Mr. Speaker, as kindly as I can, let me say that Neville

Chamberlain rose up and said, let us mediate.

I believe we are doing the right thing with our allies, for the right

reason, in the right way to minimize risks to our people. I rise in

strong opposition to the two resolutions sponsored by the gentleman

from California (Mr. Campbell) and to this bill sponsored by the

gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs. Fowler) and the gentleman from

Pennsylvania (Mr. Goodling). Unlike the gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs.

Fowler), I do not believe that this resolution or this bill has the

limited effect that she argues that it does. That perhaps is a

legitimate and honest difference of opinion.

Mr. Speaker, we have seen an extraordinary event occur here in

Washington last week. Not just 19 NATO nations, but 42 nations came to

America and celebrated 50 years of commitment to keeping the peace. We

are now confronting, in the midst of Europe, where NATO has pledged to

keep the peace, the most egregious violation of human rights, the most

egregious disruption of the security of the European region as we have

seen since 1968.

The bill that is presently before us says that we shall not use

elements. I agree with the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. Skelton); I am

not sure of what that definition is. But I do know and believe that our

enemies will interpret that as a constriction on our maneuverability

and ability to act. That is a dangerous policy. We should not be

engaged in this conflict with that constriction on our troops. It is

dangerous, in my opinion, for them. It gives to our enemy a false sense

that he may act to the detriment of our people. We ought to reject this

bill as not only premature, but as unwise policy.

Mr. Speaker, to my colleagues on the Republican side, let me say that

we bombed in the Persian Gulf for 44 days. There was no vote on this

floor. We deployed over half a million troops in harm's way. There was

no vote on this floor. Why? Because President Bush and Secretary Baker

talked to Speaker Foley and said, if you have such a vote, it will

undermine our position. So Speaker Foley did not allow a vote until

yes, President Bush, as he agreed, came to this floor for the

authorization of troops to go in to Kuwait. Not to be deployed, to go

into Kuwait.

Mr. Speaker, as the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. Callahan) has said,

and as our President said as late as this morning to an assembled group

of Members of the House, Republicans and Democrats, Senators and House

Members, the Speaker of the House and the minority leader, that he

would not, without consulting the House, take this action. Let us be

united with our President and with our fighting men and women in this

important endeavor.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H.R. 1569.

First, however, I am compelled to express my outrage that we are here

today, in this House, engaging in debate about the most serious issues

we are ever called upon to consider--the conduct of war and the making

of peace--in such a desultory manner.

The Gulf War Resolution was the subject of 16 hours of debate--16

hours, Mr. Speaker. Today we are faced with four separate, conflicting,

and mutually exclusive resolutions and we have been limited to 1 hour

on each of them.

It is absolutely unconscionable and irresponsible to be considering

legislation which requires the arbitrary withdrawal of our forces

participating in the NATO action against Serbia, as does House

Concurrent Resolution 82. Such a course would hand Milosevic victory,

confirm the genocide he has perpetrated against the Kosovar Albanians,

and destroy NATO.

As I have said before, Mr. Speaker, intervention to stop the

aggression against civilians in Kosovo is both morally compelling and

clearly in our country's national interest. Let us be very clear about

what is happening in Kosovo. This is not a civil war.

It is a continuation of the conflict Milosevic instigated in Croatia

in 1991 and in Bosnia-Herzegovina from 1991 to 1995. His aim all along

has been the consolidation of his own political power within Serbia.

Milosevic is a tyrant and a war criminal.

Former President George Bush recognized this fact in 1992 when he

warned Milosevic that aggression by his forces against the civilian

population of Kosovo would be met by an immediate military response by

the United States. President Clinton reiterated that warning in early

1993.

Having made the commitment to our NATO allies, to the people of

Kosovo and, indeed, to the world, that we will not stand by and watch

ethnic cleansing and butchery in the heart of Europe, it is my firm

belief that we must see this action through to the end.

Last week, in a speech before the National Fire and Emergency

Services Caucus dinner which I cochair with my good friend Curt Weldon,

Senator John McCain called for such a commitment, including the use of

ground troops. Senator McCain stated that he did not recommend this

course lightly and was prepared to bear responsibility for the outcome.

He said:

America must lead, Mr. Speaker; we must not equivocate. Such a course

would encourage the enemies of peace, the bullies of the world, and

would surely endanger our men and women in uniform. As we enter the

21st century, America stands as the beacon of democracy, freedom, and

human rights. People around the world look to our country's strength in

their struggle for democracy and basic human rights. We must not, Mr.

Speaker, stand now in the shadow of weakness and isolationism.

Our cause is just. Let us act.