

While we all pray for peace in the Balkans, I think it is important that the peace be a principled peace. NATO has clearly stated objectives, and we can settle for nothing less than the attainment of those reasonable objectives.

They are quite simply that the Serbian invaders, the military and paramilitary forces that have wreaked havoc, bloodshed, and terror on the Kosovo Albanians be withdrawn from Kosovo; that the Kosovars be allowed to return, to be able to do no more than we take for granted every day of our lives in the U.S., which is to live in peace and freedom in their homes and villages; and that there be an international peacekeeping force to monitor that peace that we will have achieved.

If we agree on the worth and the justice of those objectives, we—NATO, the United States—must be prepared to do whatever is necessary to achieve those objectives. To negotiate half a victory, which is no victory, to claim that we have achieved military objectives without achieving the principled objectives that motivated our involvement, would effectively be a devastating defeat, not just for the human rights of the people of Kosovo, but for NATO and the United States.

By introducing this resolution today, we begin a very serious and fateful debate. Today is just the beginning of it. It must, because of the seriousness of all that is involved here, engage not just the executive branch of our Government and the Members of Congress of both parties and both Houses, but the American people as well.

I come back to the bottom line in concluding. I am convinced that we are engaged in a noble mission with our allies in the Balkans, which goes to the heart of international security, European security and American security, but also goes to the heart of our principles as a nation.

I close, if I may, with a prayer that God will be with all those who are fighting in the Balkans today for freedom and human rights and soften the hearts of our opposition so that the additional force that the Commander in Chief would be authorized to deploy, if this resolution passes, will not be necessary. But if it is, let this resolution stand, introduced as it is today by a bipartisan group of Members of the Senate, let this resolution stand for the clear statement that we will stand together as long as necessary to achieve the principles we cherish in the Balkans, as well as the security that we require.

I thank the Chair, and I yield to my friend and colleague from Nebraska.

Mr. HAGEL addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. HAGEL. Thank you, Mr. President. I thank the distinguished Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. President, I join with my colleagues this morning in introducing this joint resolution because it is the

right thing to do, it is the responsible thing to do.

Our military efforts and our political will must be consistent with and commensurate with our military and political objectives. That is the essence of what this debate is about.

I happen to believe that the Balkans are in the national security interests of this country for many reasons: Our relationship with NATO, the stability of Central and Eastern Europe; the next ring out is the stability of the Baltics, central Asia, Turkey. So in my mind it is rather clear that we do have a national security interest here.

What this resolution is about is cutting through the fog of who is to blame, the miscalculation, mistakes up/down. That must be set aside. What we need to remember is that we are engaged in a war. We must stay focused on this commitment and have the resolution and the will to achieve the purpose which we began a month ago.

Wars—political, military calculations are imperfect. If we believe—and I do; I believe our 18 NATO allies do believe—that this is the right thing to do, then we must commit ourselves to achieving this most important objective. That means the American people must first understand what our national security interests are, the Congress must lead with the President, and we must be unified to accomplish this goal.

Surely, one of the lessons of Vietnam was that not only are long, confusing wars not sustainable in democracies, but we also learned, as Colin Powell laid out very clearly the last time that we dispatched our military might, that the doctrine of military force is very simple: Maximum amount of power, minimum amount of time.

Time is not on our side here, Mr. President. Time is not on our side. The longer this goes without a resolution, the more difficult it will become and the more likely it will be that the resolution, the outcome, will be some kind of a half-baked deal that will resolve nothing; so as we began this noble effort, we will end with no nobility and no achievement as to making the world better and more stable and more secure.

This is not a Republican/Democrat issue. It is far beyond that. I think that is well represented by the bipartisanship of this resolution. There is another consequence that flows from what we are now engaged in, and that is how we will respond to future security challenges. And just as important as that link is how others around the world will measure our response, measure our will, measure our commitment to doing the right thing.

History has taught us very clearly that when you defer the tough decisions, things do not get better; they get worse. And the more you try and appease the Milosevics of the world, things get worse, more people die, more commitment must be made later. That is surely a lesson of history.

The time is now past whether we are committed to do this or not. That debate was a month ago. What we must do now is come together in a unified effort to win this, to achieve our political and military goals, stop the slaughter, stop the butchery, allow the people of Kosovo to go back into their homes, maintain the stability of that part of the world, and allow for a political resolution to develop—not one that we dictate, not one that NATO dictates, but the people of the Balkans.

My colleagues this morning have referred to the outer rings of consequences here, the outer rings of instability. I believe that if this effort is not successful, not only are you destabilizing Central and Eastern Europe, you are taking away the opportunities those nations of Central and Eastern Europe have now, and the former republics of the Socialist Soviet Republic, for a chance to develop a democracy and individual liberties and a free market system, because you have destabilized the area for no other reason than you have brought a million refugees, displaced persons, into that part of the world where those nations and the infrastructures of those nations cannot possibly deal with that and, hence, destabilizing the very infrastructure we are trying to help.

There are so many, many consequences that are attached to this one effort. I hope this resolution makes very clear, on a bipartisan basis, what we, as a Nation, as a member of NATO, as a member of the civilized world have at stake here and why it is important that we win this war. And I call it a war because it is a war.

I hope that the President of the United States will provide the kind of leadership that this Nation is going to need to connect the national security interests not just at the immediate time in that part of the world, but for our long-term national security interests not just in that part of the world, but all parts of the world. The President must lead. If the President wishes to come to the Congress and ask for a declaration of war, that should be entertained and debated and carefully considered.

The time for nibbling around the edges here is gone. And we not only do a great disservice to the men and women that we asked to fight this war, but to our democracy and all of the civilized world if we do not do the right thing. History will judge us harshly, as it should, if we allow this to continue, what is going on in the Balkans today, and do not stop it.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 39

At the request of Mr. STEVENS, the names of the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. GREGG), the Senator from Illinois (Mr. DURBIN), the Senator from Delaware (Mr. BIDEN), and the Senator from Vermont (Mr. LEAHY) were added as cosponsors of S. 39, a bill to provide

a national medal for public safety officers who act with extraordinary valor above the call of duty, and for other purposes.

S. 59

At the request of Mr. BREAUX, the name of the Senator from Louisiana (Ms. LANDRIEU) was added as a cosponsor of S. 59, a bill to provide Government-wide accounting of regulatory costs and benefits, and for other purposes.

S. 331

At the request of Mr. JEFFORDS, the names of the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. SANTORUM) and the Senator from Kansas (Mr. ROBERTS) were added as cosponsors of S. 331, a bill to amend the Social Security Act to expand the availability of health care coverage for working individuals with disabilities, to establish a Ticket to Work and Self-Sufficiency Program in the Social Security Administration to provide such individuals with meaningful opportunities to work, and for other purposes.

S. 409

At the request of Mr. KENNEDY, the name of the Senator from Illinois (Mr. DURBIN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 409, a bill to authorize qualified organizations to provide technical assistance and capacity building services to microenterprise development organizations and programs and to disadvantaged entrepreneurs using funds from the Community Development Financial Institutions Fund, and for other purposes.

S. 414

At the request of Mr. GRASSLEY, the name of the Senator from Washington (Mrs. MURRAY) was added as a cosponsor of S. 414, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide a 5-year extension of the credit for producing electricity from wind, and for other purposes.

S. 472

At the request of Mr. GRASSLEY, the name of the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. FRIST) was added as a cosponsor of S. 472, a bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide certain medicare beneficiaries with an exemption to the financial limitations imposed on physical, speech-language pathology, and occupational therapy services under part B of the medicare program, and for other purposes.

S. 482

At the request of Mr. ABRAHAM, the name of the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. FRIST) was added as a cosponsor of S. 482, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to repeal the increase in the tax on the social security benefits.

S. 484

At the request of Mr. CAMPBELL, the name of the Senator from New York (Mr. SCHUMER) was added as a cosponsor of S. 484, a bill to provide for the granting of refugee status in the United States to nationals of certain foreign countries in which American

Vietnam War POW/MIAs or American Korean War POW/MIAs may be present, if those nationals assist in the return to the United States of those POW/MIAs alive.

S. 487

At the request of Mr. GRAMS, the name of the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. THOMAS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 487, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide additional retirement savings opportunities for small employers, including self-employed individuals.

S. 512

At the request of Mr. GORTON, the names of the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. SANTORUM) and the Senator from Washington (Mrs. MURRAY) were added as cosponsors of S. 512, a bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the expansion, intensification, and coordination of the activities of the Department of Health and Human Services with respect to research on autism.

S. 526

At the request of Mr. GRAHAM, the name of the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. HOLLINGS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 526, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to allow issuance of tax-exempt private activity bonds to finance public-private partnership activities relating to school facilities in public elementary and secondary schools, and for other purposes.

S. 595

At the request of Mr. DOMENICI, the name of the Senator from Alaska (Mr. MURKOWSKI) was added as a cosponsor of S. 595, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to establish a graduated response to shrinking domestic oil and gas production and surging foreign oil imports, and for other purposes.

S. 631

At the request of Mr. DEWINE, the name of the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. EDWARDS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 631, a bill to amend the Social Security Act to eliminate the time limitation on benefits for immunosuppressive drugs under the medicare program, to provide continued entitlement for such drugs for certain individuals after medicare benefits end, and to extend certain medicare secondary payer requirements.

S. 632

At the request of Mr. DEWINE, the name of the Senator from Indiana (Mr. LUGAR) was added as a cosponsor of S. 632, a bill to provide assistance for poison prevention and to stabilize the funding of regional poison control centers.

S. 697

At the request of Mrs. BOXER, the names of the Senator from Maryland (Ms. MIKULSKI), the Senator from New York (Mr. SCHUMER), and the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. LAUTENBERG) were added as cosponsors of S. 697, a bill to ensure that a woman can des-

ignate an obstetrician or gynecologist as her primary care provider.

S. 735

At the request of Mr. KENNEDY, the name of the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. DODD) was added as a cosponsor of S. 735, a bill to protect children from firearms violence.

S. 779

At the request of Mr. ABRAHAM, the name of the Senator from Maine (Ms. COLLINS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 779, a bill to provide that no Federal income tax shall be imposed on amounts received by Holocaust victims or their heirs.

S. 790

At the request of Mr. LAUTENBERG, the name of the Senator from Nevada (Mr. REID) was added as a cosponsor of S. 790, a bill to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to require manufacturers of bottled water to submit annual reports, and for other purposes.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 22

At the request of Mr. DODD, the name of the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. INOUE) was added as a cosponsor of Senate Concurrent Resolution 22, a concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to promoting coverage of individuals under long-term care insurance.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 25

At the request of Mr. JEFFORDS, the name of the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. SPECTER) was added as a cosponsor of Senate Concurrent Resolution 25, a concurrent resolution urging the Congress and the President to fully fund the Federal Government's obligation under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act.

SENATE RESOLUTION 29

At the request of Mr. ROBB, the names of the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. HOLLINGS) and the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY) were added as cosponsors of Senate Resolution 29, a resolution to designate the week of May 2, 1999, as "National Correctional Officers and Employees Week."

SENATE RESOLUTION 33

At the request of Mrs. MURRAY, her name was added as a cosponsor of Senate Resolution 33, a resolution designating May 1999 as "National Military Appreciation Month."

SENATE RESOLUTION 34

At the request of Mr. TORRICELLI, the names of the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. LAUTENBERG) and the Senator from Georgia (Mr. CLELAND) were added as cosponsors of Senate Resolution 34, a resolution designating the week beginning April 30, 1999, as "National Youth Fitness Week."

SENATE RESOLUTION 59

At the request of Mr. LAUTENBERG, the names of the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. JOHNSON), the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. EDWARDS), and the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. TORRICELLI) were added as cosponsors

of Senate Resolution 59, a bill designating both July 2, 1999, and July 2, 2000, as "National Literacy Day."

SENATE RESOLUTION 68

At the request of Mrs. MURRAY, her name was added as a cosponsor of Senate Resolution 68, a resolution expressing the sense of the Senate regarding the treatment of women and girls by the Taliban in Afghanistan.

AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED

LEGISLATION TO PROVIDE GUIDANCE FOR THE DESIGNATION OF EMERGENCIES AS A PART OF THE BUDGET PROCESS

ABRAHAM (AND OTHERS)
AMENDMENT NO. 254

Mr. LOTT (for Mr. ABRAHAM for himself, Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. THOMPSON, and Mr. VOINOVICH) proposed an amendment to the bill (S. 557) to provide guidance for the designation of emergencies as a part of the budget process; as follows:

At the end of the bill, add the following:

TITLE II—SOCIAL SECURITY SURPLUS PRESERVATION AND DEBT REDUCTION ACT

SEC. 201. SHORT TITLE.

This title may be cited as the "Social Security Surplus Preservation and Debt Reduction Act".

SEC. 202. FINDINGS.

Congress finds that—

(1) the \$69,246,000,000 unified budget surplus achieved in fiscal year 1998 was entirely due to surpluses generated by the social security trust funds and the cumulative unified budget surpluses projected for subsequent fiscal years are primarily due to surpluses generated by the social security trust funds;

(2) Congress and the President should balance the budget excluding the surpluses generated by the social security trust funds;

(3) according to the Congressional Budget Office, balancing the budget excluding the surpluses generated by the social security trust funds will reduce the debt held by the public by a total of \$1,723,000,000,000 by the end of fiscal year 2009; and

(4) social security surpluses should be used for social security reform or to reduce the debt held by the public and should not be spent on other programs.

SEC. 203. PROTECTION OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY TRUST FUNDS.

(a) PROTECTION BY CONGRESS.—

(1) REAFFIRMATION OF SUPPORT.—Congress reaffirms its support for the provisions of section 13301 of the Budget Enforcement Act of 1990 that provides that the receipts and disbursements of the social security trust funds shall not be counted for the purposes of the budget submitted by the President, the congressional budget, or the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985.

(2) PROTECTION OF SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS.—If there are sufficient balances in the Federal Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Trust Fund and the Federal Disability Insurance Trust Fund, the Secretary of Treasury shall give priority to the payment of social security benefits required to be paid by law.

(b) POINTS OF ORDER.—Section 301 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(j) SOCIAL SECURITY POINT OF ORDER.—It shall not be in order in the Senate to consider a concurrent resolution on the budget, an amendment thereto, or a conference report thereon that violates section 13301 of the Budget Enforcement Act of 1990.

"(k) DEBT HELD BY THE PUBLIC POINT OF ORDER.—It shall not be in order in the Senate to consider any bill, joint resolution, amendment, motion, or conference report that would—

"(1) increase the limit on the debt held by the public in section 253A(a) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985; or

"(2) provide additional borrowing authority that would result in the limit on the debt held by the public in section 253A(a) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 being exceeded.

"(l) SOCIAL SECURITY SURPLUS PROTECTION POINT OF ORDER.—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—It shall not be in order in the Senate to consider a concurrent resolution on the budget, an amendment thereto, or a conference report thereon that sets forth a deficit in any fiscal year.

"(2) EXCEPTION.—Paragraph (1) shall not apply if—

"(A) the limit on the debt held by the public in section 253A(a) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 is suspended; or

"(B) the deficit for a fiscal year results solely from the enactment of—

"(i) social security reform legislation, as defined in section 253A(e)(2) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985; or

"(ii) provisions of legislation that are designated as an emergency requirement pursuant to section 251(b)(2)(A) or 252(e) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985."

(c) SUPERMAJORITY WAIVER AND APPEAL.—Subsections (c)(1) and (d)(2) of section 904 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 are amended by striking "305(b)(2)," and inserting "301(k), 301(l), 305(b)(2), 318."

(d) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 318 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, as added by this Act, is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(c) EXCEPTION FOR DEFENSE SPENDING.—Subsection (b) shall not apply against an emergency designation for a provision making discretionary appropriations in the defense category."

SEC. 204. DEDICATION OF SOCIAL SECURITY SURPLUSES TO REDUCTION IN THE DEBT HELD BY THE PUBLIC.

(a) AMENDMENTS TO THE CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET ACT OF 1974.—The Congressional Budget Act of 1974 is amended—

(1) in section 3, by adding at the end the following:

"(11)(A) The term 'debt held by the public' means the outstanding face amount of all debt obligations issued by the United States Government that are held by outside investors, including individuals, corporations, State or local governments, foreign governments, and the Federal Reserve System.

"(B) For the purpose of this paragraph, the term 'face amount', for any month, of any debt obligation issued on a discount basis that is not redeemable before maturity at the option of the holder of the obligation is an amount equal to the sum of—

"(i) the original issue price of the obligation; plus

"(ii) the portion of the discount on the obligation attributable to periods before the beginning of such month.

"(12) The term 'social security surplus' means the amount for a fiscal year that receipts exceed outlays of the Federal Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Trust Fund and the Federal Disability Insurance Trust Fund."

(2) in section 301(a) by—

(A) redesignating paragraphs (6) and (7) as paragraphs (7) and (8), respectfully; and

(B) inserting after paragraph (5) the following:

"(6) the debt held by the public; and"; and

(3) in section 310(a) by—

(A) striking "or" at the end of paragraph (3);

(B) by redesignating paragraph (4) as paragraph (5); and

(C) inserting the following new paragraph:

"(4) specify the amounts by which the statutory limit on the debt held by the public is to be changed and direct the committee having jurisdiction to recommend such change; or"

(b) AMENDMENTS TO THE BALANCED BUDGET AND EMERGENCY DEFICIT CONTROL ACT OF 1985.—The Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 is amended—

(1) in section 250, by striking subsection (b) and inserting the following:

"(b) GENERAL STATEMENT OF PURPOSE.—This part provides for the enforcement of—

"(1) a balanced budget excluding the receipts and disbursements of the social security trust funds; and

"(2) a limit on the debt held by the public to ensure that social security surpluses are used for social security reform or to reduce debt held by the public and are not spent on other programs."

(2) in section 250(c)(1), by inserting " ' debt held by the public', 'social security surplus' " after "outlays"; and

(3) by inserting after section 253 the following:

"SEC. 253A. DEBT HELD BY THE PUBLIC LIMIT.

"(a) LIMIT.—The debt held by the public shall not exceed—

"(1) for the period beginning May 1, 2000 through April 30, 2001, \$3,628,000,000,000;

"(2) for the period beginning May 1, 2001 through April 30, 2002, \$3,512,000,000,000;

"(3) for the period beginning May 1, 2002 through April 30, 2004, \$3,383,000,000,000;

"(4) for the period beginning May 1, 2004 through April 30, 2006, \$3,100,000,000,000;

"(5) for the period beginning May 1, 2006 through April 30, 2008, \$2,775,000,000,000; and,

"(6) for the period beginning May 1, 2008 through April 30, 2010, \$2,404,000,000,000.

"(b) ADJUSTMENTS FOR ACTUAL SOCIAL SECURITY SURPLUS LEVELS.—

"(1) ESTIMATED LEVELS.—The estimated level of social security surpluses for the purposes of this section is—

"(A) for fiscal year 1999, \$127,000,000,000;

"(B) for fiscal year 2000, \$137,000,000,000;

"(C) for fiscal year 2001, \$145,000,000,000;

"(D) for fiscal year 2002, \$153,000,000,000;

"(E) for fiscal year 2003, \$162,000,000,000;

"(F) for fiscal year 2004, \$171,000,000,000;

"(G) for fiscal year 2005, \$184,000,000,000;

"(H) for fiscal year 2006, \$193,000,000,000;

"(I) for fiscal year 2007, \$204,000,000,000;

"(J) for fiscal year 2008, \$212,000,000,000; and

"(K) for fiscal year 2009, \$218,000,000,000.

"(2) ADJUSTMENT TO THE LIMIT FOR ACTUAL SOCIAL SECURITY SURPLUSES.—After October 1 and no later than December 31 of each year, the Secretary shall make the following calculations and adjustments:

"(A) CALCULATION.—After the Secretary determines the actual level for the social security surplus for the current year, the Secretary shall take the estimated level of the social security surplus for that year specified in paragraph (1) and subtract that actual level.

"(B) ADJUSTMENT.—

"(i) 2000 THROUGH 2004.—With respect to the periods described in subsections (a)(1), (a)(2), and (a)(3), the Secretary shall add the amount calculated under subparagraph (A) to—