

SENATE—Thursday, May 18, 2000

The Senate met at 9 a.m., and was called to order by the Honorable LINCOLN CHAFEE, a Senator from the State of Rhode Island.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Today's prayer will be offered by our guest Chaplain, the Rev. Eugene F. Rivers, from Azusa Christian Community Church, Dorchester, MA.

PRAYER

The guest Chaplain, Rev. Eugene F. Rivers, offered the following prayer:

Father, we thank You, praise You, and adore You for how You have blessed us. May we be good stewards of all the resources with which You have entrusted us. Provide the men and women of this Senate with knowledge, wisdom, and understanding that they may make decisions that are just and fair.

God of strength and love, because You care for us, we are never alone. Give us the wisdom to turn our fears into courage, so that we will have the power to make good decisions, even in bad situations. Thank You for loving us and teach us how to love ourselves.

Father, give us a love that is patient and kind; that does not envy or boast; that is not proud; that is not rude or self-seeking or easily angered and keeps no record of wrongs. Give us a love that does not delight in evil but rejoices in the truth; that always hopes and perseveres. Give us a love that never fails.—1 Corinthians 13.

Amen.

THE GUEST CHAPLAIN

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, it is my great privilege today to introduce to my colleagues in the Senate a very special person who is here with us, a long time friend of mine and a true leader, nationally as well as in Massachusetts, the Rev. Eugene Rivers.

Reverend Rivers is the pastor of the Azusa Christian Community in Four Corners, which is an inner-city community in Boston. He honored the Senate today by delivering our opening prayer, asking particularly that each and every one of us are bestowed with the wisdom to turn our fears into courage so that we will have the power to make good decisions even in bad situations. I think those words are particularly important to us in the context of this debate in the last few days.

Not only should we be touched by Gene Rivers' words this morning, but I emphasize to my colleagues the degree to which the words of this person of the cloth and the acts of life come from his heart. As someone who knows him and

has worked with him and has been inspired by him, I can tell my colleagues that he is the living embodiment of the words he shared with us today. Those words reflect the important work that he has made his life's work—walking often in places of danger, always in places of difficulty, in order to try to bring the word of God and the spirit to our fellow citizens—in fact, the citizens of the world.

Gene Rivers comes from a place that understands some of the toughest fights in our country. He was born and raised in south Chicago and in northwest Philadelphia. He found himself in a bad situation as a gang member. He was struggling to break free from the life that he knew was either going to take him to jail or to a cemetery.

After, from that difficult life of the streets, Reverend Rivers persevered and he attended Harvard University and then did studies at the Divinity School. Ultimately, he has returned to the streets to live out his inner self in the spirit that commands his life. He has been part of what we call the Boston Miracle. As he puts it, he has let God use him to fight the gangs. Most recently, through his tremendous efforts in Boston, with Operation 2006 and the Baker House, my staff and I have seen Gene Rivers go out into the community, knocking on doors, standing on street corners to develop the services and assistance and the inspiration that so many young people need. He works very closely with the law enforcement authorities in helping to defuse the danger of the gangs.

As a consequence of his hands-on efforts, we went through, I think, almost a 2-year period in which we had not one young person killed in the city of Boston. He is consistently working to try to defuse those kinds of situations. Because of his direct hands-on action, Operation 2006 reduces juvenile violence and it brings the community together in ways that perhaps no one in public life could do without that special kind of connection.

I might add that, since then, Gene Rivers has tackled a much larger call beyond Massachusetts. The Senate this year has become particularly aware of the devastation taking place in Africa as a result of the AIDS epidemic. Gene Rivers has tackled that issue, challenging leaders in Africa, as well as leaders here, to engage in a candid discussion that tries to bring us all together in a united effort to deal with this terrible scourge. He has helped to make us all aware of the responsibility to do something about this, and he has had an impact.

Reverend Rivers was, in fact, the subject of a cover story in Newsweek magazine, I think a little over a year ago. They described him as an "intellectual burst of firecrackers spinning off ideas and energy."

He has been called an "impolitic preacher" and a man of action. Today, I simply want to thank him for always answering the call of leadership, for battling, from every day for the souls and safety of our inner-city kids to standing up to halt the spread of AIDS throughout Africa. I thank him for being a great voice of our generation, and he graces us with his wisdom and his prayers. I extend my heartfelt thanks to Rev. Eugene Rivers for his guidance, his friendship, and his leadership.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The Honorable LINCOLN CHAFEE led the Pledge of Allegiance, as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, DC, May 18, 2000.

TO THE SENATE: Under the provisions of rule I, section 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby appoint the Honorable LINCOLN CHAFEE, a Senator from the State of Rhode Island, to perform the duties of the Chair.

STROM THURMOND,
President pro tempore.

Mr. L. CHAFEE thereupon assumed the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Kansas.

SCHEDULE

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. President, today the Senate will resume consideration of the military construction appropriations bill. There are nearly 5½ hours of debate remaining on the Levin amendment in regard to Kosovo. Senators

who have statements are encouraged to work with the amendment managers on a time to come to the floor. Following the use or yielding back of time, a vote will occur at approximately 2:30 this afternoon. After the disposition of the Levin amendment, it is hoped the Senate can proceed to a vote on final passage of the bill.

For the remainder of the day, it is the intention of the leader to begin consideration of the foreign operations appropriations bill. Senators, therefore, can anticipate votes into this evening's session.

MEASURE PLACED ON THE CALENDAR—H.R. 3709

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. President, I understand there is a bill at the desk due for its second reading.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will read the bill for the second time.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 3709) to extend for 5 years the moratorium enacted by the Internet Tax Freedom Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. President, I object to further proceedings on the bill at this time.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Objection is heard. Under the rule, the bill will be placed on the calendar.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2001

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senate will now resume consideration of S. 2521, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 2521) making appropriations for military construction, family housing, and base realignment and closure for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2001, and for other purposes.

Pending:

Levin amendment No. 3154, to strike certain provisions which require ground troops be withdrawn from Kosovo by a fixed date.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The pending amendment is the Levin amendment No. 3154.

Under the previous order, the Senator from Kansas, Mr. ROBERTS, is recognized to speak for up to 15 minutes.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 20 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. LEVIN. Reserving the right to object.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, there is a time that has been allocated to each side. I ask my good friend from Kansas whether or not the additional 5 minutes will come out from the time that is allocated to his side.

Mr. ROBERTS. The Senator is correct. Last night I asked, under a unanimous consent request, for 20 minutes. I discovered this morning it was 15 minutes. I am merely asking for an additional 5 minutes. Obviously, it will come out of our time.

Mr. LEVIN. I have no objection if it comes out of their time.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. President, I rise to lend my support to the proposed legislation by my colleagues, Senator BYRD and Senator WARNER, in reference to U.S. obligations and involvement in Kosovo and, in a larger sense, in NATO as well, and in opposition to the amendment to strike that has been offered by the distinguished Senator from Michigan.

In this regard, I am a cosponsor of the language introduced several weeks ago by the distinguished chairman of the Armed Services Committee, Senator WARNER. I had the privilege of being in the Presiding Officer's chair when he introduced his legislation. Senator WARNER, after many trips to Kosovo and firsthand experience, became convinced that our united efforts in the Balkans would have no chance of success unless promises made by our allies were kept—obligations for humanitarian assistance and reconstruction so crucial to any positive outcome.

Senator WARNER, in effect, issued a strong warning to our valued allies, and I believe his legislation has become a catalyst for action. Almost every contributing NATO ally and the officials within the administration, has assured the chairman, that they have been, are, or will step up to the plate and fulfill their financial obligations.

I feel with certainty that President Clinton can and will certify the Warner requirements have been met, so essential to achieving peace and stability in Kosovo. Regardless of how Members feel about this legislation or U.S. involvement in Kosovo, we owe Senator WARNER a debt of gratitude.

The second part of this legislation has been authored by Senator ROBERT BYRD. His knowledge of the U.S. Constitution has no equal in this body and his tireless efforts in defending and protecting the constitutional prerogatives of this institution will be among the many legacies he will leave us.

Senator BYRD has a not-so-unique conviction. He believes, and I believe, that we should balance the need for Presidential flexibility in foreign affairs and our constitutional power of the purse.

His legislation signals the end to open-ended—and I emphasize the word "open-ended"—U.S. peacekeeping operations in Kosovo and by periodic reporting promote actual consultation with the Congress and enable us to abide by the Constitution's directives on the separation of powers.

I certainly identify with Senator BYRD's purpose, as I authored a somewhat similar reporting requirement in 1998 during consideration of the Defense appropriations bill, as did Senators CLELAND and SNOWE. This is not new ground we are plowing. The reporting requirement was a little different. It was after the fact, and it was a foregone conclusion in terms of our involvement. We were trying to better determine the mission, the cost, the timing, et cetera. Again, this is not new ground we are plowing.

Notwithstanding the actual content of the Byrd-Warner amendment, it certainly has caused quite a fuss, so much of a fuss that the Senate of the United States is actually in the midst of a foreign policy debate, some \$15 billion and 6 or 7 years into intervention in the Balkans.

We actually have Senators in both the Republican conference and the Democratic caucus involved in some very spirited debate about the U.S. policy in the Balkans, so emblematic of the so-called Clinton doctrine. Imagine that, foreign policy actually getting some attention in the middle of an election year and a Presidential campaign. That is good. That is not bad; that is good. We need this debate.

In fact, I know of two Senators, the Senator from Georgia, Mr. CLELAND, and this Senator from Kansas who have braved the morning business hours, always held in the late afternoons, to launch what we call a foreign policy dialog and discuss at length our vital national security interests, the direction of our foreign policy, and the use of force and related topics.

A few Senators have joined us, particularly Senators HUTCHINSON, HAGEL, LUGAR, and LEVIN. It was a good dialog. We will have more. But this debate is about an actual amendment calling for the Senate to meet our obligations and responsibilities to be an equal partner with the executive in determining where and why our American men and women in uniform are put in harm's way, and for what purpose, and commensurate with our commitments in regard to our allies.

This is almost beyond the hopes of Senator CLELAND and myself, who have been trying to attract attention to this topic for the better part of this session.

My colleagues, this legislation does us, our military, and the American people a big favor, it seems to me. It places the Congress into a process, a process where we already have a constitutional obligation. Simply put, if we, as a body, believe our continued