Mr. Speaker, I rise today to state that no defense funds

should be used for ground forces in Kosovo unless authorized by

Congress.

The Secretary of Defense last year, just last year, opposed sending

troops to Kosovo, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff warned that our

military strength has already been compromised.

Since all the whereas clauses have been struck from this resolution,

I will add my own whereas clauses:

Whereas fighter planes are being cannibalized for parts to repair

other aircraft,

Whereas we are running out of cruise missiles,

Whereas the Navy is undermanned by 18,000 sailors and the Air Force

will be 1,300 pilots short within a year,

Whereas to pursue bombing campaigns in Iraq and Serbia, the

administration has played musical chairs with aircraft carriers and

left the Pacific without a single carrier to defend our allies and our

forces there,

Whereas this is the reality of a downsized force, cutting military

budgets has direct consequences, and vulnerability and trouble spots

are a very real problem today.

Despite these growing military deficiencies, the administration is

considering sending ground forces for an open-ended, peacemaking

mission that would further erode military readiness.

Bosnia has already cost the United States over $10 billion. The

administration has projected that Kosovo will cost $5 billion just this

year, but has already admitted that it is impossible to determine how

long the NATO mission will take. Considering that two withdrawal

deadlines have already been broken in Bosnia, and considering that the

President thought this would only take a week or two and now has

extended it to open endedness, it is clear that any deployment to

Kosovo will similarly drag on and go enormously over budget.

So sending troops and carriers to the Balkans only makes a weakened

military even weaker. If nothing else, Kosovo shows us that we have to

rebuild our forces and not hollow them out even more. And before

sending troops to Yugoslavia, Macedonia or Albania, the President is

obligated by law to report to Congress on the cost, and the funding,

the schedule and the exit strategy for deployment. He has not done

this, and so today we should vote to forbid any deployment without

congressional approval.

Mr. Speaker, the Republicans in support of Bush were actually

consulted and listened to and advised, and President Bush came to

Congress for those votes. This President has given us briefings and

then gone and done what he wanted to do in the first place.

So, Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote to bar defense funds

from being spent on ground forces in Kosovo unless Congress actually

allocates such funding.

Mr. Speaker, this is a very difficult speech for me to

give, because I normally, and I still do, support our military and the

fine work that they are doing. But I cannot support a failed foreign

policy. History teaches us that it is often easier to make war than

peace. This administration is just learning that lesson right now.

But before we get deeper embroiled into this Balkan quagmire, I think

that an assessment has to be made of the Kosovo policy so far.

President Clinton has never explained to the American people why he was

involving the U.S. military in a civil war in a sovereign nation, other

than to say it is for humanitarian reasons, a new military/foreign

policy precedent.

The President began this mission with very vague objectives and lots

of unanswered questions. A month later, these questions are still

unanswered. There are no clarified rules of engagement. There is no

timetable. There is no legitimate definition of victory. There is no

contingency plan for mission creep. There is no clear funding program.

There is no agenda to bolster our overextended military. There is no

explanation defining what vital national interests are at stake. There

was no strategic plan for war when the President started this thing,

and there still is no plan today.

Instead of sending in ground troops, we should pull out the forces we

now have in the region. Many who argue we cannot pull out say we should

stay to save face, if for no other reason. I would like to ask these

people, was it worth to stay in Vietnam just to save face?

The root of this crisis is centuries old, and no occupation by

foreigners can craft a peace where no desire for it exists. Unless you

are willing to commit your sons and daughters into a war indefinitely,

you should not vote to keep troops overseas simply because we do not

know what else to do.

The President said that if we did nothing, there would be instability

in the region, there would be a flood of refugees, Kosovars would die

and the credibility of NATO would be undermined. Well, Clinton's

bombing campaign has caused all of these problems to explode; in

addition, has made the Russians jittery, and has harmed NATO's standing

in the world.

In Lebanon, Ronald Reagan cut his losses and withdrew our troops. We

should do the same thing before the body bags start coming home. After

all, what good has been accomplished so far? Absolutely nothing. What

long-term good will be accomplished by keeping our troops there? None,

unless you are willing to occupy all of Yugoslavia.

Mr. Speaker, I do not think we should send ground troops to Kosovo,

and I do not think we should be bombing in the Balkans, and I do not

think that NATO should be destroyed by changing its mission into a

humanitarian invasion force. I support the Campbell resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding me the

time.

I hope Members will think very seriously about this resolution,

because what this resolution says is that this House is about to take

ownership in what the President has put us into since he started

bombing Kosovo. So I think we should think very, very seriously whether

we are going to take ownership of the bombing of Kosovo.

Let us go back a little ways. Let us go back to even the negotiations

in Rambouillet. I do not think many Members of this House have even

read the provisions of the peace agreement in Rambouillet. One of the

provisions of the peace agreement was that Milosevic had to agree to

allow foreign troops, the peacekeeping troops, to have free reign over

the entire country of Yugoslavia, not just Kosovo, but the entire

country of Yugoslavia, which put Milosevic in a very untenable

situation. No wonder he was not going to sign this agreement.

Then the Secretary of State, who believes in bombing to support her

diplomacy, decides that we are going to bomb him to the peace table and

make him sign something that would actually slit his throat with his

own people.

Then after trying to force him with bombing, and I remind Members of

the briefings that we had with this administration, the first

briefings, that frankly scared me to death because those briefings with

the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, and the Chairman of

the Joint Chiefs of Staff told us that this was no big deal, that we

were going to bomb for a couple of days, 48 hours, and then stop

bombing and Milosevic would come to the table.

When asked the question, what if he does not come to the table, they

said, well, we will go to Phase 2; and Phase 2 is that we will bomb for

a few more days. Then he will be going to the table, by crackie. And

when we asked, ``Then, what?'' then they said, well, we will bomb for

another week and that will force him to come to the table and this will

be all over with. And then when we asked, ``Then, what?'' there was

silence. This administration started a war without a plan farther along

than 2 weeks.

And Phase 3. That is what brought us to the bombing, my colleagues.

Once they started bombing and found out that Milosevic was a pretty

tough customer and that the Serbian people were pretty tough people

that have been through these kind of things before, and some people

have said that the Germans had something like 20 divisions in

Yugoslavia trying to route the Serbians out of those mountains and

those caves, and they could not do it.

So what they are doing here is they are voting to continue an

unplanned war by an administration that is incompetent of carrying it

out. I hope my colleagues will vote against the resolution.