

television now say that both the American Government, both the U.S. Government and the British Government participated and they have the documents, U.S. documents, that document, that say that we did participate in sales of biological weapons to Saddam Hussein, which points out an inconsistency. And I guess all governments have the right to change their minds, but I still think that should caution us in what we do.

Nothing is going to happen to the world. Saddam Hussein has not threatened his neighbors since the Persian Gulf war, and surely before we get back in 10 days this is unnecessary.

The other side of the aisle suggests that we have a full debate and a resolution in 10 days after we come back. That certainly makes a lot of sense to me. I think at this point to condone and endorse and encourage the President to do something at this late hour when there is essentially no one here in the Chamber, I do not think this is a good way to casually step into something that could be rather dangerous. The resolutions that have been talked about ironically are quite similar to the resolution passed in the 1960s that got us further involved in Vietnam.

So, in all sincerity, I come here asking all Members to be cautious and for the President not to move too hastily.

#### ACHIEVING OUR GOAL IN IRAQ

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRBACHER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ROHRBACHER. Mr. Speaker, we are being warned of possible military action against the Government of Iraq, and I remember well the last time, or should I say the first time, because there have probably been some other military actions against Iraq in the meantime, but back in 1990 when Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait, and so began our special relationship with the people of Kuwait, let us note that after hundreds of thousands of Americans have spent time in the Persian Gulf and after our Nation has put its entire prestige on the line that we cannot permit Saddam Hussein now to reverse what we won back in 1990 and 1991.

If we do that, if we permit Saddam Hussein to, for example, conduct a successful lightning strike against Kuwait, against the people of Kuwait, or if we permit Saddam Hussein to blatantly stockpile weapons of mass destruction, the United States will lose any ability to influence events anywhere in the world. No petty tyrant or no people seeking freedom or no opponent or adversary or friend will trust our word again, because even Saddam Hussein has made a laughing stock of the United States of America.

So, first and foremost, let us recognize there is a special relationship with the people of Kuwait that for the rest of our lives we will have, because if

that war is reversed, America will lose its ability to determine events around the world, and Americans, when we lose this power as the leading power of the world, we will pay a dear price.

But I hope, if military action does take place, that we do not make the mistake that we made last time. Hundreds of thousands of people, or upwards to 200,000 Kuwaitis were killed during the last war. Saddam Hussein managed to escape. And I remember during the planning phases of the last war I said to Dick Cheney and Colin Powell personally that they would have my support because American troops were in harm's way, and I would support them in that effort to protect the lives of Americans and to make sure it was a successful mission. But as I told them at that time, when this is over, make sure Saddam Hussein is dead.

And I hope that if have to take further military actions against the people of Iraq that we do not waste our weaponry on ordinary citizens, on people who probably like the United States of America; and I hope that our goal is not simply containing Saddam Hussein or punishing him. Our goal should be the overthrow and elimination, one way or the other, of Saddam Hussein.

First and foremost, if we are willing to commit our military to that part of the world, we should at least be able to declare this man a war criminal. After all, he was an environmental criminal, an eco-criminal, for what he did to the environment, the destruction of the oil wells and the seas and the other pollution that he caused back then, not to mention the hundreds of thousands of lives that he caused to die, the people he caused to die because of his aggression. And if he commits other acts of aggression and does not go along with the agreement, we should make sure that we declare him a war criminal and that the goal of our action is not punishing the Iraqi people, but working with the Iraqi people in order to help them establish a government that is responsive to their will.

Who knows if it would be an absolute democracy or not, but if the people of Iraq who live under the oppression of Saddam Hussein had the ability to direct their own government, there would be no problem because they would not risk the lives of hundreds of thousands of their family in order to make a point of the way a dictator, the way a brutal egotistical dictator like Saddam Hussein does.

As I say, we are tied to the people of Kuwait because the people of Kuwait now, having saved them once, if we permit them again to be taken over by this tyrant, not only will be lose those people, but we will lose our ability to maintain peace throughout the world, a dreadful price that we cannot afford to pay.

So I wish the President of the United States guidance from God and support from the United States Congress, as

much as this Congressman can do to make sure that we are doing the right thing, only this time I would hope the President of the United States, unlike George Bush, does the job right and completes the job before bringing our troops home. And I would hope that hundreds of thousands of troops do not need to be sent there, but instead, this could be handled in a better way than that perhaps.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PITTS). The time of the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRBACHER) has expired.

Mr. ROHRBACHER. Mr. Speaker, I would ask unanimous consent for 2 more minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair cannot entertain an extension of time during a 5-minute special order period.

Mr. ROHRBACHER. Appealing the ruling of the Chair, Mr. Speaker, the Chair on many occasions has extended unanimous consent for an extension of 2 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. It is a question of recognition. A 5-minute special order may not be extended.

Mr. ROHRBACHER. Yes, that is correct. But last night I was given a 5-minute unanimous-consent request.

#### POWERS WHICH BELONG TO CONGRESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Mr. HORN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HORN. I would just like to say, Mr. Speaker, I listened with great care to the remarks of my colleague from Texas. [Mr. PAUL] I think he raises legitimate questions, and I recall back to my first years in the Congress in 1993-1994 when we had numerous meetings with the then-Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Colin Powell.

He was always a very honest, gutsy Chairman. He put to us the tough questions such as: When do we know we have won? What do we have to do if we engage our forces? When do we know we will get out of the mire? There were a number of us on this floor who fought the use of troops in Bosnia.

We have been very lucky in Bosnia, but when we were told that it would be only one year, we all knew that was utter nonsense; we could be there for 15 years for that matter.

What the gentleman from Texas stressed is that perhaps it is time for this House to follow the Constitution of the United States and not act because a United Nations resolution is standing and we will defer to that.

We should never defer to anybody when it comes to a war where American lives might be spent. What we should do is follow the constitutional procedures. The President should consult extensively with this Chamber, and I realize that Presidents sometimes do not have the time to do it, but we should have the series of meetings

we had when the Croatians, the Serbians and the Bosnians were fighting what some called a civil war, and we did not at that time get ourselves involved in that matter.

Some might say that we were wrong and we were too late and we should have acted earlier. What we should have done, I think most of us would agree, is to permit the arming of the Bosnians so they could defend themselves from the Croatians and primarily the Serbians.

Now we do not have that situation where there is a democratic opposition to Saddam that is knowable. He is a brutal murderer, he would kill all opponents, he kills his generals on a regular basis. And we know what he did to the Shiites, and that was partly our fault when we did not reverse a stupid order which permitted him to use helicopters, and we know he killed the Kurds in northern Iraq.

So we do have people in Iraq that have suffered under his brutal regime.

But more of us should be involved in this decision than just a few. And that is the way the Constitution is written, and we ought to follow the Constitution.

I yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRABACHER).

Mr. ROHRABACHER. We, of course, worked together in opposing the American military commitment in Bosnia. But you do believe that America cannot just stand aside and let Saddam Hussein develop stockpiles of weapons, and we need to act in some way because it might then precipitate some type of military action that he might take on Kuwait.

Mr. HORN. Let me just say, for my own answer, I think that our problem here is that we have given too many Presidents powers that belong to Congress.

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I was on the floor as a young Senate assistant when the Tonkin Gulf Resolution came in. Only two United States Senators had the guts to stand up and oppose it, Mr. Gruening of Alaska, and I believe Mr. Morse of Oregon, and now we know that they were right. The Tonkin Gulf Resolution was a lot of baloney. This situation is not baloney.

The gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRABACHER) correctly notes that it is a very serious situation, and we need to deal with these things, either on a collective security basis with the United Nations forces, but we should not be the sole police force that has to remedy all problems in the world. That is what bothers me. If we are going to do it, let the members of the executive branch come up here, discuss this serious matter with a lot of us, and see where we are on the subject.

Now, President Bush did that in terms of the Gulf War. There was a debate, probably one of the better debates conducted in the House in the last twenty years, and then a vote was cast.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HORN. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. I would like to make two points. The other gentleman from California makes a good point about the character of Saddam Hussein, but my colleagues have to remember and have to realize that he was a close ally that we encouraged for 8 years during the 1980s, so we helped build him up, which contradicts this whole policy. I would like to see a more consistent policy.

Then the gentleman brings up the subject: Yes, he may be in the business of developing weapons, but he has gotten help from China and Russia, and possibly from Britain and the United States, and 20 other nations are doing the same thing. So if we are interested in stopping these weapons, we better attack 20 countries. So we have a job on our hands.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HORN. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, first of all, I do not know where the gentleman got his information that Saddam Hussein was an ally; a close ally, the gentleman says, of the United States. I am sorry that I was in the White House at the time. Saddam Hussein was never a close ally. He was not an enemy, but to label him a close ally is not only misreading history, it is naive beyond anything.

We supplied some support for the Iraqis and sometimes we gave support for the Iranians during that war because during that time there was a strategy of keeping that war going in order to prevent those two powers from themselves individually dominating the region. Having them attack each other was a good strategy at that time, but far from being an Iraqi ally.

Saddam Hussein is obviously someone that right now, after we have already gone through this, our futures are linked. If Saddam Hussein ends up negating the results of the last war, who will then listen to us anywhere in the world? I pose that question to both of my colleagues. If he is able to have a lightning strike against Kuwait or stockpile these nuclear weapons, who will believe the United States again after we have made this commitment?

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HORN. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, the question is not so much, let us say, that we could concede some of the gentleman's argument, but why do you have such hostility to the Constitution and to the process as what we are talking about? Why do we not have a declaration of war and win it? Why should we go with a U.N. resolution and legislation that is 8 years old? That is one of our greatest concerns.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, I am certainly not here to oppose any particular plan of legislation; I am here specifically to make sure that people understand that this is a serious issue and that it cannot be negated simply by a misreading of history that Saddam was our friend back in the 1980s or some other type of wishful thinking about the nature of the strategic politics in the world that we have to play.

Mr. HORN. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, I would just say to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRABACHER), I am certainly not saying that Saddam was our friend, but I think our administration was naive in its support of Iraq against Iran, and that is what concerns me. The balance of power system, while academics can write about it, and the British did that for 500 years, is frankly not the way in modern times that we should conduct ourselves.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin (at the request Mr. GEPHARDT) for today, Thursday, February 12, 1998, on account of illness in the family.

Mr. RIGGS (at the request of Mr. ARMEY) for today, Thursday, February 12, 1998, on account of viewing flooded disaster areas in California.

#### SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. SKELTON) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Ms. SANCHEZ for 5 minutes today.  
Mr. VISCLOSKEY for 5 minutes today.  
Mr. FILNER for 5 minutes today.  
Mr. BENTSEN for 5 minutes today.  
Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas for 5 minutes today.

Mrs. CLAYTON for 5 minutes today.  
Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD for 60 minutes today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. SHIMKUS) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. TIAHRT for 5 minutes today.  
Mr. FAWELL for 5 minutes today.  
Mr. METCALF for 5 minutes today.

(The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. PAPPAS, for 5 minutes, today.  
(The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. GINGRICH for 5 minutes today.  
(The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)