Mr. President, the

Senate is about to be presented with a

resolution authorizing the President of

the United States to intervene in a

civil war in the Republic of Yugoslavia—

one of many civil wars taking

place around the world, in which one

dominant group is repressing, killing,

and displacing a minority group within

their borders.

Mr. President, the cause of this civil

war is Mr. Milosevic, the dictator of

Serbia and of the Yugoslav Republic.

But nowhere in any of the administration’s

stated goals justifying this intervention

is included the removal of Mr.

Milosevic from his position of power.

The goal is neither a stated nor an

unstated goal. Therefore, we are about

to engage in a civil war in which we do

not go after the cause of the war.

Just a few years ago, the last occasion

on which we debated authorizing

the President of the United States to

engage the Armed Forces of our country

far from the borders of the United

States, in Iraq, after its invasion of Kuwait,

we made the determination, and

after successfully removing the symptom,

the invasion and occupation of

Kuwait, that we would not remove the

cause—Saddam Hussein. As a consequence

of not going after the cause,

we have been involved in either a cold

or a hot war with Iraq ever since, at

great cost in money to the United

States, and at a considerable cost to

our support for that cause around the

world.

Mr. President, once burned, twice

shot. Why, having learned during the

war and its aftermath with Iraq that if

you are going to use your Armed

Forces, you ought to go after the

cause, are we failing to do that in this

case? Here, as far as I can determine

from what I hear from the administration,

our goals are as follows:

We hope by the use of our Armed

Forces to be permitted to send ground

troops to Kosovo for a period of a minimum

of 3 years to enforce a peace that

neither side in this civil war wishes.

We will be there to enforce an autonomy

for the Kosovars. That is not their

ultimate goal, that ultimate goal being

independence.

Is there the slightest chance that

this will be a peaceable, casualty-free,

3-year occupation, at the end of which,

having settled all of the problems of

the Kosovars, we will come home? That

certainly has not happened in Bosnia,

even after all sides were totally exhausted

by a civil war.

Those goals of being allowed to occupy

Kosovo and enforce an autonomy

that neither side wants are not goals

justifying or warranting our American

military involvement. They are not

goals involving the vital security interests

of the United States. In fact, if

simply stopping a slaughter is a primary

goal—and I believe that it is—

there are far greater slaughters taking

place in Sudan, in several countries in

Africa, and in a number of other places

around the world in which there has

been no request on the part of the administration

to intervene. No, Mr.

President. This is an intervention that

is highly unwise, highly unlikely to be

successful, and not worth the investment

of our money and lives, if it is

successful, with the intermediate goals

that the administration uses to justify

it.

Mr. President, this Senate Gulf of

Tonkin Resolution, this Senate first

step into getting into a situation, the

consequences of which we simply cannot

envisage, and getting into it perhaps

with less justification than there

was in Vietnam in the midst of a cold

war, getting into it to involve ourselves

in a civil war that for all practical

purposes has already gone on for

600 years, is not—I repeat, not—going

to be settled by the United States of

America in its intervention in a period

of 2 or 3 years antiseptically cost free

and casualty free.

With my colleague from Oklahoma, I

believe it more than appropriate that

we should be debating this resolution

here tonight. I believe it more than appropriate

that we should vote yes or no

on whether or not we agree with the

President. That President has finally

grudgingly sent us a letter not asking

for our authorization but for our support.

This is an authorization. It is an

authorization that the Senate of the

United States, in its wisdom, should reject

out of hand. This is not a matter

for the use of the Armed Forces of the

United States. This is not a matter demanded

by our national security. This

is not a way that we would even settle

the civil war taking place in Kosovo

today.

I hope my colleagues will vote with

me and will reject this resolution of

authorization.

Several Senators addressed the

Chair.