Mr. Speaker, there is a tragic war unfolding in the

Balkans. The United States military has been playing a significant role

in this war for several weeks. There is every indication that the war

will expand and so will the United States' role. And yet, it is an

undeclared war bearing an eerie resemblance to the beginning of the

Vietnam War albeit that this one involves our NATO allies.

As a part of a NATO policy, the United States military began bombing

in Yugoslavia in response to that government's refusal to go along with

a plan for NATO ``peacekeeping'' forces to occupy the Yugoslav province

of Kosovo in an effort to stop a civil war and ``ethnic cleansing.'' It

appears that President Clinton and other NATO leaders mistakenly

thought that bombing specified military targets in Serbia and Kosovo

would send a message to Yugoslav President Milosevic that would cause

him to quickly embrace the NATO peace plan. It is obvious this was a

gross miscalculation. Instead, Serbian forces immediately swept through

Kosovo burning homes and driving out thousands and thousands of

Kosovars who have become refugees in neighboring states. In the

process, many human rights atrocities against the Kosovars in Kosovo

have been reported.

The response of the United States and its allies has been to step up

the bombing program. This has united the Serbian population behind

President Milosevic, steeled their determination to prevail no matter

what and alienated the general public in Russia who have a strong

historical relationship with the Serbs. So far there is no sign that

absent the introduction of ground forces, the intensified bombing

campaign will cause President Milosevic and the Serbs to agree to the

terms regarding Kosovo, demanded by NATO.

It is well known that the Yugoslav army has long prepared for a

defensive struggle against any invading force by constructing

underground facilities in rugged territory, by storing

weapons and other supplies in these facilities and by training its

military to engage in guerrilla tactics. While the extent of damage

done by the bombing to date has been significant, it is probable that

no amount of bombing will degrade the Yugoslav military sufficiently

enough to prevent large numbers of casualties if U.S. ground troops are

inserted or even if attack helicopters and other low flying aircraft

are utilized to destroy Yugoslav ground forces because of the passion

of the Serbian people to drive the Albanian Kosovars out of Kosovo and

regain this territory which historically, several hundred years ago,

was part of greater Serbia. It is unrealistic to expect the government

of Yugoslavia to yield to NATO and its demands short of a total

military defeat, and even then it appears likely that guerrilla warfare

would continue to exist for a long, long time against any occupying

force.

President Clinton has never asked Congress to declare war on

Yugoslavia or Serbia. He has never even requested the type of

resolution President Bush requested and was granted in advance of

Desert Storm. Instead, he has made statements to the general public and

conferred behind closed doors with congressional ``leaders'' putting

forth a rationale for the bombings without a full explanation of what

will likely be required to achieve the presumed NATO foreign policy

objectives. At no time has he spelled out to the American public, let

alone Congress, a consistent, coherent foreign policy that demonstrates

a compelling United States national security interest in waging war

against the forces of the government of Yugoslavia. Has the United

States embraced a new NATO policy as described by British Prime

Minister Tony Blair that NATO will not permit ever in the future human

rights atrocities and ``ethnic cleansing'' or a dictatorship anywhere

on the continent of Europe? If President Clinton embraces this policy,

does this mean he is committing United States military forces to

enforce such a policy not just in this instance in Yugoslavia, but at

any point in what the world defines as Europe? Does this mean that

whatever force is necessary, including the use of ground troops of the

United States military, will be engaged to ensure this policy? And if

indeed this is a new policy of NATO to which the United States is in

agreement, what is the national security interest rationale to support

such a policy, and why specifically would we engage in such a policy

with regard to Europe and nowhere else in the world? If it is not the

United States policy, then the President needs to say so and come

before Congress requesting some authority for engaging in the war that

we're now undertaking together with a detailed rationale for it and an

explanation of what we're prepared to do to win it. If it is a new

policy, then that too must be explained together with a request for

Congress to formally support the ongoing war as well as whatever treaty

alterations within NATO need to be made and approved by the U.S.

Senate.

I'm just as moved as anyone else by the atrocities being reported in

Kosovo. There is no doubt in my mind that Albanian Kosovars have been

brutally mistreated. No doubt, an appropriate response by the United

States and its NATO allies to this action is justified. But I am deeply

troubled by our engagement in an undeclared war that appears to be

incrementally deepening with each passing day. It reminds me a great

deal of how we got engaged in Vietnam and allowed that engagement to

progress to a major war with a no-win policy that lost the support of

the American public and cost thousands of American lives. If the United

States is going to engage in war, the commitment must be made to let

the military use the force necessary to win the war which means paying

whatever price in lives of American soldiers is required to do this.

And if America's national security interests are not great enough to

justify such a price, then there should be no war.

To date, President Clinton has not demonstrated to my satisfaction

that America's national security interest in the Kosovo matter is great

enough to justify paying the price that I foresee will be necessary to

win the undeclared war in which we are now engaged. For this reason, I

am voting today for Mr. Campbell's resolution to withdraw American

forces from this war effort and for the Fowler/Goodling bill which

would require a vote of Congress before the introduction of United

States ground forces in Kosovo or Serbia. In doing so I keep an open

mind to any presentation the President may make in the future to

Congress seeking a declaration of war for this cause or a resolution

similar to the one that was sought and given to President Bush.

However, I will not be a party to sending American men and women in

uniform to die in an ill conceived, ill planned and undeclared war.

Mr. Speaker, there is a tragic war in the Balkans.

There is every indication that this war will expand, and so will the

role of the United States. So far, there is no sign that absent the

introduction of ground forces the intensified bombing campaign will

cause President Milosevic and the Serbs to agree to the terms regarding

Kosovo demanded by NATO. President Clinton has never asked Congress to

declare war on Yugoslavia or Serbia. He has never even requested the

type of resolution President Bush requested and was granted in advance

of Desert Storm. At no time has he spelled out to the American public,

let alone Congress, a consistent, coherent foreign policy that

demonstrates a compelling United States' national security interest in

waging war against the forces of the Government of Yugoslavia.

I am just as moved as anyone else by the atrocities reported in

Kosovo, but I

am deeply troubled by our continued engagement. If the United States is

going to engage in war, the commitment must be made to let the military

use whatever force is necessary, which means paying whatever price in

lives of American soldiers is required, and if the American national

security interests are not great enough to justify such a price, then

there should be no war.

To date, President Clinton has not demonstrated to my satisfaction

America's national security interest in the Kosovo matter is great

enough to justify paying such a price. For this reason I voted for the

resolution offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. Campbell) to

withdraw American forces, and it is for this reason that I will not be

a party to sending American men and women in uniform to die in an ill-

conceived, ill-planned war and I am strongly against this resolution

declaring war.