

NAYS—33

Allard	Gorton	Murkowski
Ashcroft	Gramm	Nickles
Bennett	Grams	Roth
Bond	Gregg	Santorum
Brownback	Hagel	Sessions
Bunning	Helms	Shelby
Burns	Inhofe	Smith (NH)
Cochran	Kyl	Stevens
Craig	Lott	Thomas
Crapo	Mack	Thompson
Enzi	McConnell	Thurmond

NOT VOTING—1

Moynihan

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the motion was agreed to.

Mr. JEFFORDS. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the underlying motion to authorize the Chair to appoint conferees.

The motion was agreed to, and the Presiding Officer (Mr. SMITH of Oregon) appointed Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. NICKLES, Mr. GRAMM, Mr. GORTON, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. CONRAD, Mrs. BOXER and Mrs. MURRAY conferees on the part of the Senate.

Mr. VOINOVICH addressed the Chair. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. VOINOVICH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now proceed to a period for morning business, with Senators permitted to speak up to 10 minutes each.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE CRISIS IN KOSOVO

Mr. VOINOVICH. Mr. President, I rise today to vehemently oppose sending American ground forces into Kosovo and to demand that if the President contemplates sending in ground troops, that decision be deliberated and authorized by the Congress of the United States.

I am an American of Serbian-Slovenian ancestry. My father's family is from southern Croatia, which is known as Krijna, and my mother's family is from Ljubljana and Stranje in Slovenia.

I want to make it clear—I don't oppose sending ground troops into Kosovo because I am Serbian. I oppose it because it is bad policy. However, my ethnic heritage does give me a special insight into the situation that someone else might not have.

I have always opposed the leadership of Slobodan Milosevic. Like most Americans, I consider him to be a war criminal.

However, Mr. President, I was 1 of 41 Senators who voted against the bomb-

ing because I was concerned that this bombing would not achieve our end of bringing Slobodan Milosevic to the negotiating table as contemplated by the Clinton Administration and NATO.

These negotiations were designed to get Milosevic to sign the Rambouillet agreement or something very similar, thereby guaranteeing the basic human rights of the Albanian Kosovars and avoiding ethnic cleansing.

I also feared the bombing would only solidify Milosevic's leadership with the Serbian people and ruin any chance of cultivating alternative leadership within Serbia.

I have to say that our problem has not been with the Serbian people, but with their ruthless leader.

The main thing this bombing campaign has managed to do is fan the flames of centuries-old Serbian nationalism. Individuals who until the bombing campaign had little support for Milosevic and his activities in Kosovo, now firmly believe their national pride is at stake. They have thrown their support behind Milosevic and have expressed a willingness to follow his leadership and fight for their country.

It is extremely important to remember—this is very important—Kosovo is to the Serbian people what Jerusalem is to Jews, Christians and Muslims. To the Serbians, it is a holy place. It is the scene of the most important event in Serbian history—the battle of Kosovo in 1389 between the Turks and the Serbs, led by Tsar Lazar.

The battle of Kosovo has lived for centuries in Serbian literature. To this day, Serbian children sing songs and read epic poems celebrating this event.

The interesting thing about the battle of Kosovo is how outnumbered the Serbian people were—and they knew it. And even though they lost, it is considered a glorious defeat because they fought valiantly against overwhelming odds. To quote from the epic poem "The Battle of Kosovo":

Then the Turks overwhelmed Lazar, And the Tsar, Lazar, was destroyed, With him was destroyed his army of seven and seventy thousand soldiers. All was holy, all was honorable and the goodness of God was fulfilled.

History, pride and heritage are deeply-seeded in Serb culture. That's why it is significant that Milosevic started his rise to political power in Kosovo and probably the most important event in his political career was when he spoke to 1 million citizens on the 600th Anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo—at the very site of the battle! I want you to also know, Mr. President, the most sacred Serbian Orthodox monasteries are located in Kosovo.

Considering Serbian history, and where Milosevic started his career, American and NATO leaders should have known that Milosevic couldn't give in without losing face. Especially when he was told "either sign this or we'll bomb you". Unfortunately, the

Clinton administration presented Milosevic with an ultimatum which foreclosed all other options that could have led to a negotiated settlement.

Our bombing campaign has given Milosevic cover to move forward expeditiously with his policy of ethnic cleansing—precisely what we were trying to avoid in the first place. Now, because he and his forces are not being tightly monitored—and that's because all the observers were kicked out as soon as the bombing started—they can do as they wish. Therefore, we hear evidence of massacres and rape, and we have witnessed the forced relocation of hundreds of thousands of people and the total devastation of Kosovo.

To me there is no question that the decision to bomb Kosovo and Serbia was a terrible mistake in the first place, but now we face three bad choices—stop the bombing, continue the bombing, or go in with bombing and ground troops.

Although I disagreed with bombing in the first place, of the three, I believe the least objectionable is to continue the bombing campaign in hopes of securing the very negotiated settlement that has eluded us so far.

Many public officials and foreign policy experts are loudly advocating the introduction of ground troops to Kosovo in an effort to force Milosevic to yield his grip on the Kosovar Albanians and to ultimately "win the war". They claim it's the only way.

Let me say that I support the goal of restoring peace and stability to the region, returning to Kosovo those refugees that want to go back, negotiating a new agreement that will guarantee their safety and self-determination and establishing a multinational force to monitor the negotiated settlement. I support all this—but I absolutely oppose the use of American ground troops to implement this goal.

I oppose using American troops in this manner not because I don't think they can get the job done. Far from it. I believe our armed forces have performed magnificently, and I wholeheartedly admire the effort that each of them has been giving during the campaign in Kosovo. They are doing the job we have asked them to do.

However, I see a situation developing in the Balkans that could be just as brutal as that which developed in Vietnam. As opposed to the flat deserts of the Persian Gulf area, the Balkans are a very mountainous region that is ideal for a sustained campaign of guerrilla warfare.

A smaller, and less well-armed force could have the ability to use this natural terrain to impede the progress and mobility of a NATO invasion force for an extended period of time while racking up vast numbers of casualties.

Remember that in World War II, more than 500,000 Nazi soldiers thought that they could just roll through Yugoslavia. They did not, due in large part,