Mr. Speaker, I rise this evening to address the crisis that

is ongoing now in Yugoslavia. For a war to be moral, we must have a

reason to go in. National defense is a moral justification. If we are

attacked, it is a moral war. Getting involved in any other kind of war

is not considered to be moral.

A legal war in this country is one that is declared, declared by the

Congress. Any other war is illegal. The war in Yugoslavia now pursued

by our administration and with NATO is both immoral and illegal and it

should not be pursued. We will be soon voting on an appropriation,

probably next week. There may be a request for $5 billion to pursue the

war in Yugoslavia. I do not believe that we should continue to finance

a war that is both immoral and illegal.

It has been said that we are in Yugoslavia to stop ethnic cleansing,

but it is very clear that the goal of the NATO forces is to set up an

ethnic state.

It is totally contradictory. There is a civil war, and it is

horrible, going on in Yugoslavia today, but this is no justification

for outsiders, and especially United States of America, to become

involved without the proper proceedings.

I believe that our colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr.

Campbell), deserves to be complemented because he is making a

determined effort to put the burden on the Members of Congress to vote

one way or the other. Since World War II we have fought numerous wars,

and they have never been fought with a declaration of war, and it is

precisely for that reason, because they have not been fought for truly

national security reasons, that we have not won these wars. If a war is

worth fighting, it is worth declaring, and it is worth winning.

I am delighted that this effort is being made by the gentleman from

California (Mr. Campbell) and others here in the Congress because for

so long, for 50 years now, we have permitted our Presidents to casually

and carelessly involve our troops overseas. So I see this trend as

putting more pressure on the Congress to respond to their

responsibilities. I think this is a very, very good move and going in

the right direction.

It has been asked why in the world might we be there if it is not a

concern for the refugees, because obviously we have hundreds of

thousands, if not millions, of refugees in many, many places around the

world. We do not go to Rwanda to rescue the refugees, we did not go

into Yugoslavia to rescue the Serbian refugees when they were being

routed from Bosnia and Croatia, but all of a sudden the refugees seem

to have an importance.

Most people know why we went to the Persian Gulf. It was not because

we were attacked. It was because of a financial commercial interest:

oil. But what is the interest in this area in Yugoslavia? I am not sure

exactly what it is. There has been a lot of postulations about this,

but I am not convinced that it is all of a sudden the concern for the

refugees.

Yesterday in the Washington Post an interesting article occurred on

this subject, but it was not in the news section; it was in the

business section. There was a headline yesterday in the Washington Post

that said: Count Corporate America Among NATO's Staunchest Allies. Very

interesting article because it goes on to explain why so many

corporations have an intense interest in making sure that the

credibility of NATO is maintained, and they go on to explain that it is

not just the arms manufacturers but the technology people who expect to

sell weapons in Eastern Europe, in Yugoslavia, and they are very

interested in making use of the NATO forces to make sure that their

interests are protected. I think this is not the reason for us to go to

war.

There is talk now of calling up all our Reserves or many of our

Reserves at the same time there are hints now that there may be the

institution of the draft. So this is a major problem that this country

is facing, the world is facing, and up until now we, the Congress, have

not spoken.

On February 9 of this year I introduced a bill that would have

prohibited this by prohibiting any funds being spent on a war in

Yugoslavia. I say it is too bad we did not pass that legislation a long

time ago.