Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman for

yielding time to me, and for his leadership on this important issue.

I do rise in support of the removal of the armed forces of the United

States from the present hostilities against the Federal Republic of

Yugoslavia. Our forces should be removed from these hostilities because

the vital national interests of the United States are not at stake in

the Balkans.

I also want to state my great concern about the commencement of this

war without the authorization of the Congress. The President does not

have the constitutional authority unilaterally to decide that the

United States will wage war on a sovereign Nation which has not

attacked or threatened the United States. Absent truly exigent

circumstances, the armed forces of the United States should be sent

into conflict only when duly authorized by this Congress.

I would like to quote what James Wilson said in the debate over

ratification of our constitution. He said, ``This new system will not

hurry us into war. It is calculated to guard against it. It will not be

in the power of a single man or a single body of men to involve us in

such distress, for the important power of declaring war is vested in

the legislature at large.'' That power should be exercised as intended

by the Constitution and not usurped by the President.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the removal of the Armed

Forces of the United States from the present hostilities against the

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Our forces should be removed from these

hostilities because the vital national interests of the United States

are not at stake in the Balkans. Although our interests are not

threatened by Yugoslavia, we are waging war against Yugoslavia in a

conflict that is but the prelude to a protracted, costly, and dangerous

entanglement in the Balkans.

Events to date sadly demonstrate that the Administration has not

adequately assessed the consequences of its present policy and the

costs of the course on which it has embarked. From the start, the

policy has been ill-conceived. Stating the obvious, to persist in folly

is not wisdom. The longer we follow the misguided and dangerous course

set by the Administration, the greater the risk of serious harm to the

real interests of the United States.

I also want to state my great concern about the commencement of this

war without authorization by the Congress. As Commander-in-

Chief, the President does, in my view, have the inherent Constitutional

authority to use military force to respond to attacks on United States

territory and interests. The President does not, however, have the

Constitutional authority unilaterally to decide that the United States

will wage war on a sovereign nation which has not attacked or

threatened the United States. Absent truly exigent circumstances, the

Armed Forces of the United States should be sent into conflict only

when duly authorized by the Congress. Otherwise, the power to declare

war vested by the Constitution in the Congress is rendered meaningless.

In the debate over ratification of the Constitution, James Wilson

summed up the meaning of the pertinent Constitutional provisions.

Wilson said: This [new] system will not hurry us into war; it is

calculated to guard against it. It will not be in the power of a single

man, or a single body of men, to involve us in such distress; for the

important power of declaring war is vested in the legislature at large;

. . . from this circumstance we may draw a certain conclusion that

nothing but our national interests can draw us into war.

The decision of a single man has taken the United States into this

war against Yugoslavia. That decision was neither wise nor

constitutional.