Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the gentleman from

California (Mr. Campbell) for bringing these resolutions to the floor

at this time so that we can properly consider our role in the Balkans.

The NATO military air operation now taking place over Serbia is a

response, belatedly in my opinion, to more than a year of the most

callous brutal acts of repression of innocent men, women and children

in Kosovo whose only crime is being Albanian. The architect of these

policies is Slobodan Milosevic, a ruthless dictator, who has

accumulated an abominable record in the former Yugoslavia, and who

should be indicted by the War Crimes Tribunal at the Hague.

The cost of Milosevic's aggression has been the uprooting of hundreds

of thousands of people, thousands of whom are now refugees in

neighboring countries. Last fall it appeared that tens of thousands of

the displaced Kosovars were in danger of freezing to death during the

winter months.

As we all know too well, the Serbs never withdrew their police and

military, and the violence gradually escalated until in January we had

the massacre by Serb police of a small village that killed 45 unarmed

civilians. At that point we told the Serbs that they had to agree to a

plan put forward by our government and other members of the contact

group of the international community that would have restored

substantial self-rule to the Albanians in Kosovo; and, if Serbia did

not agree, they were advised that NATO would escalate its military

action.

The Serbs have used NATO bombing as a pretext, a pretext to escalate

the ethnic cleansing that they had prepared for Kosovo when the spring

weather permitted conditions for their military operations.

The major issue confronting our Nation and the Kosovo crisis has

been, and continues to be, the humanitarian situation facing the

refugees in Kosovo, and now in Albania, Macedonia, Montenegro, as well

as some other countries in that region.

A second priority of our policy should be to support those frontline

States in order to create stability and a bulwark against a possible

spread of the conflict which could be an objective of Mr. Milosevic.

We need to recognize that the issues we are facing are complex, and

the resolutions of these problems are not readily achievable. We are

nevertheless embarked upon a course of action that must succeed.

Accordingly, I urge my colleagues to be supportive of these efforts,

even as we continue to probe into questions of policies that underline

them.

I urge my colleagues to carefully consider these very important

issues that we are about to address, and their impact upon the peace in

the Balkans.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding this time

to me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this measure, and I commend

the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Goodling), a senior member of our

committee, for bringing this measure before the House along with the

gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs. Fowler).

Those of us who believe that the Congress should have a say in both

the actual assignment of U.S. armed forces to conflict overseas as well

as the funding of such deployments should join in voting in favor of

this measure. Regardless of where our Members stand on our present

policy in Kosovo, I believe it is indisputable that the Congress does

have a constitutional role where U.S. military personnel are sent

abroad into hostilities; and although the President has indicated he

has no plan to send our troops into Kosovo on the ground unless there

is an agreement from the Yugoslav authorities permitting such a

presence, none of us can rule out the possibility that if circumstances

do change, if the humanitarian situation worsens, or if the conflict

spreads, that the President could decide to send in ground troops.

I believe that it would now be prudent and timely for the

administration to seek statutory authorization for the deployment of

our armed forces in Yugoslavia. The President and his key officials

have thus far, however, not requested the Congress for such an

authorization. I think it is incumbent upon the administration to

request such an authorization.

This bill, I believe, is a proper response to where we now find

ourselves in the terms of asserting our congressional role under the

Constitution, under the War Powers Resolution. Accordingly, Mr.

Speaker, I urge our Members to vote in favor of H.R. 1569.

Mr. Speaker, let me begin by saying to the gentleman from

California (Mr. Campbell) that I fully respect and appreciate his

diligent efforts to ensure that the Congress is appropriately involved

in any decisions on war and peace, and we highly commend him for his

efforts in that respect.

As I stated to Secretary Albright at our Committee on International

Relations hearing last week, I believe that the administration had made

a serious mistake in trying to prosecute a war against Yugoslavia

without full involvement of the Congress.

The gentleman from California (Mr. Campbell) is earnestly trying to

rectify that situation, and I believe he should be commended for taking

pains to ensure that the prerogatives of the Congress are respected.

At the same time, however, I cannot support this measure that the

gentleman from California (Mr. Campbell) introduced in April and which

is before us today, House Concurrent Resolution 82. This is a

concurrent resolution directing the President, pursuant to section 5(c)

of the War Powers Resolution, to remove our armed forces from

Yugoslavia.

With regard to the merits of the Campbell resolution, we all know

that Operation Allied Force has not been as successful as we would have

liked, but now is certainly not the time to suspend our military

operations in Yugoslavia. Doing that would only compound the

humanitarian tragedy that has been unfolding before our eyes. It would

reward President Milosevic for his murderous strategy of depopulating

Kosovo of its ethnic Albanian majority and remove all pressure on him

to agree to any diplomatic settlement that would protect the rights of

the people of Kosovo.

The NATO military air operation now taking place over Serbia is a

response, belatedly in my opinion, to more than a year of the most

callous and brutal acts of repression aimed at innocent men, women and

children in Kosovo whose only crime has been that they are Albanians.

The architect of these policies is Slobodan Milosevic, a man who has

already accumulated a horrendous record in the former Yugoslavia and

who should be indicted by the War Crimes Tribunal at The Hague.

The cost of Milosevic's aggressive nationalism has been the uprooting

of hundreds of thousands of people. While the Serbs have used NATO

bombing as a pretext to escalate their hideous policy of ethnic

cleansing, it is clear that they had prepared to embark on this course

for Kosovo when the spring weather permitted better conditions for

their military operations. There are alarming reports that in addition

to the mass expulsions that we see on our television, there have been

numerous atrocities and even mass killings perpetrated by the Serb

forces, including civilian paramilitary groups notorious for their

crimes that were committed in Bosnia and in Croatia.

In addition to these compelling humanitarian concerns that have led

to our involvement, there is a threat to neighboring countries like

Albania and Macedonia that could create a much wider conflict in Europe

that could even result in the involvement of our NATO allies Greece and

Turkey on opposite sides.

To prevent that kind of destabilization and escalation, our Nation

has decided to act now. We have learned in two previous occasions this

century that wars in Europe inevitably involve our own national

interest, and that we pay a higher price by pretending that they do not

and by delaying our involvement.

For these reasons, I strongly urge my colleagues in the House to

oppose this resolution, H. Con. Res. 82, and indicate to the government

of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that we will not cut and run when

the going gets tough.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, when our Committee on International Relations considered

this measure yesterday, I was sorely tempted to vote for this

resolution. This is not because I am eager for a fight and a war with

Yugoslavia, because I am not. But I am eager for our Nation and the

NATO alliance to avoid a humiliating defeat in the Balkans, which is

where we could end up if we continue down the path of halfway measures.

After the successful conclusion of Operation Desert Storm, many of us

were relieved that our Nation finally appeared to have learned from the

bitter experiences in Vietnam how not to fight a war. But everything we

have seen to date in Operation Allied Force suggests that the lessons

of Desert Storm may have been forgotten and that we are at risk of

repeating in the Balkans the very same mistakes we made in Vietnam.

We do have an interest in preventing ethnic cleansing, the forcible

relocation of hundreds of thousands of refugees, and the destabilization

of Albania, Macedonia, and the other countries in that region. I

believe the President was right to try to stop President Milosevic from

doing these things. And now that we are involved, I believe that we

must do everything within our power to restore peace to the region.

That is a coherent position.

But what is not coherent, however, is the in-between position that we

have enough of a national interest to become involved in an armed

conflict with President Milosevic but not enough of a national interest

to do what is required to prevail in that conflict. That certainly is a

prescription for defeat. And this is what brought us the agony of

Vietnam. This is where we may end up in the Balkans if we forget the

very first lesson of Vietnam, that we have no business getting into

wars that we are not determined to win.

I oppose the Campbell joint resolution declaring war on Yugoslavia,

because I do not think Congress should declare wars if we are not

determined to prosecute them.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, as I have previously indicated, I am

prepared to support statutory authorization for appropriate measures

necessary to achieve all of our objectives in Kosovo. Accordingly, I

support this resolution, although I consider it to be only a halfway

measure. It is not a statutory authorization, even though it purports

to be such, and it addresses itself only to the present military air

operation by NATO in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

As I previously stated, I believe that it would be both timely and

prudent for the administration to come to the Congress with a request

for statutory authorization for any and all measures necessary to bring

about our stated objectives in Kosovo. We do not want to encourage Mr.

Milosevic to believe that our Nation is not prepared to pursue victory,

and we do not want him to believe that he can wait us out and his will

is superior to our manifest determination in this matter.

I believe that this measure advances, in a modest way, our

determination of support for an end to the brutality in Kosovo and,

accordingly, I urge my colleagues to support this measure.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.