

for the military action against Yugoslavia. We declared no policy, we disapproved of no policy. We didn't accept the reality that our nation has led the NATO alliance into a conflict. By a majority vote, we asserted that our Commander in Chief could not commit ground forces—whatever that means—without our specific prior approval. We then by a tie vote failed to approve even the continuation of the ongoing conflict into which we had been injected by our President.

I cannot tell you how much I have agonized over the sorry, inept, and clumsy failure of those who determine our national security policy in this latest phases of the ongoing Balkan crisis. Even the prior Administration, so confident during the Gulf War, failed to lead when it could and should have in the Balkans.

Without direction or credible leadership we have become deeply embroiled in this conflict. We are without any clear delineation of the reason or importance of our being involved or of what represents a successful conclusion to the conflict. We are in this conflict with an announced policy that we will not commit ground forces, a position that serves our enemy's interest but undermines our objectives, whatever they are. I submit that it is the height of irresponsibility for the Congress of the United States to abdicate their responsibility to either approve or disapprove a Kosovo policy.

If the President and his, to use the most charitable reference, "national security team" have produced a national policy disaster, we should say so. We should not evade the issue. If the administration is correct in its assertion that the barbarism attributed to the leadership of Yugoslavia demands a military response, we should endorse this conclusion.

There are those whose political judgement tells them Congress should not act on this matter, because if we do, we might have to assume responsibility. I categorically object to any such notion. Our President may have failed to call upon the Congress to support his policy in the Balkans, but the Congress has a duty to speak out anyway. We have a constitutional duty whether the President ask us for our approval or not. Perhaps the constitutional duty is higher when the President seeks to evade us and his policy is muddled.

Last Wednesday, I voted no on all four resolutions regarding the conflict against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. I seriously considered voting no even on the Rule regarding our debate, because under the Rule, we could not make, approve or disapprove any policy. We trivialized the role of the Congress and that is fraught with dire consequences for the future.

The Congress of the United States makes policy and our politics ought to crystallize conflicting views of good or bad policy. Last week we failed in this. For this reason I am offering a joint resolution regarding the conflict in the Balkans.

The resolution is critical of how we came to the sorry choices before us, but recognizes that our country is confronted with certain realities which it must confront. The choice the resolution makes is to give congressional authorization to the ongoing military conflict against the regime of Slobodan Milosevic. It does not presume to give political guidance to how the conflict is waged and bespeaks a concern only that it be waged with sound military judgement, consistent with the earliest victory and least casualties.

Most importantly, it enunciates a policy and identifies goals, which if correct fully justify our

involvement and leadership into this conflict. If not correct, clearly the resolution should not be supported and should fail. How dare we, on a matter of such consequence, stand by and declare neither war nor even any policy. Are not our armed forces entitled to know that their Congress approves or disapproves of what they are doing on the orders of our Commander in Chief? Certainly they must hope that the elected representatives of our people will not choose to abdicate their responsibility.

The resolution I offer speaks to the financial burden of this conflict in the bosom of Europe, and asserts a policy that the costs should be fairly allocated among the entire NATO alliance.

My resolution also asserts that any agreement that concludes this unhappy chapter in our history should exempt no one from prosecution who is or may be indicted by the appropriate judicial authority as a war criminal.

It is not an easy resolution. It is not meant as political confrontation. It nonetheless confronts all of us with the inescapable duty to declare a policy and decide whether we should be involved in, go forward with, or repudiate our involvement in the ongoing conflict with Yugoslavia.

Oh, yes the choices are not easy, but how dare we not even make a choice and deign to call ourselves the elected representatives of our people.

I solicit your advice and would appreciate your cosponsorship of this resolution.

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#### SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, and under a previous order of the House, the following Members will be recognized for 5 minutes each.

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

(Mr. BURTON of Indiana addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

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#### EXCHANGE OF SPECIAL ORDER TIME

Mrs. CAPPS. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to claim the time of the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. LIPINSKI).

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

There was no objection.

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#### NATIONAL NURSES WEEK

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Mrs. CAPPS) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mrs. CAPPS. Madam Speaker, as one of only three nurses in Congress, it is my great honor today to rise in support of National Nurses Week.

My training and education as a nurse and my 20 years in my profession in the schools of Santa Barbara in the public

school district have given me a unique perspective on my new duties in Congress. As a nurse, I have learned to recognize the importance of so many issues which affect families every day, families in my community, in my congressional district, families across this great country.

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Nurses are good listeners. They withhold superficial, quick judgments and take the time to assess situations before them, before they act accordingly. Nurses use common sense skills to put the common good before individual interests.

My nursing background has had the strongest influence on my priorities in Congress. As a nurse, I feel that it has been my duty and also my privilege to speak out on behalf of patients and health care providers on what is the critical task before us today. We know what is before us in the world where life and death situations take place, and we also see so clearly the current shortcomings in our health care environment.

I sought a seat on the Committee on Commerce which oversees health care so that I could be a part of this discussion. In the age of managed care, where values are often driven by profit motives over health care needs, nurses have been presented with critical new challenges.

I have stood with nurses in my district in their frustration over staffing ratios in our hospitals, in our communities. I have been with nurses as they have shed tears over having to discharge frail elderly patients before they are really ready to go home into home situations where there is not adequate health care and support.

Nurses know that we should not compromise a patient's quality of care to save a few dollars. Nurses understand the real benefits of real managed care reform.

I have been working hard with Republicans and Democrats to pass a common sense Patients' Bill of Rights, legislation which will put patients, nurses, doctors and other providers back in charge of their own health care and holds HMOs accountable when they deny critical, sometimes lifesaving, treatment.

Nurses know these basic rights can mean the difference between life and death and between a quality of life that they have spent their profession and their training to uphold. They can and they should and we are speaking out.

The Subcommittee on Health and Environment, on which I am privileged to serve, has held only one hearing so far on managed care reform. In that hearing I called for greater participation of nurses. Nurses can and will make valuable additions in this discussion and in the debate before us.

In Congress, there is also other legislation originally drafted by a nurse that will protect nurses and other health care workers in all States. The

Healthcare Worker Protection Act builds on a California health care initiative by ensuring that all nurses and others in hospitals and treatment centers have safe needle devices and information available on how to use them. We must make sure these workers are protected at all costs.

As a nurse in Congress, I am working hard to promote these important issues, but Congress will only be successful in passing meaningful health care legislation when the contributions of those on the front lines, on the every day front lines, are recognized and brought into the discussion.

Madam Speaker, the profession of nursing also gives people a unique perspective on other critical issues. As a nurse in a school setting I have seen what children need for successful learning, growth and development. I know firsthand that children learn better in small class sizes and in classrooms that are not deteriorating.

From this background, I know that health insurance which covers regular checkups, immunizations and prescription drugs for children is the best preventive medicine. I know that clean water and clean air are not merely environmental issues; they are health issues.

In addition to essential contributions to quality health care, nurses are the heart and soul of so many of our communities. There are over 2.5 million nurses across this great land and they stand for, to me, the heart and soul of our values and what binds us together in our communities.

We need to pay attention to what our nurses are saying. Despite their busy schedules and hectic work environments, nurses take the time to reach out to our communities, educating neighbors to increase awareness and promote healthy lifestyles.

Nurses' efforts in my own community on the central coast of California have raised awareness on the harmful consequences of drinking and driving, taught parents how to properly install safety seats and educated our children about underage alcohol abuse.

As we discuss the positive contributions of nurses during National Nurses Week, we need to work to ensure that these voices of compassion and experience are included in our health care policy debate today.

#### CHURCHES IN INDIANA COME TOGETHER TO AID REFUGEES IN KOSOVO

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. NORTHUP). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. SOUDER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SOUDER. Madam Speaker, having visited the Balkans, and I was privileged to be included in the trip with Senator STEVENS and Chairman YOUNG a few weeks ago, I have been aggressively against this war which I do not believe is winnable in the traditional

sense. And it is time to get a negotiated settlement and it is time to cut off the funding, but I wanted to share a couple of things tonight about the terrible things that have happened to the people there.

These are pictures that I took in Vranje, just north of Skopje, in Macedonia. This shows just one of what I call the long white road to the mountains. These are actually the shorter mountains. They rise higher up. It is impossible to get ground troops through this area, which many armies throughout hundreds of years have learned is impossible.

This street goes on and on, miles and miles, and this is just one of the camps. There were 23,000 people, we were told, in that camp when we first came in. 8,000 additional people were added just that day.

These Albanian men were at the back of the place because they kept asking us, "Are the Apaches going to save us? Are they going to wipe out the tanks?" Of course, we had to tell them no, that is not what Apaches are designed to do, but we wondered where they were getting that information.

They have radios throughout the camp that are constantly broadcasting to them that there is this hope that they are suddenly going to go back.

These are some of the people trying to make do. These tents, this size tent from USAID basically had supposedly four to eight people; many of them I saw far more than that. They get a couple of cans of food, some bread and fruit each day, but they are desperately trying to make a fire or something to heat it up.

As these camps are expanded to 30,000, 50,000 people and upwards, it is just not going to work; nor are the restroom facilities, the water facilities. Here people are desperately trying to stay clean.

In the Macedonian camps they are coming mostly out of the cities. They were often booted out in the middle of the night. Most of the people are well dressed. The clothes had not come from the U.S. This is not able to be sustained over a long period of time.

This photograph was taken at the back of the camp. I had gotten separated from the other Senators and Congressmen during the trip, as well as the interpreter, and this man was trying to talk to me by going like this. This girl had just come into the camp the night before but spoke some English, said, "May I help you try to translate?"

What he tried to tell me is he saw 20 people get their throats slit just before he left; saw the mass grave before they torched his house and he got out. That was just one of the many stories we heard.

He and all the others around them, when they were asked, first, do you want to go back? "Yes." If we get rid of Milosevic, you are going to have to live under the Serbs. "No, no, we are not going to live under the Serbs. We are going to get rid of Milosevic," was what they said, "all Serbs and

Milosevic." We heard that all through the camp. We said, what will you do if you get back? You have to try to live together. "No, we are going to kill them."

We have now the stories from like this man of the throats slit, and it is not something that is going to lead to this kind of humanitarian peaceful settlement that some people are dreaming of.

This girl here had just come into the camp the night before as well. We stopped her. We saw she had diapers. And she broke down crying. I will never be a professional photographer because I could not snap the picture when her tears were coming down, but she is separated from her family. She is worried about her little child and so on.

Now, I say that because I want to illustrate some of the things that have been happening in my district. No matter what a person's position is on the war, their heart has to go out to the refugees here or in the other countries where they have been displaced.

I am pleased in my district that a number of churches and people have reached out. We tried to make the point while we were over in Europe to the ambassadors of seven nations, to NATO, that Europe has to pick up the bulk of these funds, but we in America are going to have some obligations as well.

One story from Pastor Rick Hawks, who heads a large church in Fort Wayne, The Chapel, has coordinated with 8 churches: The Chapel; Broadway Christian; Church of the Good Shepherd in Leo; Blackhawk Baptist, also in Fort Wayne, Indiana; Fellowship Missionary Church in Fort Wayne; North Park Community Church; Wallen Baptist Church.

We also had in my home church, Emmanuel Community Church, Abigail Roemke coordinated this. They had so many clothes and toiletries and stuff come in that it overwhelmed the distribution system that they originally had planned. They had far more than they could actually get directly there in that group.

Also Pastor Ron Hawkins' church, First Assembly of God, put together a group that has two registered nurses, Nancy Grostefon and Dawn Rice, and Dr. David Smith, a pediatric surgeon, to spend two weeks working in two camps, and they raised the money through their church to underwrite these nurses and this doctor going over.

In Fort Wayne we also have a large Macedonian population. George Labamoff in the Fort Wayne-based Macedonian Tribune, the oldest continually published Macedonian newspaper in the world, put together the Macedonian Relief Fund. They have also have an effort to try to raise money for the refugees in the countries.

Lastly, I wanted to read as much as I can of this letter. I visited an alternative school in Columbia City on