Mr. Speaker, I have spoken several times over the last

few days about the situation in Kosovo. Unfortunately, as a former

editor of Foreign Affairs magazine wrote recently in the Washington

Times, the President has put us in an impossible situation.

There is no good answer. As Henry Kissinger said, ``Ethnic and

religious fighting is endemic to the Balkans and has been going on

there for hundreds of years.'' We cannot stop it unless we stay there

forever at unbelievable costs to our taxpayers.

Do we mortgage the futures of our children and grandchildren to

temporarily make things a little bit better in Kosovo? Everyone agrees

that Milosevic is a tyrant. He is a communist dictator. I am certainly

not defending him in any way.

In fact, I went to Yugoslavia 2 years ago with the National Defense

Council. While in Belgrade, I, along with three other Members of this

body, appeared on radio station B-92, which was the main opposition

station to Milosevic. But as many columnists and commentators have

pointed out, our bombings have basically created the refugee situation

and have strengthen Milosevic.

Everyone has tremendous sympathy for the refugees. But several

hundred thousand Serbians were forced out of Croatia not long ago. They

were victims of ethnic cleansing then, and we did nothing about it. And

as many people have pointed out, there are small wars or fighting going

on in 30 or 40 different places around this world right now. Several of

those situations were far worse than in Kosovo before we started the

bombing.

There apparently is little disagreement with the description that the

Kosovar Liberation Army is a terrorist organization and one that has

been funded primarily by illegal drugs.

On MSNBC this past Saturday night, the question was asked about the

refugee crisis, whether it was created by NATO bombs or Serbian troops.

Sixty-five percent of the many thousands of callers said NATO bombing

was mainly at fault.

NATO is getting ready to hold one of the biggest parties this city

has ever seen here this weekend. I believe NATO and our President

thought Milosevic would cave after just a few days of bombing and that

they could then toast each other in a great victory celebration for the

50th anniversary party of NATO this weekend.

What a miscalculation. That was certainly one of the greatest

miscalculations in American history and, unfortunately, one that is

costing American taxpayers $46,000 a minute and many, many, many

billions before it is all over.

We are about to be asked to appropriate $6 billion in emergency

funding. And if we go into a ground war, they estimate that is going to

be $10 or $15 billion and that before it is all over, if this thing

drags out, we could spend $40 or $50 billion that would have to be

taken from other programs or from the Social Security fund.

All of this that I am saying today was said much more eloquently in a

column written by A.M. Rosenthal of the New York Times which ran in the

Knoxville News Sentinel this morning. Mr. Rosenthal wrote this. He

said, ``The way adults of any intelligence can find out how well they

are dealing with a crisis, personal or national, is to ask themselves

two questions: Would we do the same things again if we had

a chance? If not, what do we now do to get out of this mess?''

Then Mr. Rosenthal asked these questions: ``Would the United States

again decide that to help Kosovo's Albanians we would give Slobodan

Milosevic what he wanted most, the cover to drive a million of them

into foreign exile or become displaced persons at home, wandering their

roads in terror? Would we spray bombs at a dictator without it

occurring to our leaders he would immediately drive out or slaughter

the people we were supposed to save? Were our leaders fools?'' ``Yes''

Mr. Rosenthal says.

Would the U.S. President again decide that before going to war he

would guarantee not to send ground troops so Milosevic need not get all

worried?

``Would we again bomb-bomb-bomb the capital of the Serbs, who thought

of themselves as far more our friends than his? So far this has

produced three major results: humiliating Serbs forever, turning

friendship into enmity, and persuading many to rally around a man they

detest and fear.

``Would we be roaming around again with a diplomatic begging cup

asking Russia, the same addled country that we pity, or any other

country that will answer the phone, to find a way out for us?

``Would we again allow Washington to weaken the world's human rights

movements by arousing fears that they will one day mean more bombing

assignments for America?''

Mr. Speaker, just to sum up what we really have done, we have turned

friends into enemies at great cost to this country. And I think that,

unfortunately, we have gotten into one of the biggest messes we have

ever gotten into in this country, and we need to negotiate and get out

of this mess as soon as we possibly can.