

stated so when we were at the beginning of the war. The Senate did take action in supporting what the administration was doing. This House did not act.

Now that we are in this situation, I think we have an obligation not to make it worse. I think we make it worse for the refugees. I think we make it worse for our troops whose lives are now on the line, including those Apache helicopter pilots. I think we owe it to them to support policies that can get us out of this war as quickly as possible.

I do not know whether we should use ground forces or not militarily. That is a military judgment which ought to be made by our military commanders with the agreement of the Commander in Chief. That is the way the Constitution is set up. The Congress has the power to say whether we should or should not be in a war. But if we are in it, we do not have the power to micromanage it, in my view. And we certainly do not have the talent to or the information to.

And so it seems to me that the best way that we can try to assure that the air war succeeds, and I have grave doubts about that, I come much closer to JOHN MCCAIN on that than I do anybody else in this Congress, but the best chance we have to make that air war to succeed is to let Mr. Milosevic think that he may be facing a ground attack if it does not.

If we want the Russians to play with this issue for real rather than just around the edges for domestic consumption, we also need to let them know that if their efforts at negotiation do not succeed, they may very well see a ground situation. That is, in my view, the best way to try to assure that the air war will achieve its desired ends.

I respect the opinion of every single person in this institution, but I would urge them not to take this action and support this amendment because I think it will be immensely counterproductive and could in fact lead to the loss of more lives.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

(Mr. PAUL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Istook amendment. I think that this would send a strong message that we do not endorse this war. It was said that this is the same vote that we had last week, but last week's vote is sitting on the table and it is going to sit there.

This one may well go someplace and have an effect. So this is a much more important vote that we had last week. It is very important that we vote the same way as we did last week.

I think it is interesting, I think we have an interesting constitutional question here, because I agree with the chairman of the committee and the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY)

that it is not the prerogative of the Congress to micromanage a war. That is correct. It is the job of the Congress to declare the war. But here we have a Congress involved in diplomacy and micromanaging a war that has not been declared. That is the issue. The issue is not the micromanaging.

I can support this amendment because the war has not been declared. The issue is how do we permit the President to wage a war without us declaring the war. Once we declare the war, it is true, we should not be talking about whether or not we use airplanes or foot soldiers or whatever. We do not micromanage. We do not get involved in diplomacy maneuvers.

But today we have things turned upside down. We have the President declaring where and we say nothing and the Congress micromanaging the war that should not exist. We need to consider that. And we can straighten this mess out by rejecting these funds.

It is suggested that this amendment would go a long way to doing it. I am not all that optimistic. For us to say to the President "thou shalt not use these funds for the ground war," well, he has not had the authority to wage his air war. Why would he listen to us now?

Can we trust him and say that he is going to listen to what we tell him? Of course not. He is already fighting his air war and he will continue to. And he has set the standard, and not he alone, all our Presidents from World War II have set the standard that they will do what they darn well please.

This is why I have been encouraged in the last couple weeks that this debate has been going on, because it is an important debate. I have finally seen this Congress at least addressing the subject on whether or not they should take back the prerogatives of war and not allow it to remain in the hands of the President.

This is very, very good. I have come to the House floor on numerous occasions since February, taking this position that we should not be involved. As a matter of fact, we had a couple dozen, maybe three dozen Members in this Congress who signed on a bill in February, a month or so before we even saw the bombs dropping in Yugoslavia, that would have prevented this whole mess if we would have stood up and assumed our responsibilities.

It is said that we must move in now to help the refugees. Have we looked at the statistics? How many refugees did we have before the bombing started? Others say, well, we must move in because Milosevic is so strong. Prior to the bombing, Milosevic was weak.

Talk about unintended consequences. They are so numerous. What about the unintended consequence of supporting the KLA who are supported by Osama Bin Laden? How absurd can it get? Osama Bin Laden was our good friend because he was a freedom fighter in Afghanistan and we gave him our weapons and supported him. But then we found out he was not quite so friendly,

so we captured a few of his men and he retaliated by bombing our embassies. Of course, we retaliated by bombing innocent chemical plants as well as people in Afghanistan that had nothing to do with it.

So where are we now? We are back to supporting and working hard and just deliberating over whether we should give weapons to the KLA. I mean, the whole thing is absurd.

There is only one thing that we should do, and that is stop this funding and stop the war. My colleagues say, oh, no, we are already too far in that we cannot. It is not supporting the troops. Well, who wants to get down here and challenge me and say that I do not support our troops? I support our troops. I served in the military for 5 years. That is not a worthwhile challenge. We all support our troops.

They say, well, no, they are in a quagmire and we have to help them and this is the only way we can do it. So the President comes and asks us for \$6 billion and then, in Congress's infinite wisdom, we give him \$13 billion. And yet, we do not declare war.

This appropriation should be defeated.

Mr. MURTHA. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, last week I called our friend Tom Foglietta, who is the Ambassador to Italy, and I said, "Mr. Ambassador, tell me what the reaction in Italy is to the debate going on in the United States Congress." And the Ambassador called me back 2 days ago and he said,

The Italian papers in their editorial section said we do not have to worry about the communists. We do not have to worry about the Greens. We have to worry about the United States Congress destroying the NATO allies, the alliance.

Now, that was in reaction to the fiasco we had last week. We have two ways that we can limit the President. One is, by a two-thirds vote we can override his veto. The other way is to limit the funds that the President has to use for readiness.

For 5 years we have limited the funds of the President for readiness because for 2 years this Congress, this House, insisted we offset the money that the President asked for in his emergency money for Bosnia because there were a number of people that asked for those funds or a number of people who opposed that position of us being in Bosnia.

□ 1715

We were not successful in getting out of Bosnia, but we did limit the readiness money. Our troops are now at a precipice of readiness.

I went aboard the *Abraham Lincoln*. The *Abraham Lincoln* has 5,000 troops normally. It was 800 people short. If Members think they are hurting anybody but the troops, they are wrong. They are hurting our American servicepeople when they limit the money. If we do not have a two-thirds