

Weldon (FL)
WexlerWeygand
WolfWoolsey
Wynn

NOES—259

Ackerman
Allen
Andrews
Archer
Armey
Bachus
Baesler
Baker
Baldacci
Ballenger
Barrett (NE)
Barrett (WI)
Bass
Bateman
Becerra
Bentsen
Bereuter
Berry
Billbray
Bilirakis
Blagojevich
Bliley
Blumenauer
Boehler
Boehner
Bonilla
Boswell
Boucher
Boyd
Brady
Brown (CA)
Brown (FL)
Bryant
Buyer
Callahan
Calvert
Camp
Campbell
Canady
Cannon
Capps
Castle
Chabot
Christensen
Clement
Coble
Combest
Conyers
Cooksey
Cramer
Crane
Cunningham
Davis (FL)
Davis (VA)
DeGette
DeLay
Deutsch
Dicks
Dingell
Dixon
Doggett
Dooley
Doyle
Dreier
Dunn
Edwards
Ehlers
Emerson
English
Eshoo
Etheridge
Ewing
Farr
Fattah
Fawell
Fazio
Filner
Flake
Foglietta
Foley
Ford
Fox
Franks (NJ)
Frelinghuysen
Frost
Furse
GalleglyGekas
Gilchrest
Gingrich
Goodlatte
Goss
Granger
Green
Greenwood
Gutknecht
Hall (TX)
Hamilton
Hansen
Harman
Hastert
Hastings (WA)
Hayworth
Herger
Hill
Hinojosa
Hoekstra
Holden
Hooley
Houghton
Hulshof
Hutchinson
Istook
Jackson-Lee
(TX)
Jefferson
Jenkins
John
Johnson (CT)
Johnson (WI)
Johnson, E. B.
Kanjorski
Kelly
Kennelly
Kim
Kind (WI)
Kleczka
Knollenberg
Kolbe
LaFalce
LaHood
Lampson
Largent
Latham
LaTourette
Lazio
Leach
Levin
Lewis (CA)
Linder
Livingston
Lofgren
Lowey
Lucas
Luther
Maloney (NY)
Manton
Manzullo
Martinez
Matsui
McCarthy (MO)
McCollum
McCrery
McDade
McDermott
McGovern
McHale
McHugh
McIntosh
McKeon
McNulty
Meehan
Miller (FL)
Minge
Moakley
Moran (KS)
Moran (VA)
MorellaMurtha
Neal
Nethercutt
Neumann
Ney
Northup
Nussle
Oberstar
Ortiz
Oxley
Packard
Pastor
Paul
Pease
Peterson (MN)
Peterson (PA)
Petri
Pickett
Pitts
Pomeroy
Porter
Portman
Poshard
Price (NC)
Pryce (OH)
Quinn
Radanovich
Ramstad
Rangel
Redmond
Regula
Reyes
Riggs
Rodriguez
Roemer
Roukema
Roybal-Allard
Rush
Ryun
Salmon
Sandlin
Sawyer
Saxton
Schaefer, Dan
Schumer
Serrano
Sessions
Shadegg
Shaw
Shays
Sherman
Shimkus
Shuster
Skaggs
Skeen
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (OR)
Smith (TX)
Smith, Adam
Snowbarger
Snyder
Stabenow
Stenholm
Stump
Sununu
Talent
Tanner
Tauscher
Tauzin
Taylor (NC)
Thomas
Thornberry
Thune
Thurman
Towns
Turner
Walsh
Watkins
Weldon (PA)
Weller
White
Whitfield
Wicker
Wise
Young (AK)
Young (FL)

NOT VOTING—3

Cox

Schiff

Yates

□ 1550

Mr. GILCREST, Ms. PRYCE of
Ohio, and Messrs. SUNUNU,

LARGENT, TAUZIN, LEWIS of California, and BECERRA changed their vote from "aye" to "no."

Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York, and Mr. TORRES changed their vote from "no" to "aye."

So the joint resolution was not passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I ask permission to speak out of order. On rollcall vote 231, House Resolution 79, to disapprove most-favored-nation treatment to the products of the People's Republic of China, I was recorded as voting "no", it was my intention to vote "yes", to deny MFN to China. I ask that this statement be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD immediately after rollcall vote 231.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). Pursuant to clause 5 of rule I, the pending business is the question of the Speaker's approval of the Journal.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. UPTON. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 369, noes 59, not voting 6, as follows:

[Roll No. 232]

AYES—369

Ackerman
Aderholt
Bunning
Burr
Allen
Andrews
Archer
Armey
Bachus
Baesler
Baker
Baldacci
Ballenger
Barcia
Barr
Barrett (NE)
Barrett (WI)
Bartlett
Barton
Bateman
Becerra
Bentsen
Bereuter
Berman
Berry
Billbray
Bilirakis
Blunt
Boehler
Boehner
Bonilla
Bonior
Bono
Boswell
Boucher
Boyd
Brady
Brown (FL)Bryant
Bunning
Burton
Buyer
Callahan
Calvert
Camp
Campbell
Canady
Cannon
Capps
Cardin
Carson
Castle
Chabot
Chambliss
Chenoweth
Christensen
Clement
Clyburn
Coble
Coburn
Collins
Combest
Condit
Conyers
Cook
Cooksey
Coyne
Cramer
Crane
Crapo
Cubin
Cunningham
Danner
Davis (FL)
Davis (IL)
Davis (VA)
DealDeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
DeLay
Dellums
Deutsch
Diaz-Balart
Dickey
Dicks
Dingell
Dixon
Doggett
Dooley
Doolittle
Doyle
Dreier
Duncan
Dunn
Edwards
Ehlers
Ehrlich
Emerson
Engel
Eshoo
Etheridge
Evans
Ewing
Farr
Fattah
Fawell
Flake
Foley
Forbes
Ford
Fowler
Frank (MA)
Franks (NJ)
Frelinghuysen
Frost
FurseGallegly
Ganske
Gejdenson
Gekas
Gilchrest
Gillmor
Gilman
Gonzalez
Goode
Goodlatte
Goodling
Gordon
Goss
Graham
Granger
Greenwood
Gutierrez
Hall (OH)
Hall (TX)
Hamilton
Hansen
Harman
Hastert
Hastings (WA)
Hayworth
Herger
Hill
Hilleary
Hinchev
Hinojosa
Hobson
Hoekstra
Holden
Hooley
Horn
Hostettler
Houghton
Hoyer
Hunter
Hutchinson
Hyde
Inglis
Istook
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee
(TX)
Jefferson
Jenkins
John
Johnson (CT)
Johnson (WI)
Johnson, Sam
Jones
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Kasich
Kelly
Kennedy (MA)
Kennedy (RI)
Kennelly
Kildee
Kim
Kind (WI)
King (NY)
Kingston
Kleczka
Klink
Klug
Knollenberg
Kolbe
LaFalce
LaHood
Lampson
Lantos
Largent
Latham
LaTourette
Lazio
Levin
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (KY)
Linder
Lipinski
LivingstonLofgren
Lowey
Lucas
Luther
Maloney (CT)
Manton
Manzullo
Markey
Martinez
Mascara
Matsui
McCarthy (MO)
McCarthy (NY)
McCollum
McCrery
McDade
McGovern
McHale
McHugh
McInnis
McIntosh
McIntyre
McKeon
McKinney
Meehan
Meek
Menendez
Metcalf
Mica
Millender
Hobson
Miller (CA)
Miller (FL)
Minge
Mink
Moakley
Molinari
Mollohan
Moran (VA)
Morella
Murtha
Myrick
Nadler
Neal
Nethercutt
Neumann
Ney
Northup
Norwood
Nussle
Obey
Ortiz
Owens
Oxley
Packard
Pappas
Parker
Pastor
Paul
Paxon
Payne
Pease
Pelosi
Peterson (MN)
Peterson (PA)
Petri
Pickering
Pitts
Pomeroy
Porter
Portman
Price (NC)
Pryce (OH)
Quinn
Radanovich
Rahall
Rangel
Regula
Reyes
Riggs
Riley
Rivers
Rodriguez
Roemer

NOES—59

Abercrombie
Borski
Brown (CA)
Brown (OH)
Clay
Clayton
Costello
Cummings
DeFazio
English
Ensign
Everett
FazioFilner
Foglietta
Fox
Gephardt
Gibbons
Green
Gutknecht
Hastings (FL)
Hefley
Hefner
Hilliard
Hulshof
Johnson, E. B.Rogan
Rogers
Rohrabacher
Ros-Lehtinen
Rothman
Roukema
Roybal-Allard
Royce
Ryun
Salmon
Sanchez
Sanders
Sandlin
Sanford
Sawyer
Saxton
Scarborough
Schaefer, Dan
Schumer
Scott
Sensenbrenner
Serrano
Shadegg
Shaw
Shays
Sherman
Shimkus
Shuster
Siskisky
Skaggs
Skeen
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (MI)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (OR)
Smith (TX)
Smith, Adam
Smith, Linda
Snowbarger
Snyder
Solomon
Souder
Spence
Spratt
Stabenow
Stearns
Stenholm
Stokes
Stump
Talent
Tanner
Tauscher
Tauzin
Taylor (NC)
Thomas
Thornberry
Thune
Thurman
Tiahrt
Tierney
Torres
Towns
Traficant
Turner
Upton
Vento
Walsh
Wamp
Watkins
Waxman
Weldon (FL)
Weldon (PA)
Wexler
Weygand
White
Whitfield
Wise
Wolf
Woolsey
Wynn
Young (AK)
Young (FL)Kilpatrick
Kucinich
Lewis (GA)
LoBiondo
Maloney (NY)
McDermott
McNulty
Moran (KS)
Oberstar
Oliver
Pallone
Pascarell
Pickett

| | | |
|---------------|-------------|------------|
| Pombo | Sessions | Visclosky |
| Poshard | Stark | Waters |
| Ramstad | Stupak | Watt (NC) |
| Redmond | Sununu | Watts (OK) |
| Rush | Taylor (MS) | Weller |
| Sabo | Thompson | Wicker |
| Schaffer, Bob | Velazquez | |

NOT VOTING—6

| | | |
|------|--------|------------|
| Bass | Leach | Strickland |
| Cox | Schiff | Yates |

□ 1559

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

So the Journal was approved.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 1998

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). Pursuant to House Resolution 169 and rule XXIII, the Chair declares the House in the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill, H.R. 1119.

□ 1600

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H.R. 1119) to authorize appropriations for fiscal years 1998 and 1999 for military activities of the Department of Defense, to prescribe military personnel strengths for fiscal years 1998 and 1999, and for other purposes, with Mr. YOUNG of Florida in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. When the Committee of the Whole rose on Monday, June 23, 1997, the amendments en bloc offered by the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. SPENCE] had been disposed of.

It is now in order to debate the subject matter of United States forces in Bosnia.

The gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. SPENCE] and the gentleman from California [Mr. DELLUMS] each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. SPENCE].

(Mr. SPENCE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, today Congress will cast its first significant votes on our United States policy in Bosnia since the President extended deployment of our United States ground troops to that war-torn land last winter.

Today's votes will not be an expression of support for the mission, although our troops are doing well and we surely all support them. Nor will today's votes express the sense of the House or sense of the Congress. Rather, today's votes will call for the withdrawal of U.S. ground troops from a peacekeeping operation of growing expense and seemingly unending duration.

Our Armed Forces have done all that they can to help bring peace to Bosnia and in the Balkans. With consummate professionalism under trying circumstances, our troops and NATO troops have enforced the military provisions of the Dayton peace agreement. As a result of their efforts, the military tasks required by the Dayton accord, the separation of the warring parties, the collection and destruction of heavy weapons, and the transfer of territories have all been completed.

But the remaining tasks, the civilian, humanitarian and political reconstruction of Bosnia, are beyond the capabilities of our troops, unless we are prepared to remain in Bosnia for decades. In recent months, our military commanders have added tanks to the stabilization force in Bosnia and have made plans to postpone the transition to the smaller, lighter deterrent force that was supposed to take over when the United States ground mission ended in fiscal year 1998.

Just last month, a top NATO commander told the New York Times, and I quote: "It would be a mistake to say that there is peace in Bosnia. We have only the absence of war. We gave the civilian officials the time and the space it carry out the Dayton agreement, but they failed. Nothing has been accomplished."

This is a startling and frank admission. But we have not failed for want of effort. Since the United States military involvement in Bosnia and the Balkans began with the imposition of Operation Sharp Guard blockade back in 1992, more than 100,000 American soldiers, sailors, airmen and marines have seen duty in that theater of operations. That is the largest deployments of our forces since the Gulf War.

Not only have we deployed tens of thousands of troops, we have spent a lot of money in doing it. By the end of the year, fiscal year 1998, the Department of Defense will have spent at least \$7.3 billion on Bosnia and supporting operations. That is \$7.3 billion over and above normal operating and personnel budgets. And \$7.3 billion that has been and will continue to be diverted from already underfunded modernization, quality of life, readiness and training programs.

I suspect, of course, that the true costs of our Bosnian involvement have been much larger. And based upon the highly optimistic political and operational assumptions that underlie the President's budget request for fiscal year 1998 in Bosnia, the cost will continue to rise dramatically.

By any measure, Bosnia is too large an issue for our United States foreign policy to be decided exclusively by Presidential fiat. This would be true even if the administration's Bosnia policy were not marked with broken promises about the duration the mission, its scope, and its cost.

The administration has lost the confidence of the American people when it comes to Bosnia. Nearly 2 years ago

the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Shalikashvili, said that he could not, and I quote, "imagine circumstances changing in such a way that we would remain in Bosnia."

More than 1 year. Just 2 months ago, Secretary of Defense Cohen stated, and I quote, "It is very clear that by June of 1998 we will be on our way out." I hope both of these gentlemen's statements have taken especially into account the administration's proclivity to say one thing one day and change its tune the next day.

And the President is at it again. When he announced extension of the Bosnia mission following last November's elections, he said that he would propose to our NATO allies that by June of 1998 the work would be done and the forces would be able to be withdrawn.

Yet last month, the President began to reverse himself again, as anticipated, when he said, and I quote: "We just can't sort of hang around and then disappear in a year. . . I want to stop talking about what date we're leaving on."

The time is long overdue for Congress to express its will on behalf of the American people. It is important that the Clinton administration be held accountable for the Nation's foreign policy and in this case for Bosnia policy, a policy initiated without the consent or even support of Congress and predicated on the early withdrawal of United States ground troops. In my opinion, the sooner our ground troops are withdrawn, the better.

But the withdrawal of our ground troops from Bosnia need not and should not mean the end of NATO operations in and around Bosnia. The United States has an obligation to support alliance operations. But I believe that our support should be focused on providing those capabilities which we alone possess or can best provide, things such as logistics support over large areas in long distances, intelligence, communication and a list of all kinds.

No one should characterize our U.S. contributions as undermining the alliance, for these contributions will continue to involve thousands of troops at a cost to our taxpayers of billions of dollars. I am not suggesting that the Nation revert to isolationism; rather, a more practical and proper sharing of responsibilities and burdens of what appears to be a long-term NATO peacekeeping operation.

I do not disagree with the approach that our allies call "in together, out together" when it comes to NATO operations in Bosnia. But unless we can take a more nuanced approach to that policy, one that allows the United States to participate without performing each and every task, our allies will simply continue to hold us hostage.

If the withdrawal of our ground troops from Bosnia is followed by the collapse of the NATO mission, as the administration asserts will occur, then