Then I will speak to

my heart’s content.

I say to the Senator,

you don’t think that should be the

case? Who knows. My heart’s content

may be only 3 or 4 minutes on this

issue.

Mr. President, I believe under the

guise of the Constitution, which gives

the President, as Commander in Chief,

some very, very strong powers over

what he does, where he places, and

what he asks our military to do, that

we are beginning now, in this President’s

administration, to go down the

slippery path that the President can

engage our military almost anywhere,

any time, so long as it pleases him and

he decides it is in our national interest.

I say, shame on the President. If this

is such an important matter, why

could he not trust the Senate and the

House to ask us whether we concur?

Let me say, Mr. President—not the

President who occupies the Chair, but

our President down on Pennsylvania

Avenue—with your last budget, we will

have spent $12.3 billion in Bosnia—$12.3

billion. There was not even enough

money in the defense budget. At one

point we had to declare it an emergency,

after 3 years of being involved,

to pay for it, because to pay for it

would have stripped our military of

other things that they desperately

need to be our strong military force.

What are we up to? We are going to

take up the budget on the floor, and I

predict that if we authorize, or do not

authorize the President, he is going to

do it anyway. And there will be Senators

from the other side of the aisle

who will stand up and want to take

money out of the Defense Department

to spend on domestic programs. But

they will vote here tonight to send our

men and women off to this war and

claim they will never go in there.

But let me tell you, this is a very,

very unintelligible plan. You cannot

rationally accept the President’s reasoning

unless you conclude that they

do not want to tell you where it is

going to end up. It does not take a lot

of sense to say airstrike No. 1 may not

work, airstrike No. 2 may not work. We

have been told by military experts

years ago that airstrikes would not

work in this area of the world.

So what then happens? That is the

extent of our plan? Who believes that?

I ask those who believe in the great

United States of America, with its

President leading the way, who sent

the bombers in, sent in the stealth

fighters, sent in the Tomahawk missiles—

and the big leader who has

caused all the trouble is not dead yet

and will not quit, what are we going to

do?

I asked the question already of the

leaders representing the President, and

they say there is no plan. Wait a

minute. No plan? Well, NATO may

have a plan, but America does not have

a plan for the third phase, which is

probably putting military men and

women in harm’s way.

What is NATO without America?

They have just described, NATO without

America in these airstrikes probably

could not get the job done. The

whole of NATO without us probably

would not undertake it. So do you believe

the third phase, which we do not

want to talk about, is going to get

done without America, if there is a

third phase?

And will there be a third phase? I do

not know. I have a hunch that phase 1,

of airstrikes from a distance through

Tomahawk missiles, and phase 2, with

actual airplanes of one sort or another,

may not work. I would think it would

be fair for the President of the United

States, since we have been at this issue

for months—as it got worse they

threatened and then pulled the

threat—to ask the Senate, as George

Bush did, and get concurrence. And if

we did not concur, wouldn’t it be a

pretty good signal that we do not think

it is right? What is wrong with that?

As I understand it, there will be an

amendment, there will be a proposal,

freestanding perhaps, asking that we

concur with the President of the

United States in airstrikes. I am not

going to vote for it, because I do not

think that is the end of it.

I ask one simple question: Is this not

a declaration of war without asking us,

who, under the Constitution, were

given authority to declare war? Isn’t it

an invasion of a sovereign country by a

military that is more than half American?

I believe it is. You can make all

kinds of rationalizations that it is not

an invasion, but it is. Is it not a civil

war? Yes, it is. Is it not a civil war of

long lasting? It did not start last week.

These people have been at civil war

for God knows how long. And they are

going to be there after the airstrikes

unless there is a large contingent of

soldiers to keep the peace. Is that what

we are going to do? Are we going to

have soldiers in there under the third

phase or the fourth phase? What if they

just do not agree to a peace treaty

after all these bombs? Do we walk

away? I do not believe we will. From

my standpoint, we never should have

gone in.

So, Mr. President, I believe the President

of the United States, once again,

has waited so long that he has us right

in a spot. He does it all the time. He

has us in the spot that a terrible tragedy

is going to occur unless we agree

with him in the next 24 hours, or perhaps

he even thinks unless you have already

agreed with me today. But who

knows, the Tomahawks may be flying

tonight. At this point it is dark over

there. And that is when they will start.

Everybody knows that.

So I say to the President of the

United States, since you like us to consider

your prerogatives under the U.S.

Constitution—and we do it all the

time—why don’t you consider ours?

Why don’t you ask us? And why don’t

you wait until we give you an answer?

That seems fair to me. What we are

doing is not fair to the Congress. And if

it isn’t fair to us, it is not fair to our

people.

I yield the floor.

Mr. President, I

don’t believe Senator WARNER, with all

the respect that we hold for him,

should stand on the floor of the Senate

and say that anyone who votes that we

should not go in there will not be in

support of the military people who happen

to go in there because the President

prevailed.

As a matter of fact, most of the Senators

who have supported the military

of the United States to the highest extent

over the years will probably be

voting against sending them in, but

will be right there supporting them,

and the Senator knows that and they

should know that.

I do my share in my little role as a

budgeteer to see that the military gets

sufficient money, and I will do that

again this year. I hope you all come

down here when people want to take

the money away from them. Just because

I don’t like what they are doing

doesn’t mean I don’t love the military

and the men and women out there

doing it. We will support them, but we

have a right to warn the American people

and tell them what this is all

about.

If you say, What is going to happen if

we don’t? I ask you, what happened in

the other countries of the world that

had revolutions where hundreds of

thousands of people were killed and we

didn’t go in because it wasn’t in our

national interest?

I happen to think that is the case

here. It is not in our national interest.