Mr. President, I

want to really follow on what the distinguished

Senator from New Mexico

was saying, because I think he laid out

very well the problems that we are facing

with our military today. No one

questions the job our military is doing.

They are doing their jobs well. But it is

clear that we are losing our experienced

people.

As the Senator from New Mexico has

just pointed out, we are losing our experienced

pilots, we do not have

enough parts to keep the airplanes running,

and the Army had its worst recruiting

year last year since the late

1970s.

At the time that we are looking at

mission fatigue, our troops being overdeployed

away from their families on

missions that are not security threats

to the United States, we are now seeing

a mixed message from this administration

about yet expanding their responsibilities.

We were told in the last few weeks

that NATO is contemplating airstrikes

in Serbia. This is, of course, a terrible

and tragic situation in Kosovo. And,

clearly, we want to try to do everything

possible to curb atrocities that

are happening and may happen in the

future in Kosovo. But, Mr. President, a

superpower cannot fling around the

world without a plan, without a

thought, and have credibility.

I ask the question of the administration,

Have we done everything we can

do at the bargaining table with Mr.

Milosevic? Have we put every economic

sanction that can be put? Have we isolated

this country to the extent that

we can—as we have also tried to do

with Iraq—to show this leader that he

cannot continue to act in an irresponsible

manner toward human beings in

his own country and get by with it?

Have we done everything we can do

first? If we have—and I don’t think we

have—if the administration makes the

case that we have, then, and only then,

should we be considering other options.

Mr. President, if we are going to

bomb another country because of a

civil conflict, a sovereign country that

is in a civil conflict, have we thought

through what the exit strategy is?

Have we thought through what our responsibility

is going to be for doing

that? I haven’t seen a plan. I haven’t

seen any kind of ‘‘after plan’’ after

bombing. Yes, we have talked about

bombing. But if we are bombing for the

purpose of saying to Milosevic, ‘‘You

must withdraw your police so that the

Albanians who live in Kosovo can come

out of the hills and go into their

homes,’’ how is that to be enforced?

We have been told by administration

officials that there would not be American

troops on the ground unless there

is a peace agreement, something to enforce.

Yet yesterday the Secretary of

Defense opened the door on American

troops on the ground with NATO

forces. Yet we haven’t seen a plan. We

haven’t seen what the American role

will be. We have certainly not been

consulted to determine if the United

States is ready to expand its mission in

the Balkans.

We were told we would be out of Bosnia

a year ago. We were told a year and

a half ago, we were told 2 years ago

that our mission in Bosnia would be

complete when the parties were separated

and the elections had been held.

The parties are separated. The elections

have been held. Yet American

taxpayers have spent $10 billion in Bosnia,

and the President is now saying

there is an ‘‘unending mission’’ there.

He has refused to put a timetable on it.

This week the President has asked the

U.S. Congress for $2 billion more for

Bosnia in a supplemental appropriation,

as if this were an emergency. Why

didn’t the administration put this in

the budget? He says it is an unending

mission, yet we have an emergency appropriation.

I conclude by saying we cannot fling

ourselves around the world without a

clear strategy and a clear role for the

United States. I am looking to the

President for leadership and I haven’t

seen it.

I yield the floor.