Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to

me.

Mr. Speaker, I will tell the Members, it is easy to be proud to send

our troops into Kosovo if Members have never been there. They have to

understand what we are asking our troops to do, and we need to clearly

understand why we are asking the sons and daughters of American mothers

to die for these humanitarian causes. There are other ways, if we act.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this debate will determine the course of

American policy and military policy, foreign policy, for the next

century. I urge my colleagues to totally ignore the partisan

ramifications of our decisions and instead base our votes on the

constitutionally defined security interests of this Republic.

Today we hear the argument that to withdraw from an unconstitutional

war undermines the morale of our armed forces and steels the resolve of

those with whom we contend. If we accept that argument, we will have

granted absolutely war powers, not just to this administration but

every administration in the 21st century. That rationale demands that

we keep quiet, we go along with every military adventure of every

president, for the same reasons.

Instead, I ask Members, I plead with them, to listen to the words of

John Quincy Adams in 1821: ``(America) knows well that by once

enlisting under other banners than her own . . . she would involve

herself, beyond the power of extrication, in all the wars of interest

and intrigue, of individual avarice . . . She might become the dictator

of the world;'' or the police power, in my words; ``she would no longer

be the ruler of her own spirit.''

If we refuse to do our constitutional duty in this body, in this

House, the horrible warnings of President Adams may become reality.

Serbs are fighting Albanians, Albanians are fighting Serbs. People in

the Balkans have fought and have committed atrocities against one

another for at least 500 years. Now we allow our Nation to be dragged

into a quagmire for which there will be no exit.

I believe that within the next few days the President will be

delivering a new speech if we send troops into the Balkans. He will

lament the death of Americans in combat in the Balkans. He will call on

the Nation to ensure that their ultimate sacrifice will not be in vain.

Have we heard this before?

In the process, he will commit my great-grandchildren to policing the

Balkans, not because we are threatened, not because we are under

attack, not because freedom of this country is not secure, but simply

to enforce a new world police order in Europe.

Mr. Speaker, let me allow the President not to make that speech. Do

not help him make that speech. Vote to end this nastiness today.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to

me.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to simply point out that the right to start

a war or declare a war is left to the American people. They get to do

that through their elected representatives. The reason the Constitution

gives that right to the American people is that we are going to ask

them to sacrifice their sons and daughters and our Treasury on behalf

of the war that they asked us to start.

This amendment was mentioned earlier, that it takes a lot of the

options off the table. It takes only one option off the table, and that

is the option of the President to start a war with ground troops

without the permission of the American people.

Mr. Speaker, if we need to have a ground war, the President can come

to Congress, where he should come, because this is what is known as the

balance of power, when the legislative branch has some power and the

executive branch does. When the Executive is wrong, and I think they

are wrong, they should come to the Congress. I ask Members to support

this amendment.

Mr. Speaker, I do not understand at all why we cannot

have this debate with the clear feeling and understanding that this is

not about politics, this is not about party. Some of us just think he

is wrong, this is wrong-headed foreign policy.

I believe that in my absolute soul. We do not need to be attacking

from the air, we do not need to be attacking with ground troops. We

need to get out of the Balkans. It is going to lead to a disaster that

will carry us well into the 21st century, and primarily because it is

not in our national interest. I totally disagree with that.

Is it a humanitarian cause? Absolutely. And are there ways we should

deal with that? Yes. But we need a leader, not a commander-in-chief. We

needed a leader to deal with this with Europe.

Many, many, many months now have gone by. I have been there and done

this, Mr. Speaker. I watched this occur as a young man when we went to

Vietnam. I did not question the Congress and I did not question the

President. He said we needed to go, and I was ready to go.

I will tell you another thing. Those of you who think this is such a

clear-cut mission, perhaps if you are young enough, and I consider

myself, maybe we ought to resign from Congress and go into the Balkans.

Let us fight through the mountains over there with the Marines, if that

is what you believe is so important; and if you are not young enough to

go, send your sons. That is the question: Will you let your son die for

humanitarian interests that we well should put on the backs of the

Europeans?

It is time for them to grow up. We need a leader who is sanctioning

Britain and sanctioning France and talking to Russia and saying you

guys have been burned down twice in this century, you need to be in the

Balkans. You need to have peace.

Mr. Speaker, I am not going to vote for this one minute, and I hope

no one will, because I agree this may allow him to put ground troops

in.