

Thompson (MS)	Vento	Wexler
Thornberry	Visclosky	Whitfield
Thune	Vitter	Wicker
Thurman	Walden	Wilson
Tiahrt	Walsh	Wise
Toomey	Wamp	Wolf
Towns	Waters	Woolsey
Traficant	Watkins	Wu
Turner	Watt (NC)	Wynn
Udall (CO)	Watts (OK)	Young (AK)
Udall (NM)	Weldon (FL)	Young (FL)
Upton	Weldon (PA)	
Velazquez	Weller	

NAYS—24

Bonior	Kucinich	Sanders
Capuano	Lee	Schakowsky
Crowley	Lewis (GA)	Scott
Delahunt	McKinney	Stark
Duncan	Meeks (NY)	Tierney
Filner	Paul	Waxman
Hinchey	Rahall	Weiner
Kennedy	Rothman	Weygand

NOT VOTING—7

Brown (CA)	Goodling	Lipinski
Dingell	Green (TX)	
Fossella	Hall (OH)	

□ 1442

Messrs. TIERNEY, CAPUANO, KENNEDY of Rhode Island and MEEKS of New York changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. BURTON of Indiana changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the conference report was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES ON S. 1059, NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 2000

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to clause 1 of rule XXII, and by direction of the Committee on Armed Services, I offer a privileged motion.

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

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. SPENCE moves that the House take from the Speaker's table the Senate bill (S. 1059) to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2000 for military activities of the Department of Defense, for military construction, and for defense activities of the Department of Energy, to prescribe personnel strengths for such fiscal year for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes, with the House amendment thereto, insist on the House amendment, and agree to the conference requested by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE).

The motion was agreed to.

MOTION TO INSTRUCT CONFEREES OFFERED BY MR. SKELTON

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to instruct conferees.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. SKELTON moves that the managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill S. 1059 be instructed to insist upon the provisions contained in section 1207 of the House amendment (relating to goals for the con-

flict with Yugoslavia), in order to recognize the achievement of goals stated therein by—

(1) the United States Armed Forces who participated in Operation Allied Force and served and succeeded in the highest traditions of the Armed Forces of the United States;

(2) the families of American service men and women participating in Operation Allied Force, who have bravely borne the burden of separation from their loved ones, and staunchly supported them during the conflict;

(3) President Clinton, Commander in Chief of United States Armed Forces, for his leadership during Operation Allied Force;

(4) Secretary of Defense William Cohen, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Henry Shelton and Supreme Allied Commander-Europe General Wesley Clark, for their planning and implementation of Operation Allied Force;

(5) Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, National Security Advisor Sandy Berger, and other Administration officials who engaged in diplomatic efforts to resolve the Kosovo conflict;

(6) all of the forces from our NATO allies, who served with distinction and success; and

(7) the front line states, Albania, Macedonia, Bulgaria, and Romania, which experienced firsthand the instability produced by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's policy of ethnic cleansing.

□ 1445

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) and the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON).

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, and I move that the motion to instruct be adopted by this House.

This is a motion to require or to urge the conferees to adopt section 1207 of the House amendment. The House will remember this is an amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. TAYLOR) which dealt with the goals for the conflict in Yugoslavia. I might say that these goals were set forth by numerous people, including General Wesley Clark, including the President, including the Secretary General of NATO. They have been the polestars of this whole conflict.

We do this in a customary manner, Mr. Speaker. Customarily, at the end of a conflict, we compliment as a body those who participated in and helped achieve a victory. There is no question about it, this is a substantial victory for the allies, a substantial victory for NATO, and a substantial victory for the United States of America.

First, we speak of the United States Armed Forces. True, it was an air war primarily, but many of the Army and much of the Navy were deeply involved. But for that effort, it would not have been nearly as well done or as well planned nor as well executed.

To the families of American servicemen and women who bear the brunt of their spouses and their mothers and their fathers being gone, because of the

separation from their home, from their loved ones, and we support them through this by giving them a congratulatory word.

To the President, for his steadfastness, for his perseverance toward the goal of victory.

To the Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, the Supreme Allied Commander, all of them for their hard work and planning and implementation of this Operation Allied Force.

To the Secretary of State, the National Security Adviser, and the other administration officials who engaged in diplomatic efforts which, in the end, resolved the Kosovo conflict.

And to all the forces of our NATO allies. This was not a mere United States effort. It was an effort on behalf of all the NATO nations led by the Secretary General and the Allied Commander in Europe, General Wesley Clark.

To all the front line states, those who bore the burden of refugees and of having foreign forces on their soil. Albania, Macedonia, Bulgaria, and Romania, they all experienced the instability produced by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in its policy of ethnic cleansing.

This is a mere token of appreciation by this House to each of these people, to each of these countries, to each of those who participated and bore the burden of victory in Yugoslavia.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, the motion by the gentleman from Missouri speaks to an uncontroversial provision offered by the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. TAYLOR) and adopted by a voice vote on June 10 during House consideration of H.R. 1401.

Section 1207, the provision in question in the motion, has two parts. The first part restates the authorities of the Congress under the Constitution to declare war and provide for the common defense. The second part establishes eight policy goals for the NATO military operation against Yugoslavia which, at the time the provision was adopted, was winding down and, in fact, is now over.

The gentleman's motion does go beyond the text of the House-passed language and asserts that the House should support section 1207 in order to recognize the efforts of our troops, the military chain of commands and a long list of others. While I do not believe that section 1207 or its legislative history had, or has, anything to do with the assertions contained in this motion, I nonetheless support the motion of the gentleman from Missouri and specifically want to commend the United States military and our NATO allies who executed Operation Allied Force with skill and courage.

Our Armed Forces, together with the military forces of NATO allies, conducted a military campaign involving over 35,000 aircraft sorties without a single casualty. The United States was responsible for the bulk of this military effort, especially with regard to air strikes against the most heavily defended and difficult targets in Kosovo and Serbia.

In addition, the United States forces provided most of the essential military capabilities in the areas of intelligence surveillance, reconnaissance, aerial refueling, electronic warfare and combat search and rescue. While having to carry out what unexpectedly and unfortunately turned into the equivalent of a major theater war, the United States Armed Forces were also providing almost simultaneously significant contributions to the humanitarian assistance effort as part of our Operation Allied Harbor in Macedonia and Albania.

Mr. Speaker, irrespective of how one might feel about the policy assumptions and judgments that unfortunately got us into this conflict, assumptions and judgments which I strongly disagreed with at the time, these in no way are endorsed by the motion of the gentleman from Missouri. I believe we can join together in commending the dedication and courage of all those in the Armed Forces who carried out this difficult military campaign. I am prepared to support this motion.

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

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Mrs. TAUSCHER).

Mrs. TAUSCHER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for yielding me this time, and I rise in strong support of the motion to instruct conferees on the Defense Authorization bill to insist on language in the House bill articulating the goals and objectives of the air campaign in Yugoslavia.

Our military forces with our NATO allies have done a tremendous job in Kosovo. They have ended Yugoslav aggression against its own people, forced the withdrawal of Yugoslav military forces from Kosovo, reached an agreement with Yugoslavia on an international military presence in Kosovo, and started the safe return of Kosovo refugees.

The success we have achieved in Kosovo could not have been achieved without strong leadership from President Clinton and his senior military advisers. In particular, General Wesley Clark distinguished himself by conducting an air campaign that suffered not a single combat casualty. I will be introducing legislation shortly, Mr. Speaker, to award General Clark the Congressional Gold Medal for his efforts.

Or Nation's goals and objectives have been achieved with unparalleled success. We owe our military personnel a debt of gratitude for their service. I

urge my colleagues to vote for this motion to instruct conferees.

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

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, while I agree with my friend, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON), on the service of our military men and women, because their efforts are laudatory, I disagree extremely with the laudatory comments about our diplomatic corps and the President in this effort. As a veteran, it is sickening to me, and I will tell my colleagues why.

The total number of people killed in Kosovo prior to our bombing was 2,012. We have killed more than five times that amount in our bombing, and yet we are supposed to be saving people. There has been a forced and increased evacuation of Albanians outside of the country. The United States flew 85 percent of all the sorties and provided 90 percent of all of the weapons, and we are only supposed to pay 15 percent of it. If my colleagues will remember, in Desert Storm, George Bush actually made \$2 billion. We did not have to spend \$100 billion in the war and rebuilding Kosovo.

Rambouillet was a joke to start with and, in my opinion, caused us to go there. Jesse Jackson said that we need to understand both sides of an issue. One, what were the fears of the Serbs? One, that the number of Serbs that were killed by the KLA was going to continue if Rambouillet existed. There are 300,000 Albanians that live in Yugoslavia that have not left, where the KLA is not. Secondly, that none of their police forces could stay and protect the Serbs. And we can see what is happening today there. Third, they were afraid that no one would protect them at all. And to me this is a travesty.

Our diplomatic corps did not make this happen. If my colleagues will take a look, it was Russia. From the day we started bombing, I said, we need Russia to negotiate, we need Scandinavian and we need Italian troops to resolve this, A, to protect both sides; and, B, to have some stability in there. And yet the United States and our diplomatic corps did not.

We are going to see increased interest rates. We will see us pay \$100 billion before this is over. And my colleagues that want to save Social Security and Medicare, where do they think this comes out of? The surplus.

General Reimer told me that we used 1 year of life in our aircraft, which were already devastated with parts, and most of those are engines and so on. If we take a look, one-half of our tankers participated, but we used all the crew. We are only keeping 23 percent of our military personnel in here, and it has been devastating.

So, yes, our troops were exemplary, we did the job. But, in my opinion, the President of the United States and the whole diplomatic corps, through their failure, caused the war in the first place.

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

Mr. KIND. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I respectfully disagree with my friend from California. Let us give credit where credit is due. It was because of the strength and perseverance and unity of all 19 democratic nations of NATO that finally got Milosevic to capitulate and end the atrocities in Kosovo. But, ultimately, the credit belongs to those young men and women in American and NATO uniform who were being asked yet again in the 20th century to restore some peace and humanity to the European continent.

A few weeks ago I had the opportunity to travel to the Balkans and to meet and see firsthand those troops who were carrying out this dangerous mission. I wish all Americans had the opportunity to experience what I did and to feel the patriotism and the pride that I felt in those troops over there.

□ 1500

They performed their mission with honor and with great success. Unfortunately, two young officers were not able to return home safely. These were Chief Warrant Officer David Gibbs of Ohio and Chief Warrant Officer Kevin Riechert from a small town in my congressional district in western Wisconsin, Chetek.

I am sure that all our thoughts and prayers go out to their families today. I just wanted to recognize and acknowledge their service and the sacrifice they and their families made on behalf of our country.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. KINGSTON).

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I want to speak about some concerns and reservations about what we are doing here. Because I certainly, unequivocally, join 435 Members of this House in support of our Armed Forces and the great work that they have done and their families who have supported them throughout this and I support the whole chain in that respect. But I must say, I am very concerned that this could be misconstrued as an endorsement of support for our policy in Kosovo.

Because I, as do so many Members of this House, oppose this war. This was the result of diplomatic ineptitude. It is bad foreign policy. The President and the leaders never have told the American people what our American peril was in Kosovo. We do know that one of the goals was to try to bring peace to that area, and yet we are going to have 50,000 "peacekeepers" acting as proactive police officers in that area for an unlimited amount of time. I hardly say that that is a fitting conclusion to a war and animosities that date back at least to the Field of Blackbirds in 1389.

So I want to say, unequivocally, that this House Member joins many, many other House Members in saying we did not support this war and do not want to have this vote being construed as supporting the war. I do not think that the President showed great leadership, nor did most of his cabinet members, when they cannot define what the peril is, why we are in a conflict, and when the result of that conflict or that action is the evacuation of 855,000 people from the country and then another 500,000 within the country who have lost their homes, and now, after already spending \$12 billion in the Balkans and another \$5 billion in Kosovo itself, we are going to be spending billions more to rebuild that society, which I will not say we should run from that responsibility at all.

But I do think now we are in it, and it just seems to me that this administration's whole policy in the Balkans has been a quagmire. It has been vague. It has been haphazard. I do not believe that this is an outstanding chapter in American diplomatic history whatsoever.

So I do understand that the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) has great respect for the armed services, which we all admire and we all join him in doing. I am going to support this portion because the armed services personnel are being commended. But I do want to emphasize strongly that a large number of Members of the House on the Democratic and Republican side oppose this policy in the Balkans, oppose this war, and we have great questions about the so-called peace agreement.

How long are we going to be there? When do we get out? What will be the result? Why is Russia in the process when they did not contribute to this yet they are going to have a major part in the rebuilding of Kosovo? Will this make Kosovo more western, or is it going to make them more pro-Russia?

So I just wanted to air those reservations, Mr. Speaker.

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

Mr. Speaker, there is a limitation on time, but I wish to point out to my friend from California that the wording herein is a reflection exactly of the matter that was passed in the United States Senate unanimously.

I might also say that, because of what we did, the horrors, the deaths, the starvings, the burned homes, the rapes, and all the tragedies have come to an end because of what we, our leadership, our Armed Forces, and our allies did. So this is an effort to commend all of them in urging the House to adopt section 1207.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Puerto Rico (Mr. ROMERO-BARCELÓ).

Mr. ROMERO-BARCELÓ. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the motion to instruct conferees and to commend our troops for the success in Kosovo.

We in Puerto Rico are pleased to have participated in the endeavor to secure democracy for Kosovo. A portion of our military's training was carried out in Vieques, Puerto Rico. During that training, a tragic accident occurred when a bomb went 1½ miles off target and killed one civilian and injured four others.

I urge the conferees to address the safety and security concerns of the 9,300 American citizens who reside in Vieques. The accident of April 19 underscored the hazards to which the residents of the island are exposed by the bombings during our military maneuvers at the Navy range.

We must consider other options for training which do not pose a danger to the U.S. citizens in Vieques, Puerto Rico.

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

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL).

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this motion. I certainly commend our brave United States Armed Forces, their families. I believe that President Clinton ought to get all the praise possible for the conduct of this war. Secretary Cohen, Secretary Albright, all the NATO allies, the front-line states, Albania, Macedonia, Romania, and Bulgaria, this was truly a united effort.

I very much regret that we needed this vehicle to put forth this resolution commanding our Armed Forces. The Senate, as the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) pointed out, unanimously adopted a resolution several weeks now. We have been trying to get the Republican leadership to allow us to have a similar resolution on the floor, but they have denied it. This is the only vehicle.

What, frankly, really bothers me is that the same critics in this House who were calling the war "Clinton's war" and were saying that bombing would never work and the war would never be won and this was a tragedy and this was a travesty now will not give credit where credit is due.

The fact is we won this war. We ought to be proud of winning this war. The President was right. The President did the right thing in Kosovo.

I co-chaired the Albanian Issues Caucus, and we have been yelling for years and years about the ethnic cleansing that is going on in Kosovo, the lack of human rights, the fact that the ethnic Albanians there were denied for years and years the basic rights.

I am proud of our country for stepping in and standing up for human rights. I am proud of our President for taking a stand. It would have been politically easier for him to just sit back and say, what can we do? This is not our war. Ethnic cleansing and genocide, as abhorrent as it is, there is nothing we can do about it.

But the President did not say that. The President took action, and thank God he took action and saved thousands upon thousands of lives.

The fallacy that ethnic cleansing somehow was not happening and that the bombing caused it is nonsense. It is what I have been calling for years "quiet ethnic cleansing" or "slow ethnic cleansing." And we put a stop to it and we allowed ethnic Albanians, who constituted 90 percent of the population of Kosovo before the war, to be able to live normal lives.

So I think that our Armed Forces ought to be praised. The President of the United States deserves all the praise there can be. And my colleagues on the other side of the aisle that were calling this "Clinton's war" ought to be calling it "Clinton's victory" because the President deserves the credit. I am very, very proud of what we did.

I want to say, I hope that there will be autonomy and self-governing. But, as I have always said, I believe, long range, the solution for Kosovo is independence because those people have the same right of self-determination and independence that the other people of former Yugoslavia when the former Yugoslavia broke up and Croatia and Bosnia and Macedonia and Slovenia all had the right to self-determination. The ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, in my estimation, ought to have that same right.

So, again, I commend the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) for this. I think we all ought to go on record as praising the Armed Forces and commend President Clinton.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire as to the amount of time that we have remaining on this side, please?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). The gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) has 19½ minutes remaining. The gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE) has 21 minutes remaining.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. HOEFFEL).

Mr. HOEFFEL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of his motion to recommit. Of course we should commend the troops. Of course we should commend the President. Of course we should commend the Secretaries of State and Defense and all of the NATO leaders and all the NATO countries and all the front-line States that stood up to this terrible situation in Kosovo.

What astonishes me is that it was bad enough that the effort here in this House was not bipartisan to support our effort in Kosovo and today we do not have bipartisan support to commend the effort in Kosovo. We have to resort to this parliamentary effort to get a vote to commend these terrific achievements. And I think it is a sad day.

My father and grandfather, lifelong Republicans, taught me that politics

ended at the water's edge. Well, I am afraid to tell the gentleman and the House that this Republican party is not my grandfather's or my father's Republican party. Something has gone wrong here. But we had strong leadership. NATO did the right thing.

I support the motion of the gentleman.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. REYES).

Mr. REYES. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this motion by my good friend from Missouri. This motion instructs conferees to retain the provisions of the defense authorization legislation relating to the goals for the conflict in Yugoslavia.

Maintaining this language will allow us to recognize the brave men and women in the U.S. Armed Forces who have served this Nation so well. Through their efforts and the efforts of our allies in NATO, we have stopped a brutal tyrant from continuing his attempts to destroy a region and its people. This motion not only praises our uniformed personnel, but it also recognizes the critical contributions of their families. Without the sacrifices of the husbands and wives and children back home, we could not have accomplished our military goals.

When we debated the defense authorization on the floor of this House, the military conflict was underway. Now, however, we are afforded an opportunity to show our thanks on the record for the victory that they have achieved. Now, as the peacekeeping work begins, we must continue to support the military's efforts and stand by our military men and women in the field and their military and civilian leaders.

I urge my colleagues to vote for this motion.

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. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON), our ranking member, for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, the system that is over 200 years old in our country has been a very wise one indeed. It is a system in which we vigorously debate and often disagree about what direction our country's policies should go in before we engage in conflict. But it is also a tradition that says that, once we engage in conflict, we unify.

It is the wisdom of this motion to instruct that reflects that tradition, and it is because of that wisdom that I rise in strong support of the motion. This motion appropriately looks both backward and forward.

It looks backward to say thank you to a lot of people who made a tremendous effort to make the successful re-

sult in Kosovo possible, to our very brave and noble troops, to their families who supported them back home, to our allies who stood with us, to the front-line States who endured, and, yes, to the leaders of our country, the military leaders in uniform, the diplomatic leaders at the State Department, Secretary Cohen at the Defense Department, and certainly to the Commander in Chief, to President Clinton. These are words that are definitely worthy of being said by this Congress.

It is also important to support this motion because it looks forward. It recognizes that although the conflict is hopefully over in Kosovo, the job is not, that there still are objectives to be met to establish a framework under international law for a Democratic government to make sure that those, including President Milosevic, who commit crimes against humanity are brought to justice, to be sure that refugees are brought to a safe and humane home and resting place once again.

This resolution is in the finest bipartisan tradition of our country. It looks forward and says there is work still to be done in a bipartisan way, and it looks backward to the brave and noble work of our troops, their families, and their leaders and delivers a well-deserved thanks. I am proud to support it.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. MORAN).

□ 1515

Mr. MORAN of Virginia. I want to thank the very distinguished gentleman from Missouri for finding a way to bring this resolution to the floor. We ought to be proud of what we have done. Nineteen nations worked together cooperatively to stand up for the freedoms that we enjoy and to stand up against thuggery. The Kosovar Albanians had been denied virtually every freedom that we take for granted in this country since 1989, but that is not why we got involved. We got involved because we knew a war criminal had 40,000 troops massed on the border, was going to go into Kosovo and was going to burn homes, often times with people in them, rape women, execute men, that is what he would have been able to do in order to clear their country of people based purely upon their ethnicity. That is wrong.

The free nations of the world stood up and were successful, and in the process they showed that we can prevail without the loss of one American soldier, sailor or airman. We were successful with an air war when people said it could not be done. We were successful in putting strength and resoluteness in NATO. This set a precedent. We should be proud of what we have accomplished. And we should tell the rest of the world that we are proud in a bipartisan manner.

That is what this resolution is all about. It should be passed unanimously.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Guam (Mr. UNDERWOOD).

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time, and I rise in very, very strong support of this motion to instruct conferees that has been presented by the ranking member of the Committee on Armed Services. One of the basic principles that we learn in trying to deal with fellow human beings in our lives is that we should give credit where credit is due. What this motion to instruct conferees does is basically to recognize success, the success of our armed services, the success of our joint efforts along with our NATO allies, and in particular also the contributions of front line states that surround the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the success of our diplomatic efforts, and the success of the leadership of our military as well as our civilian authorities and, of course, the success of our President.

But this is not just about a great victory. It is about a great success, with some fairly limited objectives. I am sure that many people will take the time to point out and there will be lots of discussion about the problems that this has created. It will be pointed out that there will be problems with the occupation of Kosovo, problems associated with civil administration, infrastructure, trying to bring people together who have experienced lots of division and have been subjected to all the kinds of things which have gone on under the leadership of Milosevic. But I would like to point out that the problems of peace are infinitely preferable to the problems of war.

What we have here is a resolution that highlights our gratitude to the men and women of our armed services and their families and President Clinton and Secretary of Defense William Cohen and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Shelton, Supreme Allied Commander Europe General Wesley Clark for their planning and implementation, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and National Security Adviser Sandy Berger. We must send a message of gratitude to all of those who worked hard for this success.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY), the majority whip.

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from South Carolina for yielding me this time. I want this body to know and through this body the Nation to know that I support the troops. I think the job that they gave to us and did for us was outstanding. As always, our men and women in uniform have done an outstanding and admirable job. I would vote for this motion to instruct if that is what we were doing. But I have got to tell my colleagues, a declaration of success in Yugoslavia by the media and the White House does not mean that victory was actually at hand. This charade in the Balkans has gone on long enough.

How can you call it victory when Milosevic is still in power? The agreement that they signed to end the bombing is an agreement that Milosevic would have signed before the bombing. How can you call it a victory when the reasons that we went to war are exactly the reasons why it cannot be called a victory. The President said that if we did nothing, there would be Kosovar Albanians destroyed and killed and refugees would flood the borders, there would be instability in the region, and that NATO's credibility would be undermined if we did nothing.

Take a look at it. Thousands of Kosovars were killed, refugees had lost their homes, they are coming back to burned-out homes and areas that are absolutely devastated. Instability is still in the region. In fact, I contend there is even more instability in the region because we now have a partitioned Kosovo, including Russian troops reintroduced into Yugoslavia, something that we have been afraid of ever since World War II. And NATO's credibility has been undermined. NATO for the first time in the history of NATO changed its mission from being a defensive organization to being an organization that bombs and invades sovereign nations. I contend that their credibility is seriously undermined. On top of all that, our relationships with Russia and our relationships with China and many other countries in the region have been seriously undermined.

That is a victory? Was it worth it? Was it worth it to bomb? Was it worth it to devastate and suck the very strength out of our defenses so that the fact that we had to move an entire aircraft carrier task force out of the Pacific and leave our troops in Korea at risk and move it to the Adriatic Sea? Was it worth it to take our stockpile of cruise missiles and reduce them from 1,000 that we need for a two-theater war down to what some people say is less than 45 and we do not have a production line to build any more? Was it worth it to put the United States in one of the weakest positions that it has been in many, many a year in its ability to fight a two-theater war? I think not.

I do not think this House ought to be commanding a President for his leadership, particularly someone like Sandy Berger, Mr. Speaker, whom many people on both sides of the aisle have questioned his leadership, in a motion to instruct. I think this is a terrible mistake to bring this kind of debate to the floor of the House. But it is here and we have to debate it.

I reiterate, once again, that this body unanimously supports our troops and the job that they have done when asked to go. We have no question that they did the best, the job that they were trained to do, under very difficult circumstances. But for us to call this a victory and to commend the President of the United States as the Commander in Chief showing great leadership in Operation Allied Force is a farce.

Therefore, I am going to vote against the motion to instruct and hopefully we can bring a resolution to this floor commending our troops.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume. Let me take this opportunity to point out a bit of history, that I supported the efforts of our country regarding the Contras, that I supported President Bush's efforts, successful efforts against Saddam Hussein, that I supported this country and NATO's efforts against Mr. Milosevic. Omar Bradley, the famous Missourian, Second World War General, once said that "second place doesn't count on the battlefield." We were victorious, Mr. Speaker. Milosevic's troops, his presence is no longer in Kosovo. Was it worth it to take on Saddam Hussein? Certainly. It was well worth it to take on Milosevic. The killing has stopped. The NATO alliance has held together.

I might point out to this body that we are talking about section 1207, and in particular in response to the gentleman from Texas, I wish to read subsection 7 that says, "President Slobodan Milosevic will be held accountable for his actions while President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in initiating four armed conflicts," et cetera. Also section 8 says, "Bringing to justice through the International Criminal Tribunal of Yugoslavia individuals in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

That is what we are commanding, that is what we are instructing the conferees to adopt, among other items.

Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure that I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS).

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my friend for yielding me this time.

Three weeks ago, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia agreed to comply with NATO's demands to withdraw its forces from Kosovo, ending more than 80 days of hostility.

In bringing this conflict to a close, the United States and NATO brought an end to a Yugoslavian campaign of ethnic cleansing, rape and murder. It ended the flood of refugees fleeing Kosovo and gave hope to hundreds of thousands of men, women and children that they would soon be able to return to their homes.

More than 2 weeks ago, the Senate passed a resolution commending all those involved in our Nation's successful efforts in Kosovo. We had hoped that the leadership in the House would bring forth a similar bipartisan resolution commanding our troops and congratulating President Clinton and other administration officials for their leadership.

To date, they have refused to bring up such a resolution. For goodness sake, is the dislike so intense, the hatred so great of President Clinton that the Republican majority cannot bring themselves to commend our troops and congratulate the President for his lead-

ership? Listening to some of my colleagues on the floor this afternoon, I can only conclude that this is the case. These troops under the leadership of the President of the United States and the NATO officials stopped a modern day Holocaust from taking place in eastern Europe.

Mr. Speaker, we should overlook partisanship today and vote for the motion to instruct.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. METCALF).

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support and pride in our service personnel in this most difficult Kosovo situation. But I cannot vote for this motion. I can neither support nor condone this military bombing of Kosovo. Bombing is by definition an act of war which if I read the Constitution correctly must be supported by a vote of Congress. There was no such vote for a declaration of war. I am very reticent to allow any President to commit acts of war without such a declaration. The bombing probably killed 7,500 people and did an immense amount of damage. Now we will be asked to go in and repair it.

I think the Congress should notify the President that from now on, no money will be available for acts of war without a declaration of such by Congress. I believe the cost in billions of dollars now will be borrowed—we have not got the money to pay it—now will be borrowed from our children and grandchildren and they will pay interest on it the rest of their lives. I think this is atrocious.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. GEJDENSON).

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, I am impressed by the agility of the majority party. They come to the floor with incredible arguments on why we can never recognize a Clinton accomplishment.

The whip was in the well saying that, well, Clinton went to Yugoslavia and Milosevic was there before and he is still there now. Let me tell my colleagues, when the Democrats were in control, George Bush went to Iraq. After the Bush administration told Saddam Hussein, "Oh, you can take a little bit of Iraq, we don't get involved in Arab land disputes," and then President Bush, with a majority of Congress, went to Iraq and Democrats and Republicans alike commended the President for a job well done, those who voted for the war and those who did not.

□ 1530

This Congress, on the majority side, cannot find it in its nature to recognize even one act the President may achieve that is successful, stopping a slaughter similar to the ones that led to World War II. Every argument; we have hit buildings, we have caused damage, as if the thousands of people killed by Milosevic were irrelevant. The President deserves no credit.

How many speeches did we hear on the other side that bombing would never work? We have never been able to achieve a goal through bombing day after day on the floor. We achieved our goal. We have rid Kosovo of Mr. Milosevic and his murderers. We are in the process of trying to establish a peaceful society where people can live civilly together. It will not be easy.

But just as Mr. Milosevic is still in control, so is Saddam Hussein still in control. Our goals were never the removal simply of these presidents. God knows we all hope that Mr. Milosevic and Mr. Saddam Hussein are tried as war criminals. But to come to this floor under almost any excuse because God forbid they should ever say a good word about what President Clinton did; he had the courage to lead the West, to keep NATO united and to succeed in stopping murder on our watch.

First the argument was we could not succeed, second the argument was the danger was too great. The only loss of life was not in combat, as sad as that was. I believe two pilots died in a helicopter crash.

This President succeeded to lead a successful policy, and this Congress had a chance to vote, and there was one day here where somebody described it better than I can. Congress voted. They decided not to go back, not to go forward, and by an even vote, I think of 213 to 213, did not even vote to support what we were doing.

Now after the fact take your partisan hate aside for one moment. Recognize our troops and our Commander in Chief. They politicize the foreign policy of this country I believe more than it has ever been politicized. We always had the courage to come down here, and if we were wrong initially, we stood up and commended Reagan or Bush or whatever Republican President was here. Have the guts to do the same.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON).

(Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend and chairman for yielding this time to me, and I rise with a great deal of disappointment. I have the highest respect for my good friend from Missouri. I think he is a great American. I have acknowledged that publicly on a regular and consistent basis.

I would join with him in a heartbeat if this were a resolution honoring our troops, and the gentleman knows if that were the case, that resolution would pass this body 435 to zip with no dissenters. But if we took the resolution and if we want to honor the President, which is evidently what some on the other side want to do, then let us have that vote. Take out the troops and just honor the President for his role. I would say this to my colleagues: That would not pass this body. That resolution would not pass this body.

So what do we have here? We have a resolution where we are using the patriotic troops as the cover, as the cover to allow a Commander in Chief with a policy that is being questioned by Members on both sides of the aisle in this body to be able to have him say that we praised him for his actions.

If my colleagues want to have the vote on supporting the President's actions, then have the guts to have that vote separately. Have their up or down vote. Let us see how and whether Congress comes out in terms of whether or not they agree that this President did a good job. Let us have that debate. Let us talk about the fact that our relations with Russia and China have never been worse in this decade. Let us talk about the fact that we are driving the Duma election this December into the hands of the ultra nationalists because of our deliberate policy of not involving the Russians for the first 3 weeks, and if a Member challenges me, I will show them a confidential internal State Department memorandum that outlines that because I have it.

This debate is not about honoring our troops, and it is unfortunate because those on the other side know they boxed the Members on this side, Members who want to display their patriotism and their thanks for America's sons and daughters for the job they did. But as the President did when he used the military and paraded them down the White House lawn for that photo op, as the President did when he stood on the deck of an aircraft carrier and talked about his commitment for our military while cutting the budget to an unprecedented level, we are again going to give this President cover.

We are going to let him hide behind the skirts of the women who served in the military in combat and did the service for this because we are going to let him hide behind the uniforms of our military personnel to get a victory based on the military so he can tell the fact that Congress is supportive of what he did.

I have never been more sick in the 13 years that I have been here that we would have to have a vote where we use our military to give cover to a policy that should be openly debated, and if Members want to debate support for the President's policy, I would say to my colleague make that the motion to instruct conferees, make it be on the administration and the policy, but do not use the troops as political pawns. All of us praise our troops, but Democrats and Republicans alike express grave concerns about what we have done here.

We caused the worst humanitarian crisis in the history of Europe in helping to push a million people out into the hinterlands, and now we are not going to have a chance to say that. All we are going to do is say because it has a paragraph that praises the President, all of us then must be behind what he did.

What a crock of my colleagues know what.

This is a very sad day in the history of this body.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from North Dakota (Mr. POMEROY).

Mr. POMEROY. Mr. Speaker, this is a very dysfunctional Chamber. Blind partisan hatred infuses it seems like all issues, even something as we look back at a successful completion of a military conflict, an end of a series of atrocities against a people too horrible to fully contemplate.

The preceding speaker is 100 percent incorrect in suggesting that this conflict created the humanitarian catastrophe unleashed by Slobodan Milosevic. The American people know what happened. The military action under the leadership of the President ended this humanitarian crisis and stopped the slaughter of a people. We ought to be proud as Americans for the role played by our military, the role played by our troops, the role played by our leaders, including President Clinton, and it might be tough in light of this partisan period that we are in to say so, but nothing less is deserved.

The President provided leadership when leadership was needed, and the military conflict has been successfully concluded.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 additional minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. CUNNINGHAM).

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, where do we have to go from here? First of all, NATO nations have got to upgrade their own military so that we do not have to fly 85 percent of all the sorties and drop 90 percent of the bombs in the future. We cannot afford it, to take the lead in all of these. Tudjman's ethnic cleansing is 750,000 out of Croatia, is a war criminal, should be attacked. Izetbegovic according to the Mujahedeen and Hamas should be a war criminal right along with Milosevic.

A supplemental check, our next supplemental, should be a check from NATO paying for our fair share. We are supposed to pay for 15 percent, not an 80 percent of a war that happened. When we talk about 300,000 Albanians and Yugoslavs that live peacefully, how about the 200,000 Serbs that are now evacuated. My colleagues do not think that those men, women, and children are innocent victims, that we have a great victory on our hands and we ought to take care and have as much compassion for them as well.

Efforts to repay and the relationship with Russia has got to be a priority. Now Russia, in my opinion, is our enemy, but we have made great gains with Russia, and unless we continue in that direction, then all is lost. I think we need to take a look at the Progressive Caucus in this House listed under the web page: Democrats Socialists for America, and their last of their 12 point agenda is to cut defense by 50 percent should remove that from their agenda because it does disservice to our men and women in military and

disservice to the national security of this country.

We need to take a look at how we are going to conduct ourselves in these wars, and when the gentlemen say this is partisan; no, there is a disagreement on what victory is and that we should not have been there in the first place. Not partisan, but a fact that we should not have been there in the first place and expend the resources of this country when there was only 2,000 people killed and we killed over 7,500.

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

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

Mr. DAVIS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the motion to instruct conferees. This is not a vote of a popularity contest with respect to the President. This is a vote to recognize the achievement of goals.

We had several debates on the floor of this House. We had disagreement as to those goals. But ultimately we as a country, acted in furtherance of goals, and we achieved those. Why did we achieve those goals? Because we had our best men and women in the country here in the field giving their very best efforts, and by the grace of God we prevailed.

Were mistakes made? Of course there were. Were lessons learned? Absolutely. An important part of our job is to think about what lessons were learned. But we did achieve those goals, and I do not think anybody can stand here today and say that everybody did not give it their best effort.

So let us come together as a country through this Congress. Let us recognize that we achieved those goals. Let us be thankful we succeeded. Let us learn our lessons from Kosovo and let us put this behind us and recognize our troops and everybody who played a part in the mission.

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

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I read the resolution. It starts out commending the troops, and of course that is the most important thing that we can do. I think we should all be involved in that. It then goes on to commend Secretary Albright and the President of the United States in this operation.

Mr. Speaker, I voted for the air war. I voted to support the operation even though it was a retroactive vote that was placed before us. But I am not going to vote to support the President's leadership, and I am not going to vote, make that vote, for partisan reasons. I am going to vote because of the President's leadership and because of his treatment of the military.

Now let us review the facts:

Today we have shorted our military people \$13 billion worth of ammunition. That is all the way from cruise missiles to M16 bullets. That means, if we have

to go to war tomorrow because this administration has pulled money out of the cash register that was meant for bullets and used it for peacekeeping operations, we are going to have people die because they run out of bullets.

Today we are 13½ percent below the civilian pay rate for our military. That means that we have 10,000 military families on food stamps. That is a direct result of the President's leadership or lack thereof. If my colleagues think the President has paid our men and women in the military adequately, then vote for this resolution. But I am not going to do that. Today our mission-capable rates have dropped like a rock for lack of spare parts, and that is because the President has not put enough money in the military budget for spares, for aircraft and the Army, the Navy, the Marine Corps and the Air Force. I am not going to commend the President for that.

So, Mr. Speaker, if the President wants to really do something that thanks our military families for their valiant effort in this war, I suggest that he pay them, increase their pay to the full 13 percent like President Reagan did when he came in and closed that 12.6 percent pay gap, and I recommend that he supply adequate ammunition so that they can fight wars without running out of ammunition, and I recommend that he comes forward with all the spares and the modernization that is required to keep 55 airplanes a year from falling out of the sky and crashing, resulting in 55 deaths in peacetime operations like we had last year.

□ 1545

This President has hollowed out the military. If he was a Republican, I would say exactly the same thing.

We have some fault, I think, Mr. Speaker, because we have allowed ourselves as a Congress to be finessed by this administration and not to come back with all the requirements our military really needs.

I recommended a \$28 billion emergency supplemental because that is what the services said they needed, and yet when we even tried to get above \$6 billion and finally got to \$12 billion, the President resisted that mightily.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MARKEY).

Mr. MARKEY. Mr. Speaker, when George Bush came to this Chamber after a successful campaign in destroying the designs which Saddam Hussein had on Kuwait, he came to this Chamber and we rose as one, not Democrat, not Republican, not liberal, not conservative. We stood to praise our Commander-in-chief.

We did not say, Mr. President, how could April Glasbie, your ambassador to Iraq, have told those people we would have no protest if you had designs on Kuwait? Which she did.

We could have said, Mr. President, how could you have not detected the

gas centrifuge technology that he was using for nuclear weapons?

How could you have voted to condemn Israel in the U.N. for bombing the Osirak nuclear power plant?

How could you have not killed the Red Guard when you had a chance? How could you have not wiped out Saddam Hussein when you had a chance?

We did not do that. We praised George Bush, after a successful military campaign, as our Commander-in-Chief. The majority in this House should be ashamed. They continue this pathology of bitter hatred of the President at the expense of our country.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON).

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I thank my distinguished chairman, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE), for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I say to my colleague and friend, I agree with him. Let us have the question on whether or not we support this President.

Mr. MARKEY. No.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. That is what you just said.

Mr. MARKEY. No.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. You just said in your statement, and I will take your words down if you want to repeat them, that we voted on whether or not to support the policies of President Bush.

What I am saying and what my colleagues are saying, let us have that debate. Let us have a real amendment, not a phony amendment, where we have the President's policies hidden behind the skirts and the uniforms of the men and women in this military.

Mr. MARKEY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. No, I will not yield.

Mr. MARKEY. You are over the line.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Regular order, Mr. Speaker.

The gentleman knows full well, as all of our colleagues on the other side know, if there is a freestanding amendment on supporting the troops, it will pass 435 to 0. If there is a freestanding motion to recommit or motion to instruct that only supports the President, they could not get the votes. You could not get the votes.

Let us have that vote. Let us have the vote you want. Let us have the policy decision that you have asked for, but you will not give it to us.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Ms. DELAURO).

Ms. DELAURO. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the motion to instruct the conferees, yes, to command the President of the United States, our Commander-in-Chief, and our troops, for the success of the air war over Yugoslavia.

I say shame on those who do not want to honor our troops or to honor our Commander-in-Chief. If we may recall in this body, some of these are the

same people, indeed, who refused to authorize the air strikes in Yugoslavia when our young men and women were, in fact, flying through enemy fire.

What is also interesting to note is over the last 2 weeks, the House Democratic leadership have urged a similar kind of an effort to have a bipartisan resolution in the same way that the other body did, and they have been turned down at every single turn, in order to do this in a bipartisan way.

If we are serious about what we are doing here today, we need in fact to say, thanks, and commend the Commander-in-Chief of this United States for his leadership and his efforts to honor the valor of the young men and women who fought so bravely so that in fact, yes, we can stand here today and talk to the people of the United States. That is what both of them did for us.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). The gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE) has 3 minutes remaining, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) has 1 minute remaining, and the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) has the right to close.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. KUYKENDALL), a Marine veteran and the father of an F-14 female pilot.

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, we in this country did not recognize the service of those that fought the war that I was part of. We did a terrific job recognizing the young men and women we sent to the Persian Gulf.

I will stand foursquare in front of anybody to praise the young men and women in this military force we have in the field today. They are asked to do more with less, more frequently, than any force we have had in our recent history that I am aware of.

I live that from my past experience. I live it from my current experience with a daughter that is involved in those kinds of conflicts.

I find it distasteful, in order to stand up, and want to praise the civilian leadership, which is actually their praise comes by being elected to those jobs and being approved by us to hold those positions as secretaries of defense or other elected leadership that are civilian. And I am happy to sign on any motion to praise everyone from General Shelton and General Clark, whether I agreed or disagreed with how they managed that war on down, because they put themselves in the position of putting young people in harm's way. The civilian leadership is not the one where that praise needs to be. It needs to be to the people who were doing the job, the people who were there and had their lives at risk and had their families torn apart because of those deployments.

I very much want to praise them, and I do every time I see some of them, and I will continue to do that because the times that I and my counterparts lived

through in the 1960s and 1970s should never come back to this country again, because they do so willingly when they step forward to carry that banner for us.

I would not be in favor of this. I guess I cannot get myself to the inflamed pitch of some of my opponents or some of my colleagues, but the feeling is just as heartfelt. These young men and women are the finest we have, and they deserve our praise, and that is who we should be praising specifically and no one else in this.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California (Mr. HUNTER) is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE) for yielding the balance of his time.

Mr. Speaker, let me just say to my colleagues, if this President will close the \$13 billion ammunition shortage and supply adequate ammunition to our troops, I will personally join with the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) in offering any type of a resolution to thank the President for doing that and say that he is doing a good job.

If he will take the 10,000 service people off of food stamps and close that 13½ percent pay disparity between the civilian sector and the military sector, I will join with the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) in saying the President is doing a good job in leading the military.

The President right now is not doing a good job in leading the military. He is willing to do anything to thank them except pay them and arm them, and I am going to vote no on this resolution.

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

Mr. Speaker, there is an old saying that a rose by any other name is still a rose, and I say, Mr. Speaker, today that victory by any other name is still a victory.

We won this for a number of reasons; the troops. Representing the Fourth District of Missouri, I feel compelled to compliment the 509th Bomb Wing of the United States Air Force led by Brigadier General Leroy Barnidge, for the magnificent job that they did.

They, and many others, won by the air war; and also but for the Army and what they did, their presence, the Navy and what they did and its flying missions, all of them did a good job.

I think we are losing sight of what this instruction is. We all voted on this amendment. It passed the House unanimously. So I say let us vote on the instruction. The other arguments are side issues. A victory is a victory, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. BLAGOJEVICH. Mr. Speaker, I cannot vote against this resolution because I support our troops. Our Nation is forever indebted to our service men and women, and they de-

serve our praise for doing the job we sent them to do in Yugoslavia.

But there are other aspects to this resolution that I find troubling. I can't help but think that the agreement signed to end this conflict could have been signed before the conflict began, avoiding significant suffering and loss of life on all sides.

Having visited refugee camps in Albania and Macedonia, and having traveled to Yugoslavia during the N.A.T.O. bombing, I have seen first-hand the suffering of innocent people. Ethnic cleansing is evil, and we are right to oppose it. But I cannot in good conscience deny my belief that this conflict and the refugee crisis could have been avoided but for the failure of our diplomatic efforts and our lack of foresight in anticipating events.

Mr. Speaker, with all the suffering that has taken place, this is time for solemn reflection, not celebration.

Ms. DELAURO. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the motion to instruct conferees to commend the President and our troops for the success of the air war over Yugoslavia.

By passing this amendment, we reaffirm Congress' support for our men and women in the armed forces who carried out this vital mission, and for their efforts to bring justice to a devastated region and send an important message to Milosevic that his savage campaign of ethnic cleansing will not be tolerated.

27 Reservists from the 103rd Air Control Squadron in Orange—part of my District in Connecticut—volunteered to join our troops supporting the NATO effort in Kosovo. I am proud of the dedication and bravery of these men and women, and honored to have the opportunity to commend them for the sacrifice they made to protect our nation and the values it represents.

We must let our forces know of our prayers and our gratitude for their efforts to counter aggression, end the misery, and foster peace. Support the Motion to Instruct.

Mr. HAYES. Mr. Speaker, our airmen and soldiers deployed to Kosovo executed their mission, albeit unclear, with swiftness and precision. Thanks to them and the rigorous training they undertake daily, the crisis in Kosovo is over. For this I, my colleagues, the American people, and the ethnic Albanian of Kosovo are grateful, and as a member of the Armed Services Committee, I'm proud to take any opportunity to thank and honor them.

I cannot, however, support a motion that commends this Administration for its role in the Kosovo conflict. How can we praise the Administration for a mission that was never defined, an exit strategy that was never communicated, and a failure to consult the Congress of the United States? While I am glad that the violence in Kosovo has ceased, I remain critical of the means which brought about the end. And quite frankly, I believe the President should feel fortunate that we appear to have at least temporarily resolved the conflict.

Mr. Speaker, the Administration never presented the Congress and the American people with a clear outline of our goals in Kosovo. More importantly, never were we provided with the leadership that the people of our nation and of the entire free world have come to expect from the United States.

Fortunately, our fighting forces prevailed and proved, once again, that they are the finest in the world. But to suggest that they ended the conflict in Kosovo because they

Filner	Lewis (KY)
Fletcher	Linder
Foley	LoBiondo
Forbes	Lofgren
Ford	Lowey
Fowler	Lucas (KY)
Frank (MA)	Lucas (OK)
Frelinghuysen	Luther
Frost	Maloney (CT)
Galllegly	Maloney (NY)
Ganske	Manzullo
Gejdenson	Markey
Gekas	Martinez
Gephhardt	Mascara
Gilchrest	Matsui
Gillmor	McCarthy (MO)
Gilman	McCarthy (NY)
Gonzalez	McCullum
Goode	McCrary
Goodlatte	McDermott
Goodling	McGovern
Gordon	McHugh
Goss	McInnis
Graham	McIntosh
Granger	McIntyre
Green (WI)	McKeon
Greenwood	McNulty
Gutierrez	Meehan
Gutknecht	Meeks (FL)
Hall (OH)	Meeks (NY)
Hall (TX)	Menendez
Hansen	Metcalf
Hastings (FL)	Mica
Hastings (WA)	Millender
Hayes	McDonald
Hayworth	Miller (FL)
Hefley	Miller, Gary
Herger	Miller, George
Hill (IN)	Minge
Hill (MT)	Mink
Hilleary	Moakley
Hilliard	Mollohan
Hinchey	Moore
Hinojosa	Moran (KS)
Hobson	Moran (VA)
Hoefel	Morella
Hoekstra	Murtha
Holden	Myrick
Holt	Nadler
Hooley	Napolitano
Horn	Neal
Hostettler	Nethercutt
Houghton	Ney
Hoyer	Northup
Hulshof	Norwood
Hunter	Nussle
Hutchinson	Obey
Hyde	Olver
Inslee	Ortiz
Isakson	Ose
Istook	Oxley
Jackson (IL)	Packard
Jackson-Lee (TX)	Pallone
Jefferson	Pascarella
Jenkins	Pastor
John	Paul
Johnson (CT)	Payne
Johnson, E. B.	Pease
Johnson, Sam	Pelosi
Jones (NC)	Peterson (MN)
Jones (OH)	Peterson (PA)
Kanjorski	Phelps
Kaptur	Pickering
Kasich	Pickett
Kelly	Pitts
Kennedy	Pombo
Kildee	Pomeroy
Kilpatrick	Porter
Kind (WI)	Portman
King (NY)	Price (NC)
Kingston	Pryce (OH)
Kleckza	Quinn
Klink	Radanovich
Knollenberg	Rahall
Colbe	Ramstad
Kuykendall	Rangel
LaFalce	Regula
LaHood	Reyes
Lampson	Reynolds
Lantos	Riley
Largent	Rivers
Latham	Rodriguez
LaTourette	Roemer
Lazio	Rogan
Leach	Rogers
Levin	Rohrabacher
Lewis (CA)	Ros-Lehtinen
Lewis (GA)	Rothman

ROUKEMA

Roybal-Allard

Royce

Rush

Ryan (WI)

Ryun (KS)

Sabo

Sanchez

Sanders

Sandlin

Sanford

Sawyer

Saxton

Scarborough

Schaffer

Schakowsky

Scott

Sensenbrenner

Serrano

Sessions

Shadegg

Shaw

Shays

Sherman

Sherwood

Shimkus

Shows

Shuster

Simpson

Sisisky

Skeen

Skelton

Slaughter

Smith (NJ)

Smith (TX)

Smith (WA)

Snyder

Spence

Spratt

Stabenow

Stearns

Stenholm

Strickland

Stump

Stupak

Sununu

Sweeney

Talent

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Tanner

Tauscher

Tauzin

Taylor (MS)

Taylor (NC)

Terry

Thomas

Thompson (CA)

Thompson (MS)

Vento

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Weller

Wexler

Weygand

Whitfield

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Wilson

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Young (AK)

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NAYS—9

Blumenauer	Lee	Owens
DeFazio	McKinney	Stark
Kucinich	Oberstar	Watt (NC)

NOT VOTING—12

□ 1626

So the motion 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. LARSON. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 267, a motion to close portions of D.O.D. authorization conference, I was out of the Chamber on legislative business. Had I been present, I would have voted "Yea."

(Mr. ARMEY asked and was given permission to speak out of order for 1 minute.)

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to announce to my colleagues that, pending completion of today's legislative business, we will be adjourning for the Independence Day District Work period. Members will be happy to know that the House will, therefore, not be in session tomorrow. Please be advised that we expect votes to run late into the evening. By completing our work tonight, Members will be able to return home a day sooner than expected.

Mr. Speaker, I would furthermore like to notify Members that we will be returning on Monday, July 12 at 12:30 p.m. for morning hour debates. We will begin legislative business at 2 p.m., with no votes expected until 6 p.m. There will be an official Whip notice distributed to Members' offices next week outlining the legislative agenda.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the Chair appoints the following conferees:

From the Committee on Armed Services, for consideration of the Senate bill and the House amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Messrs. SPENCE, STUMP, HUNTER, BATEMAN, HANSEN, WELDON of Pennsylvania, HEFLEY, SAXTON, BUYER, Mrs. FOWLER, Messrs. MCHUGH, TALENT, EVERETT, BARTLETT of Maryland, MCKEON, WATTS of Oklahoma, THORNBERY, HOSTETTLER, CHAMBLISS, HILLEARY, SKELTON, SISISKY, SPRATT, ORTIZ, PICKETT, EVANS, TAYLOR of Mississippi, ABERCROMBIE, MEEHAN, UNDERWOOD, REYES, TURNER, Ms. SANCHEZ, Mrs. TAUSCHER, Mr. ANDREWS and Mr. LARSON;

From the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, for consideration of the matters within the jurisdiction of that committee under clause 11 of rule X: Messrs. GOSS, LEWIS of California, and DIXON;

From the Committee on Banking and Financial Services, for consideration of section 1059 of the Senate bill and section 1409 of the House bill, and modifications committed to conference:

Messrs. MCCOLLUM, BACHUS, and LA-FALCE;

From the Committee on Commerce, for consideration of sections 326, 601, 602, 1049, 1050, 3151–53, 3155–65, 3173, 3175, 3176–78 of the Senate bill, and sections 601, 602, 653, 3161, 3162, 3165, 3167, 3184, 3186, 3188, 3189, and 3191 of the House amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Messrs. BLILEY, BARTON of Texas, and DINGELL;

Provided that Mr. BILIRAKIS is appointed in lieu of Mr. BARTON of Texas for consideration of sections 326, 601, and 602 of the Senate bill, and sections 601, 602, and 653 of the House amendment, and modifications committed to conference.

Provided that Mr. TAUZIN appointed in lieu of Mr. BARTON of Texas for consideration of sections 1049 and 1050 of the Senate bill, and modifications committed to conference.

From the Committee on Education and the Workforce, for consideration of sections 579 and 698 of the Senate bill, and sections 341, 343, 549, 567, and 673 of the House amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Messrs. GOODLING, DEAL of Georgia, and Mrs. MINK of Hawaii.

□ 1630

From the Committee on Government Reform, for consideration of sections 538, 652, 654, 805–810, 1004, 1052–54, 1080, 1101–1107, 2831, 2862, 3160, 3161, 3163, and 3173 of the Senate bill, and sections 522, 524, 525, 661–64, 672, 802, 1101–05, 2802, and 3162 of the House amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Messrs. BURTON of Indiana, SCARBOROUGH and CUMMINGS;

Provided that Mr. HORN is appointed in lieu of Mr. SCARBOROUGH for consideration of sections 538, 805–810, 1052–1054, 1080, 2831, 2862, 3160, and 3161 of the Senate bill and sections 802 and 2802 of the House amendment.

From the Committee on International Relations, for consideration of sections 1013, 1043, 1044, 1046, 1066, 1071, 1072, and 1083 of the Senate bill, and sections 1202, 1206, 1301–1307, and 1404, 1407, 1408, 1411, and 1413 of the House amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Messrs. GILMAN, BEREUTER, and GEJDENSON.

From the Committee on the Judiciary, for consideration of sections 3156 and 3163 of the Senate bill and sections 3166 and 3194 of the House amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Messrs. HYDE, MCCOLLUM and CONYERS.

From the Committee on Resources, for consideration of sections 601, 602, 695, 2833, and 2861 of the Senate bill, and sections 365, 601, 602, 653, 654, and 2863 of the House amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Messrs. YOUNG of Alaska, TAUZIN and GEORGE MILLER of California.

From the Committee on Science, for consideration of sections 1049, 3151–53, and 3155–65 of the Senate bill, and sections 3167, 3170, 3184, 3188–90, and 3191 of the House amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Messrs.

SENSENBRENNER, CALVERT and COSTELLO.

From the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, for consideration of sections 601, 602, 1060, 1079, and 1080 of the Senate bill, and sections 361, 601, 602, and 3404 of the House amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Messrs. SHUSTER, GILCHREST and DEFazio.

From the Committee on Veterans Affairs, for consideration of sections 671-75, 681, 682, 696, 697, 1062, and 1066 of the Senate bill, and modifications committed to conference: Messrs. BILIRAKIS, QUINN and FILNER.

There was no objection.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEE ON RULES REGARDING AMENDMENT PROCESS FOR H.R. 434, AFRICA GROWTH AND OPPORTUNITY ACT; AND H.R. 1211, FOREIGN RELATIONS AUTHORIZATION ACT, FISCAL YEARS 2000 AND 2001

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Rules is expected to meet the week of July 12 to grant a rule which may limit amendments for consideration of H.R. 434, the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act. The Committee on Rules is also expected to meet the week of July 12 to grant a rule which may limit amendments for consideration of H.R. 1211, the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 2000 and 2001.

Any Member contemplating an amendment to H.R. 434 should submit 55 copies of the amendment and a brief explanation of the amendment to the Committee on Rules no later than noon, Tuesday, July 13. Amendments should be drafted to the text of the bill as reported by the Committee on Ways and Means on June 17.

Any Member contemplating an amendment to H.R. 1211 should also submit 55 copies of the amendment and a brief explanation of the amendment to us up in the Committee on Rules no later than 4 p.m. on Tuesday, July 13.

For those who are not aware of it, the Committee on Rules is located in room H-312 in the Capitol. That is right upstairs.

Amendments should be drafted to the text of H.R. 2415, the American Embassy Security Act of 1999, as introduced by the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) and the gentlewoman from Georgia (Ms. MCKINNEY) on July 1, 1999.

Members should use the Office of Legislative Counsel to ensure that their amendments are properly drafted and should check with the Office of the Parliamentarian to be certain their amendments comply with the rules of the House.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS TO HAVE UNTIL FRIDAY, JULY 9, 1999, TO FILE PRIVILEGED REPORT ON A BILL MAKING APPROPRIATIONS FOR DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR AND RELATED AGENCIES FOR FISCAL YEAR 2000

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Appropriations may have until Friday, July 9, 1999, to file a privileged report on a bill making appropriations for the Department of Interior and related agencies for the fiscal year 2000, and for other purposes.

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

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All points of order are reserved on the bill.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS TO HAVE UNTIL FRIDAY, JULY 9, 1999, TO FILE PRIVILEGED REPORT ON A BILL MAKING APPROPRIATIONS FOR MILITARY CONSTRUCTION, FAMILY HOUSING, AND BASE REALIGNMENT AND CLOSURE FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE FOR FISCAL YEAR 2000

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Appropriations may have until Friday, July 9, 1999 to file a privileged report on a bill making appropriations for military construction, family housing, and base realignment and closure for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year 2000, and for other purposes.

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

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All points of order are reserved on the bill.

APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES ON H.R. 1905, LEGISLATIVE BRANCH APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2000

Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 1905) making appropriations for the Legislative Branch for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2000, and for other purposes, with Senate amendments thereto, disagree to the Senate amendments, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina? The Chair hears none and, without objection, appoints the following conferees: Messrs. TAYLOR of North Carolina, WAMP, LEWIS of California, Ms. GRANGER, and Messrs. PETERSON of Pennsylvania, YOUNG of Florida, PASTOR, MURTHA, HOYER and OBEY.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All points of order are reserved on the bill.

FINANCIAL SERVICES ACT OF 1999

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). Pursuant to House Resolution 235 and rule XVIII, the Chair declares the House in the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill, H.R. 10.

□ 1638

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 10) to enhance competition in the financial services industry by providing a prudential framework for the affiliation of banks, securities firms, and other financial service providers, and for other purposes, with Mrs. EMERSON in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to the rule, the bill is considered as having been read the first time.

Under the rule, the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. LEACH), the gentleman from New York (Mr. LAFALCE), the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. BLILEY), and the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DINGELL) each will control 2½ minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. LEACH).

Mr. LEACH. Madam Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

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

Madam Chairman, I realize that feelings are imperfect with relation to the rule debate. For all the frustration on the minority side, it is more than matched by this Member whose advice was disregarded by the Rules Committee on key amendments. Nonetheless the big picture is that this is a good bill, good for individual citizens and the economy at large. I ask all my colleagues to vote on the quality of the end product, not the process of consideration which I acknowledge has been imperfect.

In this regard, let me stress that the big picture is that financial modernization legislation will save the public approximately \$15 billion a year. It will provide increased services to individuals and firms, particularly those in less comprehensively served parts of the country. It will also allow U.S. financial companies to compete more fully abroad.

The economy on a global basis is changing and we must be prepared to lead market developments, rather than lose market share. In this effort, the fundamental precept of the bill is to end the arbitrary constraints on commerce implicit in the 65-year-old Glass-Steagall law. Competition is the American way and enhanced competition is the underlying precept of this bill.

In this regard, I'd like to address the issues of bigness and of privacy. With regard to conglomeration which is proceeding at a pace with which I am