

a demilitarized police force under civilian control.

All these will be difficult tasks, but I am confident that they can be accomplished if we maintain resolve. Nothing, however, that happens from this point on can detract from the magnitude of the victory we have achieved.

Had President Clinton heeded the call to negotiate with Milosevic, it would have been a disaster.

Had President Clinton heeded the call to stop the bombing, it would have been a disaster.

Had President Clinton heeded the call to run roughshod over our NATO allies and disregard their wishes, the alliance would have fractured and that, too, would have been a disaster. This place, including Democrats, would have run out from under him faster than I can walk from here to the door of the Chamber. It is remarkable how he was able to keep the alliance together. Most importantly, had President Clinton not stayed the course and achieved this victory, our geopolitical position in North Korea, in Iraq, and in many other parts of the world would have suffered grievously. I ask my colleagues to think about what at this moment Saddam Hussein is thinking. Had we listened to those who said: Cease and desist, partition, stop bombing, negotiate with Milosevic, cut a deal—what do you think would be happening in Baghdad now?

But the President did stay the course, and our magnificent fighting men and women performed in an exemplary way. Because we have succeeded in the military campaign, and because we have the ability to succeed in the civilian reconstruction that will follow, the world has seen that the President of the United States, the American people, and a united NATO have the will to respond to crises and successfully defend Western values and interests.

I will be taking the floor again many more times in the following weeks on this issue. I know my colleagues are probably tired of my speaking on this. It has been something I have been discussing since 1990. But we are finally finding our sea legs.

I will conclude by saying that in the case of Kosovo and Yugoslavia, American interests are at stake, the cause is just, the means are available, and the will was present. For Lord's sake, let's not now, out of some misguided sense of isolationism or partisanship, do anything other than finalize this victory and secure our interests.

Think about it: the removal from Kosovo of the Serbian troops means, at a minimum, that Slobodan Milosevic's goons will no longer be able to harass, rob, rape, expel, or kill over a million Kosovars. I believe he has lost his ability to overthrow the Montenegrin Government, and certainly to overthrow Macedonia's government and to fundamentally destabilize Albania, Romania, and Bulgaria. This is a significant accomplishment, but most impor-

tantly, it demonstrates that not only this President, but also the next President, whether he or she is a Republican or a Democrat, is going to be faced with very hard choices. I respectfully suggest that he or she should not underestimate the will, the grit, the patience, or the common sense of the American people. They know what we did was right.

I was in Macedonia. I have been in the region a half a dozen times. I have also had the displeasure of meeting alone for almost 3 hours with Slobodan Milosevic, at which meeting, in early 1993, he asked what I thought of him. I told him then that I thought he was a damn war criminal and should be tried as such. He looked at me as if I had said, "Lots of luck in your senior year." It did not phase him a bit. Even some of my staff said as we were leaving: You said that to a President of a country.

I said: I don't care. He is a war criminal.

The justification of what we did was best summed up on my last trip a few weeks ago. I was sitting in the airfield outside of Skopje in Macedonia. I walked into a tent where there were about 15 young Americans ranging in age from 18 to 30, all noncommissioned officers. They were the crew that was gathered together from all over the world to make that airfield compatible for our Apache helicopters and for the large C-130s that were flying in with food deliveries.

I walked in, and we started talking. They were taking a break. We were sitting on cots. I thanked them for what they were doing. I said: You know, I am getting a lot of heat back home. Some of my colleagues, including some of my seatmates, refer to this as "Biden's war." Some of my friends are telling me this is another Vietnam. What are you guys—there was actually one woman—what do you all think about that? Do you think this is another Vietnam?

One, I believe a sergeant about 24 years old, looked at me and answered: Senator, let me ask you a question. When you were 24 years old, if they had called you up and sent you here, would you have had any doubt about the justice of what you were doing?

All of a sudden it became clear to me. They had no doubt. Our young fighters have no doubt about the justness of what they have undertaken. They knew it was right. We did the right thing.

I pray to God that we have the courage and the patience and the ability to resist our partisan instincts on both sides and stay the course. Because if we do, we can bend history just a little, but bend it in a way that my grandchildren will not have to wonder about whether or not they will have to fight in Europe in the year 2020 or the year 2025.

I congratulate the Senate for, at the end of the day, every day, having done the right thing in this war. I congratu-

late the President and his administration for having had the political courage to stay the course. I plead with my colleagues in the House to do the right thing.

I suggest the absence of a quorum. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative assistant proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Y2K ACT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I have to rise to express my frustration with our current circumstances. I have been doing all I could to assure that we could bring this bill to closure.

We agreed to a limited number of amendments. We agreed to time limits on those amendments. We have agreed to try to accelerate the consideration of this bill in every way, shape, and form. Now we are told we cannot have a vote on final passage until Tuesday.

That is totally inexplicable. We have been told over and over and over again this bill is so important and time-sensitive. We have been told it cannot wait. We have been told we cannot take up other legislation because we do not have time.

We have been on this bill for a couple of days. We have addressed every concern Senators have raised. We have offered amendments. We have no reason this bill could not be completed today—no reason at all.

It is very hard for me to understand why, after all of this effort to bring us to this point, to have completed our work on the bill, we cannot bring this bill to closure, we cannot move on to other legislation. There is just no reason for it.

I am very disappointed. It is very hard to ask my colleagues day after day to cooperate, day after day to try to figure out a way to complete work on bills, and then be told: Well, we have changed our mind. We don't want to complete work on a bill. We are going to bump this bill into next week. And, by the way, we are going to make up reasons to have votes.

That is not the way to run the Senate. It is not the way to do business. It makes it very difficult to go back to colleagues and say: Now we have changed our mind again. We are going to try to finish this bill in 2 days. We are going to try to take something else up and work it through, but we want your cooperation.

That is unacceptable. I do not know why we cannot have the final vote. I do not know why we cannot finish the legislation. I do not know why we cannot find a way to resolve all the other outstanding issues there are with regard to this bill this afternoon. We can do it this afternoon. It is only 2 o'clock.

I am told that all we have left only two or three. That is all we have. We are told by the Republicans that there is no more time, that we will not be allowed to go to final passage today.

As I say, it leaves me mystified. I am absolutely puzzled, exasperated. I do not understand. I just wish we had been told, because there have been a lot of other amendments we could have offered on our side had we known we would have all this time. We were told: No. We don't have time. Let's get this bill done, and let's get it to conference.

We are now not going to get to conference—not now, not tomorrow, not until next week.

There is no excuse.

Mr. REID. Will the leader yield for a question?

Mr. DASCHLE. I am happy to yield.

Mr. REID. It is my understanding that we have been pressed on getting this bill to the floor for weeks and weeks; is that not true?

Mr. DASCHLE. The deputy Democratic leader is right. There are absolutely as many references to that in the RECORD as any legislation I know of this year, especially from the other side. The Senator from Connecticut has been so diligent and so arduous in recognizing how important this bill is and urging us to move through this and get it done. He is on the floor. I am sure he would be more than happy to vote on final passage this afternoon, but that will not happen.

Mr. REID. I also ask this question of the leader. We did not oppose the motion to proceed; the minority did not oppose the motion to proceed. But I am of the impression and belief that there are a lot of other things due. The Patients' Bill of Rights, for example, isn't that something that we need to move forward on?

Mr. DASCHLE. We certainly do need to move forward on that. We have suggested 20 amendments on the Patients' Bill of Rights. Recognizing that there could be 60 or 70 amendments, given the way many Senators feel about that important piece of legislation, we have said not 60, not 50, not 40, but 20 amendments, and time limits on those amendments. The answer was, well, there may not be time to do 20 amendments.

Here we are today. We were told that there wasn't time to do 15 amendments on this bill.

I have to give great credit to our ranking member, the manager on our side. He could have filibustered this legislation. I know how he feels about it. He could have been out here making the Senate go through all the hoops. We have talked about this. In the interest of expediting the legislation, moving this through, the Senator graciously has acknowledged that there will be another day. We will work through this in conference. The Senator has said that more than anybody. Ironically, the one man who could have held this thing up for weeks, if not months, is sitting here ready to vote.

It is really an irony, it seems to me, that in spite of all the attention about expediting this bill, in spite of all the pressure and all the effort made to express the urgency of getting this done, we sit here this afternoon, at 2 o'clock, waiting for final passage.

Mr. REID. One final question to the leader. We have, as I understand it, about 203 days left until the Y2K date arrives. If we wait now until Tuesday to vote on this, we are going to have less than 200 days to get this legislation passed, to get it to conference, to get it to the President. Each day that goes by, it seems to me, is very critical to the passage of this legislation. Is that not true?

Mr. DASCHLE. That was the whole reason we agreed to be as expeditious as possible. I am going to vote against final passage. I hope a number of my colleagues will join me in doing that. But that doesn't mean I do not want a bill. I have said repeatedly on the Senate floor I want a bill, but I want the right bill. The only way we are going to get to the right bill is to continue to work on it. We are not going to do that this afternoon. We are not going to do that tomorrow. We are not going to do that Monday. We are now going to have to wait until Tuesday. So that just delays for another week the prospects of meaningful compromise and meaningful resolution of the outstanding questions.

Mr. REID. But the leader and other Senators voted for a version of this bill yesterday; is that not true?

Mr. DASCHLE. Absolutely. We voted for a version the President can sign yesterday. He said he would sign it. I am very hopeful he will sign a bill. We can't go through the rest of this year without some resolution to this issue. But it is disappointing to me that we are not in a position to resolve this matter today, this afternoon, so that he can sign the bill.

I yield the floor.

Mr. HOLLINGS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, the distinguished leader is manifestly correct.

I was told, let's not even have a cloture vote, because looking at this measure, there could be three more cloture votes. And viscerally, not next Tuesday, I hope we do not vote until Tuesday 2001, the way I feel about it. But I entered public service to get some things done. You win some; you lose some. You have to go along.

This is embarrassing to the body. Here we are, the Senate, talking about all the important things to get done and everything else of that kind. So we yield. We talk Senators into not offering their amendments. We finally get time agreements on all of the amendments on this side so no one has been in a proliferation or stretchout or extended debate. We were even forced to vote early last night to make sure we cleared the way to finish this afternoon.

All we have is Senator SESSIONS' amendment and Senator GREGG's amendment, two amendments that could be disposed of in the next hour. In fact, the manager and our chairman, Senator McCAIN, has been yielding back his time and ready to vote. So it could be less than an hour. By 2:30 this afternoon, we could be finished with the bill.

My question is, why do we want to wait and palaver and waste time and not go on to some of these important measures this afternoon? We are here and we are ready to go.

I thank the minority leader and the whip for their particular comments, because we have been riding all the Senators pretty hard to limit the amendments and to have time agreements. Let's get moving. Senator McCAIN wanted to move the bill. We said so. I know the Republican screen all week long said they are going to finish this afternoon. I can't understand the change of pace now, to do nothing but talk to each other all afternoon. What a distressing situation this is, and no votes tomorrow and on Monday and just wait until Tuesday.

I yield the floor.

Mr. GORTON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, we continue to attempt to negotiate a way in which to deal with the Boxer amendment in a way that we hope can be worked out, Senators GREGG and SESSIONS then be recognized to offer those amendments, and that the bill be advanced to third reading, substitute the House bill for it and then vote on final passage at 2:15 on Tuesday. We will then begin on Monday, as I have been given to understand it, to do the energy and water appropriations bill, which we may very well be able to complete on Monday.

I do find it interesting that the Senator from South Carolina, who successfully, on two occasions, prevented this current bill from coming up at all by filibusters and saw to it that cloture could not be invoked, is now so anxious to finish it.

We think this is a very good bill. I said yesterday I hoped that it was stronger, but it is the result of negotiations that have involved Members of both parties. To let the country and the industry look at it over the weekend and to allow both sides on the outside of the Senate to communicate their desires to Senators is a highly appropriate method of dealing with the bill. We will soon propound a unanimous consent proposal to the end that I have just described, and we hope that that unanimous consent will be granted.

We will finish most of the debate, I suspect, the debate on all of the amendments to this bill, before this evening, and then go forward with final passage on Tuesday.

Mr. HOLLINGS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, as I understand the Senator from Washington, he has not propounded the request. Listening to the request, this Senator is perfectly willing to go along with every element of it, save and excepting right after the disposition of the Sessions and Gregg amendments, we then vote on final passage.

I don't understand the delay, because those two amendments can easily be handled within the hour. So we can vote early this afternoon and go on with the business of the Senate. We have very important work to do. Yes, I was the one who held it up, but it didn't hold up any consideration of other things, I can tell you that. They immediately kept filing cloture, as they will to other measures. I don't feel badly about that, because it wasn't really a holdup.

When they finally persuaded me they had the votes and they were going to really move with this thing, then I got into a movement disposition and persuaded our colleagues on this side of the aisle to limit their amendments, to give time agreements. Now we are ready to go, and here at the last minute, for no good reason at all, other than the bemusement of the distinguished Senator from Washington, he won't agree to vote when we get through with all amendments, which will be the Sessions and the Gregg amendments. Once they are disposed of, let's go right ahead to final passage. I yield the floor.

Mr. BYRD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia is recognized.

SENATOR STEVENS' 12,000TH VOTE

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, last afternoon, Senator STEVENS cast his 12,000th rollcall vote. Many of my colleagues joined in commending Senator STEVENS on this very worthwhile and considerable accomplishment. I was not on the floor at that time. Today, I join in commending Senator STEVENS on having cast his 12,000th vote.

Since arriving in the U.S. Senate on December 24, 1968, Senator STEVENS has worked tirelessly on matters relating to defense and national security. Having served in World War II, as a pilot in the China-Burma-India theater, Senator STEVENS was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross twice, two air medals, and the Yuan Hai medal awarded by the Republic of China.

He joined the Appropriations Committee on February 23, 1972, and 3 years later he began service on the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, where he has served continuously since that time, and served with great distinction. Since he became chairman of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee in 1981, Senator STEVENS has served either as chairman or ranking member of that vitally important subcommittee. As of January 1997, Senator STEVENS assumed additional responsibilities that come with being named chairman of the Committee on Appropriations.

I have worked by his side on many, many occasions on subcommittees, particularly on the Interior Appropriations Subcommittee. I have served with him on matters that have come before the Committee on Appropriations, where I now serve as his ranking member. In addition, for many years, I have been privileged to have the honor of serving with Senator STEVENS on the Arms Control Observer Group, as well as on the British-American Parliamentary Group.

Senator STEVENS works indefatigably to ensure that his State of Alaska receives appropriate consideration in all matters that come before the Senate. He does that work and does it well. The people of Alaska can be preeminently proud of the service that their Senator, the chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the Senate, performs. He works for Alaska every day, and he works for the Nation every day.

Not only do I consider him one of the most distinguished and one of the most capable Senators with whom I have served in more than 41 years now, I also count him as a dear and trusted friend. I was in the Middle East when TED STEVENS was in the airplane crash in which he lost his wife, and I called him from the plane in which I was flying in the Middle East on that occasion. He was in the hospital. I talked with him and, of course, I was glad that he had survived the tragic accident.

TED STEVENS is a friend who can be always trusted. A handshake with TED STEVENS is his bond, and his word is his bond. I have always found him to be very trustworthy. I have always found him to be very fair, very considerate. He is a gentleman. I think all of my colleagues on my side on the Appropriations Committee treasure their friendship with TED STEVENS. So I congratulate him on his new milestone and what has been and continues to be a most remarkable career in public service.

There are many things about TED STEVENS that we can admire. I admire his spunk. I was saying to someone on my staff today that he would be one whale of a baseball team manager. He would take on all of the umpires if he thought they didn't call the plays right. He sticks up for what he believes. He has the courage of his convictions, and I certainly would not want to be a player on his team in the locker room if I lost a ball game through some error on my part.

He is a hard driver. He works hard every day. He represents his people in the Senate, and he reverences the Senate and, perhaps best of all, he is, as I have already said, a gentleman. He thinks, as I do, that there are some things more important than political party. The U.S. Senate happens to be one of them, as far as I am concerned, and, I believe, as far as he is concerned.

Let me now say that I am extremely proud of TED STEVENS. He is a wonderful family man. He loves his family; he

loves his daughter, Lily, and his other children.

Let me close by what I think is an appropriate bit of verse written by William Wordsworth. The title of it is, "Character of the Happy Warrior." I will not read the entire poem, but extracts from it I think will be useful in this regard:

Who is the happy Warrior? Who is he
That every man in arms should wish to be?

* * * * *

'Tis he whose law is reason; who depends
Upon that law as on the best of friends;
Whence, in a state where men are tempted
still

To evil for a guard against worse ill,
And what in quality or act is best
Doth seldom on a right foundation rest,
He labors good on good to fix, and owes
To virtue every triumph that he knows:
—Who, if he rise to station of command,
Rises by open means; and there will stand
On honorable terms, or else retire,
And in himself possess his own desire;
Who comprehends his trust, and to the same
Keeps faithful with a singleness of aim;
And therefore does not stoop, nor lie in wait
For wealth, or honors, or for worldly state;

* * * * *

And, through the heat of conflict, keeps the
law

In calmness made, and sees what he foresaw;
Or if an unexpected call succeed,
Come when it will, is equal to the need:

* * * * *

'Tis, finally, the Man, who, lifted high,
Conspicuous object in a Nation's eye,
Or left unthought-of in obscurity—
Who, with a toward or untoward lot,
Prosperous or adverse, to his wish or not—
Plays, in the many games of life, that one
Where what he most doth value must be won:
Whom neither shape of danger can dismay,
Nor thought of tender happiness betray;
Who, not content that former worth stand
fast,

Looks forward, preserving to the last,
From well to better, daily self-surpassed:
Who, whether praise of him must walk the
earth

Forever, and to noble deeds give birth,
Or he must fall, to sleep without his fame,
And leave a dead unprofitable name—
Finds comfort in himself and in his cause;
And, while the mortal mist is gathering,
draws

His breath in confidence of Heaven's ap-
plause:

This is the happy Warrior; this is He
That every Man in arms should wish to be.

That, Mr. President, in my judgment, is TED STEVENS, "The Happy Warrior."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, it is his misfortune, the Senator from Alaska, to not be here on the floor to listen to those eloquent and gracious remarks of the Senator from West Virginia. So I think it falls to me, inadequate as I am, to thank the Senator from West Virginia for those thoughts and to say that it reminds those of us who have not been here quite so long of the magnificence of the personal relationships that are created here by broad-minded Members like the Senator from West Virginia and the Senator from Alaska