Mr. Speaker, if this rule passes and permits the

consideration of Senate Concurrent Resolution 21, then Congress will

have, in effect, declared war and permitted both bombing and ground

troops, all in one.

Let me explain how. The Senate passed Senate Concurrent Resolution

21, which authorizes bombing. In Dellums versus Bush, the court case

against the Iraq war, Judge Green wrote in his opinion that Congress

has the sole power to authorize the use of U.S. forces overseas, where

the lives of our men and women would be put in danger.

The President, at the very least, in order to be in accordance with

the Constitution, needs a resolution passed by both Houses that

authorizes him to use force. He does not need a declaration of war to

proceed with the war.

Therefore, if the House joins the Senate in Senate Concurrent

Resolution 21, it meets the constitutional test of both Houses, and the

President is authorized to send ground troops and to prosecute the war.

Some say we must win the war. I believe we must win the peace. Some

people believe that only military action can bring about peace. I

believe that only diplomatic initiatives and constant negotiations can

bring about peace. Some believe we need to teach the Federal Republic

of Yugoslavia a lesson by bombing their Nation to rubble. I believe

that violence is not redemptive but it breeds more violence, and places

the hope of resolution far beyond the horizon of peace.

Mr. Speaker, some say we must win, but we must win the

peace. We cannot win peace through war. The failure of the bombing

campaign is proof. We can win peace through negotiation, through

diplomacy. We must pursue peace as vigorously as we would pursue war.

We will decide today whether to escalate an undeclared war. Better to

push diplomatic initiatives, as the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr.

Weldon) is attempting. We will decide today whether to send ground

troops. Better to put peacekeepers on the ground in Moscow, in

Belgrade, to obtain a negotiated agreement. Today we will decide

whether to continue bombing; bombing which has not worked, bombing

which has been counterproductive, bombing which has destroyed villages

in order to save the villages, bombing which is killing innocent

civilians, both Kosovar Albanians and Serbians; bombing which is

leaving little bomblets across the terrain in Kosovo, injuring young

Albanian children, unexploded bombs being played with by children.

There are more amputations now in Kosovo than have ever occurred

probably anywhere because of these unexploded bombs that children are

finding and playing with and are blowing up.

I think, Mr. Speaker, this is a metaphor for the war. This entire war

is an unexploded bomb which is ready to maim and kill children. The sad

fact is that today, if we pass Senate Con. Res. 21, we will be

authorizing not just continuing the bombing, but sending ground troops,

and we will have given a license to expand an undeclared war. The

cruelest irony is that Congress will take money from the Social

Security surplus, money that our senior citizens need to assure their

Social Security, they will take that money and use it to send the

grandchildren to fight.

We must continue to give peace a chance, declare a cease fire, halt

the bombing, help the refugees, pursue peace, not war.

Mr. Speaker, I support the Goodling resolution. Some

say we must listen to the President, some say we must listen to

military leaders. I say we must listen to the now still voices of those

Americans who made the ultimate sacrifice more than a generation ago in

an undeclared war, in an

unwinnable war, a bright, shining lie of a war where truth was the

first casualty.

Now we are engaged in a great humanitarian mission, or so we are

told. But humanitarians do not excuse the bombing of Albanians and

Serbian civilians. Humanitarians do not bomb passenger trains.

Humanitarians do not bomb refugees fleeing the battle. Humanitarians do

not bomb residential areas. Humanitarians do not blow up water systems,

electric systems, sewage systems, and create an ecological catastrophe

in the name of peace. Humanitarians do not leave thousands of bomblets

in the ground so refugee children can lose their lives after the

battle.

No more bombing the villages to save the village, no more ground

troops sacrificed to redeem our failure in the air. All we are saying

is to give peace a chance. All we are saying is to give peace a chance

through negotiation and mediation and through diplomacy. Give peace a

chance.

Mr. Speaker, I believe we should withdraw our troops

and resubmit this matter to the United Nations Security Council and

make this tragedy the entire world's burden and not primarily that of

the people of the United States of America.

It is understandable that this House should be conflicted here,

because this mission is itself at conflict between the U.N. charter,

which bans force, violating State sovereignty and the universal

declaration of human rights, which guarantees the rights of individuals

against oppressive States. NATO's action fails the test of humanitarian

intervention, if only because of the damage NATO has inflicted on

civilian populations. Humanitarian bombing is an Orwellian attack on

logic.

If the United States continues as the chief sponsor of this war, we

have, in effect, decided that the United Nations is no longer relevant.

This places upon America the awesome responsibility of policing the

entire world.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support. We are all repelled by

the ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, at the crimes against humanity. That is

why we should take this crisis to the U.N. Security Council, instead of

taking international law into our own hands and bombing without a

declaration of war.

We should take the opportunity to go to the Russians, our brothers

and sisters struggling to hold onto a democracy, and ask them to help

negotiate peace. This would be true internationalism in search of

peace, and a fitting beginning to a new millennium.

Mr. Speaker, the truth is war is being waged and will

continue to be waged without declaration. But such violence is neither

redemptive nor justified in law or morality. Hope is redemptive, love

is redemptive, peace is redemptive, but the violence of this conflict

stirs our most primitive instincts. When we respond to such instincts,

we enact the law of an eye for an eye, and we at last become blind and

spend our remaining days groping to regain that light we had once

enjoyed.

He only understands force, it is said of Mr. Milosevic, but we must

understand more than force.

Otherwise, war is inescapable. We must make peace as inexorable as

the instinct to breed, as inevitable as the sunrise, as predictable as

the next day. With this vote, let us release ourselves from the logic

of war and energize a consciousness of peace, peace through implied

strength, peace through express diplomacy, peace through a belief that

through nonviolent human interaction, we can still control our destiny.

Mr. Speaker, it should be obvious that the President

does not need this resolution to use air power because he is already

using it. He needs Senate Con. Resolution 21 because, if it passes,

both houses of Congress will have satisfied the War Powers Resolution

to authorize force, and that effectively gives the President the power

to wage an unlimited war even with ground troops.

Section 5 of the War Powers Resolution states that the President must

terminate the use of force after 60 days unless Congress, first,

declares war; second, enacts explicit authorization of the use of

force; or third, extends the 60-day period. Although Senate Con.

Resolution 21 refers only to air war, it is an explicit authorization

of force. The President will not be limited to only air war once the

War Powers Resolution requirement is fulfilled. Since this resolution

authorizes the President to conduct military operations against

Yugoslavia in the air, its passage by the House is, in fact, a blank

check for the President to wage war, not only to bomb, but to send

ground troops.

If Senate Con. Resolution 21 should fail, then the war in Yugoslavia

will be limited to air war, which is what is now being waged, and no

ground troops, and the President will have to get Congress'

authorization to deploy ground troops at a later time.