

resume on a motion to suspend the rules and pass H.R. 1175 considered earlier today, and that will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 418, nays 4, not voting 12, as follows:

[Roll No. 245]

YEAS—418

Abercrombie	Davis (FL)	Hoekstra
Ackerman	Davis (IL)	Holden
Aderholt	Davis (VA)	Holt
Allen	Deal	Horn
Andrews	DeGette	Hostettler
Archer	Delahunt	Houghton
Armey	DeLauro	Hoyer
Bachus	DeLay	Hulshof
Baird	DeMint	Hunter
Baker	Deutsch	Hutchinson
Baldacci	Diaz-Balart	Hyde
Baldwin	Dickey	Inslee
Ballenger	Dicks	Isakson
Barcia	Dingell	Istook
Barr	Dixon	Jackson (IL)
Barrett (NE)	Doggett	Jackson-Lee
Barrett (WI)	Dooley	(TX)
Bartlett	Doolittle	Jefferson
Barton	Doyle	Jenkins
Bass	Dreier	John
Bateman	Duncan	Johnson (CT)
Becerra	Dunn	Johnson, E.B.
Bentsen	Edwards	Johnson, Sam
Bereuter	Ehlers	Jones (NC)
Berkley	Ehrlich	Jones (OH)
Berman	Emerson	Kanjorski
Berry	Engel	Kaptur
Biggert	English	Kelly
Bilirakis	Eshoo	Kennedy
Bishop	Etheridge	Kildee
Blagojevich	Evans	Kilpatrick
Bliley	Everett	Kind (WI)
Blumenauer	Ewing	King (NY)
Blunt	Farr	Kingston
Boehlert	Fattah	Kleczka
Boehner	Filner	Klink
Bonilla	Foley	Knollenberg
Bonior	Forbes	Kolbe
Bono	Ford	Kucinich
Borski	Fossella	Kuykendall
Boswell	Fowler	LaFalce
Boucher	Frank (MA)	LaHood
Boyd	Franks (NJ)	Lampson
Brady (PA)	Frelinghuysen	Lantos
Brady (TX)	Frost	Largent
Brown (FL)	Gallely	Larson
Brown (OH)	Ganske	Latham
Bryant	Gejdenson	LaTourette
Burr	Gekas	Lazio
Burton	Gephardt	Leach
Buyer	Gibbons	Lee
Callahan	Gillmor	Levin
Calvert	Gilman	Lewis (CA)
Camp	Gonzalez	Lewis (GA)
Campbell	Goode	Lewis (KY)
Canady	Goodlatte	Linder
Cannon	Goodling	Lipinski
Capps	Gordon	LoBiondo
Capuano	Goss	Lofgren
Cardin	Graham	Lowe
Carson	Granger	Lucas (KY)
Castle	Green (TX)	Lucas (OK)
Chabot	Green (WI)	Luther
Chambliss	Greenwood	Maloney (CT)
Clay	Gutierrez	Maloney (NY)
Clayton	Gutknecht	Manzullo
Clement	Hall (OH)	Markey
Clyburn	Hall (TX)	Martinez
Coble	Hansen	Mascara
Collins	Hastings (FL)	Matsui
Combest	Hastings (WA)	McCarthy (MO)
Condit	Hayes	McCarthy (NY)
Conyers	Hayworth	McCollum
Cook	Hefley	McCreery
Costello	Herger	McDermott
Cox	Hill (IN)	McGovern
Coyne	Hill (MT)	McHugh
Cramer	Hillery	McInnis
Crane	Hilliard	McIntosh
Crowley	Hinchee	McIntyre
Cubin	Hinojosa	McKeon
Cummings	Hobson	McKinney
Cunningham	Hoeffel	McNulty

Meehan	Rahall	Stark
Meek (FL)	Ramstad	Stearns
Meeks (NY)	Rangel	Stenholm
Menendez	Regula	Strickland
Metcalf	Reyes	Stump
Mica	Reynolds	Stupak
Millender-McDonald	Riley	Sununu
Miller (FL)	Rivers	Sweeney
Miller, Gary	Rodriguez	Talent
Miller, George	Roemer	Tancredo
Minge	Rogan	Tanner
Mink	Rogers	Tauscher
Moakley	Rohrabacher	Tauzin
Mollohan	Ros-Lehtinen	Taylor (MS)
Moore	Rothman	Taylor (NC)
Moran (KS)	Roukema	Terry
Moran (VA)	Roybal-Allard	Thompson (CA)
Morella	Royce	Thompson (MS)
Murtha	Rush	Thornberry
Myrick	Ryan (WI)	Thune
Nadler	Ryun (KS)	Thurman
Napolitano	Sabo	Tierney
Neal	Salmon	Toomey
Nethercutt	Sanchez	Towns
Ney	Sanders	Trafiacant
Northup	Sandlin	Turner
Norwood	Sawyer	Udall (CO)
Obenstar	Saxton	Udall (NM)
Oberstar	Scarborough	Upton
Obey	Schaffer	Velazquez
Ortiz	Schakowsky	Vento
Ose	Scott	Visclosky
Owens	Sensenbrenner	Vitter
Oxley	Serrano	Walden
Packard	Sessions	Walsh
Pallone	Shadegg	Wamp
Pascarella	Shaw	Waters
Pastor	Shays	Watkins
Payne	Sherman	Watt (NC)
Pease	Sherwood	Watts (OK)
Pelosi	Shimkus	Waxman
Peterson (MN)	Shows	Weiner
Peterson (PA)	Shuster	Weldon (FL)
Petri	Simpson	Weldon (PA)
Phelps	Sisisky	Weller
Pickering	Skeen	Wexler
Pickett	Skelton	Weygand
Pitts	Slaughter	Whitfield
Pombo	Smith (MI)	Wicker
Pomeroy	Smith (NJ)	Wilson
Porter	Smith (TX)	Wise
Portman	Smith (WA)	Wolf
Price (NC)	Snyder	Woolsey
Pryce (OH)	Souder	Wu
Quinn	Spence	Wynn
Radanovich	Spratt	Young (AK)
	Stabenow	Young (FL)

NAYS—4

NOT VOTING—12

□ 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	Carson	Foley
Ackerman	Castle	Forbes
Aderholt	Chabot	Ford
Allen	Chambliss	Fossella
Andrews	Chenoweth	Fowler
Army	Clay	Frank (MA)
Bachus	Clayton	Franks (NJ)
Baird	Clement	Frelinghuysen
Baker	Clyburn	Frost
Baldacci	Coble	Gallely
Baldwin	Coburn	Ganske
Ballenger	Combest	Gejdenson
Barcia	Condit	Gekas
Barrett (NE)	Conyers	Gephardt
Barrett (WI)	Cook	Gibbons
Bartlett	Costello	Gillmor
Barton	Cox	Gilman
Bass	Coyne	Gonzalez
Bateman	Cramer	Goode
Becerra	Crane	Goodlatte
Bentsen	Crowley	Goodling
Bereuter	Cubin	Gordon
Berkley	Cummings	Goss
Berman	Cunningham	Graham
Berry	Davis (FL)	Granger
Biggert	Davis (IL)	Green (TX)
Bilbray	Davis (VA)	Green (WI)
Bilirakis	DeGette	Greenwood
Bishop	Delahunt	Gutierrez
Blagojevich	DeLauro	Gutknecht
Bliley	DeLay	Hall (OH)
Blumenauer	DeMint	Hall (TX)
Blunt	Deutsch	Hansen
Boehlert	Diaz-Balart	Hastings (FL)
Boehner	Dickey	Hastings (WA)
Bonilla	Dicks	Hayes
Bonior	Dingell	Hayworth
Bono	Dixon	Hefley
Borski	Doggett	Herger
Boswell	Dooley	Hill (IN)
Boucher	Doolittle	Hill (MT)
Boyd	Doyle	Hillery
Brady (PA)	Dreier	Hilliard
Brady (TX)	Duncan	Hinchee
Brown (FL)	Dunn	Hinojosa
Brown (OH)	Edwards	Hobson
Bryant	Ehlers	Hoeffel
Burr	Ehrlich	Hoekstra
Burton	Emerson	Holden
Buyer	Engel	Holt
Callahan	English	Horn
Calvert	Eshoo	Hostettler
Camp	Etheridge	Houghton
Campbell	Evans	Hoyer
Canady	Everett	Hulshof
Cannon	Ewing	Hunter
Capps	Farr	Hutchinson
Capuano	Fattah	Hyde
Cardin	Filner	Inslee

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

□ 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 winning 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.

NAYS—5

Collins	Paul	Sununu
Deal	Rahall	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1

Barr

NOT VOTING—13

Archer	Fletcher	Phelps
Brown (CA)	Gilchrest	Pickett
Cooksey	Hookey	Tiahrt
Danner	Kasich	
DeFazio	Oliver	