

had come to naught, and they were going to pursue a military response. And I urged this administration, that if they were going to change U.S. policy, they should come and seek that approval from Congress, and that is exactly what they have done. This is a counterterrorism supplemental, and I commend the administration for requesting in the supplemental the language that we have in it today to allow counternarcotics assets to be used to fight terrorism.

Starting with the President's request, the committee arrived at a bipartisan compromise. And let me tell my colleagues a couple of things it does not do. The bill language does not extend through 2003, which was requested by the President. We are going to get into a markup of the 2003 appropriations bills in not too many weeks, so we decided to address 2003 in the fiscal year 2003, as I think we ought to. We have included report language that states our intent to use this bipartisan approach in the fiscal year 2003 bill, so we are making clear we probably will do so; and we can have this debate again in a few months if we need to have it, and that debate will take place after the elections and perhaps even after the inauguration of the new President. We want to see what the new Colombian administration will do after it is inaugurated in August.

Further, the committee deletes the broad "notwithstanding any other provision of law" provision, which was requested by the President. It was the conclusion by the committee that the authority is simply not needed by the Department of State at this time, given the existing authorities within the international narcotics and law enforcement account. And all existing human rights provisions, the caps on U.S. personnel in Colombia and the prohibitions on visas to individuals with terrorist links, are maintained.

With these conditions in place, with no large increase in the resources requested or provided to the Colombian military, this change in policy is not a major expansion of the U.S. role in Colombia's civil strife. It is a realistic approach to the situation in Colombia to combat terrorists using existing assets.

The Subcommittee on Foreign Operations had a hearing on U.S. assistance for Colombia in March. At that hearing the Under Secretary of State said on the record that the broader use of authorities would primarily make available U.S.-owned helicopters for counterterrorism purposes.

Mr. Chairman, I urge this body to retain the compromise language that is in this bill that has been reached on both sides of the aisle and on both sides of the Capitol building.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the McGovern-Skelton amendment. I am surprised that the gentleman from Arizona omitted a bit of history, because American troops were sent initially to

Colombia and a line was drawn and it was drawn to provide training in anti-drug activities only. This is a major step. This is a Gulf of Tonkin amendment that is in the bill that we seek to strike.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I speak today having recalled on so many occasions within the Committee on Armed Services and here on the floor, pointing out the fact that our troops are stretched, they are strained, their families are paying a severe sacrifice on their loved ones being gone so much, and that we have to increase the number of troops that we have. So with that in mind, I think that what is in the bill needs to be stricken. The implication is clear, that American servicemembers would become engaged in a broadened United States military effort in Colombia.

My concerns with the bill are several. Expanded American military activities will embroil us in a civil war that has been raging for 40 years. This is no small thing, as the gentleman from Arizona pointed out. This is a major policy change. We could find ourselves engulfed in a morass that would eat up American soldiers like we have not seen in years.

Second, and perhaps the most important, is that our military personnel are performing more overseas missions today than ever. In just the past several months, our forces have been deployed to the Philippines, to Yemen, to Georgia, in addition to the major operations in Afghanistan, Bosnia and Kosovo, not to mention Korea, not to mention the young men and women aboard ships on the seas. If the administration follows through with its plans to invade Iraq, invade Iraq, we simply will not have enough people to perform the missions, at least not to perform them very well.

So we should carefully weigh the consequences before undertaking expanding missions in places like Colombia. The administration has simply not made the case for this expansion of our role. It is well known that the Colombian law allows wealthy and educated youth to avoid military combat. Their own sons are not sent out to fight the insurgency, but American sons can do it. I do not think that is a good policy for the United States of America.

Mr. Chairman, expanding the drug program in Colombia to include terrorist activities is inviting war in Colombia. It runs the risk of embroiling us in an intractable civil war at a time when our military is stretched already. A vote for this amendment is the right policy for Colombia.

The bill says that the Department of Defense funds can be used for a unified campaign. That is a magic phrase. That means, as I interpret it, that it is a license to change the rules of engagement for our troops that allows them to engage in combat or war. If this bill is adopted without this amendment, we could be embroiled in a no-kidding shooting war; and we will know that this is a Gulf of Tonkin effort that we

have passed, unless this amendment prevails.

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 strong support of this amendment, and I compliment the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN) and the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) for bringing this to us. There has been a lot of discussion in the last 2 days, a lot about the deficit; and it strikes me as a bit of an irony, especially because it comes from many, and I have to say on both sides of the aisle, that do a lot to raise the national debt and the spending, and yet the debate went on and on. For some reason, I think there has been a lot of politics in the debate.

The interesting thing about what is going on right now, there is no politics in this. This is about war, and this is important, and this is about policy. It is said that we would like to get things like this through without a full discussion; but this, to me, is a key issue. This amendment is about whether or not we will change our policy in central America and, specifically, in Colombia.

Mr. Chairman, a year or so ago we appropriated \$1.6 billion, and we went into Colombia with the intent of reducing drug usage. Instead it is up 25 percent. Drug usage is going up! They sprayed 210,000 acres, and now there are 53,000 more acres than ever before. It reminds me of Afghanistan. We have been in Afghanistan for less than a year and drug production is going up! I just wonder about the effectiveness of our drug program in Colombia.

But the theory is that we will be more effective if we change the policy. Pastrana tried to negotiate a peace and we were going to deal with the drugs, and we were going to have peace after 40 years of a civil war. Now Uribe is likely to become President and the approach is to different. He said, no more negotiations. We will be fighting and we want American help, and we want a change in policy, and we do not want spraying fields; we want helicopters to fight a war. That is what we are dealing with here. We should not let this go by without a full discussion and a full understanding, because in reality, there is no authority to support a military operation in Colombia.

What we are doing is we are appropriating for something for the administration to do without a proper authority. He has no authority to get involved in the civil war down there. We cannot imply that the issue of war is granted through the appropriation process. It is not the way the system works. The constitutional system works with granting explicit authority to wage war. The President has no authority, and now he wants the money; and we are ready to capitulate. Let me tell my colleagues, if we care about national defense, we must reconsider this.

This dilutes our national defense, it dilutes our forces, exposes our troops, takes away our weapons, increases the expenditures. If we ignore this issue I guess we can go back to demagoging the national debt limit.

So I would say, please, take a close look at this. We do not need to be expanding our role in Colombia. The drug war down there has not worked, and I do not expect this military war that we are about to wage to work either. We need to talk about national defense, and this does not help our national defense. I fear this. I feel less secure when we go into areas like this, because believe me, this is the way that we get troops in later on. We already have advisory forces in Colombia. Does anybody remember about advisors and then eventually having military follow in other times in our history. Yes, this is a very risky change in policy. This is not just a minor little increase in appropriation.

So I would ask, once again, where is the authority? Where does the authority exist for our President to go down and expand a war in Colombia when it has nothing to do with our national defense or our security? It has more to do with oil than our national security, and we know it. There is a pipeline down there that everybody complains that it is not well protected. It is even designated in legislation, and we deal with this at times. So I would say think about the real reasons behind us going down there.

It just happens that we have spread ourselves around the world; we are now in nine countries of the 15 countries that used to be part of the Soviet Union. And every country has something to do with oil. The Caspian Sea, Georgia, and why are we in the Persian Gulf? We are in the Persian Gulf to protect "our" oil. Why are we involved with making and interfering with the democratically elected leader of Venezuela? I thought we were for democracy, and yet the reports are that we may well have participated in the attempt to have a democratically elected official in Venezuela removed. I think there is a little bit of oil in Venezuela as well. Could that have been the reason.

So I would say, once again, please take a look at this amendment. This amendment is a "yes" vote, and I urge my colleagues to support it.

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

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN), my colleague on the Committee on Rules and good friend, as well as the amendment of the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON), my mentor and good friend on military matters.

I do not think anyone is insincere in this House of Representatives about wanting to be involved in doing what is right to protect our country and to maintain the President's vision with reference to the war on terrorism.

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All of us are for the same set of circumstances. But my colleagues on the Republican side do not want spending in certain areas in America.

I harken back one night to one of the finest speeches ever made in the House of Representatives by John Kasich in a run-up to a budget. When John finished, I walked up to him and complimented him. I said to him, you know, John, the difference between you and I, and we were only going to spend \$1 trillion or \$3 trillion at that time, the difference is he wants to spend the money on what he wants to spend it on, and I want to spend it on what I want to spend it on.

I do not think anything has changed very much on that, from that time or any other time. They have the power to do Plan Colombia, but they do not want to spend; they want to cut programs in this country that I consider to be critical.

Some Members do not even have a clue about what is going on in Colombia. Certainly, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN) does, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. DELAHUNT) does, the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. BALLENGER) does, and the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE) does, but most of the Members in this House, half of them cannot even point out where Colombia is.

Yet, we are going to stand up here and go forward and get ourselves involved in something that could help lead this country to the black oblivion of ignominious defeat. We never won a war on terrorism or on counter-narcotics. We have spent countless dollars in South America and elsewhere around the world that did not bring us to fruition with reference to our wishes.

While we are here doing this debate this evening, the Middle East is raging; India and Pakistan are poised to go to war with each other; Indonesia and Malaysia, and I harken to tell my friends that if Indonesia implodes, we will have eight Afghanistsans on our hands; famine and war is all over Africa.

I have been in this body when nobody cared about genocide occurring on the African continent, and yet we come here prepared to involve American troops in our hemisphere, knowing full well that it may lead to further difficulties.

Mr. Chairman, I have been sitting in my office or here on the floor listening to this debate all day. Frankly, I am astonished by the rhetoric and blatant hypocrisy that have come out of the mouths of some of our colleagues here.

As a Democrat, all Democrats over here have been called unpatriotic, undemocratic, irresponsible, and un-American. I heard all of that from the other side. To my friends on the other side of the aisle, all of us and I certainly take offense to those unpatriotic, undemocratic, irresponsible, and un-American comments. Nobody in

this House has any lock on patriotism. There are 535 patriots and 5 persons from other areas in this country of ours that serve this country in the best manner that they can. We deserve ourselves when we allude to others being unpatriotic.

I sat in the Committee on Rules Tuesday night and listened to Republicans' plans to increase the debt limit. I think that there should be some measure of increase.

At the time, I figured that the majority just did not get it. Today, I am certain that the majority not only does not get it, but they cannot sell it. They did not sell it to their own members, and they are certainly not going to be able to sell it to the American people.

So the Republican leadership has done what it does best: Rule with an iron fist. Never mind about who did it before them, they are doing it now. The leadership attached controversial and extraneous provisions to a widely supported bipartisan bill, and when the Republican leadership realized they did not have the necessary votes, it reminded its caucus that the bill is blanketed under the highly political title of a wartime emergency supplemental. I guess, Mr. Chairman, old habits are just too hard to break.

Like Americans all over this Nation and Members in this House, I strongly support the expenditure of supplemental funds.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. SIMPSON). The time of the gentleman from Florida (Mr. HASTINGS) has expired.

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to proceed for 1 additional minute.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

Mr. SOUDER. Mr. Chairman, I object.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Objection is heard.

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

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BALLENGER. I yield to the gentleman from Arizona.

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Chairman, I just want to say to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. HASTINGS) that no one has suggested tonight that Members of this body are not patriotic. This is a healthy debate, and this is a good debate. It is one that we need to have.

I want to say in response to one point made by my good friend, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON). I think it is a red herring to compare the language in this bill to the Gulf of Tonkin. We are talking about keeping the same number of troops, not expanding the number of troops, and not expanding their authority.

To suggest that we can make a distinction between a shot that is fired from a drug trafficker or a terrorist is