Mr. Speaker, if you don't believe we should send troops

into the Balkans--then there is a clear pattern of how you should vote

today.

If you believe that the War Powers Resolution offers the best means

for preventing the president from taking us to war--then you know the

course to follow.

What we are discussing today is the war in the Balkans. This region

is a tapestry of overlapping ethnic rivalries where medieval and modern

history are intertwined. As with the Middle East, the situation is very

complicated. But where the Middle East resembles a game of checkers,

the Balkan region is more like three dimensional chess.

The central point is that the Balkans represent a process of history

and memory which has created a multiplier effect for violence. It is

not a phenomenon of ``modern hate,'' but a monstrous creation partially

wrought by the collapse of the multinational Hapsburg and Ottoman

empires. It is not a situation open to easy solutions. We are dealing

with a primitive ferocity there.

Today, we must decide if the President can take the United States

further into the Balkan conflict without the approval of Congress.

After all, the Constitution invests Congress with the power to make

war.

To my knowledge, no substantial war with the accompanying carnage has

ever been

fought solely on the basis of human rights. If they were, then surely

we would be fighting around the globe in many countries. Yes, human

rights are among the noblest of causes, but wars are fought over

national interests.

If the President had started this campaign in the right way, by using

the full measure of our airpower, this conflict might have been

resolved by now. However, this gradual approach has not worked. In

fact, this approach has been a common strategic flaw in most of this

Administration's military excursions.

Who in America would willingly send their son or daughter to die in

the Balkans based upon the President's explanation of the events?

President Clinton has put our troops in precarious positions over and

over again. We should say today that not one service man or woman

should be placed in harm's way based upon the President's empty threats

or hollow promises.

Vote yes to prevent ground troops from being sent into the Balkans.

Vote for the Goodling/Fowler Bill. When you find yourself in a hole, it

makes sense to stop digging. We need a better policy in the Balkans

than we now have, we need to stop digging.