

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on passage of the bill.

Pursuant to clause 10 of rule XX, the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 220, nays 211, not voting 3, as follows:

[Roll No. 70]

YEAS—220

Aderholt	Gilchrest	Oxley
Archer	Gillmor	Packard
Army	Gilman	Pease
Bachus	Goodlatte	Peterson (PA)
Baker	Goodling	Petri
Ballenger	Goss	Pickering
Barrett (NE)	Graham	Pitts
Bartlett	Granger	Pombo
Barton	Green (WI)	Pomeroy
Bass	Greenwood	Porter
Bateman	Gutierrez	Portman
Becerra	Hansen	Pryce (OH)
Bereuter	Hastert	Quinn
Berry	Hastings (WA)	Radanovich
Biggert	Hayes	Ramstad
Billbray	Hayworth	Regula
Billirakis	Herger	Reynolds
Bliley	Hill (IN)	Riley
Blunt	Hill (MT)	Rogan
Boehlert	Hilleary	Rogers
Boehner	Hinojosa	Rohrabacher
Bonilla	Hobson	Ros-Lehtinen
Bono	Hoekstra	Roukema
Boswell	Horn	Royce
Brady (TX)	Hostettler	Ryan (WI)
Bryant	Houghton	Ryun (KS)
Burr	Hulshof	Saxton
Burton	Hunter	Scarborough
Buyer	Hutchinson	Sensenbrenner
Callahan	Hyde	Sessions
Calvert	Isakson	Shadegg
Camp	Istook	Shaw
Canady	Jenkins	Shays
Cannon	Johnson (CT)	Sherwood
Castle	Johnson, Sam	Shimkus
Chambliss	Jones (NC)	Shuster
Chenoweth	Kasich	Simpson
Coble	Kelly	Skeen
Coburn	King (NY)	Smith (MI)
Combust	Kingston	Smith (NJ)
Cook	Knollenberg	Smith (TX)
Cooksey	Kolbe	Souder
Cox	Kuykendall	Spence
Crane	LaHood	Stearns
Cubin	Largent	Stump
Cunningham	Latham	Sununu
Danner	LaTourette	Sweeney
Davis (VA)	Lazio	Talent
Deal	Leach	Tauzin
DeLay	Lewis (CA)	Taylor (NC)
DeMint	Lewis (KY)	Terry
Diaz-Balart	Linder	Thomas
Dickey	LoBiondo	Thornberry
Doolittle	Lucas (OK)	Thune
Dreier	Manzullo	Tiahrt
Duncan	McCollum	Toomey
Dunn	McCrery	Trafficant
Ehlers	McHugh	Upton
Ehrlich	McInnis	Walden
Emerson	McIntosh	Walsh
English	McKeon	Wamp
Everett	Metcalf	Watkins
Ewing	Mica	Watts (OK)
Fletcher	Miller (FL)	Weldon (FL)
Foley	Miller, Gary	Weldon (PA)
Forbes	Minge	Weller
Fossella	Moran (KS)	Whitfield
Fowler	Morella	Wicker
Franks (NJ)	Nethercutt	Wilson
Frelinghuysen	Ney	Wolf
Gallegly	Northup	Young (AK)
Ganske	Norwood	Young (FL)
Gekas	Nussle	
Gibbons	Ose	

NAYS—211

Abercrombie	Berkley	Brown (FL)
Ackerman	Berman	Brown (OH)
Allen	Bishop	Campbell
Andrews	Blagojevich	Capps
Baird	Blumenauer	Capuano
Baldacci	Bonior	Cardin
Baldwin	Borski	Carson
Barcia	Boucher	Chabot
Barr	Boyd	Clay
Barrett (WI)	Brady (PA)	Clayton
Bentsen	Brown (CA)	Clement

Clyburn	Kaptur	Peterson (MN)
Collins	Kennedy	Phelps
Condit	Kildee	Pickett
Conyers	Kilpatrick	Price (NC)
Costello	Kind (WI)	Rahall
Coyne	Klecza	Rangel
Cramer	Klink	Reyes
Crowley	Kucinich	Rivers
Cummings	LaFalce	Rodriguez
Davis (FL)	Lampson	Roemer
Davis (IL)	Lantos	Rothman
DeFazio	Larson	Roybal-Allard
DeGette	Lee	Rush
Delahunt	Levin	Sabo
DeLauro	Lewis (GA)	Salmon
Deutsch	Lipinski	Sanchez
Dicks	Lofgren	Sanders
Dingell	Lowey	Sandlin
Dixon	Lucas (KY)	Sanford
Doggett	Luther	Sawyer
Dooley	Maloney (CT)	Schaffer
Doyle	Maloney (NY)	Schakowsky
Edwards	Markey	Scott
Engel	Martinez	Serrano
Eshoo	Mascara	Sherman
Etheridge	Matsui	Shows
Evans	McCarthy (MO)	Sisisky
Farr	McCarthy (NY)	Skelton
Fattah	McDermott	Smith (WA)
Filner	McGovern	Snyder
Ford	McIntyre	Spratt
Frank (MA)	McKinney	Stabenow
Frost	McNulty	Stark
Gejdenson	Meehan	Stenholm
Gephardt	Meek (FL)	Strickland
Gonzalez	Meeks (NY)	Tancredo
Goode	Menendez	Tanner
Gordon	Millender	Tauscher
Green (TX)	McDonald	Taylor (MS)
Gutknecht	Miller, George	Thompson (CA)
Hall (OH)	Mink	Thompson (MS)
Hall (TX)	Moakley	Thurman
Hastings (FL)	Mollohan	Tierney
Hefley	Moore	Towns
Hilliard	Moran (VA)	Turner
Hinche	Murtha	Udall (CO)
Hoeffel	Nadler	Udall (NM)
Holden	Napolitano	Velazquez
Holt	Neal	Vento
Hooley	Oberstar	Visclosky
Hoyer	Obey	Waters
Inslee	Olver	Watt (NC)
Jackson (IL)	Ortiz	Waxman
Jackson-Lee	Owens	Weiner
(TX)	Pallone	Wexler
Jefferson	Pascrell	Weygand
John	Pastor	Wise
Johnson, E. B.	Paul	Woolsey
Jones (OH)	Payne	Wu
Kanjorski	Pelosi	Wynn

NOT VOTING—3

□ 1750

Messrs. HERGER, RADANOVICH, RYUN of Kansas, SENSENBRENNER, GUTIERREZ, ROGAN, BARTON of Texas, MCINNIS, MANZULLO, GRAHAM, POMEROY and MINGE changed their vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. JOHN and Mr. REYES changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

So the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS TO PRESIDENT'S EXPORT COUNCIL

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LATOURETTE). Without objection, and pursuant to the provisions of Executive Order Number 12131, the Chair announces the Speaker's appointment of the following Members of the House to the President's Export Council:

Mr. EWING of Illinois,

Mr. ENGLISH of Pennsylvania, and

Mr. PICKERING of Mississippi.
There was no objection.

EXPRESSING SUPPORT OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES FOR MEMBERS OF U.S. ARMED FORCES ENGAGED IN MILITARY OPERATIONS AGAINST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Res. 130) expressing the support of the House of Representatives for the members of the United States Armed Forces who are engaged in military operations against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration in the House, with the previous question ordered to its adoption without intervening motion except for 1 hour of debate, equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking member of the Committee on International Relations and the chairman and ranking member of the Committee on Armed Services or their designees.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. RES. 130

Whereas the President has authorized United States participation in NATO military operations against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

Whereas up to 22,000 members of the Armed Forces are presently involved in operations in and around the Balkans region with the active participation of NATO and other coalition forces; and

Whereas the House of Representatives and the American people have the greatest pride in the members of the Armed Forces and strongly support them: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives supports the members of the United States Armed Forces who are engaged in military operations against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and recognizes their professionalism, dedication, patriotism, and courage.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the order of the House of today, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE), the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON), the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), and the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDENSON) each will control 15 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE).

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Mr. SPENCE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution. While I have deep reservations about the direction of our policy in the Balkans and the wisdom of intervening on the ground in Kosovo, I have no reservations whatsoever about the patriotism, dedication, professionalism and courage of the men

and women who serve this country in uniform.

Indeed, since 1992, when American pilots began to conduct no-fly-zone operations over Bosnia, and sailors began to enforce a maritime exclusion zone around the former Yugoslavia, hundreds of thousands of our soldiers, sailors, airmen and Marines have served with distinction in operations in and around the Balkans. Their record of service is a source of pride to all of us. These young people truly deserve and represent the best America has to offer.

The operations now underway over Yugoslavia represents a new chapter. Though these attacks have been meticulously planned and undoubtedly are being conducted with consummate skill, they are perhaps more dangerous than any previous operation in the Balkans.

□ 1800

The President has rightly spoken of the risks to our personnel, for they are real and considerable. What we are witnessing in the skies over Serbia is unquestionably a war. Now, more than ever, our armed forces in and around the Balkans need and deserve our support.

They also deserve the backing of a sound policy. Even if the air campaign now underway is successful, it will merely be the opening move in Kosovo. The next step is the deployment of NATO and United States ground troops in the midst of a civil war where the Kosovars are committed to independence and when the Serbs are determined to preserve what they regard as their historic homeland.

Thus, there is neither an end date nor an achievable end-state in Kosovo. This is an open-ended mission where success is impossible to define, as is the mission of our troops.

I urge my colleagues to support this resolution and send a clear message to our men and women of the strong support we have for them as they place their lives in danger in the skies over Yugoslavia.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, if there is ever an issue that brings this Congress together, it is a commendation for the men and women who fight for this country and who serve in its armed forces. And if there is ever a message to the other countries in this world that democracy, with all its debates, divisions and sometimes heated arguments, that it is moments like this when we do come together to support the men and women that carry out the foreign policy of the United States when it requires military action.

It would be unthinking not to have reservations about a policy that uses force and puts our people in harm's way. I think every Member who is re-

sponsible worries about the consequences of that action. But what is clear is if we do not continue on the policy that President Clinton has initiated, we would find more death and destruction in Kosovo.

Today, as we are on this floor, there are a quarter of a million refugees. There are thousands already dead. Do we wait to respond until there are tens of thousands or hundreds of thousands dead? Do we wait until the quarter million refugees become a million or a million and a half refugees?

I say we cannot do that. And so I am privileged to be here and join with my colleagues to commend the armed forces for their role in this, their heroism, their technical proficiency. And I commend the President for his leadership in solving the problems and fighting to stop the killing, which may not solve all problems on earth but will certainly give the people of Kosovo an additional chance for life.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I am pleased to rise in support of this resolution, and I thank the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE) for taking the initiative of introducing this resolution.

Earlier today we received reports, and the President has confirmed those reports, that operation Noble Anvil, a military air operation, is now underway over Serbia.

This is the time to put aside all of our differences and any doubts that we may entertain about our policy and it is time to unite behind brave men and women who are now involved in a very serious and risky military mission in defense of our national interests. These include bringing stability to a strategically important part of Europe, preventing further human suffering, and maintaining the credibility of the North Atlantic Alliance.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to emphasize that while I fully support the NATO air campaign to end Milosevic's brutal attacks upon the Albanian majority of Kosovo, this is a decision that many of us have come to with great reluctance. I fervently wish that our diplomacy that has been underway for more than a year to end the tragic and needless bloodshed in Kosovo had worked. Regrettably, as we saw earlier in this decade in Bosnia, Milosevic only heeds the language of military might.

With this military operation underway, we should do everything that we can to ensure that our pilots and those who support them are successful and that they return safely and that their time in harm's way be kept as short as possible. They represent the finest aspects of our Nation: determination, courage, and steadfastness under the most difficult of conditions.

Although our pilots are aware of the dangers they now face as they carry out their missions over Serbia, the most demoralizing thing for our mili-

tary personnel is not knowledge of the risks posed by the enemy they are facing but knowledge of any dissent on the home front about the nature of their mission.

So I urge my colleagues, let us today by this resolution indicate that we in the Congress are united in our prayers to them and to their families for a safe, swift, and successful end to this air operation. It is important that we recognize that this is not a unilateral military action by our Nation but a military operation authorized by the 19 nations represented by the North Atlantic Council and ordered by the Secretary General of NATO, Javier Solana, and while our armed forces are taking the lead in this first wave of attacks, they will be joined by armed forces of other NATO allies as this operation progresses. We extend our prayers and our support to those personnel and to their families.

Accordingly, Mr. Speaker, I urge our colleagues to join in wishing our airmen and women Godspeed.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the resolution that is before us, a resolution that supports the members of the United States armed forces who are engaged in military operations in Yugoslavia. They are not by themselves. This is part of a NATO force. Nineteen nations have banded together to urge and cause Milosevic of Yugoslavia to come to the table and do what is right for international peace. Fourteen of the 19 nations are operating today in one way or another in supporting this effort.

I support our troops engaged in this. I support those brave airmen and those who support them on the ground. On a more personal note, I am privileged to represent Whiteman Air Force Base in Missouri, which sent several B-2s as part of this mission. I am told by sources in the Pentagon that they did well and that they are returning back to Whiteman Air Force Base unscathed.

This is an important measure. This is important not only for us in this House of Representatives to support and recognize the professionalism and dedication and patriotism of those airmen and those involved in this operation, but I support what we are doing there.

The Balkans are a tinderbox. World War I started there. The United States is a leader in NATO, and NATO has as its goal and task to bring and keep peace and stability in Europe. There is a great deal at stake: the stability of Europe, the possibility of a wider war, refugees in the hundreds of thousands, eventual involvement not only of NATO but of other allies, such as Greece and Turkey, if violence in Kosovo spreads to the surrounding countries.

There are no easy choices in this, but I support the President's decision of

this very, very difficult and dangerous mission. And though it is difficult and though it is dangerous, it is the only alternative open to us.

I applaud those in uniform, and I hope that the people in America, all across the land, will understand and thank those for their dedication, their professionalism, their patriotism, for they are doing a great deal in the effort to bring peace to a very unhappy part of the world.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. CUNNINGHAM).

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I was sitting there writing my note and not ready to speak, but I will do it off the cuff.

I am vehemently opposed to us going into Kosovo, and I will explain why. But making that statement, now that we are engaged in Kosovo, I will do everything in my power to support the President. I will also tell my colleagues why.

The President did not give us that courtesy when I was fighting in Vietnam. He continued protesting in countries that killed many of my friends. I myself was shot down by a Russian SAM. Now, that may not bother my colleagues, but it did bother me that the President was protesting in Russia.

We need to get behind every one of our men and women. I do not care about my colleagues here, and I do not care about them over here, and I do not care about my Senate colleagues. I care about those kids we are asking to send in harm's way. And let me tell my colleagues why I am opposed to this.

First of all, a majority of the Russian military feel that they need to overthrow the Russian Government. These are the hard-liners that support Milosevic. Milosevic is terrible, but so is Tudjman and so is Izetbegovic. All three of them need to go. And I predict that within this year we are going to see a major coup in Russia because of what we are doing. If I was the head of North Korea, I would come tomorrow if we get tied in Kosovo. If I was Saddam Hussein, I would come tomorrow.

We are in 52 wars, Mr. Speaker, in this world. Some of them far more damaging than Kosovo. I am very, very concerned of what is going to happen over there as far as past foreign policy. I look at Somalia, to where the President changed the policy of humanitarian to going after Hadeed and then he drew down our forces, and after our military said we cannot do that because this makes us vulnerable. He did it anyway. And then they asked for armor because they could not get in. Seventeen hours, I watched it last night on television, that it took us to get to our troops; and we lost 22 rangers.

People ask me, "What is it like to work with somebody you cannot trust?" That is an important question.

I do not trust this President to get us out of Kosovo. I do not trust him to get us out of Yugoslavia, no more than I expect him to get us out of Haiti, because we are still there spending \$20 million a year building roads and bridges, which is coming out of defense.

So, yes, Mr. Speaker, I am dead set against this. But you also have my pledge to do everything I can to help the President to get our kids back.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Ms. DELAURO).

Ms. DELAURO. Mr. Speaker, Yugoslav President Milosevic's continuous failure to embrace peace and his brutal actions against ethnic Albanians in Kosovo have precipitated today's military strikes. As our armed forces seek to bring a measure of justice to a troubled region, I want to join my colleagues in expressing strong support for the brave men and women of the U.S. military.

I am saddened that Mr. Milosevic rejected appeals for peace. We rightly consider the use of force only with the greatest reluctance. But our hand has been forced by his atrocities, mass murder of civilians and forcing whole communities from their homes. If left unchecked, he will continue his crimes in Kosovo.

Sadly, history has shown us what genocide looks like. Slaughtering ethnic Albanians, many of them defenseless citizens and civilians, forcing hundreds of thousands of Albanians to flee their homes as refugees, point to the grave humanitarian nature of the situation in Kosovo. Worse, Milosevic's aggression in Kosovo could jeopardize stability in the region by spreading to neighboring countries such as Macedonia or Albania. If the U.S. does not act now, the crisis in Kosovo will only grow worse.

The situation in Kosovo is serious and the challenges our troops face are great. I know that our armed forces are well-trained and that they will once again make us proud. Our prayers are with them and with their families as they work to counter aggression and to foster peace.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRABACHER), a member of our Committee on International Relations.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, I support this resolution and I support our troops. And that is what this resolution is about. But a greater support for us would be to insist that before we send our troops into action, as they are today, that there be a reasonable and understood long-term game plan in place prior to sending these young people, our young defenders, off to fight so far from home and in a cause that has little to do with our national security.

□ 1815

Yes, we support our troops, but let us all together also send this message to the people of the world. We are not

going to send our troops all over the world and garrison the rest of this planet for the stability of the rest of the world. Let Europeans, for example, provide the troops necessary for the stability that they need in their own backyard. Yes, there is a case that there is Serbian genocide that is taking place. The Serbs are committing genocide against these Kosovars as they did against the Bosnians in their attacks against the Slovenians and the Croats under the dictatorship of Milosevic and it is intolerable. We recognize the Kosovars and their right for self-determination and independence. Yet we do not have the courage to lay the diplomatic foundation for a long-term solution before we order our troops into harm's way. Something is terribly wrong here. We should not be the policeman of the world. Our troops, they deserve to be applauded which we are doing, but we should not accede and tell the world that they have a blank check on the use of our troops to create their stability for them. Four years ago and \$10 billion ago, we were told that sending our troops to Bosnia would be a 1-year operation and \$2 billion in cost. They are still there. This vote tonight is done to applaud our troops, but it is not a blank check. It is a message of support for our troops.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Mrs. TAUSCHER).

Mrs. TAUSCHER. I thank the ranking member of the Committee on Armed Services for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to strongly urge my colleagues to vote for this resolution that expresses our support for the troops in the Balkans. We have the finest fighting men and women in the world. Their spirit, commitment and dedication is unrivaled.

In December, I visited our troops keeping the peace in Bosnia and Macedonia. I was impressed by the work that they have done to help the people of Bosnia and Macedonia transition to a peaceful society and by the pride that they take in their work.

Our men and women in the military are now confronting another great challenge. They have again answered their country's call to service. At this time of great courage and sacrifice, our best thoughts and prayers are with them. The President made the right decision to initiate air strikes against Yugoslavia. Slobodan Milosevic has continually refused efforts to reach a peaceful settlement in Kosovo. It is now time to display the resolve of the international community.

Mr. Speaker, let us pass this resolution and show our sailors, soldiers, airmen and marines that they have the support and appreciation of a grateful Nation.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Jacksonville, FL (Mrs. FOWLER).

(Mrs. FOWLER asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. FOWLER. Mr. Speaker, this is a sobering moment. American military pilots and air crews are now in harm's way. I had previously expressed my strong reservations about the President's plan to influence events in Serbia. Now, however, our troops are engaged in a military conflict. As always, they are performing their job with the utmost professionalism and dedication and it is incumbent upon us to demonstrate our fullest support for them. I join my colleagues in doing so here and am praying, as I know we all are, for their safe return.

I would hope that every Member of this House will work together to ensure that our military personnel in the Balkans have every resource they need to perform their assigned mission as effectively as possible and are able to return home soon. I hope we are successful in this effort and that Mr. Milosevic will soon sign a peace agreement.

I urge all of my colleagues to support this most timely and appropriate resolution.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER).

Mr. HOYER. I thank the ranking member for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution. Our young men and women in the Armed Forces are carrying out their duties with courage and professionalism, and they deserve our praise and our complete support.

In my view, however, it is not enough to support our military in carrying out the mission given to them. I rise, as well, Mr. Speaker, to support the very mission itself. The mission is to save lives, to stabilize a region, to save lives that certainly would be lost if we again delayed taking this decisive action. The reports about what Serbian forces were doing in Kosovo in the last few days are clearly horrendous, the separation of men from women and children, the reported mass execution of the former and desperate flight of the latter.

The mission is also asserting U.S. leadership when Europe needs that leadership. Our allies are with us and they need us. Like it or not, Europe cannot and does not do it alone. It is in our national interest to avoid even the perception of a vacuum in our leadership capabilities. That could lead to challenges which we cannot foresee now, which we cannot predict, but clearly which would likely put our military men and women at even greater risk if allowed to happen.

Mr. Speaker, everyone says that we cannot be the world's policeman and I agree. But when there is a need for action and when that action can so clearly be effective and when the military can use its resources to minimize the risks involved, then we should act. Tyrants around the world cannot and must not have the false impression of

knowing that we will not go after them because we cannot go after everyone. The fact that we could respond should give them pause.

Mr. Speaker, I have been one on this floor who in years past have said in Bosnia that we should have acted. In my opinion had we in Europe acted sooner, thousands, yes, tens of thousands of lives may have been saved.

I support the troops. I support the mission.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. LEACH) the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Banking and Financial Services and a member of our committee.

Mr. LEACH. I thank my dear colleague for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, last week the House of Representatives considered several resolutions on the Balkans. This gentleman voted to oppose intervention. Last night, I explained my concerns relating to the lack of the end game as well as the lack of relevance in my judgment of use of air power in a part of the world which has heavily engaged for much of this century in guerilla warfare.

This resolution is poignantly appropriate because it respects and reflects respect for our troops. But it should be understood by this body that the difficulties that our troops are in are much greater today and will be much greater tomorrow than they were yesterday, not simply because engagement is active today but we are changing the nature of our involvement. This is a bench mark change. We have moved from a peacekeeping role to a peace-enforcing role. That means we have moved from the role of being part of a NATO force acting as a police function to part of a NATO force choosing sides in certain civil war types of setting.

This means that our troops will now become more targets than simply intermediaries. Therefore, it is extraordinarily important that all of us recognize that there is reason to reflect great respect for those troops that are being put in harm's way. But to the degree that foreign policy should be considered morality in action, we should also be clear to recognize that means have to be part of the goals. To the great credit of the President, the goals of the United States in this intervention are quite admirable. The question that remains, however, is whether the means to achieve those goals will escalate the conflict or cause diminution of circumstance.

Mr. Speaker, let me just conclude by saying that I think this evening it is very important that this Congress move forth with this kind of resolution, and I strongly endorse it. But I also think that it be very important that we recognize that a change in policy has occurred of stellar significance and that it is our obligation to continue to review and appraise policies as they develop and to commit ourselves to doing the best we can to advance ap-

proaches that deescalate rather than escalate conflict in the Balkans.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. TURNER).

Mr. TURNER. Mr. Speaker, tonight this House, Democrats and Republicans, unite in support of the men and women of our armed forces and those of our NATO allies who are now engaged in one of the most challenging and dangerous missions of recent times. The dangers of this action are indeed great. But the dangers of inaction are even greater. The decision to act was perhaps the most difficult foreign policy decision our President has confronted. The moral leadership in the free world that we have exhibited through the years is being indeed tested by President Milosevic. With thousands of people fleeing Kosovo and with thousands of lives hanging in the balance, the United States has chosen to stand up against aggression and genocide. Our action is consistent with our moral responsibility, it is consistent with our commitment to our NATO allies, and it is consistent with our efforts to secure the peace and stability of Europe where two world wars have begun.

May our prayers tonight be for the safety of our soldiers, our sailors and our airmen, and may God bless America.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL).

(Mr. PAUL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank the committee as well as our leadership for bringing a resolution to the floor that is one that I can support. It is supporting of the troops but it does not go that one step further to rubber-stamp a foreign policy that is very questionable, so I appreciate that very much.

But in another sense, I think it is awful strange that every time we do find our troops in harm's way that we need to come to the House floor to reassure ourselves that we support the troops. I have never been challenged, and I take controversial votes on occasion, and I have never seen another Member challenge anybody as being unpatriotic and not supportive of our troops. So it sort of bewilders me a little bit that we always have to say, "We support the troops." I think that should go without saying.

Nevertheless, we do have this resolution on the floor, and I will support it. But I just wonder why that occurs, that we feel compelled to do so. I think sometimes it is because we have not met up to our responsibilities, because we have allowed our troops to be placed in harm's way, and usually in an improper manner. We have not done this properly according to the Constitution. The President did not get permission from the House and the Senate. We may have a little bit of a guilt feeling about having these troops placed in

harm's way without the proper permission, and, therefore, we have to reassure ourselves that we are taking care of the troops.

Now, if we really want to support our troops, I think we would defend the sovereignty of this country, we should provide for a strong national defense and we certainly should avoid putting our troops in harm's way. The real question that comes up is by putting the troops in this region right now, we are invading the sovereignty of a nation which is very questionable. This is not done very often. Yet Serbia is a sovereign nation. They are involved in a civil war, and there are bad guys on both sides. For us here in the Congress to decide who the good guys and who the bad guys are is not possible, nor is it our job.

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS).

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I am a man of peace, not of war. I am a believer in the philosophy and the discipline of nonviolence. I am a disciple of the teachings of Gandhi, Thoreau and Martin Luther King, Jr. But there comes a time when force and military might become necessary to put an end to madness. It was Gandhi who said, "Noncooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation as is co-operation with good." Mr. Speaker, we cannot sit idly by while thousands of people are murdered in Kosovo.

Today, President Clinton took bold, forceful, and decisive action to stop the slaughter of innocents in Kosovo. We have a moral obligation, a mission and a mandate to prevent a modern day holocaust. I am hopeful that our military action will be swift and sudden, that it will be compelling, and that it will persuade the Serbs that peace is the more excellent path.

Mr. Speaker, my thoughts and prayers today are with our men and women in uniform. May they return home to their friends and families safe, sound and secure in knowing that, through their actions, they have saved the lives of countless men, women and children.

□ 1830

Mr. Speaker, I support this resolution.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. HOUGHTON), a member of our committee.

(Mr. HOUGHTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, I am not going to take long. To me it is very simple.

I absolutely support the members of the armed forces, I support our President, I support the mission. I do not think there is a single person around here who does not see this as one of the most difficult decisions we can make. But make it we must, and we may not be divided. We must not be divided.

Mr. Speaker, I support this particular House Resolution 130 wholeheartedly.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. BOSWELL).

(Mr. BOSWELL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BOSWELL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) for this opportunity to say just a couple of words. As my colleagues know, it is tough when a leader has to lead, and I think we are in that position. We are the only superpower, and we got a lot of responsibility to go with it. None of us who have ever been in harm's way wants to see somebody in harm's way, but, as my colleagues know, some of them have had experiences, and I respect everybody that has had experiences in life; some of them I have had. But I had the opportunity to walk on the grounds of Dachau and Bergen-Belsen and so on and look at what took place there and before they became shrines and before they became memorials, and I said in my heart: This is so wrong. Pray Lord, it will never happen again.

So, Mr. Speaker, as I see what is going on over there these last many months, people talking to us about it, we do not really have a choice. If we are the Nation that I believe us to be, then we must stand up and do something even though as difficult as it may be.

So, Mr. Speaker, I support our troops, I support our President's decision, and I know it is hard, but I hope that they return safely and the mission is over soon.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. GILCHREST).

Mr. GILCHREST. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding this time to me, and I would like to express in the strongest terms possible my sentiments of this resolution tonight in the House of Representatives, that it is a heartfelt, gut wrenching resolution from every Member of the House of Representatives to everyone in the world about the United States commitment to this effort now underway and that it is not an act of war, it is an act of peace, a gesture of justice, and we appeal to the leaders of the world that the United States is carrying out the commitment that we had at the end of World War II that this will never happen again. The seeds of despair, the crime of genocide, will be stopped.

This, Mr. Speaker, this resolution is a gesture on our part to the parents, the wives, the children of the men and women in harm's way in this air strike. We, as Members of the House, come together to share their anguish. This resolution is a statement to Mr. Milosevic and people like him around the world that we are resolute in our relentless determination to end cruel injustice and genocide.

Mr. Speaker, we are here tonight to express in the strongest way possible that we, with the unity of the full House and this country, that our sup-

port for our troops and this mission is unequivocal.

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL).

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I certainly support the resolution, I support our armed forces, our brave men and women, and I support the President in his courageous decision.

This morning I showed a picture that I wanted to in advance and say it again. I apologize to my colleagues, the American people, if they are offended by this picture, but I think it has to be shown because this to me tells us why we are in Kosovo.

This is the picture of one of the victims, a dead Albanian child. Let me read for my colleagues what it says. It says his mother will never have to see him this way, they killed her too. Every night, while most of our children sleep in the comfort of a warm bed, Albanian homes in a place called Kosovo are being raided, and innocent people are being massacred, many of them children, all in the name of ethnic cleansing.

That is what is going on. That is why we, as leaders of the world, have to be in Kosovo, to stop genocide on the continent of Europe. That is why NATO has to be there, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which is concerned about North America and Europe, to stop genocide. It is in U.S. national interests to stop genocide and in the U.S. national interest to stop a wider war because, if we did nothing, surely the war would expand and possibly engulf NATO allies such as Turkey and Greece and Hungary and other countries such as Albania and Macedonia and Bulgaria.

So once again, as the leaders of the free world, we are doing the right thing.

Mr. Milosevic has broken every agreement that he has accepted. He signed an agreement in October, and he violated it. Thousands and thousands of people have been displaced from their homes. There are a quarter of a million refugees, 100,000 in the past 2 weeks alone. People are being slaughtered. Innocent civilians, unarmed civilians, men, women and children lined up and shot into a pit. This has to stop.

I am proud of our Armed Forces. Support the resolution.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDI).

Mr. TANCREDI. Mr. Speaker, on March 11, as a freshman Member of this body, I witnessed one of the most profound debates on the issue as to whether or not we should allow the President to move ahead on his plan to attack Yugoslavia. I was on the losing side of that debate. I believed that the decision was wrong; I believe that it is wrong.

Mr. Speaker, I am still convinced that the decision is a mistake, and I could not in good conscience say otherwise. Now, however, the trigger has

been pulled and we cannot put the bullet back into the chamber.

Our only course of action is to, in fact, pray for the safe return of our Armed Forces now engaged and pray also that we do not use this as a criteria for future involvement of a similar nature because I can assure my colleagues that if, in fact, everything I have heard tonight as to the reasons why we are here, why we are doing what we are doing in Yugoslavia, if that is what we are going to use for interaction, if that is what we are going to use as a reason to put our forces in harm's way, I have a list of countries about, oh, as long as my arm that I can get for my colleagues that fit everyone of those criteria, and I hope and pray that we do not go there.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. ANDREWS).

(Mr. ANDREWS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ANDREWS. I thank the ranking member for yielding this time to me, Mr. Speaker.

I rise in strong support of the resolution. I speak as someone who has some grave doubts about the underlying policy but no doubt at all about my admiration and respect for the men and women in uniform who represent us so ably tonight. Our hearts and our prayers are with them, and our hearts are also with those who sit at home with their hearts in their throats waiting for the phone to ring with news about what has happened to their loved ones. It is our prayer that when that phone rings in houses and apartments all over America and around the world that the news will be good and the voice will be the voice of their father, or their mother, or their brother, or their sister, or their son and their daughter saying:

I am safe, I am well, and I am coming home soon.

Mr. Speaker, I would also hope that Members would do more than just come to the floor on days like this when we commend the efforts of our troops, but they would also come to the floor on days when we decide how much to pay our troops, come to the floor and support our efforts when we decide the quality of life for their families in bases around the world, would come to the floor and support the efforts that will give them the safest planes and the most accurate missiles and the most sure defense systems as well. Honoring our troops is not simply something we should do in times of grave national crisis; it is something that we should do every week and every day and every month with every dollar that we commit to their well-being and their safety.

I am pleased to join with colleagues from all around the country on both sides of the aisle in sending our prayer of support, but adding an admonition that we stand by our people not just tonight, but in the weeks and months to come.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TRAFICANT).

(Mr. TRAFICANT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Speaker, I support our troops. I support air and logistics support, not ground troops. And I believe we better be very careful before we commit ground troops into this region. Milosevic definitely must be challenged, and I would like to say to this body that there will not be a long-term solution of lasting peace without dealing with the issue of independence that was recommended to this body in 1986.

Mr. Speaker, I want to quote the intelligence report:

Without independence for Kosovo, there will be revolution and bloodshed, and that bloodshed will be American as well if it is allowed to escalate.

I support our troops; I am sure they will do a great job; and I support the efforts of our Congress in working with this issue and dealing with a tough technical subject.

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BONIOR).

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from New York (Mr. CROWLEY) for yielding the time and my friend from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) for sharing his time with me.

Mr. Speaker, tens of thousands of Albanian Kosovars are trudging through the mud and the snow in a desperate trek to safety, and behind them the troops of Slobodan Milosevic are shelling their villages, are slaughtering their livestock and are setting their homes a flame. In burning the homes of innocent people in Kosovo, Milosevic is also igniting a much broader conflict. It is one that threatens to spread throughout the Balkans and beyond.

Mr. Speaker, that is why America and NATO allies are acting now to put a stop to this human catastrophe, to douse the flames of war before they spread and to demonstrate NATO's resolve for peace in Kosovo. Bombing the forces of Milosevic entails significant risk, but the risk of doing nothing is even greater. We learned that lesson in Bosnia where western inaction allowed things to generate into terrible atrocities.

Mr. Speaker, over the past year we have worked very hard to facilitate a just settlement for the people of Kosovo and Yugoslavia, but Milosevic has refused to compromise, he has ignored our overtures for peace, and he has broken his promises. Even as we speak, he intensifies his campaign of violence and intimidation and ethnic cleansing. Just since Friday his troops have forced 25,000 families, Albanian Kosovars, from their homes.

□ 1845

We have all seen the pictures, old people and children struggling down a dirt road clutching the few possessions that they carry. Some have not been so

lucky. Many Albanian Kosovars have been executed by Serbian forces merely because of their ethnic heritage.

This slaughter cannot, must not continue. Our forces will strike hard and have struck hard to deter his aggression, eliminate his offensive military capabilities and show him decisively that the only sensible choice is the path to peace.

Mr. Speaker, twice this century and throughout the Cold War American soldiers have fought bravely to protect freedom and democracy in Europe. We gather in this chamber tonight to express our pride and our support for them as they engage in this important mission once again. Our prayers are with them as they risk their lives so that others might live in safety and in freedom.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER), the distinguished chairman of our Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific.

(Mr. BEREUTER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, today is a tragic day. It will undoubtedly be the beginning of a tragic scenario. I think the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL) asked an interesting question. Why is it he said, that we repeatedly are up here on the House Floor under the compulsion to express our support for our men and women in the armed services? I think it probably has something to do with we have had too many military deployments recently which were based on very questionable premises, ill-informed, ineptly handled and for which there was no exit strategy, and here we are again facing the same kind of deployment problems.

In Kosovo we are trying to coerce a peace agreement between two sides which do not agree with the objectives of that peace agreement. As a result of the American and NATO air strike today, the Serbians are now going to be more supportive for Milosevic.

Now, certainly America's objectives in Kosovo are honorable and humane. There is no doubt about that, but I believe that contrary to what is expected, with this armed action against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia we are actually going to see a further destabilization in the Balkans. A fragile country, the Republic of Macedonia, or the Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia, if you prefer, will be subjected to further destabilization. I also believe we are going to accelerate the kind of violence by Serbian forces in the next few days against the Albanian ethnics in Kosovo. That is almost inevitable.

Bombing will not do what we hope it will do. Bombing or air power never wins wars: it never settles things on the ground. It takes ground troops. So we will go through this air strike phase against missile sites and air defense systems, then we will accelerate the air attacks against strategic targets,

and, I predict, unfortunately that within 2 months, probably in a far shorter time than that, we will be involved with ground troops in Kosovo and there will be Americans among them.

We do need to support our troops, by all means, because they are now going to be there for a very long time as ground troops in a hostile environment. There is no exit strategy prepared or easily possible from this unhappy quagmire.

I also think we have to decide when it is indeed in our vital national interest to be involved in humanitarian efforts that we want to support. Why not in the civil and ethnic or racial conflicts in the Caucasus? Why not in Central Asia? Why not in Rwanda or Congo or Eritrea and Ethiopia? I ask those questions of my colleagues, but I do support the resolution and the men and women of our armed forces and I know we all do.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. HASTINGS).

(Mr. HASTINGS of Florida asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, perhaps my colleague for whom I have the greatest esteem I can answer most immediately, we do not have a NATO treaty with Rwanda. We do not have a NATO treaty with Eritrea and with Ethiopia.

I stand to support our military this evening. I stand to support them not only this evening but in their being ready in the future. For those of us that have stood here and asked for deployment, we have a responsibility to put our money where our mouth is.

All of us pray for the safe return of our troops. These brave Americans are keeping our commitment to our allies in NATO. They are discharging a great humanitarian purpose.

A week ago, I saw a report on television where a 12-year-old boy had the responsibility of taking care of six of his siblings because his mother and father had been slaughtered. Our troops tonight are standing with those children to give them a chance for freedom. The commander in chief of this country is standing with those children this evening and our 18 allies in NATO are standing with them, too. Support our troops.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HASTERT), the Speaker of the House.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HASTERT. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Illinois for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I just want to answer my distinguished friend the gentleman from Florida (Mr. HASTINGS). We have

no NATO agreement with Kosovo, with Yugoslavia or Macedonia either.

Mr. HASTERT. Mr. Speaker, certainly tonight is a grave time for this country. It is a time that any time our armed services, our young men and women, confront an enemy in service of this country is a time that we must focus on and we must pray for their strength and safety, and we are there.

We can debate the reasons why we are there and we can talk about if it is good or it is not good. We can talk about the problems that we have seen in that area, namely Kosovo, but we are there. I would like to take this opportunity to offer my personal appreciation and strong support for our men and women. They are in the skies over Kosovo and Serbia as we speak. They are risking their lives for certainly the ideal of democracy and safety and decency, and our hearts and our prayers certainly go with them.

We know how dangerous their mission is, and we strongly urge all Members to give their whole-hearted support to this resolution.

I would like to commend those brave young men and women for their selfless sense of honor and duty to their country. Each is a modern hero, an example of why America is truly a great Nation, and we wish them godspeed in their mission and certainly a safe return. The hearts of all Americans, and prayers, are with them.

Mr. HOEFFEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. CROWLEY).

(Mr. CROWLEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support for our brave men and women of our armed forces which are now involved in the military operations against Serbian military targets in the former Yugoslavia.

The military action we have undertaken has three objectives: First, to demonstrate the seriousness of NATO's opposition to aggression and its support for peace.

Second, to deter President Milosevic from continuing and escalating his attacks on helpless civilians by seriously punishing such actions.

Thirdly, to damage Serbia's capacity to wage war against Kosovo in the future by diminishing its future capabilities.

Mr. Speaker, as we have seen numerous times in the past, the only language that Mr. Milosevic understands is that of force. Therefore, I believe it is imperative that he be assured of our firm resolve to continue military action until Serbian forces halt their campaign of murder and repression and comply with the demands of the international community.

Mr. Speaker, I believe military intervention is the right course of action and we must remember that these actions carry with them considerable risk. And so we must remember those young men and women of our armed

forces and pray for their safe and speedy return.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Utah (Mr. COOK).

Mr. COOK. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York (Chairman GILMAN) for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution supporting our armed forces engaged today in military operations against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Like my colleagues, my thoughts and prayers are with these men and women for their safe and swift return.

However, I am very distressed that again Congress was not consulted until the bombers were virtually on their way. Today's action reinforces the continued circumvention of the War Powers Act. Although I deplore the genocide and ethnic cleansing that is being waged by the Serbs against ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, I am very concerned that we are being drawn into a situation that will require ground troops.

The situation in Bosnia has continued for many years and while things may have improved there, no exit strategy is in sight. This action in regards to Kosovo appears to be headed in exactly the same direction and with much higher risks. It is imperative that congressional approval be sought by the administration before this action escalates.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. KIND).

(Mr. KIND asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KIND. Mr. Speaker, I thank the ranking member, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON), for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, like everyone in this House tonight I rise in support of this resolution and join in offering my thoughts and prayers to the young men and women in American uniform and to all those military personnel from the other 18 NATO nations who are committed to restoring the peace in Kosovo.

Once again, they are called upon to carry out a dangerous military mission to bring peace and stability to Europe. I believe this is the right policy at the right time and for the right reason.

The people of Kosovo are good and decent people who do not deserve to be murdered and forced from their homes by Milosevic's army. I am proud of our men and women in the military who will carry out their duties professionally, honorably and courageously. May they all return home to their families safely.

If we have learned anything from the 2nd World War, it is that the United States of America cannot stand idly by while atrocities and genocidal practices are being committed against defenseless civilians.

The action taken today is not unilateral. All 19 members of NATO agreed that the time has come to stop Milosevic's campaign of terror in Kosovo in order to prevent further tragedy and to stabilize the greater Balkan region.

In this matter, the danger of inaction far outweighs the risk of action. If we can learn any lesson from both World War I and World War II, it is that the U.S. can and must take a leadership role to stop tyranny and atrocities that threaten innocent people and the free world.

But ultimately, it is not NATO that is acting today, but individual men and women in the uniforms of the United States Armed Forces, as well those of our allies. These soldiers sailors and airmen are in harm's way, and we must support them to the fullest.

We should not delude ourselves in thinking that air strikes and other military actions in the Balkans will be as safe as the actions we have taken recently in Iraq. The situation in Kosovo is far more complex, and our actions there may result in casualties and even loss of life.

Let us hope the military action is successful and those men and women can return home soon.

Mr. LATOURETTE. The Chair announces that the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE) has 1 minute remaining and the right to close. The gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) has 2½ minutes remaining. The gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) has 4½ minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. HOFFEL) has 1 minute remaining.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary and a member of our committee.

(Mr. HYDE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, some years ago we had a Member of Congress named Ben Blaz. He was from Guam, and he was a military man. He was a general in the Marine Corps, and he told me, he said, there is nothing worse for an infantryman to be climbing up a hill and look back over his shoulder and seeing that nobody is there.

Well, we want to tell our fighting forces in Kosovo and in Yugoslavia tonight that we are there. We are constantly reminded of the heavy, heavy price that freedom extracts from us. The brave men and women that are willing to risk their lives in a far away land to resist genocide are living proof that patriotism and valor are still the defining characteristics of our fighting people.

The finest speech I have ever heard in 25 years in Congress was delivered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. ACKERMAN) last week over there on this issue. He reminded us that when the Holocaust occurred we all said never again, never again.

Well, again is happening right now. It is happening in Kosovo, where thousands of people are massacred and other thousands of people, elderly and infants, are roaming the snowy mountains because they have been dispossessed. It is happening again.

I do not know how we turn our back on that and walk away if it is within

our power to stabilize the situation and stop the killing.

So that is what this is about. We can debate the policy again and again and again, but we are there and the genocide is there and we do have a national interest in halting the killing. We have a human interest in halting the killing. So I want to express my pride, I want to express my prayers for the fighting men and women who are in the front lines paying the price, halting the genocide and doing the Lord's work.

□ 1900

I am proud of our military. Diplomats are fine, lawyers are great, but in the last analysis, it is the soldier that pays for freedom, and we ought to be thanking God on our knees that we have such men.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) for his very excellent words in support of this resolution.

Mr. HOFFEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the final minute of my time.

This clearly is a good resolution that deserves all of our support, Mr. Speaker. We all support our fighting forces at this time of their need. This military action is the right thing to do for at least three reasons:

First, we need to stop this brutal dictator, Milosevic, from plunging Europe into an even deeper cycle of unrest and instability and violence; secondly, we need to prevent a humanitarian crisis from deepening, affecting the innocent civilians in Kosovo; and thirdly, we need to act to support our national credibility and NATO's credibility in this measure.

We all support the resolution, compliment our fighting men and women, and wish them God speed.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, we are here discussing a resolution to commend the American military forces. This is as it should be. We have also discussed and heard words explaining why we are leading the NATO forces in doing what we are doing, for humanitarian purposes, for purposes of keeping NATO strong, for purposes of keeping the Balkans from erupting onto a wider war or conflict.

Let us talk about the troops for a minute. Let us talk about those young men and those young women who day in and day out wear the uniform of our country. Let us think of them not just tonight, let us think of them at other times, not just our committee but all of us, regardless of the committee on which we serve.

They are the cream of the crop. They are the seed corn of the future of American democracy, the young men, young women who raise their right hand and swear to uphold the Constitution and do their duty. That is the bottom line of young America. I am so proud of them.

Here they are being called upon to fulfill a very dangerous mission, yes.

They are those in the air forces of our country, the Air Force, Marines, Navy. But I am sure that all men and women in the military are in our thoughts and prayers tonight.

As fewer and fewer people wear the uniform, fewer and fewer sons and daughters and grandsons and nephews and nieces, there seems to be a growing gap between American civilians and between those who defend our freedoms.

Let us not just think of those in our United States forces this evening, let us think of them at other times. Let us think of them at the times we debate the budget, when we discuss what we should do for their pay, for their barracks, for their families, for their housing, for their housing allowances. We want to do better for them than we have in the past.

In a democracy, it is often difficult to show appreciation for those in the military. Rudyard Kipling, the poet laureate of Great Britain many years ago, penned a poem entitled "Tommy," reflecting the fact that the soldier, the Redcoat, was out of sight, out of mind, until there was trouble at hand.

He penned and wrote, "It is Tommy this and Tommy that, and throw him out, the brute, but it is 'Savior of our country' when the guns begin to shoot."

Let us keep the young people of our forces, whether they be in Fort Leonard Wood, Whiteman Air Force Base, any post or base throughout this world, in our thoughts, in our minds, in our prayers, and in our votes on this floor when it comes to supporting them, not just tonight by this vote, but by votes and debate and help in the days ahead.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, the mission of our Committee on Armed Services is to properly provide for our military people. The chairman of our Subcommittee on Military Procurement is the gentleman from California (Mr. HUNTER).

Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from California (Mr. HUNTER).

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California (Mr. HUNTER) is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, in a couple of minutes we are going to tell these wonderful people who protect America, our uniformed service personnel, how much we respect them. We are going to tell them that with this vote. But in the next several weeks, we are going to have a chance to show them how much we support them and how much we respect them.

I hope every Member here will vote to close that 13½ percent pay gap that exists between them and the private sector, and help to get those 10,000 service personnel off food stamps. I hope every Member here will vote for a defense budget and for supplemental budgets to pay for that \$1.7 billion worth of ammo that we are short in the Army, and to pay for the equipment that our personnel need, and to pay for

some of the spare parts we need to get those planes off the ground that right now are grounded.

These are our finest citizens, and I hope in the next several weeks we are going to show that and demonstrate that in the best way we know how. That is when we vote to support them.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, I am troubled by events taking place far away in the Balkans today. The brutal aggression and "ethnic cleansing" that have been long perpetrated by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic must come to an end. Today, the military forces of NATO, led by the United States, struck at the heart and means of this miscreant aggression.

Too many lives in past conflicts have been lost because of inaction. Imagine how different the world might have been had the world stood up sooner to an Adolf Hitler or a Heideiki Tojo. We are once again at one of those historical crossroads. It is necessary and proper that the United States and our NATO Allies force the hand of Milosevic toward the end of just governance and human decency. The Serbian military's brutality in the name of a 610-year-old vindication is childish and historically indefensible. Today, with God's help, we aim to set things right.

In bi-partisan fashion, I stand in strong support of our President's decision and applaud his courage. I stand in strong support to our brave troops, our gallant allies and all their faithful families as we begin to embark on this endeavor to stop the senseless violence. Let's hope that President Milosevic will get the message and return to the table of peace.

Mr. ORITZ. I rise today in support of the resolution before us, in support of our young men and women in uniform serving in the European theater, and in support of NATO's decision to use force to try and change dictator Slobodan Milosevic's mind about continuing his holocaust in Kosovo.

As the Ranking Democrat on the Armed Services Readiness Committee, I have been in the Bosnia/Southeastern European theater several times over the past few months and have spent significant time talking to our troops over there.

In Bosnia, when we sent troops to keep the peace there, we were not quite sure how that would turn out, but we knew that doing nothing was unacceptable. The soldiers I have talked to in Bosnia have told me that they know their mission is successful because the fighting has stopped and they now see children playing in the street.

The United States has a large responsibility in this world. The lessons of WWII taught us that unchecked aggression and man's inhumanity to others will not simply stop. Someone must step in to stop them. That is one of the fundamental reasons NATO was created, to stop unchecked aggression by dictators.

Generally, people across the country cannot find Kosovo on a map and do not yet understand why slaughter after slaughter in a place far, far away can invoke the military might of the United States. That is unfortunate. The truth of the matter is that the effects of this unchecked aggression have already begun to spill over the borders of Kosovo and Bosnia into Italy, Hungary, Greece and Turkey. These are NATO allies and we have a responsibility to them.

Our troops are presently engaged in a hostile action, and the House of Representatives,

and the entire Congress, owes them our respect and our support.

Mr. VENTO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the NATO Air strikes aimed at preventing any further loss of lives in the embattled Serbian province of Kosovo. It is clear that all reasonable diplomatic avenues had been exhausted and military action was inevitable. The United States and NATO have an obligation to uphold the basic standards of human rights and hold Serbia and its leadership to the October 1998 agreement which they made and which they have blatantly disregarded. Furthermore, seizing upon the withdrawal of the OSCE monitors as an opportunity to unleash another round of assaults on the civilian population of the Kosovo region is unacceptable.

Leaders of the ethnic Albanian majority Kosovars will settle for autonomy today, but plainly want complete independence for their region. The Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic continues to adamantly stand opposed today to Kosovo's pleas, even autonomy for Kosovo, which he rejected after years of such status in the late 1980's. Serbia's Milosevic's ethnic cleansing crusade has claimed the lives of thousands of innocent civilians since the renewed military action in 1998. This Serbian aggression can not be overlooked. The actions carried out by the Milosevic regime certainly has the potential to undermine the Bosnian Peace Accords and spill over into neighboring countries, such as Macedonia, Albania, Turkey and Greece. I will remind my colleagues that this small trouble spot on the map in Eastern Europe was the spark for past World Wars.

After months of peace talks and violations of cease-fire agreements, Milosevic continues to launch attacks and mass genocide against the Kosovars in Serbia. As a result, by October 1998, up to 275,000 civilians had fled their homes. Some have immigrated to the Yugoslav republic of Montenegro; others crossed the border into Albania or Macedonia, but most stayed in Kosovo and have been subject to genocide by Milosevic's Serb troops. The latest outbreak of fighting has created a new refugee crisis, with about 60,000 people a new fleeing their homes in the last couple of weeks.

Ironically, as the integration of Central Europe into NATO occurs, the United States can not sit back and allow this type of conduct. This flies into the fact of NATO's agreements and purpose. Such events, if unaddressed, will seriously undermine NATO's credibility and role within Europe. Mass genocide must not be tolerated. For moral reasons independent of our pre announced alliances much less in the face of it. NATO was not formed and maintained for parade purposes. When it is necessary and needed member nations must act to fulfill its mission. The irony of this crisis is two-fold. Nobody likes to send anyone into a situation with the possible loss of their lives. But right now innocent lives such as the elderly, women and children are being lost at the hands of Slobodan Milosevic's Serbian forces.

I support our troops and this justified and necessary mission in attempt to end the genocide and protect the basic human rights for the Kosovars and Serbian compliance with the basic cease fire agreements that they have pledged to agree to in October of 1998.

Mr. EWING. Mr. Speaker, last week, I voted against the resolution authorizing the deploy-

ment of United States military troops to Kosovo. Although the House ultimately approved the resolution, my concern that we are entering into this operation without a well-defined mission, and, more importantly, a strategy to remove our troops remains.

Despite the many different opinions on this situation, it is now time for every American to stand unified behind our men and women in uniform.

We must not, however, yield to the emotion of the moment. To protect our sons and daughters it is vital that the President, and the Congress, together, continue to act prudently to not only preserve the lives of innocent Kosovars but our young men and women abroad.

I only ask that we, as one nation, offer our thoughts and prayers for the families, and the safe return of these brave young Americans.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LATOURETTE). All time for debate has expired.

Pursuant to the order of the House of today, the previous question is ordered on the resolution.

The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, on that, I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 424, nays 1, not voting 9, as follows:

[Roll No. 71]

YEAS—424

Abercrombie	Burr	Dickey
Ackerman	Burton	Dicks
Aderholt	Buyer	Dingell
Allen	Callahan	Dixon
Andrews	Camp	Doggett
Archer	Campbell	Dooley
Armey	Canady	Doolittle
Bachus	Cannon	Doyle
Baird	Capps	Dreier
Baker	Capuano	Duncan
Baldacci	Cardin	Dunn
Baldwin	Carson	Edwards
Ballenger	Castle	Ehlers
Barcia	Chabot	Ehrlich
Barr	Chambliss	Emerson
Barrett (NE)	Chenoweth	Engel
Barrett (WI)	Clay	Eshoo
Bartlett	Clayton	Etheridge
Barton	Clement	Evans
Bass	Clyburn	Everett
Bateman	Coble	Ewing
Becerra	Coburn	Farr
Bentsen	Collins	Fattah
Bereuter	Combest	Filner
Berkley	Condit	Fletcher
Berman	Conyers	Foley
Berry	Cook	Forbes
Biggert	Cooksey	Ford
Bilbray	Costello	Fossella
Bilirakis	Cox	Fowler
Bishop	Coyne	Frank (MA)
Blagojevich	Cramer	Franks (NJ)
Bliley	Crane	Frost
Blumenauer	Crowley	Gallagher
Blunt	Cubin	Ganske
Boehlert	Cummings	Gejdenson
Boehner	Cunningham	Gekas
Bonilla	Danner	Gephardt
Bonior	Davis (FL)	Gibbons
Bono	Davis (IL)	Gilchrest
Borski	Davis (VA)	Gillmor
Boswell	Deal	Gilman
Boucher	DeFazio	Gonzalez
Boyd	DeGette	Goode
Brady (PA)	Delahunt	Goodlatte
Brady (TX)	DeLauro	Goodling
Brown (CA)	DeLay	Gordon
Brown (FL)	DeMint	Goss
Brown (OH)	Deutsch	Graham
Bryant	Diaz-Balart	Granger

Green (TX)	Mascara	Sabo
Green (WI)	Matsui	Salmon
Greenwood	McCarthy (MO)	Sanchez
Gutierrez	McCarthy (NY)	Sanders
Gutknecht	McCollum	Sandlin
Hall (OH)	McCrery	Sanford
Hall (TX)	McDermott	Sawyer
Hansen	McGovern	Saxton
Hastert	McHugh	Scarborough
Hastings (FL)	McInnis	Schaffer
Hastings (WA)	McIntosh	Schakowsky
Hayes	McIntyre	Scott
Hayworth	McKeon	Sensenbrenner
Hefley	McKinney	Serrano
Herger	McNulty	Sessions
Hill (IN)	Meehan	Shadegg
Hill (MT)	Meek (FL)	Shaw
Hilleary	Meeks (NY)	Shays
Hilliard	Menendez	Sherman
Hinchey	Metcalfe	Sherwood
Hinojosa	Mica	Shimkus
Hobson	Millender-	Shows
Hoefel	McDonald	Shuster
Hoekstra	Miller (FL)	Simpson
Holden	Miller, Gary	Sisisky
Holt	Miller, George	Skeen
Hooley	Minge	Skelton
Horn	Mink	Smith (MI)
Hostettler	Moakley	Smith (NJ)
Houghton	Mollohan	Smith (TX)
Hoyer	Moore	Smith (WA)
Hulshof	Moran (KS)	Snyder
Hunter	Moran (VA)	Souder
Hutchinson	Morella	Spence
Hyde	Murtha	Spratt
Inslee	Nadler	Stabenow
Isakson	Napolitano	Stark
Istook	Neal	Stearns
Jackson (IL)	Nethercutt	Stenholm
Jackson-Lee	Ney	Strickland
(TX)	Northup	Stump
Jefferson	Norwood	Sununu
Jenkins	Oberstar	Sweeney
John	Obey	Talent
Johnson (CT)	Olver	Tancredo
Johnson, E. B.	Ortiz	Tanner
Johnson, Sam	Ose	Tauscher
Jones (NC)	Owens	Tauzin
Jones (OH)	Oxley	Taylor (MS)
Kanjorski	Packard	Taylor (NC)
Kaptur	Pallone	Terry
Kasich	Pascarella	Thomas
Kelly	Pastor	Thompson (CA)
Kennedy	Paul	Thompson (MS)
Kildee	Payne	Thornberry
Kilpatrick	Pease	Thune
Kind (WI)	Pelosi	Thurman
King (NY)	Peterson (MN)	Tiahrt
Kingston	Peterson (PA)	Tierney
Klecza	Petri	Toomey
Klink	Phelps	Towns
Knollenberg	Pickett	Traficant
Kolbe	Pitts	Turner
Kucinich	Pombo	Udall (CO)
Kuykendall	Pomeroy	Udall (NM)
LaFalce	Porter	Upton
LaHood	Portman	Velazquez
Lampson	Price (NC)	Vento
Lantos	Pryce (OH)	Visclosky
Largent	Quinn	Walden
Larson	Radanovich	Walsh
Latham	Rahall	Wamp
LaTourette	Ramstad	Waters
Lazio	Rangel	Watkins
Leach	Regula	Watt (NC)
Levin	Reyes	Watts (OK)
Lewis (CA)	Reynolds	Waxman
Lewis (GA)	Riley	Weiner
Lewis (KY)	Rivers	Weldon (FL)
Linder	Rodriguez	Weldon (PA)
Lipinski	Roemer	Wexler
LoBiondo	Rogan	Weygand
Lofgren	Rogers	Whitfield
Lowey	Rohrabacher	Wicker
Lucas (KY)	Ros-Lehtinen	Wilson
Lucas (OK)	Rothman	Wise
Luther	Roukema	Wolf
Maloney (CT)	Roybal-Allard	Woolsey
Maloney (NY)	Royce	Wu
Manzullo	Rush	Wynn
Markey	Ryan (WI)	Young (AK)
Martinez	Ryun (KS)	Young (FL)

NOT VOTING—9

Calvert	Myrick	Slaughter
English	Nussle	Stupak
Frelinghuysen	Pickering	Weller

□ 1924

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Stated for:

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 71, I was inadvertently detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea."

Mr. PICKERING. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoidably detained and missed the following rollcall vote: Rollcall vote No. 71, H. Res. 130. Had I been present, I would have voted "aye."

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on House Resolution 130, the resolution just agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LATOURETTE). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

REMOVAL OF NAME OF MEMBER AS COSPONSOR OF H.R. 1150

Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to remove my name as a cosponsor of H.R. 1150.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

INTERIM FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION AUTHORIZATION ACT

Mr. SHUSTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the Senate bill (S. 643) to authorize the Airport Improvement Program for 2 months, and for other purposes, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. SHUSTER) briefly to explain the bill.

Mr. SHUSTER. Mr. Speaker, this is a simple extension. We are taking the Senate's bill to extend the Airport Improvement Program for 2 months so that we can then deal with the major legislation in April or May. That is all this is.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. DUNCAN).

(Mr. DUNCAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this legislation.

On March 31, 1999, funding for the FAA Airport Improvement Program will be cut off. Last year, we attempted to pass a comprehensive long-term bill that would have extended AIP and FAA funding.

However, due to a breakdown in conference negotiations, only a short-term 6-month extension for the AIP was passed as part of the Omnibus appropriations bill.

In February of this year, the House passed H.R. 99, a six-month bill to extend AIP and fund FAA's operations and facilities and equipment programs through the end of FY 99.

H.R. 99 was passed so that AIP funding would not run out while we attempted to pass our long-term aviation reauthorization bill, AIR-21.

H.R. 99 was passed out of the House and sent to the Senate on February 3, two months prior to the expiration of AIP funding on March 31st.

In the shadow of this imminent deadline, last week the Senate passed a two-month extension bill that would fund AIP only through May 31st of this year.

The Senate bill also includes technical changes for the Military Airport Program and the small airport fund within AIP to allow them to work under the limited extension.

In addition, the Senate bill extends the War Risk Insurance program for two additional months. Its funding is also set to expire on March 31st. This is an important issue, especially in light of current events.

The House passed H.R. 98 in February, which extended the War Risk Insurance Program through 2004. If the Senate should pass H.R. 98, it is our intention that that bill extension for 5 years should take precedence over this two-month provision.

Finally, the Senate bill allows the FAA to consider a PFC application from Metropolitan Washington Airport Authority up to a limit of \$30 million. Under current law, FAA is not allowed to consider a PFC application from MWAA.

Although this bill only extends the programs for two months instead of the House-passed six month bill, it is important that this bill pass so that funding for AIP does not lapse.

I urge you all to support this bill so that this short term measure is in place and funding for your local airports will remain in effect while we attempt to pass a long-term FAA reauthorization bill.

(Mr. OBERSTAR asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, it is regrettable that the other body did not act as responsibly and as promptly as this committee and this body did, but I do support this 2-month extension.

Further reserving the right to object, I want to observe with sadness the death of a good friend to airports, to this committee, and to the Congress, Ellis Ohnstad, the long-time employee of the FAA Airports Office, a constant source of good humor and solid information and support for our committee. We will miss him dearly.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to support passage of S. 643. S. 643 provides for a 2-month extension of the Airport Improvement Program (AIP) and authorization for other Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) programs through the end of the fiscal year 1999.

NAYS—1

Lee