Mr. Speaker, H. Res. 151 provides for the consideration

of four separate measures relating to the deployment of U.S. Armed

Forces in the Republic of Yugoslavia, each under a closed amendment

process with 1 hour of debate. The first measure made in order by the

rule is H.R. 1569 which prohibits the use of funds appropriated to the

Department of Defense from being used for the deployment of ground

elements of the U.S. Armed Forces in Yugoslavia unless that deployment

is authorized by law. Debate time on H.R. 1569 will be controlled by

the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Armed

Services.

The next two resolutions made in order by the rule were introduced by

my friend from Campbell, California (Mr. Campbell) and reported

unfavorably yesterday by the Committee on International Relations. Both

resolutions, H. Con. Res. 82 and H.J. Res. 44, have a unique procedural

status under the War Powers Resolution of 1973. Without this rule, both

Campbell resolutions will become the pending business of the House

today as a result of having been reported by the Committee on

International Relations. Motions to proceed to consideration of the

resolutions would be privileged, and the resolutions would not be

subject to general debate but would be subject to an open but clearly

unfocused amendment process.

As a result, this rule structures the consideration of these measures

in accordance with the War Powers Resolution while providing for a

full, fair and focused debate on the broader issues surrounding the

introduction of U.S. Armed Forces in Yugoslavia.

Debate time on both of these resolutions will be controlled by the

chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on International

Relations.

The fourth resolution, Mr. Speaker, that we make in order with this

rule is S.Con.Res. 21, authorizing the President to conduct military

air operations and missile strikes against Yugoslavia. This resolution

may only be called up by the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. Gejdenson)

or his designee. Debate time on S.Con.Res. 21 will be controlled by the

chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on International

Relations.

Prior to consideration of these four measures, the rule provides for

1 hour of debate on measures relating to the Federal Republic of

Yugoslavia, equally divided and controlled among the chairmen and

ranking minority members of the Committee on International Relations

and the Committee on Armed Services.

Finally, the rule provides that provisions of sections 6 and 7 of the

War Powers Resolution shall not apply during the remainder of the 106th

Congress to a measure introduced pursuant to section 5 of the War

Powers Resolution with respect to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Now, Mr. Speaker, when Americans are engaged in armed conflict, the

House of Representatives is invariably faced with important and very

difficult questions. That is the responsibility handed to us by our

Nation's forefathers when they crafted democracy's most enduring and

enlightened document, our Constitution. Today is such a day. President

Clinton has directed our Armed Forces to join our NATO allies in a

battle against the forces of Yugoslavian dictator Slobodan Milosevic.

It is a fight to preserve civilized society in a corner of Europe that

has been wracked by atrocities, violence and Civil War on a scale

unseen in Europe since the Second World War.

The United States is not the world's policeman. The American people

know too well that we cannot intervene in every civil war. We cannot

stop every act of brutality. We cannot keep the peace and protect

democracy all on our own. But that is not what is going on today in the

Balkans.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a cornerstone of the world's

civilized and democratic nations, is engaged in military action in

Yugoslavia. When the President, the Commander in Chief, made the

decision a month ago that it was in our national interest to lead NATO

in this effort, America became a full participant in that undertaking.

Our pilots are risking their lives every single day.

Whether or not in hindsight that was the right decision is a question

for presidential historians. This really is not about whether we agreed

with the President at the time either. Today the overriding question

is: What policy best protects and advances our national interests?

Article 2, Section 2 of the Constitution clearly and unequivocally

establishes that the President is the Commander in Chief. The

deployment and direction of the armed forces is his job. In fact, since

my first day of service in this legislative body, it has been my view

that the direction of our foreign policy and national security is the

President's first and foremost responsibility. Everything else comes

after that.

Although I have had some doubts about the President's original policy

in Kosovo, I believe that the facts on the ground have overtaken those

concerns. Now we must win. We must achieve the goals that the President

set out to achieve when he committed our forces to battle. The price of

failure is simply too great. American prestige and power, two of the

most positive forces of good in the world today, must not be abandoned

on the field of battle.

Mr. Speaker, vacillation and hesitancy in the face of this challenge

to the leadership of the United States and NATO, a challenge undertaken

by a gang of thugs in Belgrade and their brutal underlings in Kosovo

will severely undermine our Nation's ability to stand up and defend

clear American interests across the globe. If that happens, we lose.

The American people lose. Freedom loses.

Mr. Speaker, as the House undertakes this important debate, I will

focus on doing what is best for our national interests and for the

American service men and women doing their jobs with bravery and

commitment. First and foremost I believe that means opposing

micromanagement of our foreign and military policy. We know we cannot

engage in combat by committee. One of the most serious objections to

the conduct of the Kosovo campaign thus far has been the fact that too

many people, in particular too many political leaders, have been

involved in this effort. I do not support adding to that problem. The

President is constitutionally charged with leading and winning this

campaign. He must do it, and we must stand behind him so that he can.

I urge support of this rule which provides for, as I said, a full,

fair and very focused debate on the broader issues surrounding the

introduction of U.S. armed forces in Yugoslavia.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, I simply would like to say to my friend that

it does not prevent a Member from having an opportunity to offer a

resolution. It simply moves under standard

procedures without going through the expedited process.

Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time, and I

rise in strong support of this rule.

I am going to move that we strike section 6, but before I do that,

let me make a couple of comments about this rule and the procedure

around which it was considered.

For starters, we had a request that came from the minority that we

extend by an hour the debate. We agreed to that. We are allowing the

gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. Gejdenson), under this rule, to call up

or not call up a freestanding bill, which I believe, if it is not

unprecedented, it certainly is unusual. We have also agreed to the

requests that have been made by Members on both sides of the aisle to

address this section 6 question.

I should say that the section 6 which was included in the bill was

not an idea of Republicans. As has been pointed out by some, in 1993

when the resolution on Somalia was considered, it was a proposal that

the majority, the Democratic majority at that time, offered. We were

simply following along the line with that. But from discussions that

have been held, we are going to move to strike section 6.