

criticized the first time because they said my N's were not too good. You will see what I mean in a moment. As the game went on, I was called on repeatedly to lead this cheer, and of course, we in Coach's Bar and Grill feel that made the margin of difference in the victory that occurred in Florida that night.

If you will allow me, Mr. President, here is the cheer: U-C-O-N-N, UCONN, UCONN, UCONN.

Thank you. I urge adoption of the resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 77) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

The resolution (S. Res. 77), with its preamble, reads as follows:

S. RES. 77

Whereas the University of Connecticut men's basketball team capped a remarkable season by defeating the top-ranked Duke Blue Devils 77-74, on March 29, 1999, in St. Petersburg, Florida, to win its 1st national championship in its 1st "Final Four" appearance;

Whereas the Huskies finished with a regular season record of 34-2, the best in the program's proud 96 years of competition;

Whereas the Huskies firmly established themselves as the dominant team of the decade in the storied Big East Conference, winning their 6th regular season title and their 4th tournament championship of the 1990s;

Whereas UConn's Richard "Rip" Hamilton distinguished himself in the championship game and throughout the season as one of the premier players in all of college basketball, winning his 2d Big East Player of the Year award, earning 1st team All-America honors, and closing out a spectacular offensive performance in the NCAA tournament by being named the most valuable player of the Final Four.

Whereas UConn's senior co-captain Ricky Moore distinguished himself as one of the Nation's top defensive players, personifying the grit, determination, and fierce will to win that carried the Huskies throughout the year;

Whereas UConn coach Jim Calhoun instilled in his players an unceasing ethic of dedication, sacrifice, and teamwork in the pursuit of excellence, and instilled in the rest of us a renewed appreciation of what it means to win with dignity, integrity, and true sportsmanship;

Whereas the Huskies' thrilling victory in the NCAA championship game enraptured their loyal and loving fans from Storrs to Stamford, taking "Huskymania" to new heights and filling the State with an overwhelming sense of pride, honor, and community;

Whereas the UConn basketball team's national championship spotlighted one of the Nation's premier State universities, that is committed to academic as well as athletic excellence: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate commends and congratulates the Huskies of the University of Connecticut for winning the 1999 NCAA Men's Basketball Championship.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Senate shall transmit a copy of this resolution to the president of the University of Connecticut.

UNIFORMED SERVICES FILING FAIRNESS ACT OF 1999

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, let me explain for a moment where we are here. We have, by unanimous consent, 1 hour equally divided on S. 767.

S. 767 is cosponsored by Senators LEVIN, ROTH, TORRICELLI, ABRAHAM, CLELAND, MCCAIN, ALLARD, HELMS, COLLINS, BROWNBACK, FRIST, JOHNSON, HAGEL, BRYAN, DEWINE and GRAMS. Senate bill 767 is identical to the legislation that passed unanimously in the House Ways and Means Committee, and which will be here later this afternoon at about 4 o'clock. When that gets here, we will vote on the House version rather than the substitute that I just described because there has been an objection on the other side. It is a bit perplexing. But we have had an objection. We don't want internal differences to in any way for one moment delay the intent of this bill. I think everybody will understand that in a moment. So we are just simply setting the objection aside and we will accept the House version. I am sure it will be an overwhelming vote.

Mr. President, I ask the clerk to report the bill by title.

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

The clerk will report.

The legislative assistant read as follows:

A bill (S. 767) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide a 2-month extension for the date for filing a tax return for any member of a uniformed service on a tour of duty outside of the United States for a period which includes the normal due date for such filing.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I rise today to ask my colleagues to support legislation that will help our men and women serving in Operation Allied Force.

I might point out that part of the reason we are accepting this House version, due to this skirmish on the Senate floor yesterday afternoon, is because we only have some 12 hours left. This is April 15. These families needed to get this message, frankly, yesterday. But today I am confident that this relief, this comfort, that we are offering to the men and women who are on the front line today in Kosovo will be of enormous comfort and assistance to their spouses and to their families.

In short, the legislation does three things.

I might point out that the Senate substitute was identical in language to the House version that will be coming here later this afternoon on which we will vote.

The legislation does three things.

First, it exempts all U.S. troops serving in the Yugoslav theater of operations from being taxed on their hazardous duty pay. That is the additional pay they receive over their regular pay for being a hazardous operation. That will not be taxed when this passes. The

danger pay that you receive on the periphery of the combat theater will not be taxed.

Second, it grants our troops a 180-day filing extension for their 1999 income tax return. The 180 days begins when they return from duty in the combat zone.

Third, it exempts our troops from the 3 percent excise tax levied on long-distance telephone calls to reduce somewhat the burden of a long-distance call home whenever they have a chance to do that.

Several days ago, the President signed an Executive order declaring Yugoslavia and certain areas surrounding it a combat zone. This declaration in turn provides troops serving in the zone with certain tax breaks which this legislation will codify and expand. It will expand it, for example, to troops like those in Georgia who are fulfilling the refueling missions in the combat zone. The bill takes the President's order a step further by providing these same level of tax breaks and filing extensions to those personnel who have been relocated to the combat zone area and are receiving imminent danger pay.

Mr. President, I believe this is an important additional provision that the President by law cannot extend through an Executive order. At a time when our men and women are putting their lives on the line in the name of freedom, we should do what we can to relieve some of the worries associated with income tax burdens and filings associated with the timing of the conflict occurring within 2 weeks of income tax day, April 15.

Mr. President, we have several other Senators who are here to speak on the measure. Before they get here, let me briefly say that we are deeply appreciative for the enormous bipartisan support—and I named the coauthors on both sides of the aisle—to get this done. My one regret is that we have been delayed a day by "internal process." That is the most polite way to describe it. But we are going to get this done.

I hope anybody who is watching or listening to this who is related in any way to the families and spouses of those troops for whom we think of every minute of every day will tell them that their significant income tax relief burden is being lifted so that they ought not have to stand in that long car line sometime tonight trying to get this in. They have been granted an extension, and a significant one. Depending on the pay grades of those involved, there is rather substantial tax relief, because, as I said a moment ago, with the passage of this act, those additional pays that are received by these troops for hazardous duty or imminent danger will not have an income tax applied against them. So it should be very meaningful.

Let me quickly say that this is no windfall. If anybody listening to me has ever been around a serviceperson

who was called away for combat, just stop and think about it. All kinds of new costs come into play. You have a breadwinner that is somewhere else. You are trying to communicate. You have many associated costs.

So what we are doing here is not a windfall. It is a move to help those families deal with the inordinate kinds of problems that are associated with taking care of the family when only half the parents are still there. In all practicality, this probably doesn't do enough. But I hope that for anybody listening this will be a reminder that the Congress is trying to do everything it can to be of assistance to those troops.

I see I have been joined by my distinguished colleague from Maine. I yield up to 10 minutes to the Senator from Maine on this measure.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maine is recognized.

Ms. COLLINS. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, first, I commend the leadership of my good friend from Georgia in taking the initiative in this area. It is typical of his leadership on so many issues. I am very pleased to join him today on the Senate floor.

I rise today as a cosponsor of the Uniformed Services Filing Fairness Act of 1999 introduced by my good friend, Senator COVERDELL, and as a supporter of H.R. 1376, which we will vote on shortly. These measures are intended to demonstrate concretely and clearly our support for the men and women serving our country in the region of Yugoslavia by providing them with tax relief on their hazardous duty pay, excise tax exemptions on their long-distance telephone calls, and an extension to allow them to file their tax returns after the April 15 deadline.

Today is tax day, a day when millions of Americans rush to their local Post Offices to mail their tax returns. However, today some brave Americans find themselves thousands of miles away from their hometowns engaged in a conflict rather than concerned with a tax filing deadline. Today and every day, our troops put their lives on the line. The sacrifices they make in serving our Nation both here at home and abroad prompt our gratitude. For those forces stationed overseas, the toll is especially great. Our troops now serving in the operations in Kosovo face tremendous burdens in trying to carry out their missions while protecting themselves and their comrades. Our service men and women abroad face the additional hardships and stress of being separated from their loved ones, their families, their homes, and their friends. These troops deserve the opportunity to concentrate on their dangerous mission without having to worry about government paperwork at home.

This legislation is an opportunity to demonstrate our support for our troops by our actions, not just with our words. My thoughts and my prayers are with those brave men and women and their

families here at home. I urge my colleagues to support this modest but important measure. Again, I commend the Senator from Georgia for his leadership.

I yield the floor.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I thank my good friend and colleague from Maine for her statement and all of her energy, which I appreciate and enjoy so much, on so many subjects. I thank her very much for speaking on the importance of this measure.

We deal with so many varied issues that sometimes a very simple, clean-cut act like this gets overlooked in the thrashing about that goes on in Washington.

I am pleased that the Congress has been able to do this, and do this expeditiously. I just asked my young assistant to make sure that the minute this passes, probably between 4 o'clock and 4:30, the Pentagon makes sure all of our troops get this message quickly. They need to help us make sure the comfort represented by this legislation is understood as quickly as possible.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, we are all keenly aware of the demands that we place on our troops, the circumstances in which they must live and work, and the unique sacrifices that they make to serve our country. Filing tax returns is a duty we all must bear to support our nation, but it is particularly difficult for service members overseas, who face this burden thousands of miles from home and without the resources and assistance available to the rest of us. When those troops are placed in harms' way, the burden becomes immeasurably greater.

Earlier this year, Senator COVERDELL and I introduced S. 767, the Uniformed Services Filing Fairness Act of 1999. This bill would have extended by two months the date by which members of the uniformed services on duty abroad must file their Federal income tax returns. Current Treasury regulations provide for an automatic two month extension for U.S. citizens and residents on military duty outside of the United States. S. 767 would have codified this regulation into law, thereby ensuring that members of the military would not be subject to fines and penalties when they avail themselves of this relief.

This week, the President addressed the same problem by issuing an executive order designating the Kosovo area of operations as a "combat zone" for the purpose of tax relief benefits. This designation will provide the following benefits:

The deadline for filing and paying taxes will be extended;

Military pay for months served in the combat zone will be exempt from income taxes; and

Telephone calls out of the combat zone will be exempt from the telephone excise tax.

Today, the Senate will pass and send to the President a House bill that is a companion measure to bill that Sen-

ator COVERDELL and I introduced earlier this year. This bill shows Congress' support for the President's decision by codifying this executive order into law. In addition, the bill extends the area covered by the exemption to include not only aircrews flying missions into the combat zone, but also members of the armed forces supporting those operations in the area of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro), Albania, the Adriatic Sea, and the northern Ionian Sea. I think we all know the dangers and hardships that our troops in these areas are facing on a daily basis, and want to support them in any way we can.

I am pleased that Congress, by enacting this bill, will join the President in showing support for our men and women in combat. I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting the enactment of this legislation.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I have been joined by the distinguished Senator from Kansas. I yield up to 10 minutes to the Senator from Kansas.

Mr. BROWNBACK. I thank my colleague from Georgia for recognizing me and for bringing this bill forward.

It was 2 weeks ago yesterday that I was at McConnell airbase in Wichita, KS, meeting with troops that afternoon heading out to run refueling missions and other activities in support of the Kosovo operation. They were in their working uniforms with a number of spouses and some children present. They were determined and ready to go. They said, "This is our job," and they were saluting and saying they were off to do it even though they had questions: What is the objective? How will we get this done? How long will it last? We did not have good answers for them, but I said we would press for those answers.

In speaking with a couple of the spouses afterwards, they noted their husbands had been deployed more than 200 days last year and they were having difficulty with that length of time of deployment. Also, they said: We love being part of the military, we want to do our job, but we feel we are being hamstrung by some of the things required of us.

They don't believe some of the pay is quite enough, and I don't think it is enough for them.

What I see in this bill of Senator COVERDELL is a statement to some of the people at McConnell airbase, and others throughout Kansas who are serving in the military, that we want to help and do what we can in tough situations because you are going into the toughest situation that a nation could possibly send you. You are going in to face a hostile enemy, putting your lives on the line, your blood on the line. We are asking you to do it and you are doing it. The least we can do—God bless you, we want to help any way we can—is to do something to help.

This 2-month extension for the due date for filing a tax return for any member of a uniformed service on a

tour of duty outside the United States for a period including the normal due date for such filing is a small statement. It is a small act, but it is a good act. It is an important act and an important statement for us to tell those people in uniform and their families that we do care, we do hear you, and we want to try to respond in any way we possibly can.

We need to do a lot more. We need to up the pay to people in the military. We need to be questioning all the places we are sending our military around the world, how many times we are deploying them. We need to upgrade the military's hardware. I think that is important. One thing we recently did for the Nation's defense was to pass on the national missile defense bill. We need to do that.

I noted to those at McConnell airbase and those attending the nine townhall meetings I had across Kansas last week a chart showing the percentage of the Federal budget going to military defense spending. About 17 percent of our budget is now going to military defense spending. In 1962—not all that long ago—it was nearly 50 percent going into our military budget.

I noted that the amount we invest in the military—which does the very basic thing we are called on to do, which is to provide for the common defense—is going to need to go up if we are going to continue the far-flung operations that the United States is involved in around the world. We cannot maintain this pace in this many places on this budget.

That is all they are asking. They are saying: I will put my life on the line, I will subject my family to this, I believe in the United States, and I believe in our cause, but, gosh, can't you help us out a little bit? Can't you make sure that people aren't on food stamps? Can't you address some of these issues? And we should.

This is a bill to help some of those people. Some Members may have conflicting opinions on our involvement in Kosovo, but we can all agree that our service men and women should not be penalized for their service to our country. We owe them a debt of gratitude for risking their lives to represent our country. Our soldiers defend the liberties we hold dear, and we should not be arbitrarily penalizing them in our Tax Code for their work to protect our country.

With that, I say to my colleague from Georgia I am very appreciative of the bill the Senator has put forward, of the effort to recognize the needs of our people in uniform. I support wholeheartedly this bill and say God bless to our soldiers who are in uniform and in harm's way today.

I yield the floor.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Kansas for his support and for his observations of his visit with the troops about to depart. That is always an emotional time.

I think it is worthy to note that of every discussion—and there has been

considerable debate about this operation—one thing for which there is no debate is the loyalty, the dedication, and the precision with which these troops have exercised what their Government told them to do. That loyalty and that desire to do it, do it well, and do it right, cannot go unnoticed by anybody who is in their presence. I am glad the Senator referred to that particular incident.

How much time remains on our side?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 12½ minutes.

Mr. COVERDELL. I will not need the 12½ minutes. I do want to reiterate that this legislation does three very specific things to bring comfort to our troops in the combat zone. It exempts all U.S. troops serving in the Yugoslavian theater of operations from being taxed on their hazardous duty pay. They will not be taxed on that. Hopefully, that will help them deal with the extra costs related to performing this duty.

No. 2, it will grant a 180-day filing extension for their 1998 income tax return, and the 180 days begins on the day they leave the combat zone.

Third, it exempts our troops from the 3 percent excise tax levied on long-distance telephone calls.

We will notify the Pentagon, as I said, later this afternoon, and hope they will assist us in making sure the troops in the operation theaters are aware of this so it can help bring some comfort. I know all of us in America understand the confusion that surrounds tax day. I have been on the phone about five times. So, I hope mitigating that pressure will be of help and make it a little easier for them as they perform the missions they have been assigned by the United States of America.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all time be yielded back with respect to S. 767.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, how much time is allocated on this side?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There remains 30 minutes.

Mr. BAUCUS. Is the Senator asking that all time is yielded?

Mr. COVERDELL. It was my understanding all time was to be yielded on the measure. I am sorry. I yield back all of our time.

Mr. President, it is my understanding the House bill will arrive at approximately 4:15. A rollcall vote will occur on passage of this bill as soon as it arrives from the House.

In the meantime, following the statement of the Senator, I ask unanimous consent there be a period of morning business with Members limited to 10 minutes each, with the exception of Senator ROTH for up to 30 minutes and Senator GRAMS for up to an hour.

Mr. BAUCUS. Parliamentary inquiry. When the Senator refers to "this bill," is he referring to the House-passed bill?

Mr. COVERDELL. Yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mrs. BOXER. Reserving the right to object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I just wanted to make a brief statement in support of this move to help our service men and women and to point out that I tried to amend the Senate bill with a very straightforward sense of the Senate which just said we should ask the Pentagon to ensure, if there are parents of minor children called up and both are sent to combat, that they do everything in their power to ensure that one of those parents is not actually in combat.

Unfortunately, as the Senator from Georgia said, there was objection for some reason to this approach. I just want to say again, I do not understand that. We passed something very similar during the gulf war. We care about the tax burden of our men and women in uniform, and we should. How about caring about their families, their children?

Many of us have seen "Saving Private Ryan," or know the story. I cannot understand why we could not simply amend the Senate version of this bill with this very simple sense of the Senate asking the Pentagon to do what they could to ensure a mother and father were not sent into combat leaving behind a small child.

Having said that, I hope I can bring that up in the future as a freestanding measure, and I certainly do support the House bill that is coming over to give our people relief. They deserve it and they also deserve protection for their children, should a husband and wife be called into combat.

Mr. President, I will not object to us yielding back the time.

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

Mr. BAUCUS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana.

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, I am very pleased the House Ways and Means Committee began to act on this issue by passing this bill and the bill passing the full House will come over to the Senate, which we can also then pass. Clearly, our service men and women, particularly those in harm's way, deserve all the support we can possibly give them. The provision we are now discussing which releases them of income tax liability during the time they are serving in a zone of danger, particularly in Kosovo, is the very least we can do.

Similarly, the provisions in the bill coming over from the House which provide for all men and women on active duty wherever they may be serving overseas to get the 60-day extension, and also have penalties potentially against them for late filing waived—that, too, is very important. Mr. President, I think it is the very least we can do at this point.

In addition to our service men and women, there are also other Americans in harm's way in the war zone, performing above and beyond the call of duty. I am talking about employees of the State Department. I am talking about other groups of people over there, serving, doing their utmost, who are in equally dangerous situations. At some future point I believe they also deserve due recognition in the same way as our military. We support our Americans. We deeply support our fellow Americans serving in the Balkans. I am very pleased the House has acted, and the Senate will be acting very soon.

I might say, I am also pleased the House approached this matter in the proper way. That is, they brought it up in the House tax-writing committee, the Ways and Means Committee, where the bill was discussed. It was marked up in the committee and then went to the House floor. That is the preferable way of doing business.

In this case, there was an attempt for a bill to be filed at the desk and then brought up directly on the floor on this issue, not going through the Senate tax-writing committee, the Senate Finance Committee. I hope we go back to the usual course of business as a general rule where tax bills go through the Finance Committee before they are brought to the floor. I say that because the legislation will be much better. It will be thought through. There is a chance to correct mistakes. There is a chance to add on measures that should be added on or subtract out measures that should be subtracted out.

Having said that, obviously time is of the essence in this case, and the House Ways and Means Committee has acted; that is, the authorizing committee in the other body did act so we did have at least that assurance this has been looked at with some considerable examination.

I will be very pleased when the House bill comes over. We will be able to vote on it. That will probably be within the hour. As I said, I hope after we do that we can give also the same kind of thought to other Americans who are also serving in the zone who are also sacrificing to a great degree in serving our country.

I yield the remainder of our time.

(Pursuant to the order of April 14, 1999, the bill (S. 767) was returned to the Calendar.)

MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FITZGERALD). The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. ROTH. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. ROTH, Mr. BIDEN and Mr. KENNEDY, pertaining to the introduction of S.J. Res. 19 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

(The remarks of Mr. ROTH and Mr. GRAMS pertaining to the introduction of S. 815 are located in today's RECORD

under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

KOSOVO POLICY

Mr. CLELAND. Mr. President, it is my privilege to speak on the question of Kosovo and our military and political goals there. In working with my staff to put together some background and understand the history of that region, I came across an interesting fact, because I value history. What is it Winston Churchill once said? How do you know where you are going unless you know where you have been?

I find it fascinating, after 146 B.C., the Roman Republic was the world's only superpower—that sounds familiar—following the destruction of its long-time superpower rival, Carthage. This Roman triumph created a tremendous expansion of Roman territory, wealth, and influence and, not coincidentally, an expansion of Roman involvement in local conflicts far removed from Italy.

One such intervention involved the Northern African kingdom of Numidia, where Rome became entangled in a secession struggle in 112 B.C., with the Roman Senate declaring actual war against Jugurtha, the leading contender for the Numidian throne. What followed is fascinating. It is described in a book called the "Anatomy of Error: Ancient Military Disasters and Their Lessons for Modern Strategists."

I think there are some lessons here for us, particularly as we view Kosovo today.

Viewed from a modern perspective, North Africa in the age of Jugurtha was in many ways Rome's Vietnam. The Jugurthine War is the story of the failure of the Romans to find a strategy that would determine the appropriate level of force needed to maintain sound and stable foreign policy.

The Romans should have learned to operate according to the rules that Clausewitz later laid out in his book "On War": that war is always to be regarded as the pursuit of policy by other means and that strategy is the art of using exactly the appropriate amount of force to accomplish the ends of the policy. The Romans never had a clear policy in Numidia.

This is something we have to avoid in Kosovo. We need a clear policy.

Thus the Romans never had a rational strategy for winning the war.

Another mistake we have to avoid.

As a result, they poured a massive amount of military force into the region and accomplished worse than nothing.

Mr. President, we can't accomplish worse than nothing in Kosovo. We have to accomplish something of which we can be proud. The horrifying scenes unfolding in and around Kosovo today are indeed a sad recap of many of the worst images of our 20th century: Massive refugee flight to uncertain futures, civilian casualties, large numbers of destroyed homes and shops and commu-

nities, ethnic intolerance, and hostilities fanned by demagogic political leaders.

The hearts of Americans and people around the world have been truly touched by the incredible tragic plight of the Kosovar Albanians who have been the primary victims of the incredible, reprehensible, so-called ethnic cleansing policies of Milosevic.

This is also a difficult situation. There are no easy answers, and any choice the President makes and, indeed, any choice the Congress makes is fraught with danger. Part of this, I think, is the world in which we live, not a new world order but a new world disorder.

The post-cold-war order is one of disorder. The two administrations which have confronted the post-Soviet Union world, the Bush and Clinton administrations, have grappled mightily with the complexities of this new age in foreign places, much like the Roman Empire, foreign places like Iraq, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Somalia, Haiti, and now Kosovo. Almost every step in these areas has been subjected to questioning and controversy before, during, and even after the operation in question.

The decision to authorize the use of airstrikes against Serbia was one of the most difficult decisions I have ever had to make. I have felt in the weeks since much like President Kennedy described himself. He said he was an optimist with no illusions. I am an optimist. I am an idealist. I want to take the high ground. I thought that NATO and America needed to act, and act then, and airstrikes was our best option. Maximum impact on Milosevic, minimum impact on us. But it was a tough decision to make, and I am under no illusion that this is going to automatically get us to where we want to go in terms of our policies in the Balkans.

May I say that we have a major humanitarian interest in providing effective relief for the refugees and preventing further atrocities against civilians by the Milosevic regime. We certainly have a strong interest in stopping the spread of this conflict to the surrounding countries in this historically unstable region.

I find it interesting that the century opened in 1914 with a Serb nationalist assassinating Archduke Ferdinand and that led to the guns of August in 1914. We have to make sure that the current Milosevic-misled nationalism does not lead to the guns of 1999.

Unfortunately, I think that no real military, or so far diplomatic, approach we have come up with can really fully guarantee our goals in the Balkans. Despite my concern about our long-term policy in Kosovo and the Balkans, the Senate was asked to vote at a point when NATO had already united in favor of airstrikes. American troops were poised to embark on their mission and the credibility of American commitments was on the line.