

minimum of 3 years and cost billions of dollars.

(3) Kosovo, unlike Bosnia, is a province of the Republic of Serbia, a sovereign foreign state.

(4) The deployment of United States ground forces to enforce a peace agreement between warring parties in a sovereign foreign state is not consistent with the prior employment of deadly military force by the United States against either or both of the warring parties in that sovereign foreign state.

(5) The Secretary of Defense, William Cohen, has opposed the deployment of United States ground forces to Kosovo, as reflected in his testimony before the Congress on October 6, 1998.

(6) The deployment of United States ground forces to participate in the peacekeeping operation in Bosnia, which has resulted in the expenditure of more than \$10,000,000,000 by United States taxpayers to date, which has already been extended past 2 previous withdrawal dates established by the administration, and which shows no sign of ending in the near future, clearly argues that the costs and duration of a deployment to Kosovo for peacekeeping purposes will be much heavier and much longer than initially foreseen.

(7) The substantial drain on military readiness of a deployment to Kosovo would be inconsistent with the need, recently acknowledged by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to reverse the trends which have already severely compromised the ability of the United States Armed Forces to carry out the basic National Military Strategy of the United States.

(8) The Congress has already indicated its considerable concern about the possible deployment of United States Armed Forces to Kosovo, as evidenced by section 8115 of the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1999 (Public Law 105-262; 112 Stat. 2327), which sets forth among other things a requirement for the President to transmit to the Congress a report detailing the anticipated costs, funding sources, and exit strategy for any additional United States Armed Forces deployed to Yugoslavia, Albania, or Macedonia.

(9) The introduction of United States Armed Forces into hostilities, or into situations where imminent involvement in hostilities may occur, clearly indicates authorization by the Congress when such action is not required for the defense of the United States, its Armed Forces, or its nationals.

(10) United States national security interests in Kosovo do not rise to a level that warrants the introduction of United States ground forces in Kosovo for peacekeeping purposes.

Page 1, strike the second amendatory instructions and insert the following:

Page 1, strike line 8 and all that follows through line 3 on page 2.

Page 2, strike line 4 and all that follows through line 8.

Page 1, line 10, strike "DEPLOYMENT" and insert "LIMITATION ON DEPLOYMENT".

Page 1, line 14, strike "described in (b)" and insert ", subject to the limitation contained in subsection (b)."

Page 2, strike line 1 through line 6 and insert the following:

(b) LIMITATION.—The President is not authorized to deploy ground elements of the United States Armed Forces to Kosovo as part of a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) operation to implement a peace agreement between the Republic of Serbia and representatives of ethnic Albanians living in the province of Kosovo.

(c) RULES OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this concurrent resolution shall be construed—

(1) to prevent United States Armed Forces from taking such actions as the Armed Forces consider necessary for self-defense against an immediate threat emanating from the Republic of Serbia; or

(2) to restrict the authority of the President under the Constitution to protect the lives of United States citizens.

Strike the second line 1 and all that follows:

Amendment submitted by Mr. GEJDENSON:

Page 2, after line 3, insert the following:

(3) Former Senator Robert Dole recently traveled to the region to meet with the Kosovar Albanians and deliver a message from President Clinton encouraging all parties to reach an agreement to end the conflict in Kosovo.

(4) Representatives of the Government of Serbia and representatives of the Kosovar Albanians are scheduled to reconvene in France on March 15, 1999.

Page 2, line 4, strike "(3)" and insert "(5)". Page 2, strike line 9 and all that follows and insert the following:

SEC. 3. DEPLOYMENT OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES TO KOSOVO.

(a) DECLARATION OF POLICY RELATING TO INTERIM AGREEMENT.—The Congress urges the President to continue to take measures described in (b) to support the ongoing peace process relating to Kosovo with the objective of reaching a fair and just interim agreement between the Serbian Government and the Kosovar Albanians on the status of Kosovo.

(b) AUTHORIZATION FOR DEPLOYMENT OF ARMED FORCES.—If a fair and just interim agreement described in subsection (a) is reached, the President is authorized to deploy United States Armed Forces personnel to Kosovo as part of a NATO peacekeeping operation implementing such interim agreement.

At the end of the resolution, add the following new section:

SEC. 4. LIMITATION.

The authorization in section 3 is subject to the limitation that the number of United States Armed Forces personnel participating in a deployment described in that section may not exceed 15 percent of the total NATO force deployed to Kosovo in the peacekeeping operation described in that section, except that such percentage may be exceeded if the President determines that United States forces or United States citizens are in danger and notifies Congress of that determination.

It was decided in the negative { Yeas 178 Nays 237 Answered present 2

21.23

[Roll No. 48]

AYES—178

- Aderholt Burton Deal
Andrews Camp DeLay
Archer Campbell DeMint
Arney Canady Dickey
Bachus Cannon Doolittle
Baker Chabot Duncan
Ballenger Chambliss Ehlers
Barr Chenoweth Ehrlich
Barrett (NE) Coble Emerson
Bartlett Coburn English
Barton Collins Everett
Bass Combest Ewing
Bereuter Condit Foley
Bilirakis Cook Fossella
Blunt Cox Fowler
Bonilla Crane Franks (NJ)
Brady (TX) Cubin Gallegly
Bryant Cunningham Ganske
Burr Danner Gibbons

- Gillmor McHugh Schaffer
Goode McInnis Sensenbrenner
Goodlatte McIntosh Sessions
Goodling McKeon Shadegg
Gordon Metcalf Shimkus
Graham Mica Skeen
Granger Miller (FL) Smith (MI)
Greenwood Miller, Gary Smith (TX)
Gutknecht Moran (KS) Souder
Hall (TX) Myrick Spence
Hansen Nethercutt Stearns
Hastings (WA) Ney Stump
Hayes Norwood Sununu
Hayworth Nussle Sweeney
Hefley Packard Talent
Herger Paul Tancredo
Hill (MT) Pease Tauzin
Hilleary Peterson (MN) Taylor (NC)
Hoekstra Peterson (PA) Terry
Horn Petri Thomas
Hostettler Pickering Thornberry
Hulshof Pitts Thune
Hutchinson Pombo Tiahrt
Isakson Pryce (OH) Toomey
Istook Radanovich Traficant
Jenkins Ramstad Upton
Johnson, Sam Reynolds Walden
Jones (NC) Riley Walsh
Kasich Roemer Wamp
Kingston Rogan Watkins
Kuykendall Rogers Watts (OK)
LaHood Rohrabacher Weldon (FL)
Largent Ros-Lehtinen Weldon (PA)
Latham Roukema Weller
Leach Royce Whitfield
Lewis (KY) Ryan (WI) Wicker
LoBiondo Ryun (KS) Wilson
Lucas (OK) Salmon Young (AK)
Manzullo Sanford Young (FL)
McCollum Saxton
McCrery Scarborough

NOES—237

- Ackerman Dooley King (NY)
Allen Doyle Kleczka
Baird Dreier Klink
Baldacci Dunn Knollenberg
Baldwin Edwards Kolbe
Barcia Engel Kucinich
Barrett (WI) Eshoo LaFalce
Bateman Etheridge Lampson
Bentsen Evans Lantos
Berkley Farr Larson
Berman Fattah LaTourette
Berry Filner Lazio
Biggart Fletcher Lee
Bishop Forbes Levin
Blagojevich Ford Lewis (CA)
Bliley Frank (MA) Lewis (GA)
Blumenauer Frelinghuysen Linder
Boehlert Gejdenson Lofgren
Boehner Gekas Lowey
Bonior Gephardt Lucas (KY)
Bono Gilchrest Luther
Borski Gilman Maloney (CT)
Boswell Gonzalez Maloney (NY)
Boucher Goss Markey
Boyd Green (TX) Martinez
Brady (PA) Green (WI) Mascara
Brown (FL) Gutierrez Matsui
Brown (OH) Hall (OH) McCarthy (MO)
Buyer Hastings (FL) McCarthy (NY)
Calvert Hill (IN) McDermott
Capuano Hilliard McGovern
Cardin Hinchey McIntyre
Carson Hinojosa McKinney
Castle Hobson McNulty
Clayton Hoeffel Meehan
Clement Holden Meek (FL)
Clyburn Holt Meeks (NY)
Conyers Hooley Menendez
Cooksey Houghton Millender
Costello Hoyer McDonald
Coyne Hunter Miller, George
Cramer Hyde Minge
Crowley Inslee Mink
Cummings Jackson (IL) Moakley
Davis (FL) Jackson-Lee Mollohan
Davis (IL) (TX) Moore
Davis (VA) Jefferson Moran (VA)
DeFazio Johnson (CT) Morella
DeGette Johnson, E. B. Murtha
Delahunt Jones (OH) Nadler
DeLauro Kanjorski Napolitano
Deutsch Kaptur Neal
Diaz-Balart Kelly Northup
Dicks Kennedy Oberstar
Dingell Kildee Obey
Dixon Kilpatrick Olver
Doggett Kind (WI) Ortiz

Ose	Sanchez	Stupak
Owens	Sanders	Tanner
Oxley	Sandlin	Tauscher
Pallone	Sawyer	Taylor (MS)
Pascarell	Schakowsky	Thompson (CA)
Pastor	Scott	Thurman
Payne	Serrano	Tierney
Pelosi	Shaw	Turner
Phelps	Shays	Udall (CO)
Pickett	Sherman	Udall (NM)
Pomeroy	Sherwood	Vento
Porter	Shows	Visclosky
Portman	Simpson	Waters
Price (NC)	Sisisky	Watt (NC)
Rahall	Skelton	Waxman
Rangel	Slaughter	Weiner
Regula	Smith (NJ)	Wexler
Rivers	Smith (WA)	Weygand
Rodriguez	Snyder	Wise
Rothman	Spratt	Wolf
Roybal-Allard	Stabenow	Woolsey
Rush	Stark	Wynn
Sabo	Stenholm	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—2

Abercrombie Callahan

NOT VOTING—16

Becerra	John	Thompson (MS)
Bilbray	Lipinski	Towns
Brown (CA)	Quinn	Velazquez
Capps	Reyes	Wu
Clay	Shuster	
Frost	Strickland	

So the amendment to the amendment was not agreed to.

After some further time, The SPEAKER pro tempore, Mr. GIBBONS, assumed the Chair.

When Mr. THORNBERRY, Chairman, pursuant to House Resolution 103, reported the concurrent resolution back to the House with an amendment adopted by the Committee.

The previous question having been ordered by said concurrent resolution.

The following amendment, reported from the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, was agreed to:

Page 2, after line 3, insert the following:

(3) Former Senator Robert Dole recently traveled to the region to meet with the Kosovar Albanians and deliver a message from President Clinton encouraging all parties to reach an agreement to end the conflict in Kosovo.

(4) Representatives of the Government of Serbia and representatives of the Kosovar Albanians are scheduled to reconvene in France on March 15, 1999.

Page 2, line 4, strike "(3)" and insert "(5)".

Page 2, strike line 9 and all that follows and insert the following:

1. Strike section 3 and insert the following:

SEC. 3. AUTHORIZATION FOR DEPLOYMENT OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES TO KOSOVO.

(a) In general.—Subject to the limitations in subsection (b) the President is authorized to deploy United States Armed Forces personnel to Kosovo as part of a NATO peace-keeping operation implementing a Kosovo peace agreement.

(b) Reports to Congress.—The President should, before ordering the deployment of any United States Armed Forces personnel to Kosovo do each of the following:

(1) Personally and in writing submit to the Congress—

(A) a detailed statement explaining the national interest of the United States at risk in the Kosovo conflict; and

(B) a certification to the Congress that all United States Armed Forces personnel so deployed pursuant to subsection (a) will be under the operational control only of United States Armed Forces military officers.

(2) Submit to the Congress a detailed report that—

(A) in classified and unclassified form addresses the amount and nature of the military resources of the United States, in both personnel and equipment, that will be required for such deployment;

(B) outlines and explains the military exit strategy that would control the withdrawal of United States Armed Forces personnel from Kosovo;

(C) certifies the chain of command for any such deployed United States Armed Forces personnel; and

(D) provides the percentage of United States Armed Forces participating in any NATO deployment in the Kosovo peace keeping operation, including ground troops, air support, logistics support, and intelligence support, compared to the other NATO nations participating in that operation.

(3) Submit to the Congress a detailed report that—

(A) in classified and unclassified form addresses the impact on military readiness of such deployment;

(B) provides the timeframe in which withdrawal of all United States Armed Forces personnel from Kosovo could reasonably be expected;

(C) in classified and unclassified form provides an unambiguous explanation of the rules of engagement under which all United States Armed Forces personnel participating in the Kosovo NATO peace keeping operation shall operate;

(D) in classified and unclassified form provides the budgetary impact for fiscal year 1999 and each fiscal year thereafter for the next five fiscal years on the Department of Defense, and each of the military services in particular; on the Intelligence Community; and on the Department of State as a result of any such deployment.

(4) Submit in classified form, to the Speaker, the Minority Leader, the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, and the Committee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives; and the Majority and Minority Leaders, the Select Committee on Intelligence, and the Armed Services Committee of the Senate, a detailed report that addresses the threats attendant to any such deployment and the nature and level of force protection required for such deployment.

(5) Submit to the Speaker, Minority Leader, and the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of the House of Representatives; and the Majority and Minority Leaders and the Select Committee on Intelligence of the Senate a detailed report that addresses—

(A) any intelligence sharing arrangement that has been established as a result of the Kosovo peace agreement;

(B) the intelligence sharing arrangement that currently exists within NATO and how such arrangement would be modified, if at all, in the Kosovo context; and

(C) whether Russian participation in a Kosovo peacekeeping deployment alongside NATO forces will affect, impede, or hinder any such intelligence sharing arrangement.

(6) Submit to the Congress a detailed report on the scope of the mission of the United States Armed Forces personnel.

(7) Submit to the Congress a detailed report prepared by the Secretary of State that—

(A) outlines and explains the diplomatic exit strategy that would control the withdrawal of United States Armed Forces personnel from Kosovo;

(B) outlines and explains the means and methodologies by which verification of compliance with the terms of any Kosovo peace agreement will be determined;

(C) in classified and unclassified form, explains the terms and conditions included in any peace agreement reached with respect to the Kosovo conflict. Such report should include—

(1) a detailed discussion and explanation of any side agreement, whether or not all parties to the overall peace agreement are aware of the side agreement;

(2) a detailed discussion and explanation of any obligations of the United States arising from the peace agreement, including any such obligations with respect to the introduction of weapons into Kosovo and Serbia;

(3) a detailed discussion and explanation of any military arrangements, in addition to the NATO deployment, to which the United States has agreed to undertake as a result of the Kosovo peace agreement;

(4) a detailed discussion and explanation of the funding source for any future plebiscite or referendum on independence for Kosovo; and

(5) a detailed discussion and explanation of any requirement for forces participating in the NATO peace keeping operation implementing the peace agreement to enforce any provision of such peace agreement.

The question being put, viva voce, Will the House agree to said concurrent resolution?

The SPEAKER pro tempore, Mr. GIBBONS, announced that the nays had it.

Mr. GILMAN demanded a recorded vote on agreeing to said concurrent resolution, which demand was supported by one-fifth of a quorum, so a recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device.

It was decided in the affirmative	Yeas	219		
			Nays	191
			Answered present	9

¶21.24 [Roll No. 49] AYES—219

Ackerman	Dixon	Jones (OH)
Allen	Doggett	Kanjorski
Baird	Dooley	Kaptur
Baldacci	Doyle	Kelly
Baldwin	Dreier	Kennedy
Barcia	Dunn	Kildee
Barrett (WI)	Edwards	Kilpatrick
Berkley	Engel	Kind (WI)
Berman	Eshoo	King (NY)
Berry	Etheridge	Kleccka
Biggert	Evans	Knollenberg
Bishop	Farr	Kucinich
Bliley	Fattah	LaFalce
Blumenauer	Filner	Lampson
Boehlert	Forbes	Lantos
Bonior	Ford	Larson
Bono	Frelinghuysen	LaTourette
Borski	Gejdenson	Lazio
Boswell	Gekas	Lee
Boucher	Gephardt	Levin
Boyd	Gilchrest	Lewis (CA)
Brady (PA)	Gilman	Lewis (GA)
Brown (FL)	Gonzalez	Linder
Buyer	Goss	Lowey
Calvert	Green (TX)	Lucas (KY)
Capuano	Gutierrez	Luther
Cardin	Hall (OH)	Maloney (CT)
Carson	Hastert	Maloney (NY)
Castle	Hastings (FL)	Markey
Clayton	Hill (IN)	Martinez
Clement	Hilliard	Mascara
Clyburn	Hinches	Matsui
Conyers	Hinojosa	McCarthy (MO)
Cooksey	Hobson	McCarthy (NY)
Coyne	Hoeffel	McDermott
Cramer	Holden	McGovern
Crowley	Holt	McIntyre
Cummings	Hooley	Meehan
Davis (FL)	Houghton	Meek (FL)
Davis (IL)	Hoyer	Meeks (NY)
Davis (VA)	Hunter	Menendez
DeFazio	Hyde	Millender
DeGette	Insole	McDonald
Delahunt	Jackson (IL)	Miller, George
DeLauro	Jackson-Lee	Minge
Deutsch	(TX)	Moakley
Diaz-Balart	Jefferson	Mollohan
Dicks	Johnson (CT)	Moore
Dingell	Johnson, E. B.	Moran (VA)