

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.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