

time. I do not know how much time the Senator from California needs.

Mrs. BOXER. Fifteen minutes.

Mr. DOLE. I do not have a problem with that, unless somebody has already made plans on voting at 12:30 and then doing something else off the Hill on either side.

Mr. DASCHLE. If the majority leader will yield, does this pertain to the pending amendment, or is it to the larger issue of Bosnia?

Mr. REID. I think, to be candid with the two leaders, I can speak later. It is inconvenient, but it is on the issue and I could speak later.

Mr. DASCHLE. This may not work—

Mr. DOLE. The vote is for 20 minutes.

Mr. DASCHLE. We can get unanimous consent that those Senators who are here be recognized immediately following the vote, if that will accommodate our Senators. I think it would be better to try to keep the schedule, if we can.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Reserving the right to object, let me just say that Senator FRIST also should be put in that group, and I will not object. He has been here all morning. He finally left. I told him that I would protect his rights. I have no objection to the people who have been waiting, but I think we should add Senator FRIST and Senator SPECTER, who is also on his way in, for 15 minutes.

Mr. DOLE. I do not know which order over here, but whatever the order—

Mr. DASCHLE. Senator EXON, Senator REID, Senator BOXER and then Senator Bob KERREY I am told on our side were here. Senator MOYNIHAN spoke.

Mr. DOLE. And then Senator SPECTER.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. For 15 minutes and Senator FRIST and Senator DOMENICI.

Mr. DOLE. Senators SPECTER, FRIST, AND DOMENICI.

Mr. EXON. If the majority leader will yield for a question to try and straighten this matter out. The vote is scheduled at 12:30. Is there a time scheduled for the second vote?

Mr. DOLE. Not yet.

Mr. EXON. Several of us have been waiting a long, long time. Maybe we can get some agreement so I can keep my schedule. Nobody can keep schedules these days because of what is going on. If I could be recognized following the vote for 12 minutes, I would be glad to cooperate.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that following the next vote the Senator from Nebraska be recognized first, the Senator from Tennessee next, the Senator from Nevada next, the Senator from Pennsylvania, and the Senator from California be recognized.

Mr. DASCHLE. And we have two additional Senators. I would hope that we can alternate back and forth if we have

additional Republicans. But our order would be as Senator REID has suggested.

Mr. REID. The Senator from Nebraska needs 15 minutes. I need 12 minutes. Two Senators that are Republicans need 15 minutes each.

Mr. DOLE. There are no time limits. We will just get a sequence. The only time limit is that the President would like to have us complete action on these by 6 or 7 o'clock so they can go to the House and they can be addressed there, if not tonight, tomorrow, shortly after they sign the peace treaty in Paris. So we are trying to accommodate the administration here.

Mr. REID. I ask, Mr. President, that the unanimous-consent request be granted.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Reserving the right to object, I want to make sure it goes back and forth, a Republican and a Democrat.

Mr. DOLE. Yes, it will.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair believes the following unanimous-consent request has been made: After the vote, to recognize first, Senator EXON, the Senator from Nebraska; second, Senator FRIST, the Senator from Tennessee; third, Senator REID, the Senator from Nevada; fourth, Senator SPECTER, the Senator from Pennsylvania; fifth, Senator BOXER, the Senator from California; sixth, Senator DOMENICI, the Senator from New Mexico; seventh, Senator KERREY, the Senator from Nebraska.

Are there any additions?

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I suggest another Republican Senator and then Senator ROBB on our side. So we would hold open the slot for a Republican Senator, to be announced at a later time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

PROHIBITION OF FUNDS FOR BOSNIA DEPLOYMENT

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on H.R. 2606.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is before the Senate and open to amendment. If there be no amendment to be proposed, the question is on the third reading and passage of the bill.

The bill (H.R. 2606) was ordered to a third reading, was read the third time.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senator WARNER be inserted into the Republican spot there, following the Senator from Nebraska, Senator KERREY.

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

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, does the majority leader accept cosponsors at this point of the Dole-McCain amendment?

Mr. DOLE. Absolutely.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. I would like to be added.

Mr. EXON. Put me on.

Mr. DOLE. So we have the Senator from Connecticut, the Senator from Nebraska, the Senator from South Dakota, we will be accepting cosponsors throughout the day.

I will proceed for 2 or 3 minutes before the vote on this bill. I will speak later on the Hutchison amendment and on my own amendment.

Let me speak to the Hefley resolution because I think it is important. Just for the RECORD, I went back and had the Congressional Research Service check my votes and the debates I was participating in between 1969 and 1973 when it came to cutting off funds in Vietnam. We had one debate that lasted 7 weeks, and I was the leader of the effort not to cut off funds because we had people like John McCain who were in prison, and we had other young men and women who were on the ground in Vietnam. I thought it would have been a tragedy. We had long, rancorous, heated debates, on the so-called Cooper-Church amendments—Senator COOPER from Kentucky and Senator CHURCH from Idaho.

So let me say on the so-called resolution before us now, and having a lot of experience in efforts to try to avoid cutting off funds once we have our young men and women committed somewhere around the world, we have a couple of choices. We can cut off funds for this operation and our forces who are already underway; second, we can loudly protest the President's decision and express our opposition; third, we can require the President to take measures that will enhance the safety of our troops and ensure that they will return quickly—without their withdrawal leading to resumption of hostilities.

I have given this matter a lot of thought, and I have been engaged in a lot of these debates on the Senate floor. I have thought about my own personal experience during World War II and deliberations I have had since that time. I have thought about the American troops spending a Christmas overseas in the mountains of Europe. I have also thought about the experience of our brave war heroes like Senator JOHN MCCAIN and BOB KERREY. JOHN MCCAIN was in a Vietnamese prison while tens of thousands of Americans were marching to protest the war, and Congress regularly debated cutting off funds for United States military operations in Southeast Asia. As some may remember, the Congress spent weeks—even months—on debating Cooper-Church, McGovern-Hatfield, and other measures to cut funding for the war in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

I recall that in the spring of 1970, I led a filibuster against the Cooper-Church amendment cutting off funds for military operations in Cambodia and Laos. In that debate, I offered an amendment that would have allowed

the President to waive the funding restrictions if he determined United States citizens were being held as prisoners of war in Cambodia by North Vietnam or the Viet Cong. This amendment failed. Believe it or not, the amendment failed by 36 to 54, and Cooper-Church passed, but only after troop withdrawal had begun.

Mr. President, while I understand opposition to and disagreement with the President's decision to send American ground forces to Bosnia, I believe that action to cut off funds for this deployment is wrong. It is wrong because it makes our brave young men and women bear the brunt of a decision not made by them, but by the Commander in Chief.

I will vote against H.R. 2606, sponsored by Representative HEFLEY, which was passed by the House last month. H.R. 2606 prohibits any use of Department of Defense funds for deployment of United States Armed Forces on the ground in Bosnia participating in the NATO implementation force—unless such funds have been specifically appropriated by subsequent law. There has been no appropriation for this operation, so the effect would be to cut off funds to our troops who are on the way or already on the ground in Bosnia. I do not believe we should limit the funds for food, supplies, and ammunition for our troops. It was wrong during Vietnam, and it is wrong now.

I believe that passing the Hefley resolution would undermine our troops, as well as our credibility.

I believe that even at this late date, the Congress can play a constructive role—supporting the troops by enhancing their prospects for a timely and safe withdrawal, and ensuring that there is a military balance upon the departure of our forces.

President Clinton does not have an exit strategy for our troops. Let us be clear: A date is not an exit strategy. In my view, it would be irresponsible to send thousands of American forces in without a concrete plan to bring them out. We will be debating that at a later time.

Furthermore, we need to do what we can to make certain that the sacrifices being made now—by our men and women in uniform, by the U.S. taxpayer—are not for nought. It would be inexcusable to undertake this immense endeavor, only to leave Bosnia, a year later, in the same situation it is in now—virtually defenseless and at the mercy of its bigger and stronger neighbors.

Later today, we will have an opportunity to vote on the Hutchison-Inhofe and Dole-McCain resolutions. Now, we should speak decisively in support of our troops and defeat H.R. 2606.

This is not the way to go—cutting off funds. As I have said, in all the debates that I have engaged in, these are the records of my votes between 1969 and 1973. It never seemed appropriate for me, when you had young men like JOHN MCCAIN, a prisoner of war, that we

would cut off funds in the U.S. Congress, and I still have that same attitude today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question now occurs on H.R. 2606. The question is: Shall the bill pass?

The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CAMPBELL). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber who desire to vote?

The result was announced, yeas 22, nays 77, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 601 Leg.]

YEAS—22

| | | |
|-----------|------------|----------|
| Brown | Grassley | Nickles |
| Campbell | Gregg | Pressler |
| Craig | Hatfield | Smith |
| D'Amato | Helms | Thomas |
| Domenici | Inhofe | Thompson |
| Faircloth | Kempthorne | Warner |
| Feingold | Kyl | |
| Gramm | Murkowski | |

NAYS—77

| | | |
|-----------|------------|---------------|
| Abraham | Exon | Lugar |
| Akaka | Feinstein | Mack |
| Ashcroft | Ford | McCain |
| Baucus | Frist | McConnell |
| Bennett | Glenn | Mikulski |
| Biden | Gorton | Moseley-Braun |
| Bingaman | Graham | Moynihan |
| Bond | Grams | Murray |
| Boxer | Harkin | Nunn |
| Bradley | Hatch | Pell |
| Breaux | Heflin | Pryor |
| Bryan | Hollings | Reid |
| Bumpers | Hutchison | Robb |
| Burns | Inouye | Rockefeller |
| Byrd | Jeffords | Roth |
| Chafee | Johnston | Santorum |
| Coats | Kassebaum | Sarbanes |
| Cochran | Kennedy | Shelby |
| Cohen | Kerrey | Simon |
| Conrad | Kerry | Simpson |
| Coverdell | Kohl | Snowe |
| Daschle | Lautenberg | Specter |
| DeWine | Leahy | Stevens |
| Dodd | Levin | Thurmond |
| Dole | Lieberman | Wellstone |
| Dorgan | Lott | |

So, the bill (H.R. 2606) was rejected.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. DASCHLE. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

EXPRESSING OPPOSITION OF CONGRESS TO PRESIDENT CLINTON'S PLANNED DEPLOYMENT OF GROUND FORCES TO BOSNIA

The Senate continued with the consideration of the concurrent resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will now resume consideration of Senate Concurrent Resolution 35, offered by the Senator from Texas, Mrs. HUTCHISON.

Mr. DOLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is recognized.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the Senate resume consideration of Senate Concurrent Resolution 35 and it be in order for this Senator to offer my Senate joint resolution and that no amendments or motions to commit be in order to either vehicle.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, let me indicate that we now have had our first vote. We would like to complete action on the concurrent resolution authored by Senators HUTCHISON, NICKLES, and others and then have that vote very quickly if we can. I know a lot of people want to talk, but I think it is general debate. We would also like to have the vote on my joint resolution, the Dole-McCain joint resolution, sometime, hopefully by 6 o'clock this evening. So that gives us about 5 hours of debate. We have already had a number of Members, I would say about 20 Members, each requesting from 10 minutes to 15 minutes to 90 minutes.

Now, we are not going to be able to accommodate everybody, or I hope they can accommodate us, and I hope we can, as much as we can, keep our remarks limited to 5 or 7 or 8 minutes, because if I just add up these requests, this will take us beyond 6 o'clock, probably 7 or 8 o'clock. And I would say as the Republican leader, we are trying to accommodate the President of the United States. So, hopefully, we will have cooperation on both sides. I think the Senator from Texas would like to have a vote about what, mid-afternoon, on her concurrent resolution?

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, yes, I would like to vote as early as we can. I think most people are speaking in general terms so I think midafternoon. And then I would like to see the final vote on yours around 5 so that the House could have the opportunity, if that is possible.

Mr. DOLE. We will do our best.

Mr. DASCHLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The minority leader is recognized.

Mr. DASCHLE. Let me just add to what the majority leader said. Obviously, a lot of Senators wish to speak, for good reason, about this issue and on these resolutions. I hope, though, that we could accommodate all Senators who wish to speak by shortening the length of our statements to the extent that it is practical to do so. Obviously, we will have more opportunities once the resolution passes to come to the floor and continue this exchange and to continue to express ourselves.

But if we are going to allow every Senator an opportunity to speak, we are going to be constrained somewhat in the time allotted for each Senator. So I hope everyone will bear that in mind and cooperate to the extent it is possible so that we can have a vote at the earliest possible time.

I yield the floor.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, we need to get unanimous consent on the next sequence of speakers. I wish to do that so that people know how to plan their afternoon.

This is the second list after the one that was agreed to earlier, and it would include Senator DEWINE, then FEINSTEIN, then LOTT, then BIDEN, then