

world. They want to know where they stand when it comes to the Senate. They ought to know, in performance of their duties, they have the backing and the support of their elected representatives. It ought to be abundantly clear that we stand shoulder to shoulder with them when they fight under the American flag. It was not their decision to be engaged in combat. Yet, the jobs they do are monumentally important. We must not take any action here in the Senate which will send the signal that they have anything but the highest level of support we can muster.

The innocent men, women and children of Kosovo are also listening tonight. More than 665,000 are in refugee camps in Macedonia or Albania living under tremendously difficult conditions. While they are safe, they desperately want to be able to return to what is left of their homes and villages and begin the difficult process of rebuilding. Hundreds of thousands of others are hiding in the hills of Kosovo without adequate food or shelter, praying that Serb forces will not find them. They too are listening to the message we send here today, wondering when they will be able to come out of the hills without a fear of death or torture.

They are also listening in Belgrade tonight. President Milosevic is listening for a crack in the United States' resolve to oppose his reign of terror in Kosovo. I hope there is no debate in this Chamber that his actions should be ignored. Similarly, I hope that the Senate will not stand silent instead of expressing our sense of outrage over what this man has done to so many innocent people simply because of their ethnicity. We must never stand silent in the face of Mr. Milosevic's genocide.

All across Europe, our NATO allies are listening. It has not been easy for the 19 member nations to come together in a common purpose. I hope that, as our allies watch these proceedings tonight and tomorrow, they understand how highly we regard this alliance. I have heard some of our colleagues say it does not make any difference to them whether or not NATO is damaged as a result of our votes or action. I cannot disagree more vigorously. It would be a grave mistake to damage this important alliance. Yet, we could do just damage by the votes we cast and statements we make over the next several hours.

Finally, the governments and citizens of the front-line states are listening. It is critically important that we demonstrate our support to Albania, which has borne the greatest burden, and Macedonia, which despite its complicated political situation, has taken in large numbers of refugees. The province of Montenegro also deserves commendation for, despite its status as a province of Yugoslavia, it has refused to subjugate its police forces to Yugoslav control and has taken in tens of thousands of Kosovar refugees. Bulgaria, Romania, Slovenia, Croatia, Hungary and Bosnia also deserve inter-

national commendation. With the exception of Hungary, none of those is a NATO ally, yet they are standing with us. Yet, in contrast to their steadfast support, in a little more than 12 hours, the United States Senate may decide that this crisis is not worthy of our vote to give the President and NATO the backing they need to deal with this issue.

I want to point out to my colleagues, that the world—from a newly orphaned child in a Macedonian refugee camp to our allies to Slobodan Milosevic—does listen to the messages we send. Mr. President, 60 years ago next week a ship called the "St. Louis" sailed from Hamburg, Germany. Aboard were 937 passengers with one-way tickets. Nine-hundred six of the passengers were Jewish refugees who, having lived through Kristallnacht six months earlier, already feared for their lives. Holding what they believed to be valid entry permits for Cuba, they left their homes and lives behind, hoping to find safety on the far side of the Atlantic Ocean. When they arrived in Havana two weeks later, however, only 28 were permitted, to go ashore. After lying at anchor for a full week under the oppressive sun, the St. Louis left Havana and tried to enter American waters, but they were told that they were not welcome in this country, that we could not take 900 more people into the United States.

That ship and its passengers returned to Europe more than a month after it left. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum just a few blocks from here has traced the lives of the St. Louis' passengers. The fates of the more than one third of the St. Louis' passengers who later perished in the Holocaust should stand as a stark warning to us here today.

There are no ships at sea tonight, but I make the case that there is indeed a "St. Louis." It is called Albania; it is called Montenegro; it is called Macedonia. And there are many more thousands inside Kosovo who are now watching and listening to what we, the leader of the free world, the leader of the effort to try to bring some order to the chaos which has been visited in the Balkans, are saying.

To all of the different parties listening to our debate tonight and to our votes tomorrow, we must send the same message and we must send that message with a clear and convincing voice. We should support the McCain resolution in order to demonstrate that we will give NATO the backing and support it needs politically, diplomatically, and, yes, if need be, militarily, to respond to this situation. If we fail to respond, we may well place not only Kosovo but the rest of Europe in harm's way.

The lessons of history are before us. We have been told by George Santayana that "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

I hope that in the next 12 hours or so, before we vote on this matter, our col-

leagues think long and hard about this resolution. I hope we will find the strength to overlook the personalities. Whether or not we like this President or voted for him or agree with him on every issue, there is an organization called NATO which we will place in jeopardy if we fail to act properly and prudently. There are people's lives who are in jeopardy at this very hour as we debate this issue on the floor of the Senate. And there is the future precedent being set by how we act here.

If we do not approve this resolution, history will judge us. Let the words of the Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Elie Wiesel be a warning to us here tonight: "Rejected by mankind, the condemned to not go so far as to reject it in turn. Their faith remains unshaken, and one may well wonder why. They do not despair. The proof: they persist in surviving not only to survive, but to testify. The victims elect to become witnesses."

So, Mr. President, I urge the support and adoption of the McCain-Biden resolution. I believe it is the right thing to do. History will judge us properly and well if we support this important resolution. Our future, our children and generations to come, both here in America and around the world, will applaud the action of a Congress that has not lost sight of the lessons of history.

Mr. President, I see the arrival of the majority leader and I yield the floor.

Mr. LOTT. I thank the Senator from Connecticut for yielding. Mr. President, I do have a unanimous consent request to propound momentarily. This is on the financial services modernization bill.

While I am waiting, I commend Senator DASCHLE for his leadership, helping to get us to a position where we could move to that legislation tomorrow; and Senator GRAMM and Senator SARBANES have been working together. I think this is a good agreement, a fair one, and allows us to get to a substitute that could be offered.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT—S. 900

Mr. LOTT. I ask unanimous consent that following the vote relative to S.J. Res. 20, if tabled, the Senate move to proceed and agree to the motion to proceed to S. 900—that is, the financial services modernization bill—and, following opening statements, Senator SARBANES be recognized to offer an amendment in the nature of a substitute, the text of which is S. 753, and no amendments or motions to commit or recommit be in order during the pendency of the substitute, and, if the amendment is agreed to, it be considered as original text for the purpose of further amendment.

I further ask that, following disposition of the Sarbanes substitute, the next two amendments in order be first-degree amendments to be offered by the chairman or his designee.

I also ask that following the disposition of two Republican amendments,

Senator SARBANES or his designee be recognized to offer an amendment, the text of which is the CRA provisions of S. 753 substituting for the CRA provisions of S. 900 and no amendments or motions to commit or recommit be in order during the pendency of the Sarbanes/CRA amendment.

Finally, I ask that all amendments in order to S. 900 be relevant to the financial services legislation.

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

Mr. LOTT. I thank my colleagues and yield the floor.

DEPLOYMENT OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES TO THE KOSOVO REGION IN YUGOSLAVIA

The Senate continued with the consideration of the resolution.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I yield 30 minutes to the Senator from Delaware, Senator BIDEN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, may I make a parliamentary inquiry? Is Senator DURBIN next on the list after me? The reason I ask is, Senator DURBIN apparently agreed to switch spots with Senator KERRY.

Mr. MCCAIN. After Senator BIDEN is Senator KERRY, Senator WARNER, Senator NICKLES, Senator DURBIN, then Senator DORGAN, Senator LIEBERMAN, Senator CLELAND, Senator LEVIN, Senator HOLLINGS, and Senator BROWNBACK.

Mr. BIDEN. I thank the Senator. I know the Senator has a very important appointment he has to make. I am prepared, if it is all right with the Senator from Arizona, to switch with him and follow him. In other words, then the Senator from Massachusetts will be next and then I will speak.

Mr. MCCAIN. I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Massachusetts, Mr. KERRY, be recognized for 15 minutes, followed by Senator BIDEN for 30 minutes, and the RECORD will show the incredible generosity of the Senator from Delaware, Mr. BIDEN, having allowed two—not one, but two—Senators to precede him.

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

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I ask that Senator KERRY be recognized for up to 30 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KERRY. I thank the Chair, and I particularly thank Senator BIDEN for his courtesy. I appreciate this enormously. I also thank Senator DURBIN, who is not here, but will be here shortly, for his courtesy.

Mr. President, I join with the Senator from Arizona, the Senator from Connecticut, Senator DODD, Senator BIDEN and others in support of this resolution. I understand the sensitivities of a great many of our colleagues and the administration to where we find ourselves. But I think that a fair anal-

ysis of what the Senate has before it and what the country has before it really mandates that the Senate be prepared to back up its own steps, the steps that we took when we supported the bombing itself.

I heard a number of my colleagues in the course of the debate over this afternoon, most recently the Senator from New Mexico, say, "Well, we need to recognize that the President made a decision and the President, having made a decision, we now need to know from the President what the strategy is; we need to know from the President what the exit strategy is; we need to know from the President what is called for."

Frankly, I say to my colleagues, there is not a small measure of contradiction in those statements today. There may even be some measure, I think, of confusion about the road that we have traveled.

The fact is that the President made it clear to us at the outset what our goal was. The goal has always been the capacity of the Kosovars to live in peace within Kosovo. The goal has been a return to the status quo before Mr. Milosevic withdrew autonomy which had been enjoyed by the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo for years, in the wake of his sudden discovery that playing the nationalist card, in fact, was a road to power, as it was also the road to some four wars and to an extraordinary amount of killing in Bosnia, in Slovenia, Herzegovina and Croatia.

Now, Mr. President, we find ourselves in the situation where the Senator from Arizona and some of us are suggesting that the course that we chose in the beginning is, in fact, a correct course, and the course that we ought to follow. The truth is that it was not just the President of the United States who made a decision. So did the Senate of the United States. A majority of the Senators in this body voted to approve the bombing, and having approved the bombing and having decided to send American forces into harm's way, they embraced the goals that were then stated.

One component of those goals did change, obviously, dramatically. The effort initially was to prevent the ethnic cleansing from taking place and to hope we could sufficiently degrade the military machine to prevent that from happening. That, obviously, did not occur, and the ethnic cleansing continued. We now find ourselves with more than half the population dislocated outside of Kosovo, a significant portion displaced within Kosovo, and as to how many that may be is imprecise.

It seems to me that this is not a time for the Senate to engage in covering its own posterior, not a time for the Senate to engage in a wholesale set of contradictions. It is rather the time for the Senate to declare, as unequivocally as it declared 40 days ago, that we are prepared to move forward with the bombing, that the same goals and the same objectives are viable today.

It is interesting. I know that some have hearkened back to the Tonkin Gulf resolution and have hearkened back to some of the lessons of the Vietnam war. There is no small irony, however, in the fact that we are beyond, in a way, the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. There was a time for people to question why we were bombing, what the motives were of bombing, what we hoped to achieve through the bombing and whether or not it was appropriate to start bombing and then suddenly stop, short of achieving those objectives. That, I think, would have been appropriate.

Having decided that you were going to bomb, I think most people accepted the notion that the reason for bombing was legitimate enough, that the reason for putting American forces in harm's way was legitimate enough, that the goals that we were trying to achieve were legitimate enough, and that if you were prepared to take the risks of putting those people in harm's way, you were also accepting the responsibility for achieving the goal that was set out.

Back in the 1960s, when the Gulf of Tonkin resolution came to the floor, there were two Senators who stood up and, as a matter of conscience, said: I disagree with this, and voted against. One was Wayne Morse; the other was Ernest Gruening. It took a long time for history to prove those lone Senators correct. It may well be that those Senators who voted against the resolution supporting air strikes against Yugoslavia and who might choose to vote against those things necessary to achieve the goals may be proven correct by history. I do not know. At least that opposition is consistent, and at least that opposition is devoid of the disingenuity that we seem to see in those who voted to start bombing, those who have been saying for a year and a half or 2 years or more, you have to stop Mr. Milosevic, those who were crying for the United States to take a stand only a year ago, and then once the President does take a stand—the only stand that most people in the world thought he could take—all of a sudden they begin to vanish and run for the sidelines and take cover. I find that rather extraordinary, not to mention that it is, in fact, a contradiction of enormous proportions.

I understand how some in this Chamber have reservations about bombing. I understand full well about how some, given the history of the Balkans, may have inherent reservations about the United States, through NATO, even being involved there. Some of those people reflected those deep-rooted beliefs and fears in their original vote.

But the majority of the Senate voted by a greater margin than the majority who sent this Nation to war in Desert Storm—a greater majority. After Desert Storm, all those who had voted against it came together to suggest that the stated goals of the United States were such that we ought to