Mr. Speaker, I come to the floor with an overwhelming

sense of sadness that we be debating constraints on America's ability

to lead in this world on a most profound issue of human rights. We are

a people and a Nation whose very creation was to protect life and

liberty against imperial sovereignty.

In my view, whatever constrains the 19 nations that comprise NATO

from successfully prosecuting this war and successfully degrading the

military capacity of the Milosevic regime to conduct ethnic cleansing

and successfully returning ethnic Albanian citizens of Kosova to the

homes they've lived in for generations is bad policy. It is tough

enough to achieve consensus among those 19 nations, from France,

Britain, and Italy to Hungary, Luxemburg and Iceland. But a broad

consensus exists, a remarkable agreement, that the consummate evil in

Europe today is represented by the Milosevic regime's execution of his

belief that it has every right to repress, to terrorize, to intimidate,

to expel, and, if those fail, to massacre whoever is left, of nearly 2

million citizens of Kosovo, whose only crime is that their religion is

Islam.

I believe that if NATO had said ``no'' when Milosevic attacked

eastern Croatia in 1991, an attack that ended when the defenses of

Vukovar were overrun and the people remaining in the hospital were

taken from their beds and slaughtered, we would not have witnessed the

agony of Bosnia with 200,000 killed and 2 million--fully 50% of the

population--displaced from their homes. That agony culminated at

Srebrenica where 8,000 men and boys were separated out and slaughtered.

And if NATO had said ``no'' when the Milosevic regime killed 200,000

Bosnians and sent 2 million more into exile and into displacement from

their homes, then the agony of Kosovo would not have occurred.

I believe equally fervently that if NATO is not equally successful in

its resolve on Kosovo, that the anti-Milosevic freely-elected

government, and, in fact, the very republic status of Montenegro within

the rump of federal Yugoslavia, is as good as dead, and that the

Milosevic regime will then adopt the destabilization of Macedonia as

its next expansionist project.

NATO must succeed in this effort, before all the Kosovar males

between the ages of 15 and 50 are murdered by the Milosevic regime.