

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.

First of all, as the war clouds gather in the Balkans, hopefully this Nation and NATO will not be drawn into war. If we are drawn into war, I hope we will, as a country, keep in mind the axiom by Baron von Clausewitz that one must know the last step one takes in terms of war before one takes the first step. That should be fully debated here on the floor of the Senate.

The distinguished senior Senator from West Virginia had some wonderful observations about life itself and about spring.

I could not help but identify with his wonderful comments about his great granddaughter and his love for tomatoes and the things that grow in the spring. My father has a similar love for vegetable gardens and particularly for Better Boy and Big Boy tomatoes. I was very touched by Senator BYRD's comments about me, and I appreciate his thoughts immensely.

The last week or two has been fascinating in my life where I learned some things about my own experience in war that have, in effect, triggered a lot of the emotions of war and, hopefully, will lead to a deeper healing of the wounds I incurred there.

The story is in the Hill newspaper, and Senator BYRD was kind enough to enter that into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I thank him personally for that, and it is an honor to be serving with him. He has been one of my personal heroes for many, many years.

I wanted to say those words, Mr. President, because we have an incredible human being with us in the Chamber, Senator BYRD, whose light and life continues to guide us all.

I yield the floor, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who seeks recognition?

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

THE KOSOVO COMMITMENT

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I am pleased that we are now going to talk about the Kosovo situation. I think it is a very fluid resolution that we have before us but, nevertheless, I think it is very important that we begin to talk about the situation there, because, frankly, in the last 24 hours, things have changed greatly. When the Serbs refused to sign the peace agreement, that started a different dynamic.

Many Members of Congress have been in constant meetings with members of the administration, including the President, about just where we are now, where is NATO, what are the commitments and, most important, I think from all of the meetings, it has become

very clear that many Members of Congress want to know what is the totality of the commitment.

We are beginning to have to address the issue of what kind of hostile possibilities will there be if the NATO forces, which includes the United States, go forward into any kind of a military intervention in Kosovo.

We do not know what Milosevic is planning. I believe if President Milosevic starts to take human lives, that is going to trigger a very swift response.

I hope the President of Serbia will realize that he could solidify this Congress in a way that nothing else would if he decides that he is going to embark on that course, because I think our forces are ready to stop something that would be the annihilation of innocent people.

Mr. President, I think many are not prepared to go into a full-scale altercation with a sovereign country until we have looked at the entirety of that commitment. We need to know the entirety of the commitment of our allies and what we ourselves are willing to do in light of our own principles and our own standards for when we would put American troops into harm's way, into foreign conflicts, and into a situation in which there is no peace agreement. There is even a question of whether it is a real peace agreement if that peace agreement is arrived at through bombing.

This is a watershed period for our country, and the Members of Congress who have been participating in the meetings are trying to put before the President and the administration and the people of this country exactly what are our options.

I believe it is going to be very important in the next week or so that we do know what our commitments are, if we are going to propose to take any kind of hostile action, that we know what is the end game, what is the strategy, what is the commitment of dollars as well as potential lives. The President of the United States must come forward and not only inform Congress, not only work with Congress on these plans, but inform and work with the American people to explain exactly what is proposed and what will be the end game if we get into this kind of conflict.

Mr. President, this is a sobering time. I am pleased that my amendment is the pending business.

I am pleased that Senator LOTT has now offered a second-degree amendment, because we now have two options. We have the option of an up-or-down vote on whether we are ready to send troops into Kosovo, or we have a second approach, which is, if we are going to do this, let's have a plan. Those are two options, and in the next 72 hours, I think it will become more and more clear what kind of approach we should take.

There is one thing that is certain today, and that is, the Congress of the

United States has the power to declare war. I suggest that means the power to send our troops into harm's way for a long period of time if we are expecting a conflict. If this is the case, then it is imperative we talk about this issue up front, we have a full debate in the Senate and House of Representatives, that the people of America know what the plans are, know what the potential liabilities are, and the people of America realize what is at stake. There is no substitute for this kind of planning and this kind of communication.

So I am pleased that we are now on this amendment. I look forward to working with all the Members of the Senate so that everyone can be heard and so that, hopefully, we will be able to come to an agreement, but if not, a clear agreement that there will be a real vote and that Congress will play its constitutional role in what happens next; because I believe that what happens in Kosovo and the rest of the Balkans in the decisions that will be made in the next few weeks will perhaps have consequences for years to come in our country.

Thank you, Mr. President.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BUNNING). Without objection, it is so ordered.

KOSOVO

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, we face a matter of utmost seriousness as events are evolving with respect to Kosovo and the massing of a large amount of Serbian troops about to strike imminently, according to all reports. Ethnic cleansing is already being undertaken in the form of brutal attacks on people in Kosovo. Large numbers of people—according to media reports; and since confirmed—were lined up, asked to kneel, pistols placed behind their heads, and executed in cold-blooded murder. This follows a pattern of ethnic cleansing which has gone on for many years in Bosnia.

The United States is considering, in conjunction with NATO forces, air attacks. In the context of what is likely to go on in Kosovo, these are in fact, acts of war which call for authorization by the Congress of the United States under the U.S. Constitution.

We have seen in modern times this constitutional mandate violated by unilateral action by the President, arguably under his authority as Commander in Chief. It is true that he has substantial authority as Commander in Chief to act in times of emergency, but when Congress has an opportunity to deliberate and to consider the issue, it