price. That is something we need to do.

We are trying to change the inspections for interstate shipment of meat so that State inspections will suffice. We think that will help the market a great deal.

Certainly, in the crop area we need to look at NAFTA to make sure that there is not dumping of wheat and other products in this country. We need to take a look at the Crop Insurance Program, which I think has not worked that satisfactorily, to move the Freedom to Farm, and some of the things that are included in that.

Mr. President, I just think that there are a number of things that need to be done. We have some unique issues, of course, in the West where in a great many of our States—in my State of Wyoming 50 percent, and in the case of Nevada, 87 percent—the land belongs to the Federal Government. Much of the land is grazed. Livestock grazes on much of the land. We need to make that accessible so we can have multiple use of those renewable resources. We need to do something about the permit program so that they are not difficult. It isn't necessary, in my view, to have an environmental impact statement on every unchanged renewal of the grazing permits.

So these are some of the changes that need to be done. I don't think agriculture is looking for subsidies, or looking for a farm program. But they are looking for an opportunity to have the markets—an opportunity to go into the marketplace and get prices that are, in fact, reflective of the costs that go into the product.

This is a basic industry to our country. There will be changes made, of course, as time goes by. There have been tremendous changes in agriculture over the last 50 years. The family farmers are getting larger. They are more mechanized and more efficient. They are also much more expensive. And much more investment is required. When you have a great deal of investment, of course, when you have several years of bad prices, it makes it very, very difficult, which also leads to the need probably for some additional lending capacity and some additional assistance in lending because of the 2 years that we have had.

So, Mr. President, I hope that as we come back in after this recess people will be more aware of the difficulty in agriculture, and that we can address ourselves to the many opportunities that we have to strengthen those markets and to provide more healthy and vigorous agriculture.

I thank you, Mr. President, for the time.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative 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.

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, are we still in morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We are.

#### KOSOVO

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, on the Tuesday before the recess, I voted against authorizing the air war in Yugoslavia. I did so because it seemed to me that the goal was a goal not worthy enough, not grave enough to begin what amounts to a war, even though under the President's leadership it has only been half a war.

Our goals were to be permitted to send young American men and women into the midst of a 600-year-old civil strife in order to enforce an agreement that neither side wished. I also voted against that proposition, because it did not seem to me that the means were sufficient to gain even this questionable end. I voted against it, because it did not seem to me that the administration began to foresee the terrible consequences that would ensue if, and as President Milosevic has, accelerated his expulsion of Kosovars from their own homeland, or the refugee problem with which we would be faced. In other words, there were no contingency plans.

At this point, almost 3 weeks later, all of those negative consequences have transpired. We are in the midst of an air war. The air war has not been successful. It is being fought apparently by a President who believes that one can have a war not only without casualties on our side but with few, if any, casualties on the other side. You should not begin a war for reasons that do not justify the use of force, and only the gravest national security reasons do so. And, if you get in one, you should not go into it halfheartedly or without a desire actually to win.

Mr. President, what are the potential outcomes? If we are overwhelmingly successful, we may get sometime in the next week, or the next month, or the next year, exactly the privileges that we sought in the first place—the right to send our soldiers into a now devastated countryside in order to require people to live together who do not wish to live together, and perhaps to enforce an autonomy, which I have already said both sides oppose, or, alternatively, maybe we can get the Russians or someone else to help us reach a negotiated solution in which the Kosovars will be worse off than they were before, and in which the barbarism of Mr. Milosevic will at least have been partially rewarded. Or we may end up sending our own troops into that devilishly difficult part of the Balkans, whether from the south, or the west and the north—and we do not yet know—with an escalation of what will still be a halfhearted war with secondary goals, goals that will not include the removal of the present government in Belgrade and the establishment of a real peace. Or, I suppose it is

possible—just remotely possible—that the President and NATO may decide that we want a full-scale war against Serbia until that regime is, in fact, destroyed.

None of these is an appetizing outcome, by any stretch of the imagination. We are left with these alternatives only, I think, because this administration did not seriously consider what it was doing before it began doing it, or seriously consider both the cost and expense in men, material, money, and prestige of the United States for such a dubious goal.

I wish that I had a firm, accurate, and a favorable outcome to look forward to. I wish I could come up with the appropriate means to reach such a goal. However, it seems to me that if we have learned anything in the last several years from other parts of the world, and in the last several weeks from this part of the world, it is that the armed services of the United States should only be used for a vitally important interest of the United States. If they are then to be used, they should be used with a clear and worthy goal, and with a degree of ruthlessness that assures we attain that goal. At this point we have done nothing but worsen our relationships with the Russians and with the neighbors of Kosovo itself at great expense to ourselves and at a horrendous expense to the victims in Kosovo who have been killed, driven from their homes, or driven out of their homeland entirely, without any significant prospect of returning at any time soon.

We do need a serious national debate on the subject and we need a President of the United States who far more clearly articulates our goals and how we are to attain those goals. We have not had that kind of presentation. For that reason, support for the United States efforts is extremely shallow and is almost certain to disappear once the casualty lists begin to be published in this country.

It is time for candor. It is time for clarity. It is time for a clear statement of our goals. In fact, we are well past time for both of those and we have not received them. I think we are faced with an extremely serious challenge with no clear way to that proper and appropriate goal.

#### RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now stand in recess until the hour of 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 12:32 p.m., recessed until 2:20 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer [Mr. ROBERTS].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The distinguished Senator from New Mexico is recognized.

Mr. DOMENICI. Parliamentary inquiry. What is before the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is no business before the Senate at the moment.

#### CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR 2000

##### MOTION TO APPOINT CONFEREES

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I move that the Chair be authorized to appoint conferees on the part of the Senate with respect to the budget resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is 1 hour equally divided on the motion.

Mr. DOMENICI. Thank you, Mr. President. I understand Senator REID has some motions to instruct. I do not think they will be in order unless we yield back the time that has just been announced.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I say to Senator LAUTENBERG that the situation now is that the motion I made to appoint conferees is pending. There is 1 hour on it. I am prepared to yield back time on that if the Senator from New Jersey is, and then he can proceed to his first motion.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. We are OK with that.

Mr. DOMENICI. I yield back the half hour we have.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. And I yield back the time we have on our side.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, may I ask the distinguished Senator from New Jersey, and the Senate would probably like to know, what he has by way of motions on his side. How many does he think he is going to have this afternoon?

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Since the chairman of the committee asked how many I think, I am free to give an answer. I think there are four, but my guess is that we have to wait to see if there are going to be any more or not.

Mr. DOMENICI. Parliamentary inquiry. Is it not correct, now that the time has been yielded back on the motion to appoint conferees, each motion to instruct carries 30 minutes equally divided and that is all the time available at this point?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. DOMENICI. Unless and until that is yielded back, another motion is not in order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. DOMENICI. Are second-degree amendments to those motions in order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes; second-degree amendments are in order, and they have 20 minutes.

Mr. DOMENICI. Equally divided?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I think we will have one that has to do

with praising our men in the military which we will attach to this at some point. Substantively, unless Senator LAUTENBERG proposes something that prompts a second-degree amendment of some type or prompts us to make an amendment, we do not have any contemplated at this time.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. It is hard for me to imagine there is anything here—

Mr. DOMENICI. We can accept them; right?

Mr. LAUTENBERG. We will have to kind of slug our way through and see how it goes. I appreciate the introduction that the distinguished chairman of the Budget Committee presented. We are going to offer our motions on instructing conferees.

Mr. President, are we now in a position to go ahead and offer those?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes; the Senator is correct.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Just to recount, there is a half hour equally divided on the motions themselves?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

##### MOTION TO INSTRUCT CONFEREES

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, I send to the desk a motion to instruct the conferees on H. Con. Res. 68, the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 2000.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the motion be dispensed with.

Mr. DOMENICI. I reserve the right to object. Is it very lengthy?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator reserves the right to object.

Mr. DOMENICI. I object, and let's read it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. LAUTENBERG] moves to instruct conferees on H. Con. Res. 68, the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 2000, to include in the conference report provisions that would reserve all Social Security surpluses only for Social Security, and not for other programs (including other retirement programs) or tax cuts.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey is recognized.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Thank you, Mr. President.

The motion is very simple. It instructs the conferees who are going to be reviewing the budget resolution to include in the conference report provisions that will reserve all Social Security surpluses for Social Security and for Social Security only—not other programs, including other retirement programs, as has been suggested, and not for tax cuts.

For years, Democrats have been arguing that our top fiscal priority should be to save Social Security first, and we feel very strongly about that. It