your sleeping bag when it is darn cold and help get things put together for breakfast. If we have got somebody who has got a broken leg or injured or is otherwise incapable of helping gather the firewood, then the rest of us pitch in and there is no complaint. Where the complaints start is when somebody is capable of pitching in and they simply say, ''Hey, let Jack do it. Jack's good at gathering firewood. I'd just as soon sit by the fire and not have to go out and do the work.''

That is what I am concerned about here. I want a peace agreement. I want this thing resolved. I think there are a lot of details we have to talk about, and I think we should all seriously assess what are the legal precedents that have been set. But at the same time I think this administration, and I hope they are doing it, but I think this administration has an absolute obligation to the citizens of this country to say, ''Hey, we've been gathering all the firewood,'' and I can assure you that on this war in Yugoslavia, all of the firewood or 90 something percent of the firewood that has gone into that fire was gathered by the United States, not by the other 19 people at the campsite. There are 19 people at that campsite. One of them gathered 90 something percent. Our good allies and good friends, the United Kingdom, who have always been good, solid allies for us, they gathered a proportionate share, about 10 percent or a little less, they have been putting in a little firewood, but they have had their arms full when they were coming in so they are working. But what are the others doing? They are not carrying their fair share of the firewood. Now that the real expenses are going to come into play here, now I think it is absolutely critical that a couple of us stand up. We are not going to be popular because at this campsite there are 19 people, 17 who really are not contributing too much, so the two of us who stand up to the other 17 and say, ''You got to pitch in,'' you can imagine those 17 are going to say, ''Be quiet, what are you moaning about?'' and so on. But we have a responsibility to the American taxpayer to stand up and say to our European allies, ''You're going to have to pitch in on this rebuilding. You're going to have to help too. You're going to have to help gather that firewood.''

Mr. KINGSTON. I think the point is that what we need to do as Members of Congress is to make sure that the President does everything he can do to get everybody to, I guess, pass the hat fairly, because if this is truly a European peril and Europe has the primary interest in it, then Europe has to also have the primary obligation to help funding in it.

Mr. MCINNIS. I think we are at a real advantage tonight because our colleague from California has come in with some more details that have happened just in the last few minutes or have at least been released. I thank the gentleman for coming out. I think it is a great opportunity for us to send this message out.

I yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. OSE).

Mr. OSE. I thank the gentleman from Colorado and the gentleman from Georgia for their generosity. As many of the Members know, we have access over the Internet to any number of things. I have taken the time this evening to track down off the Internet the draft text of the proposed peace agreement. I found it at msnbc.com/news/277886.asp.

It is the text of the U.N. draft on Kosovo. While this is the draft, and it was put together yesterday, it does contain a number of things that I think merit our attention in line with the gentleman from Georgia's comments about our commitments here and our obligations as we go into the future. I would just like to highlight a couple of those in particular. There are three parts to this agreement. There is the 21 paragraph preamble, if you will, then there is Annex 1 and then Annex 2. I do not recall which of the gentlemen referred to it, but the phrase was the devil is in the details. I would particularly commend to your reading Annex 1 and Annex 2.

In Annex 1, the document calls for a political process towards the establishment of an interim political framework agreement providing for a substantial self-government for Kosovo taking full account of the Rambouillet accords and the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Now, what I am concerned about is what does that mean? It says a political process towards the establishment of an interim political framework. Now, I thought we were trying to find a political framework that would allow the solution, not work towards a political framework. The consequence of this is that we still have doubt and uncertainty as to our ultimate goals.

There are three other points I would like to make about this draft text. Again, that was in Annex 1. In Annex 2, paragraph 5, there is a statement, ''Agreement should be reached on the following principles to move toward a resolution of the Kosovo crisis,'' item number 5 being an establishment of an interim administration for Kosovo as part of the international civil presence under which the people of Kosovo can enjoy substantial autonomy within the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to be decided by the Security Council of the United Nations.

Take note, if you would, please. We have been there as NATO. Now we are transferring to the United Nations the responsibility for establishing interim administration and an international civil presence. Again in Annex 2, paragraph 6, there is agreement to allow an agreed number of Yugoslav and Serbian personnel to return to Kosovo to perform various civil and security functions after the agreement is made.

Now, that is all well and good. But then, going back again in Annex 2, the last one, is a comprehensive approach to economic development and stabilization of the region, including a stability pact for Southeastern Europe.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have agreed to autonomy for Kosovo, self-government for Kosovo, an international civil presence in Kosovo to protect the Kosovars and their autonomy, the return after their initial withdrawal of Yugoslavian and Serbian personnel for limited civil and security purposes, deployment in Kosovo of an international and civil security presence, and a blank check for economic development and stabilization. Well, who is going to bear the burden here? It begs the question. Who is going to pay for this? I am serious about this. We have spent $2 billion at least to date. Between now and the end of the fiscal year, we are scheduled to spend an additional 3 to $4 billion. And we have opened the door to a draw because we are the only country that can do it, to a draw on the United States Treasury to reconstruct what we just finished destroying.

Now, the gentleman from Colorado and the gentleman from Georgia are correct. At what point do we make a choice as to the best interests of the United States and its residents? Do we in fact spend the money in Kosovo and Yugoslavia for reconstruction? Or do we spend the money on education and health care and infrastructure here in the United States? That is a true and unavoidable choice.

I regret to say, and I do want to say, I mean, I have been an opponent of our activities in Yugoslavia. I think the President made a serious mistake. I want to make sure that I am clear about this. I commend him for his behind-the-scene efforts in getting us to this point where we at least have the draft, as yet unsigned, of a treaty, a peace agreement that will allow us to terminate our activities there. I commend the administration for that. Mr. Speaker, it is a great thing for us to get to this point. But there is substantial uncertainty that remains here. As Members of the House exercising our constitutional oversight authority, we need to be cognizant that the United States remains the bank, if you would, on which the rest of the world will ultimately come calling to fund all of these measures that lack specificity, that are not well defined, that would not be used in private industry for any transaction whatsoever. This is a step in the right direction. I hope between now and the time when the United Nations Security Council adopts this and the members of NATO affirm it that definition is added to this agreement sufficient to answer these questions as to what the various phrases in here mean about substantial autonomy, substantial self-government and the like.

Mr. MCINNIS. I think the gentleman from California's points are very well made. He says the choice. Is the choice that we take, and I think actually the