

King (NY) Neal
 Kingston Nethercutt
 Kleczka Ney
 Klink Northup
 Knollenberg Norwood
 Kolbe Nussle
 Kucinich Oberstar
 Kuykendall Obey
 LaFalce Ortiz
 LaHood Ose
 Lampson Owens
 Lantos Oxley
 Largent Packard
 Larson Pallone
 Latham Pascarell
 LaTourette Pastor
 Lazio Payne
 Leach Pease
 Lee Pelosi
 Levin Peterson (MN)
 Lewis (CA) Peterson (PA)
 Lewis (GA) Petri
 Lewis (KY) Phelps
 Linder Pickering
 Lipinski Pickett
 LoBiondo Pitts
 Lofgren Pombo
 Lowey Pomeroy
 Lucas (KY) Porter
 Lucas (OK) Portman
 Luther Price (NC)
 Maloney (CT) Pryce (OH)
 Maloney (NY) Quinn
 Manzullo Radanovich
 Markey Rahall
 Martinez Ramstad
 Mascara Rangel
 Matsui Regula
 McCarthy (MO) Reyes
 McCarthy (NY) Reynolds
 McCollum Riley
 McCrery Rivers
 McDermott Rodriguez
 McGovern Roemer
 McHugh Rogan
 McInnis Rogers
 McIntosh Rohrabacher
 McIntyre Ros-Lehtinen
 McKeon Rothman
 McKinney Roukema
 McNulty Roybal-Allard
 Meehan Royce
 Meek (FL) Rush
 Meeks (NY) Ryan (WI)
 Menendez Ryan (KS)
 Metcalf Sabo
 Mica Salmon
 Millender- Sanchez
 McDonald Sanders
 Miller (FL) Sandlin
 Miller, Gary Sawyer
 Miller, George Saxton
 Minge Scarborough
 Mink Schaffer
 Moakley Schakowsky
 Mollohan Scott
 Moore Sensenbrenner
 Moran (KS) Serrano
 Moran (VA) Sessions
 Morella Shadegg
 Murtha Shaw
 Myrick Shays
 Nadler Sherman
 Napolitano Sherwood

NAYS—4

Chenoweth Paul
 Coburn Sanford

NOT VOTING—12

Bilbray DeFazio
 Brown (CA) Fletcher
 Cooksey Gilchrest
 Danner Hooley

□ 1736

Mr. STARK changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Stated for:

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 245 I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "yes."

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on H.R. 659, the bill just passed.

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

There was no objection.

LOCATING AND SECURING RETURN OF ISRAELI SOLDERS MISSING IN ACTION

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). The pending business is the question of suspending the rules and passing the bill, H.R. 1175, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 1175, as amended, on which the yeas and nays are ordered.

This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 415, nays 5, answered "present" 1, not voting 13, as follows:

[Roll No. 246]

YEAS—415

Abercrombie Campbell
 Ackerman Canady
 Aderholt Cannon
 Allen Capps
 Andrews Capuano
 Arney Cardin
 Bachus Carson
 Baird Castle
 Baker Chabot
 Baldacci Chambliss
 Baldwin Chenoweth
 Ballenger Clay
 Barcia Clayton
 Barrett (NE) Clement
 Barrett (WI) Clyburn
 Bartlett Coble
 Barton Coburn
 Bass Combest
 Bateman Condit
 Becerra Conyers
 Bentsen Cook
 Bereuter Costello
 Berkley Cox
 Berman Coyne
 Berry Cramer
 Biggert Crane
 Bilbray Crowley
 Bilirakis Cubin
 Bishop Cummings
 Blagojevich Cunningham
 Bliley Davis (FL)
 Blumenauer Davis (IL)
 Blunt Davis (VA)
 Boehlert DeGette
 Boehner Delahunt
 Bonilla DeLauro
 Bonior DeLay
 Bono DeMint
 Borski Deutsch
 Boswell Diaz-Balart
 Boucher Dickey
 Boyd Dicks
 Brady (PA) Dingell
 Brady (TX) Dixon
 Brown (FL) Doggett
 Brown (OH) Dooley
 Bryant Doolittle
 Burr Doyle
 Burton Dreier
 Buyer Duncan
 Callahan Dunn
 Calvert Edwards
 Camp Ehlers

Hilleary Hilliard
 Hilliard McKinney
 Hinchey McNulty
 Hinojosa Meehan
 Hobson Meek (FL)
 Hoefel Meeks (NY)
 Hoekstra Menendez
 Holden Metcalf
 Holt Mica
 Horn Millender-
 Hostettler McDonald
 Houghton Miller (FL)
 Hoyer Miller, Gary
 Hulshof Miller, George
 Hunter Minge
 Hutchinson Mink
 Hyde Moakley
 Inslee Mollohan
 Isakson Moore
 Istook Moran (KS)
 Jackson (IL) Moran (VA)
 Jackson-Lee Morella
 (TX) Murtha
 Jefferson Myrick
 Jenkins Nadler
 John Napolitano
 Johnson (CT) Neal
 Johnson, E. B. Nethercutt
 Johnson, Sam Ney
 Jones (NC) Northup
 Jones (OH) Norwood
 Kanjorski Nussle
 Kaptur Oberstar
 Kelly Obey
 Kennedy Ortiz
 Kildee Ose
 Kilpatrick Owens
 Kind (WI) Oxley
 King (NY) Packard
 Kingston Pallone
 Kleczka Pascarell
 Klink Pastor
 Knollenberg Payne
 Kolbe Pease
 Kucinich Pelosi
 Kuykendall Peterson (MN)
 LaFalce Peterson (PA)
 LaHood Petri
 Lampson Pickering
 Lantos Pitts
 Largent Pombo
 Larson Pomeroy
 Latham Porter
 LaTourette Portman
 Lazio Price (NC)
 Leach Pryce (OH)
 Lee Quinn
 Levin Radanovich
 Lewis (CA) Ramstad
 Lewis (GA) Rangel
 Lewis (KY) Regula
 Linder Reyes
 Lipinski Reynolds
 LoBiondo Riley
 Lofgren Rivers
 Lowey Rodriguez
 Lucas (KY) Roemer
 Lucas (OK) Rogan
 Luther Rogers
 Maloney (CT) Rohrabacher
 Maloney (NY) Ros-Lehtinen
 Manzano Manzullo
 Markey Markey
 Martinez Martinez
 Mascara Masera
 Matsui Matsui
 McCarthy (MO) McCarthy (MO)
 McCarthy (NY) McCarthy (NY)
 McCollum McCollum
 McCrery McCrery
 McDermott McDermott
 McGovern McGovern
 McHugh McHugh
 McInnis McInnis
 McIntosh McIntosh
 McIntyre McIntyre

NAYS—5

Collins Paul
 Deal Rahall

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1

Barr

NOT VOTING—13

Archer Danner
 Brown (CA) DeFazio
 Cooksey Fletcher

Scarborough Schaffer
 Schakowsky Schakowsky
 Scott Scott
 Sensenbrenner Sensenbrenner
 Serrano Serrano
 Sessions Sessions
 Shadegg Shadegg
 Shaw Shaw
 Shays Shays
 Sherman Sherman
 Sherwood Sherwood
 Shimkus Shimkus
 Shows Shows
 Shuster Shuster
 Simpson Simpson
 Siskisky Siskisky
 Skeen Skeen
 Skelton Skelton
 Slaughter Slaughter
 Smith (MI) Smith (MI)
 Smith (NJ) Smith (NJ)
 Smith (TX) Smith (TX)
 Smith (WA) Smith (WA)
 Snyder Snyder
 Souder Souder
 Spence Spence
 Spratt Spratt
 Stabenow Stabenow
 Stark Stark
 Stearns Stearns
 Stenholm Stenholm
 Strickland Strickland
 Stump Stump
 Stupak Stupak
 Sununu Sununu
 Sweeney Sweeney
 Talent Talent
 Tancredo Tancredo
 Tanner Tanner
 Tauscher Tauscher
 Tauzin Tauzin
 Taylor (MS) Taylor (MS)
 Taylor (NC) Taylor (NC)
 Terry Terry
 Thomas Thomas
 Thompson (CA) Thompson (CA)
 Thompson (MS) Thompson (MS)
 Thornberry Thornberry
 Thune Thune
 Thurman Thurman
 Tierney Tierney
 Toomey Toomey
 Towns Towns
 Traficant Traficant
 Turner Turner
 Udall (CO) Udall (CO)
 Udall (NM) Udall (NM)
 Upton Upton
 Velazquez Velazquez
 Vento Vento
 Vislosky Vislosky
 Vitter Vitter
 Walden Walden
 Walsh Walsh
 Wamp Wamp
 Waters Waters
 Watkins Watkins
 Watt (NC) Watt (NC)
 Watts (OK) Watts (OK)
 Waxman Waxman
 Weiner Weiner
 Weldon (FL) Weldon (FL)
 Weldon (PA) Weldon (PA)
 Weller Weller
 Wexler Wexler
 Weygand Weygand
 Whitfield Whitfield
 Wicker Wicker
 Wilson Wilson
 Wise Wise
 Wolf Wolf
 Woolsey Woolsey
 Wu Wu
 Wynn Wynn
 Young (AK) Young (AK)
 Young (FL) Young (FL)

Hooley
KasichOlver
PhelpsPickett
Tiaht

□ 1747

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill to locate and secure the return of Zachary Baumel, a United States citizen, and other Israeli soldiers missing in action."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

REMOVAL OF NAME OF MEMBER AS COSPONSOR OF H.R. 804

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have my name removed as a cosponsor of H.R. 804.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

REMOVAL OF NAME OF MEMBER AS COSPONSOR OF H.R. 815

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have my name removed as cosponsor of the bill H.R. 815.

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

There was no objection.

AMERICANS ARE NOT CELEBRATING SO-CALLED VICTORY IN YUGOSLAVIA

(Mr. DUNCAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.)

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, our "victory" in Yugoslavia has given us the right to spend \$30 to \$50 billion over the next several years to rebuild what our bombs destroyed. And, of course, our troops will get to stay there for years, at tremendous expense to our taxpayers. Already General Clarke is saying he needs thousands more of our soldiers.

And what did we achieve? Columnist Jeff Jacoby of the Boston Globe said, "The Yugoslav war, fought so as to minimize NATO's casualties, maximized the suffering of the people it was meant to help."

Columnist Linda Bowles said, "Almost all the ethnic cleansing occurred after the effort to rescue them began. More than 1 million refugees were driven from their homes. Perhaps the greatest price we will pay is to live in a world in which more nations and people hate, fear, and distrust America than at any other time in our history."

Columnist Charles Krauthammer said by the President's own standard, "The war was lost, irretrievably, catastrophically lost, in the first week."

Mr. Speaker, the President is on a victory tour, but I do not see many Americans celebrating.

Mr. Speaker, I include for the RECORD the complete article I referred to above by Charles Krauthammer:

[From the Boston Globe, June 11, 1999]

DEFINING VICTORY DOWN

(By Charles Krauthammer)

The papers are signed. The troops are moving in. Victory.

Victory? On the eve of the Kosovo war, the president of the United States declares the objective: "To protect thousands of innocent people in Kosovo from a mounting military offensive." This would be done in one of two ways. We would deter Serbia from "ethnically cleansing" Kosovo or, failing that, we would physically—militarily—destroy Serbia's ability to do so.

By Clinton's own standard, the war was lost—irretrievably, catastrophically lost—in the first week. NATO launched a campaign at once anemic and tentative, a campaign of bombing empty buildings. Slobodan Milosevic responded with the most massive ethnic cleansing in Europe since World War II.

Now 11 weeks and a million refugees later, there is an agreement that permits a return to the status quo ante. Well, not quite: It will be a partial and imperfect return, given that many Kosovars are dead and many will not want to return. Moreover, what they are returning to is not Kosovo, but a wasteland that was Kosovo.

This is not victory. This is defining victory down.

It did not have to be this way. After all, Milosevic finally agreed to a partial undoing of his ethnic cleansing only when NATO attacks on his civilian infrastructure became intolerable. Why, then, did we not turn out the lights in Belgrade on Day One? Two weeks into the war, I wrote, noting the obvious, that "the only possible way out of this war short of abject defeat" was an air campaign of "seriousness"—hitting "power plants, fuel depots, bridges," the kind of war that actually kills combatants and inevitably civilians but that so debilitates the enemy nation as to bring it to a halt—and to the negotiating table.

Historians will puzzle over why Clinton and Blair and Schroeder and the rest did not do this until after Kosovo had been wiped nearly clean of Albanians. But it is no puzzle: Clinton thought that military minimalism—so congenial to the ex- and current pacifists in his coalition—was a win-win proposition for him.

Either Milosevic would fold in the face of a demonstration war or, if he did not, Clinton could do exactly what he had done after his little pre-impeachment three-day war on Iraq: take to TV, offer a gaudy list of targets hit, declare victory and go home.

What he had not counted on was Milosevic's public exposure of such a fraud. In Iraq, Clinton could pinprick and declare victory because there were no cameras to record his failure—nuclear and chemical weapons are being developed by Saddam unmolested, but for now unseen. In Kosovo, on the other hand, a million refugees parade before the cameras of the world. Not even Clinton could spin his way out of that defeat by calling it victory.

So the air war went on, finally got serious, and now we have something that is being called victory. But the supposed instrument of Serb surrender, the U.N. Security Council resolution codifying the cease-fire conditions, is riddled with ambiguities.

The central point throughout the conflict has always been who will run Kosovo after

Serb forces leave. The governing Security Council resolution authorizes an international security presence with "substantial" NATO participation. The command structure is not spelled out, and the Russians insist that their troops will not be under NATO command. If they are not, will they have their own occupation zone that will effectively partition Kosovo?

More muddle: Serbia is allowed a presence at the re-entry points for the refugees. Will that scare away the refugees? We don't know. And who is going to "demilitarize" the Kosovo Liberation Army?

I am not objecting to these compromises—they are the necessary accommodations to end an extraordinarily ill-conceived war. What I do object to is spinning it into a triumph. If this is such a triumph, does anyone imagine that we will ever repeat such an adventure?

And the final irony: Even if all the ambiguities are answered in NATO's favor, even if the Yugoslavs comply with every detail of the military agreement signed with NATO on Wednesday, what are we left with? The prize for victory: The United States and its allies are permitted to interpose their soldiers between mortal enemies in a continuing Balkan guerrilla war. For years.

SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, and under a previous order of the House, the following Members will be recognized for 5 minutes each.

FUNDING FOR NIH, AND THE ANNUAL BUDGET IMPASSE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GEKAS) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GEKAS. Mr. Speaker, later on this evening we plan to conduct a full special order of 1 hour on the subject of funding for the National Institutes of Health, an important budget item every year but increasingly important as we move closer to many discoveries and preventive disease matters that require the attention of the Congress. So we will be developing where we are and some of the plans that are in action towards that funding mechanism for that NIH.

In the meantime, though, I do want to bring the attention again of the Members to the pending year-end perennial budget impasse that we reach no matter what we try to do. The fiscal year ends September 30, and rarely, if ever, are we prepared on the next day to face a fully enacted new budget for the next fiscal year. What we have tried to do over the last 10 years, with some success but with increasing frustration that we are not able to complete the job, is to put in place an instant replay mechanism to prevent government shutdowns forever. That is to say that the appropriation bills that are incomplete on September 30 will be re-enacted automatically with the previous year's numbers for the next fiscal year until such time as the appropriations process brings about a new fiscal plan for the ensuing year.