

world, including forced abortion, sterilization, execution, rape against its own people.

Who is our biggest national threat? A nation the size of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, with a population of 11 million and an active military of 114,000 and 400,000 reserves or a country the size of the United States, with a population of 1.2 billion and an active military of 2.8 million with 1.2 million in reserve under communist control with a nuclear and chemical arsenal that sells weapons technology to rogue nations at odds with the United States?

Civil wars and human rights atrocities are occurring all over the world. According to the 1998 world refugee survey, there are over 3.5 million refugees and asylum seekers worldwide, including 2.9 million in Africa, 5.7 million in the Middle East, 2.2 million in South Central and East Asia and the Pacific.

Let us get back to the question of why Kosovo and not elsewhere is important. In Sudan alone there are 4 million internally displaced persons and over 350,000 refugees. In just the last decade over 1.9 million people in Sudan have died due to war-related causes and famine. In 1998, 2.6 million Sudanese were at risk of starvation due to civil war, drought and government restrictions on relief flights. Why are not we bombing the Sudanese Government and sending in ground troops?

Afghanistan has over 2.6 million refugees and between 1 million and 1.5 million internally displaced persons. Today the extremist Afghan Taliban government discriminates and completely controls the life of half its population. Women are forbidden to work outside the home and from attending school, may not ride in vehicles unless accompanied by a male relative and are denied health care in many parts of the country. They have left over 2 million dead and 700,000 widows and orphans. Why are not we bombing Afghanistan and sending in ground troops?

What about Angola, Colombia and Sierra Leone? And the list goes on and on and on.

Clearly, we must have a better foreign policy strategy than this. It is quite obvious that the administration does not have a well-thought-out policy regarding Kosovo. Through NATO, the administration seems to be running this war day to day without any master plan or exit strategy.

Despite efforts to keep our troops away from the Kosovo border, we now have three American POWs. To make matters worse, we are now hearing that the administration went against the advice of top Pentagon officials who determined early that we should not even be engaged in a bombing campaign in Yugoslavia.

It is unrealistic to believe that we can intervene for a few months, a year or 3 years and settle this conflict that has raged for centuries.

Four years ago, or 5, when the Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense

and the Joint Chiefs came before the Foreign Affairs Committee on which I served, I asked the question, you say you are going into Bosnia for a year? I know that you know the history and know that it all began in the 4th century with the fall of the Roman Empire and was exacerbated in the 10th century with the rise of the Ottoman Empire. What are you going to do in 1 year's time that they could not do in all of these centuries?

Of course, the answer is nothing. Four years, \$7 billion, 19,000 troops later, we are still there with the current ground force of 6,200.

I asked the same question when they went into Haiti, asking what is it you are going to do in a year that we did not do the ten times we went in before the last time, staying for 15 years? Of course, the answer is, we did not do anything, other than to spend a billion dollars and send 20,000 troops. We are still there.

There are those who would like to say that this is some comparison with Hitler. That is mixing oranges and apples.

Madam Speaker, I will continue this tomorrow evening.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. NORTHUP). Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Ms. NORTON addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

IF NATO HAS ITS WAY, ALBANIAN KOSOVARS WILL NOT REMAIN PART OF SERBIA

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

Mr. PAUL. Madam Speaker, the U.S.-NATO war against Serbia is illegal by all standards. Congress has not declared war. Therefore, the President has no authority to wage war. Attacking a sovereign nation violates longstanding international law as well as the NATO and U.N. charters.

NATO's aggression is immoral as well. It forces U.S. citizens and others in Europe opposed to the war to pay for it, and some are even forced to fight in it against their will. If the war expands, we can expect the return of the draft to make sure there are enough soldiers to participate.

As ugly as the Yugoslavian civil war may be in Kosovo, and as heart wrenching as the pictures of mass refugees fleeing their homeland is, one evil can never justify another. If one is disinclined to be persuaded by law and morality and responds only to emotions, propaganda and half-truths, then one must consider the practical failure of compulsive intervention in the affairs of other nations.

Prior to NATO's expanding the war in Yugoslavia, approximately 2,000 deaths in the past year were recorded in Kosovo. As a consequence of NATO's

actions, the killing has now escalated and no one can hardly be pleased just because now Serbs, our once-valiant allies against the Nazis, are dying. Those who are motivated by good intentions while ignoring facts cannot be excused for the escalating and dangerous crisis in Yugoslavia.

The humanitarian concerns for Albanian refugees is justified, but going to war because of emotional concerns while ignoring other millions of refugees around the world only stirs the passions of the oppressed, whether they are Kurds, Palestinians, Tibetans, East Timorans or Rwandans.

When NATO talks of returning Albanians to their homes in Kosovo, I wonder why there is no reference or concern for the more than 50,000 Serbs thrown out of their homes in Bosnia, Slovenia and Croatia. Current NATO policy in Yugoslavia will surely encourage more ethnic minorities around the world to revolt and demand independence.

Some in Congress are now saying that although they were strongly opposed to the administration's policy of bombing in Yugoslavia prior to its onset, conditions are now different and an all-out effort to win with ground troops, if necessary, must be undertaken. This, it is said, is required to preserve NATO's credibility.

Who cares about NATO's credibility? Are American lives to be lost and a greater war precipitated to preserve NATO's credibility? Should the rule of law and morality be thrown out in an effort to preserve NATO's credibility? Can something be wrong and misguided before it is started and all of a sudden deserve to be blindly supported?

This reasoning makes no sense.

No one has quite figured out the secret motivation of why this war must be fought, but I found it interesting that evidence of our weapons shortage is broadcast to the world and to the Serbs. Surely one result of the war will be a rapid rush by Congress this year to massively increase the military budget. But a serious discussion of our flawed foreign policy of intervention that has served us so poorly unfortunately will not occur.

Political leaders and pundits are struggling to define an exit strategy for the war. In the old days when wars were properly declared for national security reasons, no one needed to ask such a question. A moral war fought against an aggressor for national security reasons was over when it was won. It has only been since Congress has reneged on its responsibility with regards to war power that it has become necessary to discuss how we exit a war not legitimately entered into and without victory as a goal.

The political wars, fought without declaration, starting with the Korean War to the present, have not enhanced the long-term security and liberty of the American people. Institutionalizing a collective approach to war