

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	