I thank the distinguished gentleman for

yielding me this time. Mr. Speaker, the votes today are extraordinarily

difficult ones for each of us. The difficulty arises not because we are

afraid to face up to these decisions, but because we must find a way to

support freedom and democracy for the people of Kosovo and for the

people of Serbia without writing a blank check for more fatal blunders

on the part of the Clinton administration.

I do not agree with our bombing campaign, but the present ``bombing

only'' policy appears to have been based on the tragic miscalculation

by President Clinton that Milosevic would back down if we bombed Serbia

for a week or maybe two. This seems to have been based on an even more

fundamental miscalculation, that Milosevic cares more about Serbia than

he does for Milosevic.

Former Governor George Allen of Virginia pointed out recently, and it

was a very good and apt analogy when he said it was the equivalent of

being in a football game and you say you are going to pass on every

play. You have really given away your options. We did the same thing

when we told Milosevic there would be no ground troops. That permitted

him to anticipate and adjust to NATO moves. Another miscalculation.

Whatever happened to ``loose lips sink ships''? U.S. and NATO

spokesmen--including the President, babble on and on. Such carelessness

puts the lives of our servicemen at risk and its wrong.

Mr. Speaker, let me just say a couple of things. I have had more than

a dozen hearings on the Baltics in my subcommittee, the International

Operations and Human Rights Committee and in the Helsinki Commission. I

chair them both. We have looked again

and again at the problems, first with Bosnia and Croatia and now with

Kosovo and sought to understand and react prudently to mitigate the

suffering. We've looked at the war crimes that have been committed by

Slobodan Milosevic's military, police and hoods.

I find it incredible that the Clinton administration for the last 6

or more years has not sought to bring action against Slobodan Milosevic

at the War Crimes Tribunal at the Hague. In public and private I have

asked repeatedly, where is the dossier, the documents, the evidence,

why are we not trying to bring this war criminal to trial. To my shock,

I am informed that the administration has collected nothing on this

tyrant. Thus, last year virtually every Member of this Chamber voted in

favor of my resolution that petitioned, admonished, and encouraged the

administration to begin the effort to bring Milosevic to justice.

Mr. Speaker, just let me also say that I do not believe voting for

this declaration of war is the right thing to do. Our fight is not with

the Serbian or Yugoslav people. It is with a cunning madman, and a very

small number of very dedicated terrorists who surround him.

I ask for a ``no'' vote on the declaration of war.

Mr. Speaker, the votes today will be extraordinarily difficult ones

for many Members of Congress. The difficulty arises not because we are

afraid to face up to these decisions, but because we must find a way to

support freedom and democracy for the people of Kosovo--and for the

people of Serbia--without writing a blank check for more fatal blunders

on the part of the Clinton Administration.

I don't agree with NATO's bombing campaign but the present ``bombing

only'' policy appears to have been based on the tragic miscalculation,

by President Clinton and his top advisors that Slobodan Milosevic would

back down if we bombed Serbia for a week or so. This seems to have been

based on an even more fundamental miscalculation--that Milosevic cares

more about Serbia than he does about Milosevic.

Former Governor George Allen of Virginia has pointed out that to

announce in advance that we would only use bombs and missiles and never

use ground troops is the equivalent of announcing at the beginning of a

football game that you intend to pass on every play. Even if we had no

intention of using ground troops, it was yet another miscalculation to

tell Milosevic about this plan. In war, you don't put your plan on CNN.

In effect, we were telling him that we would punish the Serbian people

for his regime's crimes, but that we would do nothing to prevent them.

The campaign of murder, rape, and ethnic cleansing in Kosovo was

already under way--there were over 150,000 displaced persons there even

before Rambouillet, and as early as June of last year Physicians for

Human Rights issued a report that found ``intensive, systematic

destruction and ethnic cleansing''--but when we announced that we would

bomb and do nothing else, Milosevic knew he could get away with

intensifying this campaign, and that is exactly what he did.

So our options now are stark indeed:

We cannot turn the clock back to a time when it might have been

possible to persuade the people of Kosovo to accept some kind of

autonomy within Serbia. The mass rapes and mass murders, the beatings

and tortures, the burning of villages and clearing of cities, have made

this next to impossible. Nor can the Muslim population of Kosovo forget

the Dayton agreement, in which the Clinton Administration brokered the

dismemberment of Bosnia. Instead of arresting Milosevic on the spot and

bringing him before the War Crimes Tribunal, our diplomats exchanged

toasts and compliments with him and turned over half of Bosnia to his

murderous cronies.

Speaking of the War Crimes Tribunal, I have tried for years, Mr.

Speaker, to get this Administration to turn over all relevant evidence

of Milosevic's responsibility for crimes against humanity. Last

September, the House passed my resolution admonishing the Clinton

Administration to work to bring Milosevic to justice at the Hague,

sadly, nothing was done. This begs the question as to why the Clinton

Administration has, in essence, given one of the most brutal dictators

on the face of the earth defacto immunity from prosecution.

Mr. Speaker, we cannot simply continue the bombing forever, in the

face of mounting collateral deaths and injuries of men, women, and

children--Serbs, Montenegrins, and Kosovars alike--and mounting

evidence that the campaign is not likely to succeed in bringing down

the Milosevic regime or in bringing peace and freedom to Kosovo.

Nor can we simply consign the Kosovars to their fate. For the

hundreds of thousands outside Kosovo, this would mean being refugees

forever. For those still inside, it would mean more murders, more

rapes, more tortures. for those of us who are lucky enough to live in

safety and freedom, it would almost certainly mean in the last analysis

that we stood by and watched yet another genocide.

So our only real choice is to come up with a plan--perhaps a new

diplomatic initiative along the lines suggested by Curt Weldon of

Pennsylvania.

Unfortunately, there is no sign that the Administration has such a

plan or is trying very hard to come up with one. So Congress today must

vote in a way that signals clear support for a just solution to the

crisis in Kosovo, without inviting the Administration to blunder its

way into further non-solutions.

Mr. Speaker, I will not vote for the declaration of war, because our

fight is not with Yugoslavia--and our fight is most certainly not with

the peoples whose governments might come in on the side of Yugoslavia

in an all out war. Our fight is with Milosevic.

Mr. Speaker, I also will not vote for an absolute and inflexible

legal requirement that all U.S. forces be removed from the zone of

hostilities within 30 days, because this would be yet another

gratuitous decision to tie our own hands in advance, without knowing

what may happen in the next day or week or month. To announce in

advance that we will withdraw our forces no matter what Milosevic does

would be eerily reminiscent of President Clinton's decision to announce

in advance that we would use only bombs and never ground troops. Its

most likely effect would be to spur Milosevic on to further atrocities.

It would also probably have the effect of depriving the humanitarian

campaign on behalf of the refugees in Albania and Macedonia of the

invaluable assistance of the U.S. military. I want to make clear that

my criticisms of the Administration's military policy are not intended

to reflect on the humanitarian campaign. All indications are that

everyone involved--UNHCR, the non-governmental organizations, and

government agencies emphatically including our armed forces--are doing

the Lord's work and doing it as well as can be expected under the

circumstances. My only suggestion is that we urgently need even more

resources for this humanitarian campaign.

Mr. Speaker, I will vote for the Goodling bill, which will require

Congressional authorization for the use of ground troops.

At the beginning of the decade, President Bush persuasively made his

case--to Congress and the American people--for ground troops for the

Persian Gulf War.

Mr. Clinton, it seems to me, has no less of a responsibility to

explain why he might be willing to risk the lives of Americans in a

ground action.

It's bad enough the President initiated the misguided bombing with

its disastrous consequences to Kosovar Albanians without prior

Congressional approval. Any potential, new, escalation must include

clear authorization from the Congress.