

talking about actions by our country, our Government, that affect the young people—a military action. While I always try to have that smile on my face, sometimes it is very serious, what we have to attend to. But I appreciate Senator BYRD's comments this morning to the President. I appreciate the President of the United States meeting with the leaders of Congress as we talk about the situation regarding Serbia and Kosovo. I thought it was a positive step.

The Senate, the Congress, must be involved and consulted if a decision is made to take military action, certainly if it is an action that could lead to being an act of war. And we will consider this very carefully. I think it is important this afternoon, and on Monday, the Senate be heard on this issue; that we have the time to discuss and debate, as a matter of fact, the merits and demerits of the plans in Kosovo, what risks are involved. I don't believe the American people now are properly informed about the situation as it now exists. The dynamics have definitely changed in the last few days.

We have gone from considering whether or not ground troops from the United States as a part of a NATO mission would be placed in a peaceable situation in Kosovo—to a situation where it appears that an agreed settlement is not going to be achieved and that the Serbian officials will not agree to have a NATO force come in a peaceful arrangement—to the possibility of airstrikes involving Serbian troops and Serbian sites. This is a very serious step. I think the Senate should have an opportunity to be briefed as we were on Thursday, as we meet with the President as we did today, and to continue to be involved in the dialog.

I believe the President needed to hear some of the things that he heard today. That is why these meetings are not one-way, they are two-way streets—to make sure that we as the people's representatives are being heard. We made the point, the Speaker and others made the point, that the President needs to address this issue with the American people, explain what the present circumstances are. The President will have a press conference this afternoon. I hope he will address it, and I hope there will be appropriate questions about exactly what the plans are for our military in the near term.

Does Senator BYRD wish me to yield on that point?

Mr. BYRD. Yes, if the distinguished majority leader would.

I am glad he has spoken as he has. I don't know how much the American people know about, really, what we face. And I am not sure I know, by any means. I am sure that Congress has certain constitutional responsibilities and that when it comes to sending American men and women into war, into conflict, into danger, Congress also bears part of the responsibility. I am fearful that in recent years especially, American Presidents in both

parties have not recognized that fact, and they have, sent men and women into areas of peril without taking the Congress along with them.

I think we learned in Vietnam that unless the American people are behind an effort such as that, it cannot succeed. I believe that Congress ought to fulfill its duties. But I also believe that Congress has to take a stand and demand that its constitutional prerogatives be recognized. No President can carry on a war without the support of Congress or without the support of the American people. I am sure the distinguished majority leader feels the same way about it. We are on the edge of a great precipice here of national danger. And what is happening in the Balkans is something that should be of great concern to all of us and to the people of the world. It was from that area, may I say to my friend, that the Roman legions procured their fiercest fighters. There has been turmoil and fighting in that area of the world for hundreds and hundreds of years. We are seeing there today an individual, Mr. Milosevic, who has a strong will and who is absolutely ruthless in his determination to subjugate and to massacre and to exterminate other peoples.

The President needs to get out front and tell the American people why it is, if we are going to send our men and women into conflict there. If we are going to send planes in there, some of those planes may be shot down. Americans may be held hostage. Americans may be killed. The American people need to know what we are about to do and why and what the end game is and what the exit strategy is, what the motivations are, what the costs are going to be, before we get out there on a limb and have a lot of people killed.

I hope the President will take the lead. Sandy Berger or the Secretary of State or even the Vice President cannot speak for the one man in the country who is the President of the United States, whether he is a Democrat or Republican. The President has the responsibility to get out front, tell the American people what we face and if we are about to send men and women into war, and when this will end, if we ever go there, ever begin bombing. We need to know this. The President needs the Congress behind him. He can't do this alone. He needs the Congress behind him. He needs Republicans and Democrats. We can only be behind him if we understand what we are being asked to do. We don't really understand.

I compliment the majority leader and the minority leader for requesting—they should not have to request this—this hearing in the presence of the President of the United States. That is the man we need to hear from. He is the man who has to put his name on the line. He has to get out front. He has to tell the American people the truth, and he has to tell Congress. He has to keep Congress informed. He must not get out too far in front of

Congress, because, otherwise, he will look behind him and wonder where the troops are one day, meaning the congressional battalions.

I thank the distinguished majority leader.

EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 1999

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

AMENDMENT NO. 81

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, on behalf of the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, I now call for the regular order with respect to amendment No. 81.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the pending amendment.

The bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Texas (Mrs. HUTCHISON) proposes an amendment numbered 81.

AMENDMENT NO. 124

(Purpose: Prohibiting the use of funds for military operations in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) unless Congress enacts specific authorization in law for the conduct of those operations)

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk to the pending Hutchison amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report that amendment.

The bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Mississippi (Mr. LOTT) proposes an amendment numbered 124 to the amendment No. 81.

The amendment is as follows:

Strike all after the word SEC. and insert the following:

FINDINGS.—

The Senate Finds That—

(1) United States national security interests in Kosovo do not rise to a level that warrants military operations by the United States; and

(2) Kosovo is a province in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a sovereign state:

SEC. . RESTRICTION ON USE OF FUNDS FOR MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA (SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO).

(a) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subsection (b), none of the funds available to the Department of Defense (including prior appropriations) may be used for the purpose of conducting military operations by the Armed Forces of the United States in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) unless Congress first enacts a law containing specific authorization for the conduct of those operations.

(b) EXCEPTIONS.—Subsection (a) shall not apply to—

(1) any intelligence or intelligence-related activity or surveillance or the provision of logistical support; or

(2) any measure necessary to defend the Armed Forces of the United States against an immediate threat.

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I send a cloture motion to the desk to the pending second-degree amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The bill clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the Lott amendment No. 124 prohibiting the use of funds for military operations in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia:

Trent Lott, Paul Coverdell, Bob Smith of New Hampshire, Jeff Sessions, Don Nickles, Charles E. Grassley, Sam Brownback, Tim Hutchinson, Michael B. Enzi, Bill Frist, Frank Murkowski, Jim Inhofe, Conrad Burns, Mitch McConnell, Ted Stevens, and Jim Bunning.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, the purpose of the procedure that I just undertook was to make sure we had an opportunity today and on Monday to begin to debate the issue surrounding Kosovo and to decide what the Senate's role should be and what action we will take. This may not be the amendment we wind up considering in the end, but to make sure that we have this opportunity for this debate, I thought it was essential we go ahead and take this action now.

I have been working with the minority leader for the last 2 days in an effort to try to reach an agreement with respect to the situation in Kosovo, as to how we could consider it and when that would be. Unfortunately, because of the evolving circumstances and because of the briefings that occurred on Thursday and again today, we have not been able to best decide how to proceed.

Therefore, I did call up the Hutchinson amendment, which primarily had to do with the things that would have to occur, information we would have to receive from the President before the deployment of ground troops in Kosovo. I then sent to the desk an amendment to that which said, basically, that military action could not be undertaken without the Senate having considered this issue. That is basically the Smith of New Hampshire proposal.

Again, I reiterate, so we can lock in the guarantee that we will have an opportunity to discuss this, a cloture motion was filed, but hopefully it won't be necessary to have this vote occur on cloture. We will need to continue to talk about how to proceed, how long we will need, what a vote would be, or to make the decision not to go forward with it would also be an option. I will continue to work with Senators on both sides of the aisle who wish to be heard on this to try to come to a conclusion about how we want to have this vote.

We also have the situation where next week the budget resolution will be taken up on Tuesday afternoon, and we have 50 hours of debate on that. It is our intent to complete action on that before we leave so that we can, for the first time in a long time, meet the April 15 deadline in having a budget resolution agreed to. We have a lot of work to do. I want to try to set this up.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there now be 30 minutes equally divided, for debate only, on Tuesday, March 23, beginning at 11:45, and a cloture vote occur at 12:15 on Tuesday, and the mandatory quorum under rule XXII be waived.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I ask the majority leader whether or not, given the fact it does not now appear that we will have votes on Monday and Senators will just be coming back, we could schedule the vote for 2:15, immediately following the caucus, so that we would have the opportunity to discuss this matter in caucus and decide what course of action we may take; 2:15, I think, would probably accommodate many Senators who might not otherwise have the opportunity.

Mr. LOTT. If the Senator would yield, I think that is a reasonable request. My only purpose in trying to get it to begin and be completed before the policy luncheon is so we could go right to the budget resolution right after lunch. I think to just have the vote right after lunch at 2:15 and then go to the budget resolution is a reasonable request. We will have Monday in which Senators can begin to express themselves. Senator BYRD and I just had a little colloquy. We will have more Members, I hope, available, as we go forward, and Senators are already calling to indicate they would like to be heard even this afternoon or Monday, to discuss this. We will have the opportunity Tuesday morning.

I want to say, again, we may decide to vitiate all of this. We are just not ready to go forward. If that is the case, then we will do so.

I will modify my request to say that—I would like to have the time still equally divided before the luncheon—the vote occur at 2:15 instead of 12:15.

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

Mr. LOTT. I thank Senator DASCHLE for his cooperation. I thank Senator CLELAND. I thought it was just going to be a couple of minutes. You have been very patient. Thank you for yielding this time.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. BROWNBACK. In yesterday's RECORD, it did not reflect that I was an original cosponsor of the Roberts-Brownback amendments regarding gas producers that was adopted. I want to inform my colleagues that I was an original cosponsor and I understand the permanent RECORD will reflect that fact.

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I rise today to thank the bill managers for accommodating me—and more importantly the elderly and disabled residents of the St. Paul Public Housing Agency—by accepting an amendment I was prepared to offer which is intended to right a wrong which has been im-

posed by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) upon elderly and disabled public housing residents in St. Paul, Minnesota, as well as nearly 50 other cities in America. As you may be aware, the Service Coordinator Program administered by HUD has succeeded where many Federal programs have failed. It has enabled some of our nation's most vulnerable citizens—the elderly and disabled—to live independently in public housing with dignity. Mr. President, most elderly and disabled public housing residents are not helpless individuals, but rather are people who simply need a little assistance doing the day to day tasks we all take for granted. However, without someone to help with these tasks, many of these people may be forced to move into more expensive assisted living or nursing facilities. The Service Coordinator Program provides basic support services to these residents to enable them to live independently.

Unfortunately, but not surprisingly, HUD has again proven its incompetence by bungling a recent round of funding of this popular and highly successful program. In a June 1998, funding announcement, HUD stated that the \$6.5 million available for public housing agency service coordinators would be allocated through a lottery, but HUD also noted that expiring three year grants would be funded first before the general lottery. Unfortunately, the \$6.5 million HUD set-aside was well short of the \$9.9 million in applications received and rather than funding all renewals at a prorated level, HUD quietly selected some applicants through a lottery and rejected others.

Although this may simply seem like an inconvenient administrative glitch, to the residents of the St. Paul public housing agency which have thrived under this program, it is devastating. That is because St. Paul PHA was one of the fifty or so PHAs which were passed over by HUD. As a result of HUD's blunder, the St. Paul public housing agency will have to release three of their service coordinators within the next month, resulting in the disruption of countless elderly and disabled residents' lives.

In order to correct this problem, my amendment transfers \$3.4 million from the Department of Housing and Urban Development administrative expenses account to fully fund the applications which HUD rejected due to their miscalculation. I believe this amendment appropriately keeps our promise to the elderly and disabled public housing residents with the burden being borne by the agency which created the problem.

GRATITUDE AND THANKS TO SENATOR BYRD

Mr. CLELAND. Mr. President, I want to say a word of gratitude and thanks to the distinguished senior Senator from West Virginia for several observations.