Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to this

resolution because I believe that a declaration of war will only

increase instability in the region and exacerbate the atrocities

against ethnic Albanians. My support and prayers go out to the brave

men and women of the United States Armed Forces who have been

dispatched to Yugoslavia. We must take every measure to ensure their

safe and expeditious return home.

While I will vote against this resolution, it is my belief that this

debate and these votes should have been taken before a single bomb was

dropped and before any U.S. troops were sent. Our inaction prior to

military strikes abdicated our constitutional responsibility and,

furthermore, prevented the voice of the people I represent, who are

overwhelmingly against air strikes, from being heard. I agree that we

have a moral imperative to bring an end to the horrific genocide and

suffering in the Balkans. However, violent means have only and will

only escalate the crisis.

As a person who strongly believes in the teachings and the work of

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. I profoundly subscribe to the principles of

nonviolence. If peace is our objective, then I implore us to consider

the words of Dr. King, not only on his birthday but each and every day

of the year. In his last book, ``The Trumpet of Conscience,'' he wrote

about United States policy in North Vietnam. He said, ``They are

talking about peace as a distant goal, as an end we seek. But one day

we must come to see that peace is not merely a distant goal we seek,

but that it is a means by which we arrive at that goal; destructive

means cannot bring about constructive ends.''

I am convinced that our best hope for peace and stability is the

negotiation of an immediate cease-fire, and a strong belief that the

United States and NATO must reach out to Russia, the United Nations,

China and others to develop an internationally negotiated political

settlement. Our actions must set an example for our young people that

violence should never be an option. I ask for a ``no'' vote.

I rise today in opposition to H.J. Res. 44, which would declare a

state of war between the United States and the Federal Republic of

Yugoslavia. I oppose this resolution because I believe that a

declaration of war, like the NATO air strikes, will only increase

instability in the region and exacerbate the atrocities against ethnic

Albanians.

At this very volatile time, my support and prayers go out to the

brave men and women of the United States Armed Forces who have been

dispatched to Yugoslavia. We must take every measure possible to bring

an end to this crisis to ensure their safe and expeditious return home.

While I will vote against the declaration of war, I would like to

commend my colleague from California, Congressman Campbell, for

introducing this resolution into the House of Representatives and

bringing forward Congressional action on the US involvement in Kosovo.

It is my belief that these debates should have taken place six weeks

ago, before a single bomb was dropped and before any US troops were

sent into the hostile situation in the Balkans.

By failing to vote on the air strikes before their commencement, and

instead debating authorization now, when we are already heavily

involved, the Administration is conducting a war without Congressional

consent as required by the Constitution. A vote to authorize the

President to conduct military air strikes at this juncture is nothing

more than a rubber stamp from Congress for an action that has already

begun. I my opinion, our inaction prior to military strikes abdicated

our Constitutional responsibility and furthermore, prevented the voice

of the people I represent, who are overwhelmingly against the air

strikes, from being heard.

There are those who rise today in support of the Administration's

action in order to end the genocide of the ethnic Albanians. I agree,

in the strongest terms possible, that we have a moral imperative to

intervene and to bring an end to the horrific suffering. However,

whether air strikes, ground forces, or a declaration of war--these

violent means as a method to bring peace and stability to the Balkans

have only, and will only escalate the crisis.

As a person who strongly believes in the teachings and work of Dr.

Martin Luther King Jr., not just on his birthday, but throughout the

year, I profoundly subscribe to the principles of nonviolence. Our

policies, and our actions, must set an example for our young people

that violence should never be an option. If peace is our objective, and

I am certain that this is a goal upon which all in this chamber can

agree, then I implore us to consider the words of Dr. King. In his last

book, The Trumpet of Conscience, A Christmas Sermon on Peace, Dr. King

discusses bombing in North Vietnam, and the rhetoric of peace that was

connected to those war making acts.

He wrote, ``What is the problem? They are talking about peace as a

distant goal, as an end we seek. But one day we must come to see that

peace is not merely a distant goal we seek, but that it is a means by

which we arrive at that goal. We must pursue peaceful ends through

peaceful means. All of this is saying that, in the final analysis,

means and ends must cohere because the end is pre-existent in the means

and ultimately destructive means cannot bring about constructive

ends.''

The Administration's policy and the NATO campaign in Kosovo to date

have produced only counterproductive and destructive results: a mass

exodus of over half a million ethnic Albanians, significant civilian

deaths, an escalation of Milosevic's campaign of racial hatred and

terror, and greater instability in the region. The results are just the

opposite of what we want to achieve. Our goal is to prevent innocent

people from being killed. In the name of saving Kosovars, we are

destroying Kosovo.

At this juncture, I am convinced that our best hope for peace and

stability in the region is the negotiation of an immediate cease fire.

It is my strong belief that the United States and NATO must reach out

to the United Nations, Russia China, and others to work together to

develop a new, internationally negotiated peace agreement and to secure

Serbian compliance to its terms. In order to end the suffering in the

Balkans and to achieve long term stability, support of a diplomatic

political settlement is the only action we can employ.

As we today speak of a policy to end genocide in the Balkans, I am

also greatly disturbed to think of the people in many countries in

Africa and all over the world, who have also suffered unthinkable

atrocities, beyond our worst nightmare. As a result of ethnic conflict

in Africa, over 150,000 have been killed in Burundi; 800,000 in Rwanda;

and 1.5 million in Sudan. More than 200,000 Kurds have died in Iraq and

Turkey, and hundreds of thousands in Burma, and over 1 million in

Cambodia.

It is my hope that our nation can develop a foreign policy framework

to address suffering and killing all over the world, without the use of

force, ground troops, air strikes and other violent means.

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

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which would declare a state of war between the United States and the

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. I oppose this resolution because I

believe that a declaration of war, like the NATO air strikes, will only

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