

comedic pause, and he said, "I demand a recount." Laughter.

Mr. President, I suggest, in the strongest terms I can muster, that the President should not be making light of the dangers of his appearing before a group of correspondents while his administration is in the process of preparing to send young Americans to their death. Flying over Kosovo with the air defenses that are embedded in those mountains firing at you is more dangerous than appearing before a group of correspondents who might write nasty columns about you. For the President to joke about the hazards of his appearing before that dinner on the eve of sending Americans into harm's way, where we are certainly going to see some of them come home in body bags, is to me deeply offensive.

Mr. President, I conclude with what is obvious about my position. The President of the United States has a constitutional duty before he sends Americans to war to come to the Congress of the United States and get some form of declaration of war. I believe he will abrogate his constitutional duty and violate his oath if he does not do that. Without his coming to us and without our adopting constitutionally accurate support for his actions, I will vote against everything that he proposes to do, against the appropriations.

I will vote in every way I can to say the President of the United States has violated his oath and violated the Constitution if he proceeds in the manner that we were informed about in our briefings yesterday.

Mr. President, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FRIST). The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. MURKOWSKI. I thank the Chair, and I wish the Presiding Officer a good morning.

INVOLVEMENT IN KOSOVO

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, a good deal has been said in the last several days concerning our potential involvement as part of a NATO peace-keeping operation in Kosovo. Having had an opportunity to be briefed on several occasions by the Administration, I am concerned that we have not given enough consideration to what we will do if the initial plan fails, or is somehow miscalculated.

Further, I am astonished that we do not have an end game for this exposure of our young men and women whom we would send into battle. As we consider the consequences of involvement in the Kosovo matter, and my sympathy runs deep for those who are in harms way as a consequence of this continued conflict, I am terribly concerned for the

American lives which would be in harms way if we send troops to Kosovo. I just don't think we can continue to be all things to all people.

There are certain times when we have to evaluate what is our appropriate role and when it is time to rally our allies in an efficient, effective coalition of support, of access, of supplies, some way short of a conflict.

When one looks at the armaments over there, we find Russian, we find Chinese, we find U.S., and we find European. As a consequence, had we taken steps some time ago to ensure that this sophisticated weaponry would not fall into irresponsible hands, we might have been able to avoid it. But we are down to a time when the administration obviously is reluctant to admit that, indeed, we are at the brink of entering into a war.

Some have suggested it could be the beginning of World War III. I am not going to dramatize, but do want to emphasize that I do not believe that we have given sufficient attention and strategic analysis to the alternatives to intervention, or to a withdrawal plan should we proceed to send troops to Kosovo. As a consequence, this Senator is not prepared to support an action at this time. I think the President of the United States owes it to the country, as well as to Congress, to come before the body with a clear-cut, committed plan that addresses the questions I have asked this morning.

I, as one Senator, want to put the White House on notice that support from this Senator from Alaska, at this time, is not there.

I also want to emphasize another point, Mr. President, concerning our potential intervention in Kosovo. We are about to enter into a recess at the end of next week and will not reconvene as a body until sometime in mid-April. Any action by the administration to send our troops, as a part of a NATO operation, into action during our absence, obviously puts the Congress in the position of having to support our troops—while we may not necessarily support the underlying action. Of course, we will want to support our troops, and we will support our troops.

But, because of the timing, we as a Congress must decide now—before our troops go in—whether or not we support this intervention. I encourage Members to express their opinions now, in fact plead that Members go on record with this issue, before we are asked to support our troops in Kosovo.

Mr. President, I see no other Member wishing to be recognized. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BUNNING. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. BUNNING. Thank you.

PRESIDENT CLINTON SENDING AMERICAN SOLDIERS TO KOSOVO

Mr. BUNNING. In 1995, when I served in the House of Representatives, I and a large bipartisan majority supported a resolution which called for President Clinton to obtain congressional authorization before deploying troops to Bosnia. That resolution passed by a vote of 315 yeas to 103 nays.

Yet, despite that vote, President Clinton went ahead with a large-scale and long-term deployment of tens of thousands of troops to Bosnia without congressional authorization or any meaningful debate.

Back then, President Clinton spoke to us and promised us all that we would have a well-defined mission with a clear exit strategy. But even today there are no details on getting our troops out of Bosnia. We are still there and President Clinton has spent approximately \$12 billion on that mission without ever including Bosnia funds in his budget.

As a result, he is draining crucial defense resources from other critical areas and further putting our soldiers in harm's way. We still have almost 7,000 troops in Bosnia and we are all unsure of what their exact mission really is and when, if ever, they can come home to their families. So much for a clearly defined mission and exit strategy.

But now, all I can say is, "deja vu" and "here we go again."

Right now, American troops are deployed all over the globe in over 30 nations on missions of questionable value and unclear rules of engagement. And now, President Clinton is about to scatter roughly 4,000 more troops to intervene in Kosovo under a NATO mission to enforce a peace agreement. But there is no peace agreement to enforce because one does not exist.

The Serbs and the Albanians have been fighting in this southern region of Serbia for centuries. So is it any surprise that earlier this week in France, the Serbs would not accept the Kosovo peace plan that their rival ethnic Albanians have agreed to sign?

I do not believe that any amount of American involvement is going to end these ethnic conflicts that have raged for centuries. We have tried to resolve this problem for three years and have gotten nowhere. I do not understand why we think we can end this civil war by sending 4,000 additional troops.

President Clinton has not given us any answers as to why sending these troops to Kosovo is so vital. President Clinton can tell us any time. But where is he? He has the bully pulpit.

I do not believe it is in our national security interest to get involved once again in another so-called peace-keeping mission in this region. In a few years, Kosovo will take its place in history books, along with Bosnia, Haiti and Somalia, as an example of a foreign policy that has no principled framework.