Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this rule because it is

a fair rule and it allows all views to be heard and will allow far more

than 30 minutes that the previous speaker mentioned. We will be

debating this for many hours to come today, and on into tonight.

However, I rise in strong opposition to this war in the Balkans.

First of all, as our colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr.

Campbell) has pointed out, it is an unconstitutional war because

Congress has not and, I assume, will not declare war against

Yugoslavia. Secondly, we have made the situation in Kosovo many times

worse by our bombings and we cannot hide behind NATO because NATO would

never have gone in there if the U.S. had not wanted it done. Ninety

percent of the bombings have been paid for and done by the U.S. In

fact, if the President is going to send in ground troops, as many

people think, let the European members of NATO send them in. We have

carried almost the entire financial and air war burden thus far and we

should not have to carry the ground war burden too.

If we get further into this mess by sending in ground troops, there

are estimates that ultimately we will spend $40 billion to $50 billion

in air and ground war costs and resettlement and reconstruction costs,

money that will have to come from Social Security and many other

valuable programs.

Pat Holt, a foreign affairs expert writing in the Christian Science

Monitor wrote a few days ago, ``The first few days of bombing have led

to more atrocities and to more refugees. It will be increasing the

instability which the bombing was supposed to prevent.''

Richard Cohen, the very liberal columnist for The Washington Post

wrote, ``I believe, though, that the NATO bombings have escalated and

accelerated the process. For some Kosovars, NATO has made things

worse.''

Philip Gourevitch, writing in the April 12 New Yorker Magazine said,

``Yet so far the air war against Yugoslavia has accomplished exactly

what the American-led alliance flew into combat to prevent: Our bombs

unified the Serbs in Yugoslavia, as never before, behind the defiance

of Milosevic; they spurred to a frenzy the `cleansing' of Kosovo's

ethnic Albanians by Milosevic's forces'', and on and on.

A.M. Rosenthal writing in The New York Times a few days ago asked

this question: ``Would we again bomb, bomb, bomb the capital of the

Serbs, who thought of themselves as far more our friends than his,''

meaning Milosevic. ``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.''

All we have done, Mr. Speaker, is turn friends into enemies and waste

billions and billions of dollars. We have gone into an area where there

is absolutely no threat to our national security and no vital U.S.

interest, and we should negotiate a settlement and get out of there as

soon as we possibly can.