Mr. Speaker, we are here with one single primary

purpose, and that purpose is to stop the murder in Kosovo. Mr.

Milosevic continues to kill innocent civilians and tries to chase the

rest away.

This country has led the world, sometimes single-handedly, in

military actions in Korea and Vietnam, in Panama, in Lebanon, in

Grenada and in Kuwait. In Nicaragua, we armed people to fight

themselves because we were worried about the economic and political

system that would end up in Nicaragua. We fought to stop communism.

Some people say we fought in Kuwait to protect our oil reserves.

Here, Mr. Speaker, it is much simpler. We have a brutal dictator who

is murdering innocent people and chasing the rest off the land. How do

we stop this murder? That is our goal.

We cannot use the argument that as a country, we failed to act

elsewhere. Yes, there have been other tragedies in recent years, and to

my regret we either did not have the assets or the inclination to

respond. In Rwanda, in Cambodia, in countless other places the world

should have responded.

One advantage we possess here is that we have NATO; we have NATO

united, that has been trained and operational together for decades. And

this is not the United States as the Lone Ranger. How many times have

we bemoaned the fact that America alone is left with this

responsibility? This is the United States and it is other NATO partners

together on a goal to stop murder.

Do not blame NATO for the acceleration or the deaths in Kosovo. I

have said it before: As the American troops headed towards the

concentration camps, the Nazis increased their production rate. They

killed more people. We cannot use that as an argument for not going

after them. Milosevic would have been happy to kill these people at a

lower percentage, try to chase them out more slowly if he was not

threatened.

We are going to have an amendment here that lets the Congress decide

tactics. How many years did we hear about Lyndon Johnson picking

targets in the White House? Now we are going to have 535 Members of

Congress determine the tactics in the battlefield. Whatever my

colleagues' debate is on war powers, I think most people understand

that is bad policy.

I look around this Chamber, as I did yesterday in committee, and I

have seen virtually every Member here at a Holocaust memorial. I have

seen them come for a day of remembrance about the Armenian genocide. I

have heard speeches by my colleagues here condemning our inaction in

Rwanda. And now what are we going to do here in Kosovo?

We will make a decision whether we simply repeat history so we can

have one more day with the Speaker's approval in the Rotunda, bemoaning

the

death and destruction of the Kosovar Albanians, or we will try to take

an action united with our other NATO partners that will put this murder

to an end. The Constitution gives us the prerogative to take action. It

does not demand that we vote on the first three proposals in the

affirmative. We, the independent Congress, can make the choice of what

statement we want to make here today.

Do not let process get in the way of policy. We can follow process.

We can reject both proposals of the gentleman from California (Mr.

Campbell), we can reject the proposal of the gentleman from

Pennsylvania (Mr. Goodling), and we can vote for a proposal that

authorizes, as the Senate language does, the present action be

consistent with the Constitution and war powers.

At the end of this debate, at the end of this conflict, I do not want

to come here in this chamber to remember one more group of victims and

to bemoan the inaction of our generation. We fought again in other

places to fight theoretical battles about communism and what have you.

Here we are talking about simple murder. Let us join together to put an

end to Mr. Milosevic's attacks on the Kosovar Albanians.

Mr. Speaker, our intent with the resolution is simply

to authorize the present campaign as it is presently being undertaken.

I think my statement was clear, and I agree with that.

Mr. Speaker, I am frankly somewhat astounded by the

debate today.

One, Members may differ with the President's goals. Do not continue

to fabricate that there are no defined goals. The goals are simple:

Stop Mr. Milosevic from murdering civilians. It

is not much more complicated than that.

We have just passed a proposal to pull the President's ability to

engage ground forces. Half of the members on this side of the aisle in

the last several weeks criticized the President for not leaving ground

forces on the table. Now they are trying to put that in statute. Then

we come here.

This is not academic discussion. If we pass this proposal, Mr.

Milosevic will see a bright green light to continue the work of his

role models, Hitler and Stalin. We can dream about lots of other

options. The option before us is whether NATO, all 19 countries,

continue on this campaign, or we sit back and wring our hands about

victims of crime.

Mr. Milosevic knows his role models in history, Hitler and Stalin,

did it bigger and better, but Mr. Milosevic has the same goal. He is

not going to stop in Kosovo.

I do not know if this military program works. I do not know what

works. I know that while we risk our young every day, we have been

incredibly blessed, lucky, and well-trained that we have no casualties.

Do not pass this proposal. Do not send a message to a murderer that

America will sit by as children are being murdered and people are

chased from their homes. This is no place for academic discussions. We

are here on a matter of life and death. Join with me, reject this

proposal.

Mr. Speaker, I am confident the House will reject this

unwarranted proposal for a declaration of war. What we should do when

we complete rejecting this constitutionally-propelled resolution by the

gentleman from California (Mr. Campbell), who wants to bring this to

court and test it, and he will apparently have his day in court, is

then to make sure we leave no confusion about where the Congress and

the American people are. We must pass the Senate language which I will

offer to authorize the activities we are under.

We have created sufficient confusion today by contradicting even our

own statements here on the floor. Many of those who argued against the

President unilaterally, saying he would not use ground troops, have now

passed what is potentially a statute that would prohibit the President

from using ground troops unless Congress comes together, meets and

passes it in both Houses.

So let us not leave this Chamber leaving confusion in Belgrade or

anywhere else. The bulk of the American people are with the President

on this action; the bulk of the American people are proud that we are

fighting to save human beings from murder. There is no second agenda

here. There is no oil, there is no Communist threat, there are simply

human beings who will then be murdered. Reject this amendment, reject

the proposal to declare war, and join us to simply state that we

support the actions that are being taken, so that Mr. Milosevic can

take no heart in the debate in this great, free and Democratic

institution that we speak clearly and honestly, that we want to set

Kosovo free.