

SENATE—Monday, May 3, 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, who hears and answers prayer, we praise You for the answer to our prayers for the release of the three American soldiers imprisoned in Yugoslavia. A week ago today, we joined with millions of people in prayer for them. Today we praise You for the release of Staff Sergeants Christopher J. Stone and Andrew Ramirez and Specialist Steven M. Gonzales. Thank You for the strategic part Jesse Jackson played in the negotiations for their release.

Now, Father, with the same intercessory intensity we pray for the debate here in the Senate on the next steps in the NATO strategy for ending the ethnic cleansing in Kosovo and a safe return of all refugees to their homes. Be with the Senators as they search for an answer. Give them open minds to listen to You and to one another.

The days of this busy week stretch out before us. We commit them to You. Make them productive. We yield our minds to discern Your divine solutions to our problems. Only You have the true perspective, and by Your Spirit You can help us to see through Your eyes. We trust You, for You are faithful. Through our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The acting majority leader is recognized.

Mr. HAGEL. I thank the Chair.

SCHEDULE

Mr. HAGEL. Mr. President, the Senate will be in a period of morning business until 1 p.m. today. Following morning business, the Senate will immediately begin consideration of the McCain resolution, Senate Joint Resolution 20, pursuant to provisions of the War Powers Act. A rollcall vote on or in relation to Senate Joint Resolution 20 concerning the deployment of U.S. Armed Forces to the Kosovo region in Yugoslavia is expected to take place at 5:30 p.m. today.

For the information of all Senators, consideration of the financial modernization bill is expected to begin on Tuesday and hopefully conclude on Thursday evening.

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

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

The legislative assistant proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. VOINOVICH. 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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.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 Senator from Ohio is recognized.

Mr. VOINOVICH. I thank the Chair.

MORNING BUSINESS

MCCAIN RESOLUTION REGARDING KOSOVO

Mr. VOINOVICH. Mr. President. I rise today to oppose the McCain Resolution.

First, I congratulate Reverend Jesse Jackson, Congressman ROD BLAGOJEVICH, Joan Brown Campbell and religious leaders for the release of our three servicemen. I am particularly proud that Joan Campbell, the Secretary General of the National Council of Churches and the mother of County Commissioner Jane Campbell, and Father Irinej Dobrijevic, a Serbian-American Priest from St. Sava Orthodox Cathedral in Cleveland, were major participants in the release.

I pray that the letter from Jesse Jackson to President Clinton and other diplomatic moves this weekend with President Yeltsin of Russia will bring all parties to the table so we can end the bombing, death and destruction that is going on in Serbia and Kosovo.

Mr. President, I am astonished at the negative reaction. In fact, Elizabeth Sullivan in today's Cleveland Plain Dealer pointed out that "the alliance sneers at Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic's latest offer, to accept a lightly armed U.N. peace force, refusing to treat it as the basis for further talks."

In my opinion, our State Department, President and NATO are allowing their egos to get in the way of their common sense and good judgment.

It was this hubris—which is defined as "excessive pride or self-confidence; arrogance"—and their miscalculation of the importance of Kosovo to the Serbian people and Milosevic that got us into this mess.

It appears that they are "hell bent" to get us into a major war that will have catastrophic impact on our domestic and international responsibilities for years to come and may well ignite destabilization of southeast Europe, a new cold war with Russia and

the creation of new alliances by this country's adversaries who we have been working to bring into the international community.

I believe it is time to stop the bombing, reduce hostilities on both sides and resume negotiations to bring about peace and restore stability to the region.

I agree with the sentiments expressed yesterday by Majority Leader TRENT LOTT who said "let's see if we can't find a way to get the bombing stopped, get Milosevic to pull back his troops, find a way to get the Kosovars to go back in a secure way. Short of that, I see a quagmire that is going to go on. It's going to get bloodier."

So, before we vote on this resolution and continue down the path to a further escalation and a greater involvement, there are three things that we have to ask ourselves: (1) What is the price? (2) What is the risk? (3) What is the prize?

The main price that will be paid will be done so in human lives. There will be casualties—American and NATO troops, Kosovar civilians and refugees, Serb civilians as well as civilians in neighboring countries where we've already mistakenly dropped bombs.

We have to remember the experience of World War II, where 700,000 German troops were held-off by 150,000 Serb guerrillas. Are we willing to make such a commitment?

We also have to consider the financial impact of this war so far. Thus far, it is being paid for by Social Security. If the war escalates to include ground forces and if we're totally honest with the American people, we have to tell them that one of three things will happen to pay for this war—

(1) we'll continue to use Social Security to pay for it and the deficit will go up;

(2) we'll reduce spending for domestic programs; or

(3) we'll increase taxes.

In addition, each passing day further diminishes the readiness of our armed forces. We already have a terrible readiness problem—this campaign is only making it worse.

Indeed, comments made by General Richard Hawley, head of the U.S. Air Combat Command indicate that we could run out of the state-of-the-art satellite-guided Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM) for our B-2 Stealth bombers sometime this month.

He is quoted as saying "it's going to be really touch-and-go as to whether we'll go Winchester on JDAM's." That's pilot jargon for "running out of bullets." He also indicated that because more crews are being called up

for this campaign, fewer crews are available should another crisis appear elsewhere in the world (North Korea, Iraq, etc.)

Our main military goal should be to ensure our readiness to the extent that our adversaries know we are prepared.

There are projections indicate that it will take at least \$30 billion to address readiness effectively.

The longer we continue our current efforts, the greater the opportunity that one or more of our NATO allies may decide enough is enough. This could leave the U.S. holding the bag! We could also stir regional resentment among Serbia's neighbors, leading to further political instability and the possibility of a wider war. There are already groups promoting a greater Albania that would include parts of Montenegro, Macedonia, and Greece.

This war could also undermine U.S. and NATO credibility and erode our ability to deter aggression globally.

If we suffer significant casualties, equipment failures, morale loss, etc. potential adversaries in North Korea, China, Iran and Iraq will take note and could react;

Our experience in the Persian Gulf bolstered our credibility but this situation is very different—different terrain, there was an international consensus that Iraqi aggression against a sovereign nation must be reversed, threat of weapons of mass destruction.

AND FINALLY—THE PRIZE

When we win—and I am confident we would win—what do we get?

First there is the need to put in a long-term occupation force to oversee the peace. I am concerned that such a force could be subject to continual guerrilla attacks which would incur casualties.

Then we would have to rebuild the infrastructure and economy of Kosovo and Serbia and that could cost as much as \$100 billion.

We would also have to build a new, Western-oriented and democratic state with whatever existing civic institutions there are available. This could lead to a period of "growing pains" where there is considerable political uncertainty for a number of years.

Mr. President, as our colleague from Kansas, Senator ROBERTS, has pointed out, there would be a precedent for U.S. to intervene militarily when there are widespread humanitarian abuses.

We have a lot of questions to answer before we find ourselves in a war from which we cannot extricate ourselves.

Fundamentally, what Senator MCCAIN's resolution does is give our President carte blanche, and when you look at the price and the risk and the prize, you can understand why I am opposed to this resolution.

We should not give the President blanket authority to get us into another Viet Nam that could very well have much greater negative impact na-

tionally and internationally than Viet Nam.

Two weekends ago I visited Arlington Cemetery, the Vietnam and Korean memorials and I'm going to do everything in my power to make sure that we do not have a Kosovo Memorial here in Washington.

If the Senate passes anything, it ought to be what the House did this last weekend when they had the courage to stand up and be counted.

Congress must exert its Constitutional authority in foreign policy matters and demand that the President seek a declaration of war or formal authorization before he deploys ground troops.

Again, should the Senate decide to offer alternative legislation to the McCain measure, it should include such considerations.

The way we have conducted ourselves with NATO in regard to Kosovo has created an environment that has allowed Slobodan Milosevic and the Serbs to do exactly what those responsible for bombing did not want to happen regarding human rights and ethnic cleansing in Kosovo.

It has resulted in the destruction of the infrastructure in Kosovo to the extent that thousands of Kosovars will never return to their destroyed homeland.

The decision also has resulted in death and destruction in Serbia that is also unconscionable when one realizes that the alleged purpose is to force Slobodan Milosevic to sign an agreement which is tantamount to the Serbs and giving up their sovereignty.

Think about it, Mr. President. If we had not engaged in "sign-or-bomb" diplomacy, we could still be at the negotiating table with 1,600 observers in Kosovo.

The time has come, Mr. President, where NATO needs to get off its high horse, restrain its ego and instead of trying to save face over a major foreign policy blunder and start thinking about saving lives.

It's time to stop the bombing and put everyone's efforts into finding a diplomatic solution that will quickly result in the removal of Serbian troops from Kosovo, end the ethnic cleansing, return the Kosovars to Kosovo and commit to rebuilding both physical and political infrastructure of Kosovo.

We need to fully protect all minority rights including the Serbs and other minorities who live in Kosovo and full participation of all in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia including the Serbian Parliament.

Last but not least an international force to guarantee in the beginning that the agreement provisions are fully implemented and abided by all parties.

Mr. President, let's get to the peace table. Let's all of us get down on our knees and pray that the Holy Spirit will inspire us to remember Jesus' ex-

ultation to us—"Bless are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God."

This nightmare has to end now.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative assistant proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DEWINE. 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. DEWINE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for the next 12 minutes as in morning business.

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

REACHING OUT TO PREVENT TRAGEDY

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, I rise today to make a few comments regarding the tragic shootings in Littleton, CO.

Thirteen days after this tragedy occurred, our Nation is still really in shock. The hearts of my own family and all Ohio families, and, of course, all Americans families, go out to the families who have lost loved ones. There is nothing that you can say that can take the pain away. Anyone who has lost a child understands that. The loss these families have suffered cannot be repaired. But it is important that these families know that there are people—many of us far away from Colorado—whose thoughts and prayers are with them at this terrible time.

What went wrong? Could the shootings have been prevented? What should we do to prevent other tragedies such as this from occurring in the future?

These are all very difficult questions—difficult issues for a public official to talk about, because when you do, people will think that you are claiming to have "the answer." Let me say flat out that I don't claim to have "the answer."

What happened in Littleton will always to some extent remain a mystery, and why it happened. Evil is a mystery that exists deep in the human heart. But that brutal fact of human existence that we can't come up with "the answer" does not excuse us from our moral responsibilities—our responsibilities, as legislators, as parents, as citizens. In fact, it increases our responsibilities. If we don't have "the answer," we have to work harder to find answers—things we can do to make a difference child by child by child. Some of the things we have to do may not be glamorous, but they will all be helpful. They will save lives.

Fred Hiatt pointed out in a powerful Washington Post article recently that 13 children a day—13 children a day—