Mr. Speaker, war is hell, but at times it is our most

dreaded necessity. At times it is unavoidable. At times it is a matter

of self-defense. None of this is the case in Kosovo. This war was not,

nor is it now unavoidable. It is neither a dreaded necessity, nor is it

fought in self-defense against an attacking enemy. All the good

intentions in the world do not justify continuing such a war. A war

that has every potential for disastrous consequences and catastrophe,

not only for the United States, but also for our

NATO allies, and for all of the people of Europe, both east and west.

The deep divisions and misgivings expressed here in Congress over

continuing this war are heard throughout the Nation and among our NATO

allies. These divisions and misgivings are understandable, they are

justified, and they cannot be ignored. The administration has failed to

make a persuasive case to Congress or to the American people.

For these reasons, and consistent with my concern and support for our

troops, I voted to withdraw U.S. forces from the war in Kosovo, and I

will vote against ratifying this war with a declaration from Congress.