

Emerson Knollenberg Ramstad  
 Engel Kolbe Rangel  
 English Kucinich Regula  
 Eshoo LaHood Rehberg  
 Etheridge Lampton Reyes  
 Evans Langevin Reynolds  
 Everett Lantos Riley  
 Farr Larsen (WA) Rivers  
 Fattah Larson (CT) Rodriguez  
 Ferguson Latham Roemer  
 Filner LaTourette Rogers (KY)  
 Flake Leach Rogers (MI)  
 Fletcher Lee Rohrabacher  
 Foley Levin Ros-Lehtinen  
 Forbes Lewis (CA) Ross  
 Ford Lewis (GA) Rothman  
 Fossella Roybal-Allard  
 Frank Linder Royce  
 Frelinghuysen Lipinski Rush  
 Frost LoBiondo Ryan (WI)  
 Gallegly Lowey Ryun (KS)  
 Ganske Lucas (KY) Sabo  
 Gekas Lucas (OK) Sanchez  
 Gephardt Luther Sanders  
 Gibbons Lynch Sandlin  
 Gilchrest Maloney (CT) Sawyer  
 Gillmor Maloney (NY) Saxton  
 Gilman Markey Schaffer  
 Gonzalez Matheson Schakowsky  
 Goode Matsui Schiff  
 Goodlatte McCarthy (MO) Schrock  
 Gordon McCarthy (NY) Scott  
 Goss McCollum Sensenbrenner  
 Graham McCrery Serrano  
 Granger McDermott Sessions  
 Graves McGovern Shadegg  
 Green (TX) McHugh Shaw  
 Green (WI) McInnis Shays  
 Greenwood McIntyre Sherman  
 Crucci McKeon Sherwood  
 Gutierrez McKinney Shimkus  
 Gutmacht McNulty Shows  
 Hall (TX) Meehan Shuster  
 Hansen Meek (FL) Simmons  
 Harman Meeks (NY) Simpson  
 Hart Menendez Skeen  
 Hastings (FL) Mica Skelton  
 Hastings (WA) Millender Slaughter  
 Hayes McDonald Smith (MI)  
 Hayworth Miller, Dan Smith (NJ)  
 Hefley Miller, Gary Smith (TX)  
 Henger Miller, George Smith (WA)  
 Hill Miller, Jeff Snyder  
 Hilliard Mollohan Solis  
 Hinchey Moore Souder  
 Hinojosa Moran (KS) Spratt  
 Hobson Moran (VA) Stark  
 Hoeffel Morella Stearns  
 Hoekstra Murtha Stenholm  
 Holden Myrick Strickland  
 Holt Nadler Stupak  
 Honda Napolitano Sullivan  
 Hooley Neal Sununu  
 Horn Nethercutt Sweeney  
 Hostettler Ney Tancredo  
 Hoyer Northup Tanner  
 Hulshof Norwood Tauscher  
 Hunter Nussle Tauzin  
 Hyde Oberstar Taylor (MS)  
 Inslee Obey Taylor (NC)  
 Isakson Olver Terry  
 Israel Ortiz Thomas  
 Issa Osborne Thompson (CA)  
 Jackson (IL) Ose Thompson (MS)  
 Jackson-Lee Otter Thornberry  
 (TX) Owens Thune  
 Jefferson Oxley Thurman  
 Jenkins Pallone Tiahrt  
 John Pascrell Tiberi  
 Johnson (CT) Pastor Tierney  
 Johnson (IL) Paul Toomey  
 Johnson, E. B. Payne Towns  
 Johnson, Sam Pelosi Turner  
 Jones (NC) Pence Udall (CO)  
 Jones (OH) Peterson (MN) Udall (NM)  
 Kanjorski Peterson (PA) Upton  
 Kaptur Petri Vislosky  
 Keller Phelps Vitter  
 Kelly Pickering Walden  
 Kennedy (MN) Pitts Walsh  
 Kennedy (RI) Platts Wamp  
 Kerns Pombo Waters  
 Kildee Pomeroy Watkins (OK)  
 Kilpatrick Portman Watson (CA)  
 Kind (WI) Price (NC) Watt (NC)  
 King (NY) Pryce (OH) Watts (OK)  
 Kingston Putnam Waxman  
 Kirk Radanovich Weiner  
 Kleczka Rahall Weldon (FL)

Weldon (PA) Wicker Woolsey  
 Weller Wilson (NM) Wu  
 Wexler Wilson (SC) Wynn  
 Whitfield Wolf Young (FL)

NOT VOTING—19

Arney Hilleary Quinn  
 Blagojevich Houghton Roukema  
 Bono Istook Stump  
 Cooksey LaFalce Velazquez  
 Davis, Tom Lofgren Young (AK)  
 Diaz-Balart Manzullo  
 Ehrlich Mascara

□ 1104

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. MANZULLO. Mr. Speaker, please excuse my absence from the votes this morning. Had I been present I would have voted: "Yes" on H.R. 5557 (rollcall 451); "yes" on H.R. 3580 (rollcall 450); "yes" on H.J. Res. 113 (rollcall 449); and "yes" on H.R. 5542 (rollcall 448).

HOUR OF MEETING ON TOMORROW

Mr. LAHOOD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today, it adjourn to meet at 9 a.m. tomorrow.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ISAKSON). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

AUTHORIZATION FOR USE OF MILITARY FORCE AGAINST IRAQ RESOLUTION OF 2002

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 3 of House Resolution 574, proceedings will now resume on the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 114) to authorize the use of United States Armed Forces against Iraq.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. When proceedings were postponed on the legislative day of Tuesday, October 8, 2002, 5 hours 50½ minutes of debate remained on the joint resolution, as amended.

The gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) has 1 hour 47 minutes remaining, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) has 1 hour 42½ minutes remaining, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) has 1 hour 21 minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Florida (Mr. GOSS) has 60 minutes remaining.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. GOSS. Parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state his inquiry.

Mr. GOSS. Would the Speaker explain the rotation in the time allotments just announced?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will first recognize the gen-

tleman from Florida (Mr. GOSS). The Chair will then recognize whoever is ready to yield time, and then continue in the same order.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida (Mr. GOSS).

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. CUNNINGHAM), a member of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues and I and the other Members quite often get in very emotional debates, each believing in their position. I think that is the case with the subject that we are breaching now. I would hope to bring some light as far as to why my feelings are as strong as they are.

New York, the Pentagon, Pennsylvania, over 3,000 men, women, and children dying, that is horrific and remains a bitter taste in all Americans' lives. But imagine New York, Chicago, or Los Angeles like Nagasaki or Hiroshima. Think of the pain and the agony that we would go through. Imagine millions of Americans dying with ebola, with smallpox, anthrax, or even nerve gas, which would render generations genetically with problems.

Is it possible? Yes. Is it probable? Yes. As a member on the Committee on Intelligence, I would say it is highly probable if we wait and do nothing.

Fact: In 1981, the Israelis destroyed a nuclear plant in Iraq ready to develop weapons-grade plutonium. In 1990, right in my hometown in San Diego, Iraqis were caught with nuclear triggers on their way to Iraq.

Fact: In 2002, a small amount of weapons-grade plutonium was intercepted heading for Iraq.

Fact: Saddam Hussein does have chemical and biological weapons, and even today he denies that. We know 100 percent that he has them, and he is working towards nuclear weapons.

Saddam Hussein has been expanding the delivery systems, including pilotless aircraft. Guess what is in range of those pilotless aircraft: Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Israel, where thousands of Americans and other citizens of other nations reside.

Saddam Hussein is dispersing, as we speak, and it is not just his capability with chemical and biological weapons, but he is dispersing those weapons of mass destruction to other terrorist groups.

Saddam really does not care for al Qaeda, but they have a common goal, and that is to hurt the United States.

It is a fact that Saddam pays \$700 for a Palestinian that is wounded; and he pays \$1,500 for a Palestinian that is wounded in a terrorist attack; and Saddam Hussein pays \$25,000 to the family of someone that straps a bomb on themselves and blows up men, women, and children. Americans have been killed in Israel from suicide bombers.

Mr. Speaker, my eyes tear even 30 years later from friends that I saw die in combat. This is no simple thing. My

mother was rushed to a hospital when she learned that I was shot down.

I know the horrors brought on the men and women that we will ask to go to war, but I also know the heartache and the pain of the families that are left behind. I would say to my colleagues, do we want to subject them to the horrors of war in our own country?

That is why I have this resolve. I think it is highly probable that terrorists would act against the U.S. if we do not act; and I ask my colleagues, do not let it happen.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. CALLAHAN).

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

Mr. CALLAHAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution.

Mr. Speaker, in doing so, I cannot minimize the gravity of its ultimate outcome—the potential deployment of American Service men and women to engage in war against our enemy. There is no more solemn responsibility, or burden, for a Member of Congress than acting to put our troops in harm's way.

I am supporting this resolution because I believe President Bush has made a solid case for acting to remove weapons of mass destruction from Iraq. He has taken the appropriate steps to achieve United Nations' support through a new Security Council resolution, and I remain hopeful this initiative will be successful. However, it is imperative that Congress give consensus to our commander in chief as he navigates through difficult diplomatic channels, and so we must give this measure a strong, favorable vote.

During my service here, I have joined my colleagues too many times to send our military personnel to war—from the gulf war to Bosnia to Afghanistan. Despite reservations, I have supported former Presidents Bush and Clinton because it is their constitutional role to make decisions involving war. We must all be non-partisan on these issues and not support only the President of our party. To act in a partisan manner damages our Nation's credibility abroad and harms the reputation of Congress.

This will be one of my final votes in the House and it does not get any easier to act on matters of war. This vote late in my 18-year career will be one of the hardest. I am confident it is the right vote.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, let me first say that I know I speak for all of my colleagues across the political aisle in paying tribute to the gentleman from California (Mr. CUNNINGHAM), one of the true military heroes serving currently in the Congress of the United States.

Here is a man who participated in battles, knows the tragedy of war, but also understands that while war is horrible, appeasement brings far greater tragedies.

□ 1115

Before yielding to one of our most distinguished Members, I would like to pay tribute to every colleague yesterday who participated in this debate. The debate, Mr. Speaker, took place in

a dignified, statesman-like, serious manner as befits the topic; and I want to pay tribute to every single Republican and Democratic colleague who took part in yesterday's debate, and I know today's debate will be similar in tone and tenor.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 7 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), my dear friend and one of the most distinguished Members of this body and one of the leaders on the Democratic side.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend, the ranking member of the Committee on International Relations, for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, yesterday, today and tomorrow the Members of this House consider our most solemn constitutional obligation, a resolution that authorizes our Commander in Chief to use our Nation's Armed Forces. We do not savor this awesome responsibility, but we will not shrink from it either. The seriousness of this occasion dictates that we debate today not as Democrats, not as Republicans, but as Americans, Americans of conscience and principle who love their country and who are committed to the security of this Nation and its people.

This resolution in my view does not sound the drumbeat of war. Rather, it provides Saddam Hussein with his last chance for peace. I will support it. The resolution reflects the concerns and judgment of Members of this House from both sides of the aisle. It supports our diplomatic efforts, limits and defines the scope of authorization and requires the President to notify Congress before using force and to consult with Congress throughout the process.

Saddam Hussein's malevolence and expansionist designs are not in dispute. He used mustard gas and attacked civilians during his 8-year war with Iran. He attacked Kurdish villages in northern Iraq with chemical weapons. He invaded Kuwait before an international coalition repulsed him. He fired missiles at Saudi Arabia and Israel. He attempted to assassinate our own President, former President George Bush. And he has and continues to savage and enslave his own people.

Saddam Hussein is a vanquished tyrant who owes his existence to the fact that the international community did not effect his ouster in 1991. In hindsight, the cause of peace and regional stability, as well as the well-being of the Iraqi people who toil under his boot, dictated that result. Yet, like the long line of aggressors who pockmark history, Hussein has preyed on international irresolution. He disdains and refuses to submit to weapons inspections.

He continues his efforts to develop and acquire weapons of mass destruction, and he sponsors international terrorism. Saddam Hussein continues to be an unacceptable threat whose duplicity requires action, action now. Reverting to a failed inspection regime would permit hope to ignore history.

Hussein is in no position to negotiate. He must provide unrestricted access to all Iraqi sites with no single compensation acceptable. And if he refuses, he must realize the consequences and realize as well that he is solely responsible for those consequences.

The United States must continue to seek the widest support for a tough inspection regime that ensures Hussein is disarmed. Unilateral action carries tremendous risk. Yet we know that international vacillation has often emboldened tyrants and compounded bloodshed and instability. In just the last decade, a halting, indecisive United Nations bore witness to genocide in the former Yugoslavia and tragically did little to stop it.

The reign of terror perpetuated by Slobodan Milosovic blazed until NATO extinguished it. Thus, in the face of tyranny, we must not allow our commitment to secure the imprimatur and participation of the international community to become the sine qua non of American policy.

The risk of inaction today in my opinion poses previously unfathomed dangers for tomorrow. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the most virulent strain of terrorism which targets innocents and glories in suicidal mass murder could render national inaction a virtual death sentence to far too many.

Let there be no mistake, the United States must continue to be a leading proponent of multilateral institutions and the peaceful resolutions of disputes. However, in the absence of international unity in confronting Hussein and his criminal regime, we must not be frozen into inaction in the face of a clear and present danger.

Let me add, with all due respect to my colleagues who have expressed their sincere concern that this resolution authorizes the President to use Armed Forces preemptively, that I see a clear distinction here. We have had an ongoing engagement in Iraq since that nation agreed to terminate its hostility towards its neighbors in 1991.

Our pilots who have been fired on by Iraqi military can attest that our engagement continues. Thus, I do not agree that we are setting a possibly dangerous precedent.

Mr. Speaker, we have given and should continue to give diplomacy and international coalition-building efforts every opportunity. Saddam Hussein has chosen to ignore his obligations and to continue his dangerous designs. If he fails to seize this last chance for peace, then he will bear sole responsibility for his own destruction.

Mr. Speaker, we have no quarrel with the Iraqi people. Our purpose is not territorial acquisition. Our purpose is the protection and security of our people, and the promotion of peace, stability and the rule of law in Iraq, the Middle East and the international community. We must not shrink from this responsibility.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. LAHOOD), a member of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

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

Mr. LAHOOD. Mr. Speaker, before I begin my prepared statement, I just wanted to say a word about the extraordinary leadership that we have on the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence from our chairman. The gentleman from Florida (Mr. GOSS) is an extraordinary chairman. He has done so much. He has done a great job for our committee and for America since 9-11, and he deserves an awful lot of praise for the work he has done with the administration for all the Members of this House in really just doing an extraordinary job as chairman of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H.J. Res. 114, a bipartisan resolution that authorizes the use of our Armed Forces against Iraq. I want to take a moment to applaud the President and his team for continuing to work to garner international support to bring Iraq into compliance with U.N. resolutions, for continuing to update the Congress on the situation in Iraq, and for continuing to work with Members on both sides of the aisle in formulating the resolution we are discussing today.

We do not take lightly what we are voting on here today. The decision to authorize the potential use of our Nation's Armed Forces is very difficult. However, this resolution is not a rush to war. Our immediate goal is to allow weapons inspectors complete and unrestricted access to determine Iraq's compliance with disarmament requirements. This resolution explicitly expresses support for the President's ongoing efforts to work with the U.N. Security Council to quickly and decisively act to ensure Iraqi compliance with all Security Council resolutions. However, the resolution also provides for the authorization of the use of military force that may be needed to protect U.S. national security and enforce Security Council resolutions if diplomatic efforts alone are no longer effective. Congress will be kept informed.

Saddam Hussein knew what was required to end the Persian Gulf War: destroying all existing weapons of mass destruction, discontinuing any development of these weapons, and allow United Nations' weapons inspectors unrestricted access so compliance with these demands could be ensured. Iraq has failed to comply with each and every U.N. resolution and has continued to stockpile and develop weapons that are a threat to not only its neighbors in the Middle East, but also the entire world.

Iraq's history of violations, combined with its present policy of working to acquire weapons while continuing to restrict U.N. access, led to a future

where the United States and the United Nations must be able to commit whatever resources are necessary to ensure Iraqi disarmament.

I am proud to serve on the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and have had the opportunity to carefully study the ongoing weapons activity in Iraq. And I am convinced that this resolution is needed to allow us to use every option at our disposal to deal with Iraq. We know what Iraq is capable of, and we know that Saddam Hussein is striving to expand that capability. The people of Iraq are not safe. American military personnel who serve in the Persian Gulf are not safe. And, in fact, the world is not safe if Iraq does not begin to comply with U.S. and U.N. resolutions and disarmament demands.

I believe it is important for the Iraqi people to know that the United States and the United Nations will not allow the continued development and buildup of the stockpile of weapons in their country. Saddam Hussein has turned these terrible weapons against his own people who continue to suffer repression at the hands of this dictator's persistent and willful violations of his international obligations.

I am pleased that this is a bipartisan resolution. The security of the United States and the security of the world rise above partisan points of view. This resolution shows Iraq that we are united in its condemnation of its continued flagrant violation of all U.N. resolution, and in our determination to achieve Iraqi disarmament.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the President for his ongoing efforts to work with the international community and the Congress. And I want to thank my colleagues for this opportunity to use this to thoroughly discuss this resolution, which is one of the most significant pieces of legislation many of us will ever vote on during our time in Congress. Most importantly, I want to thank the men and women who serve in our Nation's Armed Forces, continually working to achieve and maintain peace, in the Persian Gulf region and around the world. And they deserve our devoted and unrestrained thanks for the wonderful, wonderful service that they provide to our country.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all my colleagues to support this bipartisan resolution.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to, first of all, commend both sides on this very important issue and the manner in which this discussion has moved forward for close to 12 hours. From about 1 p.m. to 1 a.m. on yesterday we had all views expressed, and that is really what makes this a great House, and that is what makes this a great country. That is what makes me proud and privileged to be a part of this institution.

□ 1130

I would like to certainly commend the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE)

who has conducted himself with tremendous leadership, a true gentleman from Illinois who has shown his leadership in so many capacities. During the 14 years I have been in Congress, this is certainly one of the most important issues that I have been involved in, and it will be a very important vote.

I would also like to commend the gentleman from California (Mr. CUNNINGHAM), because all of us feel proud of what he has done to make our Nation a stronger place, and it is great to have heroes in our body.

Also, let me commend again the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) who continues his eloquence, his vision. He is one of the most expressive persons that I know in the House, and, for that, this place is a better place.

Let me say that I would like to briefly share with my colleagues a front page article in today's Washington Post which states that unprovoked by a U.S. military campaign, Saddam Hussein is "unlikely to initiate a chemical or biological attack against the United States." This was contained in a report provided by intelligence agencies to senators last week. If a U.S.-led attack could not be stopped, Saddam might launch a chemical/biological counter-attack, the analysts forewarned.

The report said that Saddam might decide that the extreme step of assisting Islamic terrorism in conducting a war, in conducting a weapons of mass destruction attack against the United States would be his last chance to exact vengeance by taking a large number of victims with him.

This appears to suggest that an attack on Iraq could trigger the very thing that our President has said that he is trying to prevent, the use of chemical or biological weapons by Hussein.

In view of this report, the policy of a preemptive strike is troublesome. Haste in attacking Iraq would place untold numbers of people in harm's way.

In Ecclesiastes it says that there is a season for all things; there is a time to laugh and a time to cry, a time to plan and a time to pluck up that which has been planted, a time of peace and a time of war. The question before us is whether this is a time for peace or a time for war. The question is whether we can continue to use diplomacy, whether we have exhausted all means to try to have peace, whether we have maximized the use of the United Nations and other international agencies.

Let us give peace a chance. Let us try to get our inspectors in, identify weapons of mass destruction, have them destroyed and then move forward.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Ms. DELAURO) a very key leader in our Democratic Caucus, a person who has served her people in Connecticut so well, a member of the Committee on Appropriations.

Ms. DELAURO. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, the responsibility for authorizing the use of America's military weighs heavily on all of us today, and I have no doubt that we each rise knowing that the Constitution and the Nation now call on each of us and no one else.

Nearly all assembled today, including myself, voted to authorize force and empower our war on terrorism. Our response was immediate and unified. The Taliban government had to fall. Al Qaeda had to be confronted in Afghanistan and all across the globe, and we carried into battle the full moral authority of a world stirred to action.

I oppose the resolution today reluctantly because I fully anticipate that we will need to act against Iraq before very long. I have no illusions about Saddam Hussein. Saddam Hussein and his regime threaten the safety of our country and his neighbors, many of whom are our allies. He has invaded and occupied neighboring countries and launched deadly missiles at civilian populations. This is a regime that has used and intends to use chemical and biological weapons and has done its best to develop a nuclear weapons program.

This is a murderous regime that has slaughtered its own people. Saddam Hussein is a war criminal who should be on trial, along with Slobodan Milosevic in The Hague.

I rise in opposition reluctantly but no less certain of the importance of a no vote. Because of the nature of this regime and because of the war on terrorism, we must marshal the moral authority and strategic resources that can end this grave threat and secure America's long-term interests. This resolution does not meet that historic requirement, in my view.

While it is an improvement over the original proposal, it represents a nod to the U.N., our allies and our long-term interests but requires almost nothing before America goes to war. It does not require that we seek to operate under a U.N. resolution or to seek unfettered U.N. inspection or to build broad support from allies before America goes to war. In doing so, we weaken our moral authority, our military effectiveness and our ability to keep events under control afterwards.

And if we go it alone against Iraq, as this resolution permits, I am concerned that our efforts will lack the legitimacy that an operation of this magnitude requires. I am concerned that the United States will have to carry the full burden of renewal and policing Iraq, which will surely be high.

Without U.N. sanction, I believe this action could increase instability in the region and indeed throughout the world. It could very well undermine the war on terrorism, alienating countries the United States will need to achieve the broader objective of uncovering and dismantling al Qaeda cells across the world.

I support the Spratt substitute because I believe it fully accepts the goal of eliminating weapons of mass destruction from Iraq. It accounts for Saddam Hussein's record of deceit, of lying to the world and forestalling the inspection process by anticipating the use of force, but the Spratt substitute rightly considers force something that is multiplied in effectiveness when the right stage is set.

It requires the President to certify that the U.N. Security Council has not acted or acted insufficiently to achieve Iraqi disarmament. The substitute requires that he certify that unilateral force is the only option, that military force is necessary to make Iraq comply and that the United States is forming as broad-based a coalition as possible.

Having taken every possible diplomatic action, it requires the President to certify that military action in Iraq will not interfere with the broader war on terrorism.

The Spratt substitute takes the responsible course of action, exhausting diplomatic efforts and building an international coalition first, while acknowledging that military action may be inevitable. I believe this path both ensures that we will be able to continue our success in the war on terrorism in the long term without compromising our safety in the short term.

Mr. Speaker, the President has asked that we pass the resolution to send the message to the U.N. I hope we pass the Spratt substitute so that we can send a message that our war on terrorism will not be compromised, and I hope that a no vote will urge the President to act with the force of nations to achieve our noble and our essential goals.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. BOEHLERT), the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Science and a member of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

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

Mr. BOEHLERT. Mr. Speaker, what is the rush? That question was asked of me Monday evening following the President's speech. It was asked of me last week and the week before and the week before. As a matter of fact, it was first posed to me by a thoughtful questioner at a League of Women Voters candidates forum in Cortland, New York, some 7 weeks ago.

My answer to him then was the same answer I give to everyone now. There is no rush. The President is prudent, measured and firm in dealing with a decade of defiance, deception and bad faith on the part of Saddam Hussein, who has repeatedly ignored U.N. resolutions and turned his back on agreements that he himself embraced. There is widespread agreement with the President. The time for denying, deceiving and delay is over.

Iraq has a chemical and biological weapons capability which can be

launched at a moment's notice and is in the process of acquiring a nuclear capability. From my vantage point as chairman of the Committee on Science, I am familiar with the havoc that can be wreaked with chemical and biological weapons; and as a senior member of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, I am most familiar with the evidence that Saddam Hussein has an accelerated program to acquire a nuclear capability.

The case has been made. The question is, what do we do about it?

In my view, the President is going about it in the correct way. He is not some rogue cowboy from Texas, acting as the Lone Ranger, but a thoughtful, international leader, rising to the occasion with calm and reason and resolve.

The case has indeed been made, and it is up to us to respond. The President went to the United Nations and in a very orderly, methodical way outlined the evidence to that body and to the international community.

The President has repeatedly consulted with the Congress, not just with a few leaders, but all of us. There have been meetings at the White House. Just yesterday, for example, I started my day at 7:30 at the Pentagon with a briefing by the Secretary of Defense and his top people, followed by a return to Capitol Hill for several hours of meetings with the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, followed by a luncheon meeting with a group of us with Condoleezza Rice, the National Security Adviser.

The Congress is involved. It has been presented the evidence, and the President is engaging the American people with a thoughtful, sober, analytical presentation. And I have to confess great disappointment because if my colleagues turned on the television set Monday night, on the three national channels they found their usual programming, not to be interrupted by something so minor as the President of the United States addressing the world on one of the most serious subjects of the moment.

I think overlooked in that speech to the American people Monday night was this fact, and the speech made it abundantly clear. Approving this resolution does not mean that immediate action is imminent or unavoidable. I am comforted by the fact that the President has advisers like Colin Powell and Dick Cheney and Don Rumsfeld and Condoleezza Rice. They are going about this in the correct way, and I urge support for the Commander-in-Chief.

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. HARMAN), the ranking member of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence Subcommittee on Terrorism and Homeland Security.

Ms. HARMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time, and I rise in support of this resolution.

The threat from Iraq is very real and increasingly dangerous. Saddam Hussein's belligerent intentions, and his

possession and ongoing development of weapons of mass destruction to fulfill those intentions, make him a clear and present danger to the United States and the world.

Particularly worrisome is the evidence of Iraq's UAV capability. Iraq's ability to use uninhabited aerial vehicles to deliver biological and chemical weapons far outside its national borders represents a qualitative increase in the danger it poses. History demonstrates Saddam Hussein's willingness to use such weapons against unarmed civilians, including his own people; and it demonstrates his unhesitating instincts to invade his neighbors, Iran and Kuwait, and to attack Israel.

That he appears to quote Director Tenet's recent letter, "to be drawing a line short of conducting terrorist attacks" does not persuade me that he will not. He is impulsive, irrational, vicious and cruel. Unchecked, he will only grow stronger as he develops capability to match his disdain for America and his Middle East neighbors.

History shows that had Israel not destroyed Iraq's nuclear reactor in 1981, Saddam Hussein would now have nuclear capability, but he did not cease his nuclear ambitions. Had coalition military forces not swept through Iraq in 1991, he would have possessed nuclear weapons by 1993.

□ 1145

The CIA now reports that Iraq is 1 year away from a functional nuclear device once it acquires fissile material. Waiting 1 hour, 1 day, 1 month in such an environment, as some suggest, is too risky.

The resolution we are considering is greatly improved from the draft the administration proposed, and I commend Leader GEPHARDT for negotiating these improvements. This resolution narrows the scope of action to the threats to national security posed by Iraq and enforcing compliance with U.N. resolutions.

This resolution stresses a strong preference for peaceful and diplomatic action, authorizing the use of force only if peaceful options have failed.

This resolution requires the President to comply with the War Powers Act and report regularly to Congress should military action become necessary, as well as after the use of force is completed.

This resolution addresses post-disarmament Iraq and the role of the United States and the international community in rebuilding.

And of crucial importance, this resolution requires the President to certify to Congress that action in Iraq will not dilute our ability to wage the war on terrorism.

Removing WMD from Iraq is an important priority, but it cannot replace our counterterrorism efforts at home and abroad. We must ensure we do not divert attention from protecting our homeland, beginning with the creation of a Department of Homeland Security.

We must also strengthen and expand programs and policies aimed at stopping the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their components.

Sentiment in my district is high, both in favor and in opposition to this resolution. I thank my constituents for sharing their views with me. I have listened carefully, learned as much as I could; and now it is time to lead. Like all my colleagues, I fervently hope that the U.S. will not need to use force, but the best chance to avoid military action is to show the U.N. and Iraq that we will not flinch from it.

Giving diplomatic efforts every chance is the right policy, and this resolution gives diplomacy its maximum chance to succeed.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 6 minutes to the gentlewoman from Michigan (Ms. KILPATRICK), a member of the Committee on Appropriations, who has done a great job not only regarding foreign operations, but also for her State of Michigan.

Ms. KILPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, the 435 who serve in this body, and the 100 in the other body, will shortly cast the most important vote of our career, should we send our young men and women to war. It is a decision not to be taken lightly, and I highly respect both sides of the argument. But I stand here today with a heavy heart because I am not able to support the resolution before us.

September 11, 2001, the most dastardly deed ever imagined on a people was committed in this country. The terrorist threat is alive and well. It ought to be the number one priority of this country, of this President, to root out terrorism, to make sure we bring the culprit who planned, organized, and attacked our Nation to justice. We have not done that. Nothing should divert us from that.

There has been no intelligence, no information given to this Member, and I might add my ranking member on the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, that would say Saddam Hussein is an imminent threat to America at this time. No information to the highest ranking Democrat on the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

Does he have weapons? Can he harm? Yes, he can. The President went to the United Nations and spoke before 189 nations of the world not long ago, and the U.N. Security Council, which is composed of many countries, China, Russia, Germany, France and others, whose responsibility it is to act. And if a unilateral strike were necessary right now, do any of us believe that China, Russia, France, Germany, who are also a part of this world, would join with the United States? They have chosen not to do so. Therefore, that leaves the United States alone.

Yes, we are the most powerful. Yes, this is a great country, and we want to

remain that. I am very concerned that a unilateral first strike will upset the global economy, will upset the world. And what about the other 20-plus countries that have weapons of mass destruction? Can China then attack Taiwan? Can India then attack Pakistan? North Korea? South Korea? Where does it stop?

The United States is the leader in the world, and we must show that leadership; and we do that by multilaterally acting with our allies, working together so we do not have the loss of 50,000, so that we will not have to spend \$200 billion-plus of taxpayers' money, and so that we can then use it for health care and housing and prescription drugs.

Mr. Speaker, I implore the American citizens to look at the issue and to get to their Congressperson and Senator. Yes, we have to disarm Saddam Hussein. Yes, we have to go after the weapons of mass destruction. But we are the leaders of the free world, and we have no allies with us on this first strike.

We ought to ask some questions here. What will be the consequences in the Middle East when America makes this first strike? What will be the cost to the world? How many lives will be lost? What resources are we going to pledge as we strike and then as we rebuild that part of the world? What will happen with Iran and Saudi Arabia? Will they sit idly by?

If we pass this resolution in October and not go to war until February or March, what will happen in the interim to American businesses all over the world? Will they be safe?

I urge my colleagues to look at some of these questions. There is no plan. Attack and then what? We have not been given a plan for striking nor a plan for exiting. I think that is wrong. And as Members of Congress who have pledged to represent over 600,000 people apiece, we owe our constituents that answer, these very same constituents whose sons and daughters will be on the front line risking their lives in a war where there has not yet been proven to be an imminent threat to our country.

Mr. Speaker, over the next several hours I ask my constituents to please listen to the comments of our colleagues. And, again, I respect both sides; but I think my constituents sent this Member here to represent and to report to them, and what I am reporting today is that there is no information, no intelligence presented that either this Member or our ranking member on our Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence that Saddam Hussein is an imminent threat to our country today.

Let the U.N. process work. Go in with unfettered inspections, and then let us make an intelligent response. Then multilaterally put the coalition together that we have to have to rid Iraq of weapons of mass destruction. But then also invest in America to save our health care institutions, to build new

schools. I am telling my colleagues, and America, to rise up, to speak out. The time is now.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan (Mr. HOEKSTRA), a member of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to talk about what will be the most difficult vote many of us will ever cast. The decision to authorize our President to use force is never an easy one. Leadership is never easy. Like many people in my district, I struggled with this decision. Just as I do not believe any of my constituents wants to go to war, I do not believe any person in this Chamber wants to go to war. But there are those in this world who may leave us no choice. They have already declared war on America. That is where we find ourselves today.

Much has changed in our country since the attacks of September 11. We have awakened to a world in which the threats that existed before only outside of our borders are now very real inside of them. None of us will ever forget that day, the horror, and then explaining to our children how the most powerful Nation in the world, in a matter of seconds, became one of its most vulnerable.

On September 11 we lost over 3,000 people. They were ordinary Americans going about the business of their lives when they became victims of the global war that terrorists have launched against America. They were not the first victims. Throughout the 1990s, al Qaeda and other terrorist organizations attacked our Nation. We did not heed the warning signs. We see these warning signs in Iraq now.

Saddam Hussein has already used weapons of mass destruction against his own people and the people of Iran. He has systematically thwarted every attempt by the United Nations to conduct thorough inspections of his chemical, biological and nuclear arms-making capabilities. He has ignored a decade-plus of U.N. resolutions.

The question now is how long do we wait? Do we wait for a dictator who has shown no limits in his willingness to flaunt international law, to killing innocent people? Do we wait to give al Qaeda or some other terrorist group a weapon of mass destruction that Saddam Hussein has provided to them?

Mr. Speaker, there is no doubt that Saddam Hussein is a threat to our Nation and to the peace of this planet. He is a rogue leader seeking the world's deadliest weapons, and there is little doubt he will use them for his own evil purposes. Now is the time for the U.S. to lead, to demonstrate real leadership at the United Nations, to demonstrate our conviction and resolve to the dissidents in Iraq that we stand with them.

By exercising leadership in the world community, we will send a powerful message to Saddam and terrorists that peace-loving nations and peace-loving people will not stand by silently as they threaten the values that we stand for. In times of crisis, America has always led. Now is the time for the President, for this Congress, and for America to once again show leadership in a dangerous world.

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. EDWARDS).

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, today I rise not as a Democrat, but as an American who shares the belief with President Bush that, once and for all, the time has come to end the threat of Saddam Hussein and his weapons of mass destruction. For that reason, I intend to support the authorization of military force against Iraq, even as I hope and pray for peace.

Saddam Hussein has been responsible for the murder and deaths of hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children. How many more people, how many more innocent victims must die at his hands before the world finally says enough is enough?

Saddam Hussein has built chemical and biological weapons. He has pursued the ultimate weapon of terror, a nuclear bomb. How many more weapons of mass destruction must he build before the world finally says enough is enough?

There comes a time when a tyrant's repeated disdain for the rules of civilized society makes it necessary for society to protect itself. I say that time is now.

Some of my colleagues in Congress say, in good faith, let us continue to try diplomacy with Saddam Hussein, and I respect their right to that view. Eleven years ago, I too had hoped diplomacy would have worked, in that case to stop Saddam Hussein from his unprovoked aggression against his neighbor, Kuwait. The Arab League tried diplomacy and failed. The European Community tried diplomacy and failed. The United Nations tried diplomacy and failed. And for 11 long years since, the world community, acting through the United Nations, has tried to use diplomacy to convince Saddam Hussein to destroy his weapons of mass destruction.

□ 1200

Once again, the world community and diplomacy have failed.

Is that failure the fault of the United States, the United Nations? Absolutely not. The fault lies squarely with one person and one person alone, Saddam Hussein. He is the guilty one, not us.

The reality is that Saddam Hussein is a terrorist of historic proportions who has gassed his own citizens and killed his own neighbors. Now with his weapons of mass destruction he is a genuine threat to his declared enemy, the United States. Nothing, absolutely nothing Saddam Hussein has done

since his invasion of Kuwait would suggest that his disrespect for the rules of civilized society has changed one iota. If anything, that disrespect has grown as he has arrogantly ignored U.N. resolution after resolution, year after year.

Do I hope for peace without war? Ferribly so. Because I represent 40,000 soldiers in my district who may be sent off to that war, and I represent their families. Yet, sadly, 11 years of his actions suggest Saddam Hussein has no respect for the principles of diplomacy and peace.

The responsibility to only use war as a last resort does not negate the profound obligation of the President and Congress to protect American citizens from weapons of mass destruction. The United States as the one superpower in the world has an abiding responsibility to ensure that the terrorist attacks of September 11 do not become a prelude for biological, chemical or nuclear terrorism either here or anywhere in the world.

I respect President Bush, as I do his father, for standing up to the menace of Saddam Hussein. I applaud the President's recent challenge to the United Nations. The interest of our Nation and all nations will be served if the U.N. enforces its resolutions against Saddam Hussein and Iraq. But if the U.N. does not take decisive action, the threat posed by Saddam Hussein and Iraq does not go away.

Tigers do not change their stripes, and Saddam Hussein has not changed his. Not in 11 years, and not now. He was a brutal dictator, a dangerous dictator over 11 years ago; and he is a brutal, dangerous dictator today. The reality is diplomacy has failed and delay could be dangerous. The time to act is now.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs. MEEK), a member of the Committee on Appropriations, and a teacher for over 50 years. This is the gentlewoman's last term, and we appreciate her service to our country.

Mrs. MEEK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

As a woman of peace, I am compelled to rise in opposition to this resolution. I oppose this resolution as someone who loves this country very deeply. Perhaps one would have had to have grown up under segregation in the deep South, as I did, to truly appreciate how much this Nation means to me and how honored I am to serve my country in Congress.

As one of the most senior Members of Congress, few have seen what I have seen in this Nation's history. I remember clearly the Japanese preemptive attack, or first strike, against the United States that plunged us into World War II. We called it a sneak attack and an act of cowardice. They called it a preemptive attack against a foreign enemy that threatened their interests.

I also remember clearly when we went to war in South Korea, and after

50 years we are still in Korea. Since I have been in Congress these past 10 years, I have supported every Defense authorization and Defense appropriations bill, every one of them. I feel very strongly that we need a strong national defense, and we need to be prepared, and indeed we are.

We are the strongest Nation in the world, and number two is not even close to us. I believe that our Nation sets the standard for the world. What we do and how we do it has a huge impact on the actions and things that other nations do. I also believe that we need a strong Presidency. I felt that way under President Clinton, and I feel that way under President Bush. However, we must use our power very carefully. We must set standards for other nations and promote our security, our interests and our goals. A strong chief executive should not be an all-powerful chief executive; strong, but not all-powerful.

It is for these reasons I oppose this resolution.

Are we in imminent danger of attack? The claims of proof are lacking. The media has reported today that the consensus of all relevant U.S. military intelligence agencies is that Saddam Hussein is unlikely to initiate an attack upon us. In fact, the relevant U.S. intelligence agencies have concluded that the major threat to the United States is not a first strike but the weapons of mass destruction against our invading troops.

Is Saddam Hussein an enemy? Yes, he is. Is Saddam Hussein interested in military conquests? Unquestionably. Do we need to take action against him to dismantle any existing weapons and prevent the construction of others? Emphatically yes. But is he an imminent threat to the United States? The answer is, no. Such a serious threat that we have no choice but to immediately attack him? The President simply has not even come close to proving his case on that to me, representing over 600,000 people, or to the American people, nor have those who are promoting this war.

Under such shaky justifications when we have other options, why are we in such a hurry to start a war? Why are there so many people beating the drums of war? My answer to this resolution is that we do not have clear evidence, we do not have a demonstrated imminent threat, and so we do not have a compelling reason to pass this resolution.

As I said, I believe in a strong chief executive, but I also believe in a strong constitutional government. Only Congress has the authority under the Constitution to declare war. This resolution authorizes the use of force immediately regardless of our efforts to gain the support and assent of the other nations that share the world with us. I am certainly not willing to approve this blank check to give such power to any President, whether he be Democrat or Republican.

As a leading member of the international community, the United States must live and get along with and set example for the other nations of the world. If we claim the right to attack other nations on our own, what would we do when other nations claim that same right and then act upon it? The world is filled with nations that already have weapons of mass destruction and that already have hate and fear their neighbors. How would we contain the preemptive attacks by other countries that would be justified by our own actions? Such attacks could even be directed against us.

Finally, I believe we should fully and aggressively utilize every diplomatic option available to us. We have worked with the United Nations in the past, and we can do it again.

Mr. Speaker, this is not the world of President William McKinley. The real and imminent threat to our Nation is from terrorism, not from other nations.

Mr. Speaker, I include the following for the RECORD.

ANALYSTS DISCOUNT ATTACK BY IRAQ  
COUNTERATTACK IS CALLED POSSIBLE  
(By Dana Priest)

Unprovoked by a U.S. military campaign, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein is unlikely to initiate a chemical or biological attack against the United States, intelligence agencies concluded in a classified report given to select senators last week.

However, the report added, "should Saddam conclude that a US-led attack could no longer be deterred," he might launch a chemical-biological counterattack. Hussein might "decide that the extreme step of assisting Islamist terrorists in conducting a WMD [weapons of mass destruction] attack against the United States would be his last chance to exact vengeance by taking a large number of victims with him."

The assessment was first made in a classified National Intelligence Estimate, which includes the analysis and opinions of all relevant U.S. intelligence agencies, that was given to the Senate intelligence committee last week. A declassified "white paper" on Iraq was released days later. At the urging of the committee, which is controlled by Democrats, additional portions of the classified intelligence report were declassified by the CIA Monday and released last night.

With lawmakers poised to vote this week on a resolution giving President Bush authority to attack Iraq, the new intelligence report offers grist both for supporters and critics of the administration's policy. The CIA assessment appears to suggest that an attack on Iraq could provoke the very thing the president has said he is trying to forestall: the use of chemical or biological weapons by Hussein.

But the CIA also declassified other elements of analysis that seem to back up the president's assertion that Iraq has active ties to al Qaeda—a growing feature of the administration's case for considering military action.

Among the intelligence assessments linking Iraq with al Qaeda is "credible reporting" that the group's "leaders sought contacts in Iraq who could help them acquire WMD capabilities," according to a letter to senators from CIA Director George J. Tenet.

Tenet added: "Iraq's increasing support to extremist Palestinians, coupled with growing indications of a relationship" with al

Qaeda "suggest Baghdad's links to terrorists will increase, even absent U.S. military action."

In his speech to the nation Monday night, Bush said: "Iraq could decide on any given day to provide a biological or chemical weapon to a terrorist group or individual terrorists. Alliance with terrorists could allow the Iraqi regime to attack America without leaving any fingerprints."

The letter's release shed light on a behind-the-scenes battle over Iraq-related intelligence. The CIA's detailed, unvarnished view of the threat posed by Iraq is central, say many lawmakers, to how they will vote on the matter. Yet an increasing number of intelligence officials, including former and current intelligence agency employees, are concerned the agency is tailoring its public stance to fit the administration's views.

The CIA works for the president, but its role is to provide him with information untainted by political agendas.

Caught in the tug of war over intelligence, say former intelligence officials familiar with current CIA intelligence and analysis on Iraq, has been the CIA's rank and file, and to some extent, Tenet.

"There is a tremendous amount of pressure on the CIA to substantiate positions that have already been adopted by the administration," said Vincent Cannistraro, former head of counterterrorism at the CIA.

Tenet last night released a statement that was meant to dispel assertions that the letter contained new information that would undercut the case Bush made in his speech.

"There is no inconsistency between our view of Saddam's growing threat and the view as expressed by the President in this speech," the statement read. "Although we think the chances of Saddam initiating a WMD attack at this moment are low—in part because it would constitute an admission that he possesses WMD—there is no question that the likelihood of Saddam using WMD against the United States or our allies in the region for blackmail, deterrence, or otherwise grows as his arsenal continues to build."

In explaining why the items in the letter were not also released before, Tenet said he did not want to provide "Saddam a blueprint of our intelligence capabilities and shortcomings, or with insight into our expectations of how he will and will not act."

Still, he noted, the agency could nevertheless declassify further information not previously disclosed. Included in his letter were snippets of an Oct. 2 closed-door session.

Included in that was questioning by Sen. Carl M. Levin (D-Mich.), in which he asked an unnamed intelligence official whether it "is likely that [Hussein] would initiate an attack using a weapon of mass destruction?"

The official answered: ". . . in the foreseeable future, given the conditions we understand now, the likelihood I think would be low."

Levin asked: "If we initiate an attack and he thought he was in extremis . . . what's the likelihood in response to our attack that he would use chemical or biological weapons?"

The answer came: "Pretty high, in my view."

In his letter, Tenet responded to senators' questions about Iraq's connections to al Qaeda. "We have sold reporting of senior level contacts between Iraq and Al Qaeda going back a decade," Tenet wrote. "Credible information" also indicates that Iraq and al Qaeda "have discussed safe haven and reciprocal non-aggression."

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to inquire about the division of time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ISAKSON). The gentleman from Illinois

(Mr. HYDE) has 1 hour 47 minutes remaining; the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) has 1 hour 25 minutes remaining; the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) has 1 hour 2 minutes remaining; and the gentleman from Florida (Mr. GOSS) has 44½ minutes remaining.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. BURR), a member of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

(Mr. BURR of North Carolina asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BURR of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Florida (Mr. GOSS) for not only his leadership as chairman of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence but also for the gentleman's leadership in the debate on this issue on this floor.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution, but I want to take a moment to thank my colleagues who seek a peaceful solution to this crisis. I, too, would prefer peace to war.

As Thomas Jefferson wrote to Andrew Jackson in 1806, "Always a friend to peace, and believing it to promote the happiness and prosperity of mankind, I am ever unwilling that it should be disturbed, as long as the rights and interests of the Nation can be preserved."

Jefferson went on to say in this letter, when our rights and interests are threatened, "we must meet our duty and convince the world that we are just friends and brave enemies."

Mr. Speaker, the rights and the interests of our Nation are threatened today. Voting to send our military into battle, even potential battle, is among the hardest things we will do as Members of Congress. It is not a duty to take lightly. However, I have come to the realization that there are times when such votes are necessary. This is one of those times.

The threat to our Nation from Saddam Hussein's weapons programs and his growing ties to the networks of international terror cannot be underestimated and should not be ignored. Willful blindness to this threat will not make it go away.

In a little more than a decade, we have sent our Armed Forces to war on behalf of the Kuwaitis, the Saudis, the Somalis, the Bosnians, and the Kosovars. Some in our military made the ultimate sacrifice.

It may soon prove necessary to send our troops to war on behalf and in defense of the American people. I cannot in good conscience ignore the dangers posed by Iraq to my constituents, including the servicemen and women who call North Carolina home. Inaction on our part may very well be more costly to our Nation than action. The threat is real.

As a member of the Committee on Energy and Commerce, I have heard testimony from countless officials on

the status of our Nation's preparation for chemical and biological attacks. I know firsthand the need to eliminate this threat while we continue with our preparation.

As a member of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, I have reviewed the evidence of Iraqi's weapons programs and its increasing ties to international terror. I have participated in countless hearings on the terror threat and the state of the war against terrorism. I have seen, heard and read things that keep me awake at night.

Iraq brings the dangers of chemical and biological weapons, their use, and international terrorism together in one clear, defined threat. Addressing this threat is mandated by our duty to protect our Nation's rights and interests.

The reason for my support of this resolution, Mr. Speaker, is simple. No matter how well we protect our borders, increase our military spending and strengthen our intelligence community, we cannot secure our homeland without eliminating the threat Saddam Hussein's weapons present to America and to the world. We must find them. We must destroy them. We must be prepared to take action when the international community will not, and we must fulfill our duty.

I will conclude with President Jefferson's letter to John Adams in September 1821. "The flames kindled on the 4th of July, 1776, have spread over too much of the globe to be extinguished by the feeble engine of despotism; on the contrary, they will consume these engines and all who work them."

One wonders what President Jefferson would say about the weapons available to our enemies on this day at this time. Today, the bright flames of July 4th find themselves in struggle with the dark fires of September 11. Those fires, lit by the enemies of freedom, cannot be allowed to prevail. Will we allow them to advance, possibly in the ashes of a nuclear holocaust, or will we extinguish them before they gain a foothold? Those dark fires may not have been lit in Baghdad, but they are certainly fanned from that city.

It is time to extinguish those fires. The evidence is clear, the cause is just, and timing is of the essence. We must give our President the tools he needs to protect our Nation, our interests, and our citizens.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this resolution.

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 7 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. BOSWELL).

□ 1215

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

Mr. BOSWELL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. CROWLEY), for yielding me this time, and the chairman of our committee. We have had an interesting several

months together and not all fun; but it is a very, very serious thing.

I would like to start off my comments by saying that this Member, although I am a veteran, as many are here, I am not a hawk, I am not a dove. I am a concerned American who wants our country and our people to be safe. I have had some of those sleepless nights. I think of the gentleman from California (Mr. CUNNINGHAM). I think of the gentleman from Texas (Mr. SAM JOHNSON), the price he paid. I think of the gentleman from Florida (Mr. BOYD) and the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMPSON) and many others who have served and know something as well as I what it is like to face war. It is not a good thing.

I am a member of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, and I have tried to prepare myself with knowledge and information, and some things I am convinced of and I would share with you today. I am convinced that Saddam Hussein has weapons of mass destruction. I am convinced that he has the chemical and biological and he wants very badly to have the nuclear; and given a chance, he will have them. I am convinced that he would use them. He is a despot. No question about it in my mind. But he would not only use them, I think he would make them available to others if they came to buy or he would even give them to them.

So I am very concerned about this, and I have had my sleepless nights. It almost reminds me of some of the times going into a major operation when I was in Vietnam. It was pretty hard to sleep when we knew that lives would be lost that next day and we might have to write the letters to the next of kin, the moms, the dads and the husbands, the spouses about how their son paid the supreme sacrifice that day.

I served 20 years, served a couple of tours over in NATO. I know something about the international relationship that needs to be there as we go into this world that we live in today. It is a very, very serious matter, and I have no quarrel with those that have spoken just as the last speaker. I respect that. But I am concerned about the tomorrow for my children and my grandchildren.

I know that when I went to Vietnam, I settled my family there in a little farm there in southern Iowa the night before I was to leave. My little daughter, who now has a teen-age child, came out to the yard where my wife and I were sitting and having kind of a quiet moment as the sun was going on. She said, Daddy don't go. So I said, Sweetheart, I'm a soldier. I have to go. She said, Please don't go. I am afraid. Think about this, your own child: I am afraid you may not come back. So I tried to give her assurance as I had the first time I had gone that I would come back. Lucky for me, I did; but everybody did not come back. So I understand that this is one of the most serious things we deal with.

I had the occasion to get invited over to the White House 2 weeks ago tomorrow with several of my colleagues. Some of my colleagues might be listening. And I was one of the four or five that the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. BLUNT), the gentleman from Texas (Mr. EDWARDS), a few were there and others to have dialogue with the President. And I said to the President I think that he is right, that the U.N. ought to lead on this. That is their charter and their responsibility. But they might not. If he really believes hard facts that Saddam has had his finger on the trigger or he may have, we have to deal with this, but let us have the American people behind this.

I will give a contrast. When we sent our troops off to Desert Storm, the communities were behind the troops when they left, when they were there, and they brought them back. By contrast I said, Mr. President, I went to Vietnam twice. The American people were not behind us. It was pretty tough to go and give everything we had to fulfill the commitment that we were given, the mission to give all we had and not have the American people behind us. And they were not.

And I said, Mr. President, remember how we left Vietnam? We were thrown out. I remember the scene, people falling off the helicopters trying to get out of the embassy. But what did we bring back? We brought back 56,000 body bags, and some of us have put people in those body bags and carried them back to the collection point. But the American people were not with us.

So if he commits our troops, have good cause, have his facts straight and tell the American people. He has been doing that. I think there has been a constant stream, Mr. Speaker, going over to the White House to talk about this; and I think that his speech and the other things he has done, his trip to the United Nations, he is making the efforts to do what is right, and I hope he is being straightforward and honest about it. I accept his statement that he said to us, to me, "The last thing I want to do is to send our troops into harm's way."

I am accepting that and I am also saying to the President that it is up to him in his position as leader, President, Commander in Chief, that he keep the American people informed that they understand and that they know that this country is doing this because we want to preserve it safely for our future, for our children, my grandchildren, my teen-age grandchild. Cindy who was so worried about her dad going, of course, is concerned about her son and others across this country.

If he is the person we think he is, then we have to be ready to tell him do not do it or the consequences will be severe, and that is what has brought me from this point today from undecided and walking the floor to say that I will support this resolution. It is a hard decision, but it is one we have to

make. And I am proud to have served with the gentleman from California (Mr. CUNNINGHAM), as I see him on the floor now, and the others I have mentioned. But our country is a precious thing, and we have to save it for the future; and this is our moment to deal with this now.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. VELÁZQUEZ). She is the ranking member on the Committee on Small Business, a spokesperson for women and minority businesses.

Ms. VELÁZQUEZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to House Joint Resolution 114. This so-called compromise resolution on Iraq is not compromise at all, but a blank check to give President Bush unprecedented power to launch preemptive war on Iraq. There is no justification for such an action, and the case that the administration has made is suspect at best. Even though we are engaged in a war on terrorism, here we are today, no mention of Osama bin Laden, no mention of how this resolution accomplishes the goal we all stood unified on 1 year ago.

Not only has the case not been made to the American people, we have not made the case to the international community, and we cannot go it alone. We cannot act unilaterally. We must work closely with the United Nations and other countries in the global community. Without them we cannot move towards a new, more peaceful world.

We need to be mindful that we were able to act quickly and decisively during the Gulf War because we stood as a world community. Today we stand alone. Is Saddam Hussein evil? Absolutely. But we have not been shown that there is an imminent threat compelling us to act. We know what an imminent threat looks like. We saw it during the Cuban Missile Crisis, in the buildup to the Six-Day War in the Middle East, and when Iraqi tanks poised on the border with Kuwait in 1990. By contrast, the evidence here looks more like the Gulf of Tonkin.

War is our last resort, not our first option. The United States must exhaust all diplomatic channels before waging another war. The President needs to work closely with the international community to demand completely unfettered inspections of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction programs. With continued pressure from the world's only superpower, we can pressure the Iraqi Government to allow United Nations inspectors in so we can know exactly what Saddam Hussein has in his weapons arsenal before we act. At this time we do not have such firm information, only the past record of the Iraqi regime. If we did have this information and if this government consults with, rather than dictates to, our allies and the international community, only then could we act against the threat that Iraq poses.

We do need to act, but we do not need to rush into war. War is one answer,

but it is not the only answer. Will war solve the Iraqi problem and wipe out terrorism in the world as we know it? Maybe, but probably not. Our actions may simply spur greater resentment against our increasingly imperial power, producing an endless stream of new enemies finding new and terrifying ways to attack us.

What we must do at this critical juncture in our Nation's history is to affirm American values of peace, justice, and democracy. These values are what brought this country to the preeminent position as the "indispensable Nation," and they are the reason why we embody the hopes and aspirations of people around the world. We must not let them down. We demonstrate our peaceful intent by pursuing diplomatic means to pressure the Iraqi regime. We may pursue justice by seeking an indictment of Saddam Hussein for war crimes in the International Criminal Court, and we must affirm our democratic values by consulting allies and working with the United Nations to resolve this crisis. But the enumeration of Iraq's past crimes, concerns over preemption and our place in the world, pale when compared to the reality of sending our young men and women into harm's way. We know that some of them will die.

Before we vote to send them to war, we must be able to look in the eyes of the mothers and fathers whose sons and daughters have died for us and tell them that their sacrifice was worth it. I cannot do that today in good conscience, and that is why I will vote "no."

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Georgia (Mr. CHAMBLISS), chairman of the Subcommittee on Human Intelligence, Analysis and Counterintelligence of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

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

Mr. CHAMBLISS. Mr. Speaker, I strongly support President Bush and this resolution to authorize the use of force to defend the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq. It is important to note that the thrust of the resolution is to remove the capability from Saddam Hussein to deliver weapons of mass destruction. The oppressive regime of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein is a clear and present danger to international peace and stability, particularly to the United States. The threat to the national security of the United States is real.

For 11 years Saddam has systematically violated United Nations Security Council resolutions. We know that Iraq is aggressively pursuing the development of weapons of mass destruction, supporting international terrorism, including harboring terrorists and repressing minorities within Iraq.

However, I am most troubled by the Iraqi regime's persistent efforts to acquire biological, chemical, and nuclear

weapons, as well as long-range missiles. In a report released by the CIA last week, the intelligence community confirmed that since U.N. inspections ended in 1998, Iraq has continued its determined efforts to maintain a chemical weapons capability, invested heavily in developing biological weapons, rebuilt missile facilities, and is working to build unmanned aerial vehicles as a lethal means to deliver biological and chemical agents. Moreover, it is clear that Saddam Hussein is intent on acquiring nuclear weapons. Experts believe that if the Iraq regime can get its hands on highly enriched uranium, it is very likely that Iraq could build a nuclear weapon in less than a year. This is a threat we cannot allow to mature.

□ 1230

Iraq's obstruction of U.N. inspectors and extensive efforts to hide its mass destruction efforts seem to make it obvious that the current regime cannot be trusted. Let there be no mistake about it. As the number one target of Saddam Hussein's wrath, there is no question as to who these dangerous weapons would be used against; that is, the United States and our friends. The cost of inaction will be paid for with the blood of innocent Americans.

In addition to the fact that our military is targeted almost daily by the Iraqi military in the no-fly zones, the Iraqi regime has engaged in despicable acts. They attempted to assassinate former President George Bush and the Emir of Kuwait and have offered rewards to the families of suicide bombers. Not only does Iraq harbor international terrorist organizations such as al Qaeda, Abu Nidal and the MEK, the Iraqi regime has direct links to international terrorist groups and continues to provide support, training and resources to terrorists.

President Bush has demonstrated unambiguous and forceful leadership in addressing the Iraqi threat. He has clearly explained the threat the current Iraqi dictator poses in the world and made a very strong case for the need for a regime change in Iraq. The President stated his case before the United Nations and has reached out to an international coalition of partners who share our concerns about the current regime in Iraq.

The American people can show by support of this resolution that we stand 100 percent behind the President of the United States to remove the capability of delivery of weapons of mass destruction from Saddam Hussein. I urge support of this resolution.

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

Mr. CHAMBLISS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to my distinguished friend from California, a Vietnam decorated veteran, the Top Gun.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, a few minutes ago I was unable to finish my discussion. I hate not being in control. But I would like to finish it at this time.

Mr. Speaker, if you take every emotion you have ever felt, of love, anger, hate, it swells up in a person. If you can imagine what it is like to see a friend or friends go down in flames, and even more know how that is going to affect the families, this vote rips my heart out.

But, yet, being on the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and the Committee on Armed Services, I would tell my friends that disagree, I believe with every fiber in my heart that it is necessary to give the President the flexibility to stop not only terrorists but Saddam Hussein, because I believe that threat will reach the shores of the United States.

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 6 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. BISHOP), the ranking member of the Subcommittee on Technical and Tactical Intelligence of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, today the Members of this body are called to face an awesome challenge and a very perplexing dilemma. We must decide whether or not to authorize the President to use the Armed Forces of the United States as he determines to be necessary and appropriate to defend the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq and enforce all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq.

The measure requires that before military action is begun or as soon thereafter as feasible, but not later than 48 hours, the President must report to Congress that all diplomatic efforts to protect the security of the United States against the threat posed by Iraq or to enforce all relevant U.N. resolutions regarding Iraq have been exhausted.

The resolution also requires that the President must report to the Congress that military action against Iraq is consistent with our continued actions against international terrorists, including those responsible for 9/11.

The resolution states that it is consistent with the War Powers Act and constitutes specific authorization within the meaning of the War Powers Act.

It states that Congress supports the President's efforts to strictly enforce through the United Nations Security Council all relevant Security Council resolutions applicable to Iraq and encourages him in those efforts, supports his efforts to obtain prompt and decisive action by the Security Council to ensure that Iraq abandons its strategy of delay, evasion, noncompliance and promptly and strictly complies with all of the relevant Security Council resolutions.

It requires the President at least once every 60 days to report to the Congress on the matters relevant to this resolution, including the use of force and on efforts to support Iraq's transition to democracy after Saddam Hussein is gone.

I intend to support the resolution. It is a fact, Mr. Speaker, that Saddam Hussein has produced thousands of tons of chemical agents and used them against Iran and 40 Iraqi villages. He has rebuilt facilities that were used to manufacture chemical and biological weapons in violation of the truce that ended the Persian Gulf War. He possesses ballistic missiles with a range great enough to strike Saudi Arabia, Israel, Turkey and other nations in the region, where more than 135,000 American civilians and service personnel now live and work.

He has a fleet of manned and unmanned aerial vehicles that could be used to disperse chemical and biological weapons across broad areas. It would not take sophisticated delivery systems to deliver these chemical and biological agents to harm the 135,000 Americans I have cited.

We do not know the extent of his nuclear weapons development since he threw out the inspectors 4 years ago, but we do know he was just months away from success; and in spite of U.N. prohibitions, he has continued his quest. He has had 4 years of unrestricted freedom to pursue his nasty goals.

We know that, as good as our intelligence community is, 9/11 and numerous inquiries thereafter have proven that our intelligence community is not perfect. We need unfettered, unrestricted international inspections to get accurate information on compliance or noncompliance.

History is replete with evidence that, without a show of force, Saddam will not respond. I believe that empowering the President to use Armed Forces to assure that Saddam has no weapons of mass destruction to threaten the lives of American civilians and service members and innocent neighbors or to give terrorists, this will give Secretary Powell the strength that he needs to get a strong U.N. resolution.

When he goes to the Security Council, he needs to be carrying a big stick, speaking with unquestioned resolve of the Congress and the American people.

I do not take lightly the risks that our sons and daughters will be sent into harm's way. I do not take lightly the unprecedented probability of unilateral action by the United States, but we live in a new and different and dangerous time, and the threat of weapons of mass destruction demand that we take unprecedented actions to protect America, her people and civilized nations from the death and destruction of a Saddam Hussein.

Mr. Speaker, I support the adoption of the resolution. I support the Spratt substitute, but there must be verification, there must be inspections; and the time to assure the safety of Americans, and the safety of the world, is now.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Georgia (Ms. MCKINNEY), the ranking member on the Subcommittee on

Human Rights of the Committee on International Relations.

Ms. MCKINNEY. Mr. Speaker, I share the same revulsion that many others have toward Saddam Hussein. We all know that he is brutal and that his regime has terrorized the Iraqi people and the peoples of nearby countries.

But there was a time not so long ago when, despite all of this, we chose to allow him to be our friend. There was a time when we supplied him with chemical weapons and other military technology.

If our Nation really cared about Iraq's neighbors, we would never have supplied him the military arsenal that we did. And if we really cared about his people, we would have done something to alleviate the suffering of the Kurds, who for years have been brutalized by the Iraqi military. If we cared about the Iraqi people, we would have done something to lift the burdens imposed on them by U.N. sanctions, which to date have claimed in excess of an estimated 500,000 Iraqi children. But the truth is we did not really care about any of that suffering. Madeline Albright even said that the price of 500,000 dead Iraqi children was worth it.

Now, however, we claim to care.

Now, Saddam Hussein has just become another name on a long list of other tyrants who we once aided and abetted but now oppose.

But what to do? In the past, other tyrants we have grown tired of were assassinated, like Jonas Savimbi; or charged with war crimes, like Slobodan Milosevic; or forced from power through U.S.-backed uprisings, like Mobutu Sese Seko.

President Bush is confronted with the "what to do question." He appears to be choosing war to get rid of this tyrant; and, of course, he has to justify it. That is the public relations part of the equation.

The words "Gulf of Tonkin" have echoed around Washington this last month, with many people concerned that the Bush Administration is now manufacturing an international crisis in order to launch a preemptive military strike against Saddam Hussein.

In 1964, there were some courageous Members of this House who knew that the Gulf of Tonkin incident was a political ruse being used by the Johnson administration in order to justify the United States going to war in Vietnam. For their courage to speak out and resist, they suffered a tidal wave of public ridicule. But we now know that they were right and that the Vietnam War was a monumental mistake that cost the lives of some 60,000 brave young Americans and hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese.

And, still, we have many Americans and Vietnamese who suffer the health effects of Agent Orange and other toxins faced on the battlefield. And all across the American and European landscape today, veterans still suffer from Gulf War Syndrome and exposure to depleted uranium.

Will we let this President create yet another generation of veterans to whom we have broken our promise? I see too many of these veterans sleeping on our streets. The President can see them, too, if he would just look. They sleep on the sidewalks, the benches and the heating vents just across the street from the White House. And, sadly, one of the first things our President did after he declared this war on terrorism was to deprive our young men and women who are now fighting on the front lines of their high deployment overtime pay. He does not even want to pay them.

Mr. Speaker, do we give this President the green light to go to war with Iraq based on evidence which many weapons experts believe to be exaggerated? Are we now turning a blind eye to another Gulf of Tonkin-type incident? Should we not trust the legal and diplomatic means of the United Nations?

Do we give the President the green light to go to war in Iraq because it has refused to comply with U.N. Security Council weapons inspections resolutions? At the same time, Israel refuses to comply with U.N. resolutions with respect to the occupied territories. Do we have different standards for different countries?

Mr. Speaker, the Cuban missile crisis and the Gulf of Tonkin, if they taught us anything, they taught us the dangers of choosing the military option over diplomatic and legal alternatives.

The current terrorist crisis confronting our Nation is so much bigger and more complicated than this call for war on Iraq. Should we miscalculate our military actions in Iraq, we could cause many American servicemen and women to lose their lives. Needless to say, we could also cause untold numbers of Iraqis to be killed or injured. Worse still, instead of solving the current threat of terrorism against us, going to war in Iraq might well make things far worse for us, both at home and abroad.

I hope and pray that we choose our options carefully; and, for that reason, I will be voting no on this resolution to go to war in Iraq.

□ 1245

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the distinguished gentleman from Iowa (Mr. LATHAM).

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

Mr. LATHAM. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of our national security and in support of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker I rise today to join my colleagues that are in support of this resolution.

Last year there were two very significant events in my life—one was the birth of my first grandchild, Emerson Ann. The second was the September 11th attack on our Nation. Both of these events had a deep impact on me personally.

I want for Emerson Ann what every parent wants for their children, and what every grand-

parent wants for their grandchildren, an environment where she is able to grow up secure and safe, living the experience of freedom upon which our Nation was founded. September 11th reminded us that in order to protect freedom we must not turn a blind eye to the real dangers around the World in hopes that they will not affect us.

After numerous briefings on Iraq and the activities of its leader—Saddam Hussein—there is no doubt in my mind that he is clear and present danger to the United States and freedom loving people around the World.

The evidence mounts with each passing day. Many analysts believe that Iraq may be, or become, a breeding ground and source of support for terrorism. Iraq retains its arsenal of chemical and biological weapons, and there is strong evidence that it is also developing nuclear weapons. There is no way of knowing for sure the extent of Iraq's plans or capabilities, since U.N. weapons inspectors were forced out of the country in 1998, and since Iraq's current government seems committed to hiding weapons of mass destruction, delaying the return of inspectors, and making inspection efforts ineffective.

Saddam Hussein governs his country by de facto dictatorship, and has a long history of human rights abuses against his own people. And, based on the actions of Iraq's current government under Hussein, it would be shortsighted and naïve to assume that Iraq's intentions through his actions are benign.

I believe that a regime change in Iraq is in the best interest of the United States and our allies. And, I believe that, as we have done throughout our history, the United States must one again display our leadership in the fight against terrorism throughout the World and eliminate the threat to security imposed by Iraq.

While this resolution authorizes military action, I will hold out hope that it will be used only as a last resort.

History has taught us that freedom is not free.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. EVERETT), a distinguished member of the committee.

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, when I was elected to the United States House of Representatives, I took an oath to protect and defend the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic. Fortunately, in my 10 years in Congress, we have had few opportunities to vote on authorizing the use of military force to protect our country from these enemies. Authorization of military force is one of the most solemn decisions that we can make as Members of Congress, and it is a decision that must be made only after thoughtful and prayerful consideration.

Our Nation now faces a clear and present danger from the regime of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. Saddam has been without international supervision; and I have received information, both from public and from classified hearings, that suggests that the Iraqi regime could be merely months

away from attaining the necessary resources to complete his mission of developing nuclear weapons.

Saddam has made it clear that he will do whatever is necessary to prohibit inspections of his compounds for the purpose of determining the extent to which he has stockpiled the necessary components to produce these weapons. He has the technology and the know-how to build such a device. All that he lacks is materials. The Intelligence community says that Iraq is 3 to 5 years away from developing a nuclear device if it has to produce its own nuclear bomb material, and months away if it acquires this material from outside sources. The problem is, we do not know when the clock started on either scenario.

Additionally, Saddam's government has repeatedly violated the 1991 ceasefire agreement that ended the Persian Gulf War and Iraq's obligation to unconditionally disarm its weapons of mass destruction. Not only does Saddam Hussein continue to halt the will of the international community with regard to inspections, he continues to shoot at coalition aircraft patrolling the northern and southern no-fly zones daily.

For us not to recognize the clear and present danger that the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein represents to our country would be tragically wrong. We must protect and defend our Nation against this madman and his ability to destroy tens of thousands of Americans.

The resolution authorizing the use of military force that we are considering today gives the President the flexibility and authority he needs to protect the American people while, at the same time, preserving the prerogatives of Congress.

The findings at the beginning of this resolution offer more than enough evidence of Saddam Hussein's crimes. The authorization in section 3 has been appropriately modified in a bipartisan manner. It authorizes the use of military force as the President determines necessary and appropriate to: "(1), defend the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq; and (2), enforce all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq."

The resolution also requires a timely "presidential determination" that all means short of war have been exhausted, and that acting pursuant to this authorization is consistent with ongoing activities in the war against terrorism.

Finally, this resolution contains reporting requirements to ensure that Congress and the American people are fully apprised on all matters relevant to this resolution and that both are full partners in an effort to rid the United States of the Iraqi threat.

Mr. Speaker, September 11 changed our country and the world forever. For all of these reasons, I intend to vote in favor of the resolution and encourage my colleagues to do the same.

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 6 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. ROEMER), a member of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

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

Mr. ROEMER. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my friend, the gentleman from New York (Mr. CROWLEY), for yielding me this time.

I want to begin by quoting General William Sherman in the Civil War who simply stated, "War is hell." And I can also say, having visited the Pentagon the night of the attacks on September 11 and visiting New York City at Ground Zero just a few days after the attacks, that terrorism is hell; and the pain and agony that that has inflicted on our country, on men and women and children and families, has been excruciating. And this resolution that we debate in this Chamber today and will vote on tomorrow is one of the most difficult, heart-stabbing, gut-wrenching votes that one can cast.

My first vote as a freshman was on the Persian Gulf War, which had something to do with Saddam Hussein invading Kuwait, and now one of my last votes will be on war. And in between, we have had votes on Somalia and Kosovo and Bosnia, and we have had a vote to declare war on terrorism. These are difficult, excruciating votes that I think every Member in this body takes extremely seriously.

I will vote in favor of the President's resolution for three reasons. One is because of the chemical and biological and nuclear threat that Saddam Hussein poses with these weapons. I have to say that I do not think the administration has made the case with connections to al Qaeda, nor have they made the case with connections to 9-11. But I think in a compelling and convincing fashion, we must, in post-9-11 concern, be very aware of how these weapons can be used against the United States, even in America, against our allies in the region, and all over the world.

When airplanes filled with people and gasoline can be commandeered and flown into our buildings in America, we can only imagine what can be done, not just with a vial of smallpox that Saddam Hussein or some other terrorist group may have, but we are talking about a few hundred metric tons of chemical weapons that Iraq possesses. We are talking about, and I quote from a declassified CIA report: "Baghdad has begun renewed production of chemical warfare agents, probably including mustard, sarin, cyclosarin, and VX." It goes on to say, "Saddam probably has stocked a few hundred metric tons of CW agents." Finally, "All key aspects: research and development, production, and weaponization, of Iraq's offensive BW program are active and most elements are larger and more advanced than they were before the Gulf War."

Mr. Speaker, this is a compelling concern, this is a present danger, this is grave and growing.

Now, I think that is the evidence that we are voting on today. I think that is the reason for our resolution going forward.

Secondly, I am voting for this because this resolution has gone in a more positive direction from when the Bush administration first introduced it. It is narrowed in scope to Iraq instead of broadly applying to the region. It applies to try to put together diplomatic and multilateral efforts. These, Mr. President, should be exhaustive before we engage in war in Baghdad or in Iraq. I think this resolution has moved in a positive direction in terms of engagement and consultation with Congress and the War Powers Act. So that is the second reason I intend to vote for this.

Mr. Speaker, thirdly, 15 days after Desert Storm ended in 1991, the U.N. started passing one of its 16 resolutions to say we must look into Iraq and inspect the sites where they are developing these weapons. That has been ignored for the past 10 years. Not only has it been ignored, but Saddam Hussein said, you will not look, you will not investigate, you will not inspect these compounds, presidential palaces, so-called compounds, some of which are 12.5 square miles. The city of D.C. is 67 square miles. That is a fifth of the size of our Nation's Capital of one compound that Saddam Hussein does not want our inspectors or the world community anywhere near.

Mr. Speaker, the Democrats said in their policy platform of the year 2000, we did not talk about preemptive strikes; we talked about forward engagement as part of our foreign policy to try to stop, whether it be in the environment or in war, bad things from happening. Let us exhaust our diplomatic means, but let us use the force of war and the threat of war with Saddam Hussein to open up these compounds and these presidential palaces and have the world look at these sites and rid Iraq of the weapons of mass destruction.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. REYES), a member of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and the ranking member of the Subcommittee on Benefits of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

Mr. REYES. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time on this very important issue that we debate.

There are many things that make me proud to be an American. One of them is to be here today to be able to debate this issue. As my previous colleague stated when he quoted a general that said that war is hell, take it from somebody that has been there. Thirty-five years ago, I found myself half a world away in a place called Vietnam. I can tell my colleagues that war is hell. There are a lot of us here today that have had that same experience, but are taking different positions on this resolution. Some of my colleagues have asked why, when they hear my

friend and colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. CUNNINGHAM), talk about his experience and his favoring in support of the resolution.

I will tell my colleagues that I intend to vote against this resolution. I intend to do so because in meetings I have held in my district, mothers and fathers and veterans come to me and tell me, please, do not let us get back into a war without exhausting all other avenues. I think every one of us in this House brings our own experiences as we represent our constituents. Every one of us here wrestles with a very tough decision as to whether or not to go forward with a resolution on war. Every one of us understands that we are a nation of laws, that we lead the world by example, that we have a great respect for process and to protect the rights of everyone.

That is why, Mr. Speaker, I reluctantly today rise in opposition against this resolution, because I think that the President has not made a case as to why Iraq and why attack Saddam Hussein. As a member of the Committee on Intelligence, I have asked consistently the questions to those that have come before us with information, I have asked the question of what is the connection between 9-11 and Iraq and Saddam Hussein. None.

□ 1300

What is the connection between Iraq and Saddam Hussein and al Qaeda? Very little, if any.

As to the weapons of mass destruction, the delivery systems and all of these things, we have clearly heard that there is a lot of speculation about those capabilities.

Last week, I was part of a group of colleagues that met with a retired general that was in charge of this conflicted area of our world. He was asking the same question that we were: Why Iraq, and why Saddam Hussein?

In fact, when we asked him to list in priority order a war against Iraq and Saddam Hussein, he listed it as his seventh priority. When we asked him, what would you do in our situation, he was as perplexed as we are being in this situation.

September 11 changed things. I concede that. More than that, for me personally being a first-time grandfather changed things as well. I bring to this position and to this decision the experience that I brought as a Member of Congress.

My staff asked me, Congressman, what are you going to say to the troops? Because I have taken the opportunity to go out and visit our troops in Afghanistan three times since Easter. I know the conditions they are living in, and I know the conditions they are fighting in. Those are similar to the same conditions of some 35 years ago. War is hell, and we ought to exhaust every single possible remedy before going to war, before subjecting our troops, our men and women in uniform, to those kinds of consequences.

So I tell my staff, I will tell the troops the same thing that I will tell the American people on the floor of Congress, that I oppose this resolution because I think that the case has not been made. I do not take giving my support for war lightly, as neither do my colleagues on both sides of the aisle. But each one of us has to wrestle with his or her own conscience.

I want to make sure that my granddaughter, Amelia, maybe 35 years from now, can look and say, my grandfather made his decision on the information that he had. He opposed the resolution because he did not think it was the right thing to do.

But I will tell the Members this: When and if the President makes a decision to commit troops, when and if the President commits us to a war, I intend to be there. Because my experience in coming to this Congress, my experience of some 35 years ago, returning from Vietnam and seeing all the protests and seeing all the signs and seeing all the things that they were calling us, was very divisive.

So it is inherent upon us to do what our conscience dictates on this issue today. I oppose it reluctantly under those circumstances, but I will support whatever decision our President and our country makes.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3½ minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Delaware (Mr. CASTLE), the former Governor and a member of our committee and the chairman of our Subcommittee on Technical and Tactical Intelligence.

Mr. CASTLE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished chairman of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence not only for yielding to me but for the extraordinary work he does for this country on a day-in-and-day-out basis in a very difficult circumstance right now.

The vote on the resolution to authorize the use of force to disarm Saddam Hussein is one of the most important decisions we will ever have to make as Members of the House of Representatives. Every Member of Congress wants to do what is right, not only for America but for the entire world.

Today I speak both as the Representative of the people of Delaware and as a member of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. Like many, I have been traveling throughout my State over the past few weeks, and Iraq is on everyone's minds. Individuals have crossed the street to give me their opinions, and seniors have approached me at our annual beach day event.

I have received many personal letters, e-mails, and phone calls from people who have taken the time to sit down and really think about this very difficult issue. They know Saddam Hussein is a tyrannical dictator and would like to see him go. They hope war can be avoided but also want to support the President.

They want to know if immediate military action is necessary and if the

risks to our young men and women in uniform are necessary; how will other nations respond if the United States decides to enter the conflict without United Nations' support; what could be the effect on the stability of the Middle East and the fate of the Iraqi people.

I share many of their concerns. That is why I have tried to gather as much information as possible by reading reports, attending briefings, and talking with other Members of Congress. Here is what I have learned: the security of our Nation is at risk.

For the past several months, I have participated in intelligence hearings on the September 11 terrorist attacks and have studied the hatred some nations and groups have toward America. Saddam Hussein is encouraging and promoting this hatred by openly praising the attacks on the United States. The Director of Central Intelligence recently published an unclassified summary of the evidence against Saddam Hussein, and it is substantial.

We know that Iraq has continued building weapons of mass destruction, energized its missile program, and is investing in biological weapons. Saddam Hussein is determined to get weapons-grade material to develop nuclear weapons. Its biological weapons program is larger and more advanced than before the Gulf War. Iraq also is attempting to build unmanned vehicles, UAVs, to possibly deliver biological warfare agents. All of this has been done in flagrant violation of the U.N. Security Council resolutions.

Some may react to this evidence by saying that, in the past, other countries have had similar arsenals and the United States did not get involved. But as President Bush has told us and as Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld reiterated yesterday in a meeting, Saddam Hussein's Iraq is different. This is a ruthless dictator whose record is despicable. He has waged war against his neighbors and on his own people. He has brutalized and tortured his own citizens, harbored terrorist networks, engaged in terrorist acts, lied, cheated, and defied the will of the international community.

Mr. Speaker, I have examined this information and some of the more specific classified reports. The bottom line is, we do not want to get caught off guard. We must take all precautions to avoid a catastrophic event similar to September 11.

In recent meetings, the National Security Adviser, Dr. Condoleezza Rice, rightly called this coercive diplomacy. It is my hope that through forceful diplomacy, backed by clear resolve, we can avoid war. Unfortunately, Saddam Hussein's history of deception makes a new attempt to disarm him difficult. Additionally, our goal to disarm him must also be connected to a plan to end his regime, should he refuse to disarm.

For all these reasons, I would encourage all of us to support this resolution as the best resolution to make this happen.

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from North Dakota (Mr. POMEROY).

Mr. POMEROY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, when it comes to Iraq, it is time for the United States of America to state forcefully and without equivocation: Enough is enough. Either Saddam Hussein yields to the resolutions of the United Nations, providing for completely unrestricted inspection and disarmament, or the United States and other nations will use military force against his government to enforce his compliance.

This is terribly, terribly serious business, Mr. Speaker, potentially one of life and death for those that will be involved in prosecuting this action. Therefore, I, like so many others, have expressed the view that this vote is one of the most important votes that I will ever cast in this Chamber on behalf of the people of North Dakota.

I reached the conclusion that the resolution authorizing the President to use force should pass, and I do that based upon the following undeniable and uncontroverted facts:

First, Saddam Hussein is a uniquely evil and threatening leader. His past is absolutely replete with nonstop belligerence and aggression, as well as atrocities.

Two, he has been determined to have developed weapons of mass destruction, biological and chemical. He continues to seek nuclear capacity and is believed to be within mere months of having that capacity, in the event he could get his hands on the requisite materials.

Three, he now continues to produce weapons of mass destruction, having effectively completely thwarted the inspection and disarmament requirements of the United Nations; and he has made it increasingly difficult to detect his production facilities, even as he continues to add to his arsenals.

Four, he is harboring and has well-developed relationships with terrorists, including senior al Qaeda operatives.

Five, he certainly has demonstrated that he is not above using weapons of mass destruction. Indeed, he has used them on his own people.

Now, under these terrible circumstances, I have concluded that doing nothing is simply not acceptable for the United States of America. We need to act, and determining exactly how to act is the question before this Chamber.

I believe that we should support the President as he builds an international consensus to reinstitute completely unfettered inspections, or to use force in the event it is not forthcoming. In dealing with Saddam Hussein, I believe our only hope of enlisting the cooperation of his government is if he knows for an absolute certainty there will be terrible consequences if he does not comply.

Therefore, in looking at the resolutions before this body, I think we can

only conclude that the President needs the authorization to act if he is to have any hope of enlisting the cooperation from Saddam Hussein. A two-vote alternative in my view sends a mixed signal: Go try and enlist his cooperation, and we will evaluate what to do if you do not succeed.

The administration has made it very, very clear, and I have heard the President express this personally, that the use of force would be his absolute last wish. I believe, therefore, we need to give him the resolution and the authority from this body that, first, seek disarmament and under terms that are unlike any other imposed upon Iraq any time, anywhere, by any person; and in the event that is not forthcoming, there shall be force to insist on his cooperation, or to replace the regime and obtain cooperation from a new government.

I understand, Mr. Speaker, the difficulty of this decision. But, again, the facts are clear, and doing nothing is not acceptable. I urge adoption of the resolution.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5½ minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. KLECZKA), a member of the Committee on Ways and Means, a leader on health issues.

Mr. KLECZKA. Mr. Speaker, although we all know this war resolution will pass, I nevertheless must question the wisdom and morality of an unprovoked attack on another foreign nation. The guiding principle of our foreign policy for over 50 years has been one of containment and deterrence. This is the same strategy that kept the former Soviet Union in check, a power whose possession of weapons of mass destruction had been proven and not speculated, and in fact led to its downfall.

The administration asserts that this time-tested policy is not sufficient to deal with this, yes, dangerous but small, economically weakened Middle Eastern nation. Instead, they support a new policy of a unilateral preemptive attack against Iraq, citing the unproven possibility that Saddam Hussein might be a risk to the security of the United States.

The long-term effects of this go-it-alone, shoot-first policy will be to lose the high moral ground we have exercised in the past to deter other nations from attacking militarily when they felt their security was at stake. The next time Pakistani and Indian troops mass at their borders with both nations' fingers on nuclear triggers, what moral authority will we have to prevent a potential catastrophe? They would justifiably ignore our pleas for diplomatic or negotiated approaches and instead simply follow our lead.

The administration continues to assert that Iraq is an urgent threat to our national security and that we are at risk of an Iraqi surprise attack. But the resolution before us offers no substantiation of these allegations, speaking only of hunches, probabilities, and

suspicious. That is not sufficient justification to start a war.

Further, there is reference to the 9/11 terrorism we suffered and the assertion that members of al Qaeda are in Iraq. After extensive investigation, our intelligence community could find no link between the Iraqi regime and the plot that led to last year's deadly terrorist attacks.

□ 1315

Also it has become reported that al Qaeda members are in Iran, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. Do we attack them next?

The resolution further asserts also without any evidence that there is a great risk that Iraq could launch a surprise attack on the United States with weapons of mass destruction. It is fact that Saddam does not possess a delivery system that has the throw power of 8,000 miles or anything even close. And if there is such a great risk that he has and will use biological and chemical weapons against us, why did he not do so in the Gulf War? The answer is because he knew that our response would be strong, swift, and fatal. Hussein is not a martyr; he is a survivalist.

Similarly, the evidence does not show that Iraq has any nuclear capabilities. General Wesley Clark, former commander of NATO forces in Europe, contends that "despite all the talk of 'loose nukes,' Saddam does not have any," or the highly enriched uranium or plutonium to enable him to construct them.

Air Force General Richard B. Myers, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, recently concurred, admitting that the consensus is that Saddam Hussein "does not have a nuclear weapon, but he wants one."

One of the goals of the President is to force a regime change in Iraq. Who are we to dictate to another country that their leadership must be changed? What would be our reaction if another country demanded or threatened to remove President Bush? All of us, Republicans and Democrats alike and each and every American, would be infuriated by such an inference and rise up against them. Changes in regimes must come from within.

The result of voting for this resolution will be to give the President a blank check with broad authority to use our Armed Forces to unilaterally attack Iraq. He merely has to tell us why he believes that continued diplomatic efforts will fail and does not have to give that information to Congress until 48 hours after he has begun the war.

The more meaningful provision would be to provide for a two-step process where after all diplomatic efforts have failed, the President would come back to Congress and make the case that military force is now necessary.

Our colleague, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT), has that provision in his alternative and it deserves our careful consideration. Let us

make no mistake about it, Hussein is a brutal dictator who has flagrantly defied the will of the world community. But the case has simply not been made either by this resolution or by the administration that there is a clear and present danger to the security of the United States which would warrant this Nation embarking on its first unprovoked preemptive attack in our 226-year history.

The President must continue to work together with our allies in the U.N. Security Council to ensure that the Iraqi regime is disarmed. Mr. Speaker, war should always be the last resort and not the first. For all these reasons, I cannot support this resolution and must vote "no."

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. GALLEGLY), the distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe of the Committee on International Relations.

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

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support today of H.J. Res. 114. I want to commend the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HASTERT) and House leadership for working in a bipartisan manner with the White House to develop what I believe is a very strong, but balanced, resolution.

Last week by a strong vote the Committee on International Relations passed this resolution. As part of its responsibility to carry out its role in helping shape United States foreign policy toward Iraq, our chairman, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), and our ranking member, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), deserve a great deal of credit for their efforts in guiding this effort through the committee process.

September 11 has tragically taught us the price of not acting when faced with a clear and present danger, and there should be no doubt today we face a clear and present danger in the form of weapons of mass destruction in the possession of Saddam Hussein. We know after the 1991 liberation of Kuwait, Iraq unequivocally agreed to eliminate its nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons programs and agreed to allow international weapons inspectors to ensure that be accomplished.

But as we all know, Iraq has willfully and in direct violation of its own agreement and those of the United Nations Security Council thwarted over and over again the efforts of the inspectors to find and destroy those weapons. This can only mean one thing, Mr. Speaker. Saddam intends to hold on to these weapons and use them at the appropriate time and in the manner he deems necessary.

As early as 1998, U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan in a letter to the Security Council stated, "No one can doubt or dispute that Iraq's refusal to honor its commitments under Security Council resolutions regarding its weapons of

mass destruction constituted a threat."

These words remain even more true today in light of the scourge of global terrorism. Today the threat to the national security of the United States and to international peace and security continues to grow. It is especially serious because we know that Saddam Hussein supports terrorist organizations such as al Qaeda and could very well be working with these agents at this very moment providing them with the expertise to use chemical and biological weapons against the United States and others.

In 1991 in the aftermath of the Iraq invasion of Kuwait, I led a group of our colleagues in the House in introducing a resolution authorizing then-President Bush the use of all necessary means to force Iraq from Kuwait. There were dissenters who felt we should not go to war, but in the end there is no question we were proven right. In 1998 I strongly supported the House resolution which declared Iraq to be in breach of its international obligations, and we urged the President to take appropriate actions to bring Iraq into compliance.

However, at that time significant penalties for noncompliance were not invoked, and so here we are again today, confronting the same issue without an inch of change in Saddam's attitude or actions.

Today we are faced with the same proposition and very similar arguments on both sides; but with the passage of this resolution, we will again provide the President the authority he may need to take the appropriate actions necessary to protect the national security of this great Nation.

Mr. Speaker, this time around we must have an absolute commitment to not allow Saddam Hussein to have chemical or biological weapons anymore. But the enforcement of Security Council resolutions this time must include significant penalty for noncompliance which are immediate and automatic. The resolution we are debating today is forceful in that it again gives the President the authority to use whatever means, including force, to rid Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction. But this resolution is balanced in that it encourages the President to pursue diplomatic avenues to achieve international support of enforcing U.N. mandates and provide for an important role in the Congress.

I believe the gravity of this issue mandates that we act now to give the President the tools he should have to deal with this significant threat. The potential terror of weapons of mass destruction in the hands of a madman to the world must be addressed, and it must be addressed decisively and now.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the support of this resolution.

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 6 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. WYNN).

Mr. WYNN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. CROWLEY) for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, it should be stated at the outset that not one Member of this body wants war. We all want peace. The decision whether to send American soldiers into battle is the most agonizing vote we will cast in Congress. It is a choice between confronting the horrors of war versus allowing a potentially devastating attack on our homeland, one that could kill tens of thousands of Americans.

But make no mistake, the threat posed by Saddam Hussein also ultimately threatens world peace and stability. It is for this reason that we must consider the resolution before us today, allowing the President to take unilateral military action to disarm Iraq in the interest of long-term peace.

First, I believe we must consider this issue in the context of the post-September 11 world. Our enemies and their supporters have demonstrated their willingness to strike at us in covert and highly-destructive ways. As a result of briefings I have received from military experts, former weapons inspectors and colleagues in the intelligence community, I am convinced that Iraq does indeed possess weapons of mass destruction.

First, chemical and biological threats. Saddam Hussein has VX nerve gas, mustard gas, and anthrax. These toxins are deadly and could kill thousands.

Second, we know that Saddam has a growing fleet of manned and unmanned aerial vehicles, UAVs, that could be used to disburse chemical and biological weapons across broad areas. Intelligence data suggests that Iraq may be exploring ways of using these UAVs for missions targeting the United States.

Third, as we learned from last fall's anthrax attacks, sophisticated delivery systems are not required. For chemical and biological attacks, all that is required is a small container and one willing adversary.

Next consider the nuclear threat. Iraq can develop nuclear capabilities in 1 to 2 years. We know that Iraq has already experimented with dirty bombs. There is nothing to suggest that they have discontinued this program. With enriched uranium and subsequently an atomic bomb, Iraq could use nuclear blackmail to conquer other countries in the region and threaten U.S. national security.

Now, some people that say that our focus should be on the war against terrorism. In my view, the Iraqi threat is part and parcel of the war against terrorism. There is ample evidence of al Qaeda and Iraqi contacts in the development of chemical and biological weapons. Additionally, Saddam has harbored known terrorists such as Abu Nidal, who, prior to his mysterious death, was connected to at least 90 attacks throughout the world.

Iraq poses a threat to the Persian Gulf and the Middle East as well as

110,000 United States American troops and civilians.

As a representative from the Washington, D.C. suburbs, I am particularly concerned about the threat to our homeland and the Washington metropolitan region. We learned on September 11 that the D.C. area is indeed a terrorist target, and a prime target.

Now, many ask why is Iraq unique? Other countries have weapons of mass destruction and hostile intentions. This is true. But none have the unique history of Iraq. I submit to you some of Iraq's prior aggressions and violations:

First, Saddam's invasion of Iran.

Second, Saddam's invasion of Kuwait.

Third, Saddam's use of chemical and biological weaponry against his own people as well as his enemies.

Fourth, Saddam has continued to obstruct U.N. weapons inspections. We cannot continue to ignore these violations. And in his most recent gambit, he tells us yes, we will accept inspections, but you can not inspect my palaces, some of which are as big as small cities. This is unacceptable.

I believe that actions speak louder than words and that past is prologue. In Saddam Hussein we are dealing with a shrewd and diabolical aggressor who must be thwarted.

However, despite all of this, what we want is inspections and disarmament, not war. I agree with those who believe war should be our last option. Thus, we must consider the viability of diplomatic measures. Although Saddam has defied 16 U.N. resolutions over the past decade, the President has asked the United Nations to pass another resolution requiring complete, unconditional inspections of all sites. The U.N. can do this.

To those who can say we only act multilaterally with our allies, I say yes, and I hope they will support us in the United Nations Security Council. Unfortunately, some of our allies are willing to appease Saddam Hussein.

Winston Churchill said, "An appeaser is one who would feed a crocodile, hoping it will eat him last."

Like a crocodile, the longer Saddam Hussein is left unchecked, the stronger and hungrier he will get.

This resolution sends Saddam Hussein the type of clear message aggressors understand, that we will no longer stand idly by while he threatens U.S. interests and American lives. Disarm or bear the consequences of your actions.

Many of my colleagues believe that this resolution will start war. However, as the President said about the resolution now before us during his speech 2 days ago, "Approving this resolution does not mean that military action is imminent or unavoidable. The resolution will tell the United Nations and all nations that America speaks with one voice, and it is determined to make the demands of the civilized world mean something."

Thus, I believe this resolution can be used to apply maximum leverage on

the United Nations to step up to the plate and avoid war.

As provided in an amendment I introduced to this resolution, I urged the President to give the United Nations a reasonable opportunity to pass and implement a new resolution for unfettered and unconditional weapons inspections.

□ 1330

If the President takes his prudent approach, allowing a reasonable opportunity for the U.N. to act, it would demonstrate our desire for international support and cooperation and a peaceful resolution to the Iraqi problem. I believe our patience could garner further support.

Finally, should military force be necessary, I believe nation building is a requirement. Some of my colleagues across the aisle have opposed nation building. I am pleased to see the President say we must have nation building if we implement a military action.

Finally, this end game strategy is as important as military action if we are to achieve our long-term goal of peace in the region. In the final analysis, we all want peace, we all want a diplomatic solution or a multinational military effort. If we can achieve these things, fine.

However, being a world leader means more than just waving flags and saying that we are the greatest country in the world and waiting for others to be willing to act. Sometimes we have to make difficult decisions and sacrifices in order to stand for principles and against aggression. Sometimes the willingness to fight a war avoids the necessity to fight.

I support this bipartisan resolution, and I urge my colleagues to do so.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 6 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DINGELL), ranking Democrat on the Committee on Energy and Commerce, longest serving Democrat in the House.

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

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the resolution now before the Congress. I supported the father of the current President on his resolution and was one of the few Democrats who did. I was right. There was a strong, present imperative by this country and by the nations of the world. It made sense, it was good, and it was something which was accepted and followed by the people of the world.

There is no evidence that our allies in Europe support the efforts that are described by the President to be made by the United States. The people and the countries in the area do not support this undertaking; and, overwhelmingly, the American people oppose this kind of effort, an effort intelligently, wisely and necessary to be made to achieve the purposes of everybody, that is, elimination of weapons of mass destruction from within the country of Iraq.

Mr. Saddam Hussein has no friends in the world. Everybody fears him and most despise him, but the President has chosen the wrong course. He has given us a request for a blank check. There has been inadequate or no discussion with our allies and friends. There has not been sufficient discussion with the Congress or the people of the United States, and the countries in the area are troubled because they feel that they do not understand what it is the United States intends to do, when, how or why.

We are embarking upon a unique and new doctrine. We will engage in a unilateral preemptive strike, if the early pronouncements of the administration are to be believed, and our purpose there is the removal of Saddam Hussein, obviously a desirable change. But, more recently, the President has said our purpose now is to disarm Mr. Hussein and Iraq of their weapons of mass destruction. I am not clear what course it is that the President has in mind, but I am convinced that proceeding into this situation without allies, without bases, without proper and adequate logistic support is an act of great folly. It poses enormous risks to the troops that we would be sending, and it poses enormous risk to this country and to our foreign policy.

Not only is it novel and dangerous to talk about preemptive strikes, but it is something which need not be done. A proper exercise of leadership in the U.N. will cause that institution to follow the United States; and I would urge us, as the remaining superpower, to exercise leadership and have enough confidence in ourselves and our capacity to lead to proceed to embark upon that course. I do not see this resolution before us as being a device which stimulates or encourages that. Perhaps the President would exercise that kind of leadership. I see no evidence that such, however, is to be the case.

I was here during the time of the missile crisis, and I remember that the President at that time observed that the worst course to be taken was a preemptive war. Our policy succeeded. We forced the missiles out. And when the matter was discussed in the United Nations, our ambassador there, Mr. Stevenson, showed them a photograph of what was transpiring and that the Soviets had moved missiles into Cuba. The world accepted, approved and followed the United States.

We have not seen that the people of the world are convinced that we have made the case that Mr. Saddam Hussein would embark immediately or at a time of risk to the United States on the use of weapons of mass destruction. Perhaps he would, and I do not trust him, but I would note to my colleagues that there is a sensible way of achieving the following and the support of the people of the world.

George Herbert Walker Bush chose it, and I supported him. He went around the world and he assembled not just the countries in the area, not just our

allies, but the whole world. And but for the fact that we pulled out too soon, the matter would have been disposed of completely and satisfactorily then.

We have not taken the steps that are necessary to assure either that the nations of the world, our friends and allies in Europe or the nations in the area would support this undertaking. I am not a dove, and I am not a hawk. I am a very sensible Polish American, and it is my view that the game here is to win, and we best win by using the resources of the United Nations and the following of the whole world as we assemble a coalition to disarm or dispose of Saddam Hussein. To take some other course is to accept foolish risks, including the risk of failure.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the resolution now before the Congress. I supported the father of the current president on his resolution and was one of the few Democrats who did. I was right. There was a strong, present imperative by this country and by the nations of the world. It made sense, it was good, and it was something which was accepted and followed by the people of the world.

There is no evidence that our allies in Europe support the efforts that are described by the President to be made by the United States. The people and the countries in the area do not support this undertaking; and, overwhelmingly, the American people oppose this kind of effort, because it is not made intelligently, wisely and in ways necessary to achieve its purpose. The basic purpose is the elimination of weapons of mass destruction from within the country of Iraq.

Mr. Saddam Hussein has no friends in the world. People fear him and most despise him. But the President has chosen the wrong course. He has given us a request for a blank check. There has been inadequate or no discussion with our allies and fiends. There has not been sufficient discussion with the Congress or the people of the United States, and the countries in the area are troubled because they feel that they do not understand what it is the United States intends to do, when, how or why.

We are embarking on a unique and new doctrine. We propose to engage in a unilateral preemptive strike, if the early pronouncements of the administration are to be believed. Our purpose there is the removal of Saddam Hussein, obviously a desirable change, but again done unilaterally—a great strategic and tactical error. More recently, the President has said that our purpose now is to disarm Mr. Hussein and Iraq of their weapons of mass destruction. I am not clear what course it is that the President has in mind, but I am convinced that proceeding into this situation without allies, without bases, without proper and adequate logistical support is risky, indeed, it is an act of great folly. It poses enormous risks to the troops that we would be sending, and it poses enormous risk to this country, to the success of the undertaking, and to our foreign policy.

Not only is it novel and dangerous to talk about preemptive strikes, but it is something which need not be done. A proper exercise of leadership in the U.N. will cause that institution and its members to follow the United States. I would urge us, as the remaining superpower, to exercise leadership and have

enough confidence in ourselves, and in our capacity to lead, to embark upon that wiser and more propitious course. I do not see this resolution before us as being a device which stimulates or encourages other nations to follow the United States. Perhaps the President would exercise that kind of leadership. He certainly should. I would support him in that. I see no evidence that such, however, is to be the case.

I was here during the time of the missile crisis, and I remember that President Kennedy at that time observed that the worst course to be taken was a preemptive war. His policies succeeded. We forced the missiles out, peace was maintained, and when the matter was discussed in the United Nations, our ambassador there, Mr. Stevenson, showed them a photograph of what was transpiring and that the Soviets had moved missiles into Cuba. The world accepted, approved and followed the United States.

We have not seen that the people of the world are convinced that we have made the case that Mr. Saddam Hussein would embark immediately or at some early time to use weapons of mass destruction. I do not trust him, and he might, but losing to him in this matter would make such use of weapons of mass destruction more certain. I would note to my colleagues that there is a sensible way of achieving the following of the world and the support of the nations of the world.

President George Herbert Walker Bush chose it, and I supported him. That President went around the world and assembled not just the countries in the Middle East, not just our allies, but the whole world. And but for the fact that we pulled out too soon, the matter would have been disposed of completely and satisfactorily then.

We have not taken the steps that are necessary to assure either that the nations of the world, our friends and allies in Europe, or the friendly nations in the Middle East will support this undertaking. I am not a dove, and I am not a hawk. I am very sensible Polish American, and it is my view that the game here is to win. And we best win by using the resources of the United Nations and the following of the whole world as we assemble a coalition to disarm or dispose of Saddam Hussein. To take some other course is to accept foolish risks, including the risk of failure. Let us do it right. If we do, we will win.

Mr. Speaker, at this point, I insert into the RECORD, a letter I sent the President outlining my views and questions to be addressed before we embark on this risky endeavor.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, DC, September 5, 2002.

THE PRESIDENT,  
The White House,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In recent weeks there has been much debate, public and private, over the possibility of a United States military campaign against Iraq. I agree with the notion that Saddam Hussein is an evil man who continues to pose a serious threat to the stability of the Middle East. However, as one who voted in favor of authorizing the use of force prior to the Persian Gulf War in 1991, and supported George H. W. Bush through the duration of that conflict, I write to express my deep reservations over launching an attack against Iraq. Without a clear purpose or strategy, I question whether you have established that waging a war at this time would be advantageous to the United States.

Mr. President, most of the world agrees that Saddam Hussein is a menace to the region, the international community, and the Iraqi people. Iraq refuses to comply with its obligations regarding weapons of mass destruction (WMD), nor does it observe U.N.-imposed no-flight zones. Saddam Hussein's Iraq has rejected its neighbors calls for reconciliation, repeatedly threatened to attack Kuwait, failed to account for 600 missing Kuwaiti citizens and as recently as last year conducted raids into Saudi Arabian territory.

Saddam Hussein's repressive policies have resulted in the deaths of countless Iraqi citizens. While defying the international community, Saddam Hussein has manipulated public opinion by blaming the United States and the United Nations for the intense hardships faced by the people of Iraq. The UN has repeatedly found that the Iraqi government supports massive and systematic human rights abuses, and has demonstrated in act and deed that it would rather manipulate the suffering of innocent civilians for propaganda effect result than take full advantage of humanitarian relief efforts, such as the oil-for-food program.

That being said, there is great concern in the United States and around the globe over the possibility of the U.S. launching a unilateral, sustained military operation against Iraq. To date, the United States has not clearly stated its rationale for attacking Iraq, nor have we answered questions pertaining to the possible consequences of opting for military confrontation. This has triggered intense criticism of U.S. policy vis-à-vis Iraq at home and abroad. Without outlining the objectives and rationale for an attack or obtaining the necessary domestic and international support, a U.S. military campaign would be unwise. Accordingly, I firmly believe the Administration must meet the following conditions pertaining to Iraq in order to justify and guarantee the success of a military campaign:

(1) The Bush Administration must consult and obtain approval from Congress before launching a sustained attack of Iraq.

Congress must be provided with any and all facts justifying the need for military action, and must be offered a clear explanation as to the goals of a military campaign, including an exit strategy. The Administration must also explain to Congress why military action against the Iraqi regime is vital to the security of the United States, and why it is necessary now.

The Administration must make a clear and convincing case that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction—biological, chemical, or nuclear—and the means to deliver such agents. The Administration must explain why it believes Iraq will employ these kinds of weapons in imminent attacks on other nations.

(2) Any sustained military campaign must have the support of the international community.

We must first be certain that our nation's traditional allies in Europe and elsewhere support a military operation against Iraq.

The Administration must secure the support of our regional allies, and gain access to military bases in those nations bordering Iraq which are vital to the success of a military operation.

The United States must have the support of, and/or be able to coordinate with, the armed forces of our regional and other allies necessary to guarantee success militarily and diplomatically.

The matter of Iraq must be fully debated by the United Nations. An attack on Iraq must have the support of the U.N., and must be carried out under U.N. auspices.

(3) The Administration must formulate and explain its strategy for port-way Iraq. The

U.S. must answer questions as to how it will assist in reconstituting a united Iraq, maintain Iraqi territorial integrity, and build a peaceful government and stable society that does not pose a threat to the U.S., our allies, or the region.

(4) Congress and the American people must be informed of the anticipated cost of opting for military action, both in lives and dollars. The Administration must fully explain the cost of waging a war in Iraq, economically, militarily, and diplomatically. It must demonstrate that the considerable cost of a military endeavor justify an attack on Iraq.

Again, I would caution against unilaterally unleashing U.S. military might on Iraq until a compelling case is made to the American people, Congress, and the international community. Needless to say, we must also have clear objectives in the short and long term, lest we risk suffering unintended consequences.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN D. DINGELL,  
*Member of Congress.*

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, the blue sky times of the past peace have clearly clouded over, and we have now come to realize that as Americans that our part of the world is not sheltered from global storms either. Our country was hit a terrible blow on September 11, one that was delivered by depraved men, not by Mother Nature, and unlike the forces of nature, the destructive power of man can and must be stopped before it surges and reaches our shores again. It is time we go straight to the eye and dismantle the elements from which the storm of brutal, repressive tyranny and oppression radiate.

Saddam Hussein, Osama bin Laden and their radical ilk are at the epicenter of terrorist activity in the Middle East. Nobody doubts that. It is not debatable. President Bush, Prime Minister Blair and others have made convincing cases about the threats the despotic Iraqi regime poses to world peace and stability today, today, as well as tomorrow. The list of offenses is long, and it has been much discussed.

Briefly, Iraq has not lived up to the terms of peace it agreed to at the end of the Gulf War. So we are in a continuation of the Gulf War. It has illegally sold oil and fired missiles repeatedly at U.S. aircraft in no-fly zones. I am sorry that CNN does not run every night the aerial combat that goes on in the no-fly zones. The Iraqis are trying to kill our troops over there who are enforcing the sanctions the Iraqi regime agreed to. The policemen we put there, with their agreement, they are trying to take out.

Iraq has expanded its weapons of mass destruction capabilities against its pledge not to. It still has deadly chemical weapons hidden throughout the country, and it has tried to develop nuclear devices as well.

It is certain that Iraq has ties to many Islamic terror groups in the region, including al Qaeda. Evidence supports Iraq's involvement in the first and probably the second World Trade Center bombing.

The ultimate goal of an Iraq invasion is clear. It is the removal of weaponry

and the Saddam Hussein regime. Saddam Hussein, as we all know, is aggressive, he is a rogue leader, he ruthlessly crushes his political dissent. He ignores the most basic tenets of human dignity and uses fear and brutality to stay in power. He has not been truthful. There is no reason for anyone to believe him.

He is known from our intelligence sources to be a master of deceit and deception in word and in deed. He would not be missed by his friends in that region, and no one, no one is defending him in this body that I have heard yet.

Debate now, followed by unlimited inspection and full, effective enforcement of the sanctions are the best way to achieve his removal and reduction of weapons of mass destruction and the threat they represent. Now is not the time to sit back and observe the storm.

As the chairman of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, I can attest to the evilness of Saddam Hussein. There is no doubt. I can attest to the capabilities of his dreadful arsenal of weaponry and the inventory that that danger will grow geometrically the longer we wait to disable him. Those are undeniable realities that we have to live with and deal with.

We know about him. What about us? What are we going to do about it? That is what this debate really is, the how and the when of dealing with something we have to deal with.

President Bush asked in this resolution that we give him flexibility and support to handle this in the most effective way with the least risk to our troops, the least risk to further dangers for the people of this great Nation and our allies and friends around the world.

We should support our President. I will support him with my vote; and I hope others will, too.

Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), the Chairman of the Committee on International Relations, for the purposes of control.

THE SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SIMPSON). The gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) will control the remainder of the gentleman's time.

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. KANJORSKI).

Mr. KANJORSKI. Mr. Speaker, today I rise with a heavy heart because the decision to go to war is the greatest vote a Member of Congress can make. I take my sworn constitutional duty in this matter very seriously. Accordingly, I have conducted a thorough analysis of this situation since the President indicated discussions several months ago about the possible need for American military action in Iraq. The examination and analysis has resulted in my conclusion to support this resolution.

Ultimately, we must do what is right for the security of our Nation. Before the United States agrees to commit troops abroad, we must first determine

that Iraq represents an imminent and serious threat to the American interests.

We have known for some time that Iraq possesses biological and chemical weapons of mass destruction and material, an unacceptable breach of its international obligations. Additionally, Iraq seeks to produce nuclear weapons. Moreover, we have evidence that Iraq has worked to build the delivery systems and now has the capacity to deliver these weapons all over the world.

After considerable deliberations, I have, therefore, determined that a convincing case has been made that Iraq presents an imminent threat to our national security. Without question, we know that we cannot trust Saddam Hussein. Other nations might have the same deadly capacities as Iraq, but none has a leader like Saddam Hussein, who is a vicious and dangerous man.

At this critical juncture, we must, therefore, act quickly to safeguard our national security and the security of our allies. If we do not, millions may die. Let us err on the side of national security.

□ 1345

Further, we have before us a well-crafted compromise resolution to authorize the use of force against Iraq. This resolution imposes some appropriate checks on the President's authority to use force against Iraq. It also represents a reasonable compromise between what the President had initially requested and what the Congress felt was wise to allow. After all, under our Constitution, only Congress has the power to declare war.

We must additionally consider the consequences of military intervention for our diplomatic relations with other nations. In my mind, the President has made a convincing case to Congress about the need for such action in this instance. His administration in recent weeks has made progress in educating the rest of the world about the need for such action. Furthermore, the resolution before us today prioritizes U.S. diplomatic efforts in the United Nations for resolving this escalating situation. As a result, it is my hope we will resolve the situation through diplomatic means. But should those efforts fail, we must and we need to ensure that the President has the tools he needs to protect our national security.

Further, if we must use force against Iraq, it is imperative that we not leave a vacuum of power so that one dangerous regime replaces another dangerous regime. If we fail in the second part of our mission in Iraq, we will not have accomplished much.

If we ultimately pursue military action, we must therefore commit this Congress and the American people to provide assistance, as we did after the war in Europe. Consequently, I am pleased that the President has expressed his support for rebuilding Iraq's economy and creating institutions of liberty in a unified Iraq at peace with its neighbors.

Mr. Speaker, Congress must act swiftly to pass this resolution so that the United States can fully protect the national security of the American people. The resolution now before us represents a reasonable compromise between the desires of the administration and the goals of Congress to protect the American people. We should, as a result, support this resolution and support the President as he upholds the duties he was sworn to do.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5½ minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. DOYLE), a member of the Committee on Energy and Commerce dealing with trade energy and air quality.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow, we will all have to cast one of the most difficult votes of our careers. I know this will be the most difficult vote I will have to cast in the 8 years that I have had the privilege of representing the people of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. It is a vote that I have given much thought to because, Mr. Speaker, we are talking about the possibility of sending America's sons and daughters to war; and that is something that we must never take lightly.

Now, all of us here in the Congress have been to many briefings. I have talked to the Director of the CIA, the DIA, the National Security Adviser. We have heard from many people from the administration, all of us, I believe, in an effort to get the facts, to seek the truth, to help us make a decision that we think is in the best interest of our country.

And I want to say at the beginning that I think we are going to reach different conclusions tomorrow. There are basically three different ways we can vote tomorrow, and I do not question anyone's vote tomorrow. I think everyone in the House is a patriot and will vote in a manner which they think is the best way for our country to proceed. I want to say that up front.

But we do have three choices and we are confronted with some realities. I think all of us would agree that Iraq poses a threat. They have biological and chemical weapons. We know that. We know they have designs on reconstituting their nuclear arsenal. They are not there yet. They may not be there for a year or so. But we know they have intentions to do that. So we agree there is a threat. Some of us would observe that the threat is equal to or certainly no greater than the threats posed by many other countries, Iran, North Korea, China, Syria. But I think we all agree that it is in the interest of the United States and the world community that Iraq be disarmed.

So the question is what is the best way to do that, and tomorrow we are going to have three choices. The gentlewoman from California (Ms. LEE) would have us do this exclusively through the United Nations; that we would just work through the U.N. to try to effect disarmament of Iraq. The

President's resolution gives broad authority to the President to do whatever he sees fit to disarm Iraq and protect this country. And then there is a third alternative, the Spratt amendment, which seeks to limit the broad authority given to the President, but nothing to the point that it ties the President's hands.

I really believe, in looking at all three proposals, that the Spratt amendment makes the most sense. First of all, it makes it clear that the primary aim that we have is disarming Iraq from all weapons of mass destruction. It keeps the Congress engaged.

Whatever happened to keeping the Congress engaged in what goes on in our country? I have watched trade agreements where we have abdicated our responsibilities in trade agreements to the executive branch, no oversight with these fast track agreements. And now we are talking about maybe sending our sons and daughters to war; and the Congress is ready to, once again, just abdicate its oversight to the executive branch. I think we need to be engaged, and the Spratt amendment allows us to be engaged.

The Spratt amendment commends the President for taking the case against Iraq to the United Nations. It encourages him to persist in his efforts to obtain Security Council approval. And it calls on him to seek and also for the Security Council to approve a new resolution mandating tougher rounds of arms inspections. We think this is an important first step that thinks that the first order of business should be to get compliance through the Security Council first.

It also authorizes the use of force if sanctioned by the Security Council. If Iraq resists the weapons inspectors and the new rounds of inspections fail, then the Security Council is going to have to confront the use of military force against Iraq. And if they authorize such force, as they did in 1990, the President does not need any further approval from Congress. He need not come back to us.

But if the Security Council does not adopt the new resolution, or if the President considers its resolution too weak to wipe out Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, then the President can seek, on an expedited basis, an up-or-down vote by the Congress to use military force to eliminate Iraq's weapons of mass destruction.

Now, we ask that the President certify that he has sought a new resolution from the Security Council and that it has either failed to pass that resolution or it is insufficient; that military force is necessary to make Iraq comply; that the U.S. is forming as broad based a coalition as it can; and that military action against Iraq will not interfere with the war on terrorism.

Security Council approval is in the interest of the United States in the long term, because it is going to help persuade neighboring countries, espe-

cially countries like Saudi Arabia and Turkey, to grant us basing and overflight rights and other means of support. It allows moderate Arab and Muslim states to support the U.S. action, deflecting the resentment an attack on Iraq by the U.S. alone would generate in the Arab and Muslim populations, and it enhances the chances of postwar successes. Allies with us on the takeoff are far more likely to be with us after the conflict.

Mr. Speaker, this is something we need to think through. What is a post-Saddam Iraq going to look like? How many years and how many troops will we have to station there? Mr. Speaker, I think the answer is simple. In the last few speeches, the President has made it clear by saying he will not attack Iraq without first attempting to build an international coalition of support from our allies. And I appreciate that because I think that is the right way to go.

The Spratt amendment deals with Iraq in the right way by providing for a more thorough and narrowly focused process that I believe increases significantly our chances of success in this delicate and difficult situation.

Mr. Speaker, I intend to support the Spratt resolution. I think it is the right way to go. I intend to vote against the President's resolution.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from Maryland (Mrs. MORELLA).

Mrs. MORELLA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time to speak, and I rise today with a heavy heart over one of the most difficult decisions that we as elected officials are called upon to make. It is literally a decision of life or death.

As a mother who has raised nine children, I cannot help but think about this issue on a personal basis. Can I or can any parent look into the eyes of an 18-year-old boy and with a clear mind and clear conscience say that we have exhausted every other option before sending him into the perils of conflict? Are we certain that the strongest possible case has been made that the threat posed by Iraq rises to the level of risking the lives of tens of thousands of our young citizens? Can we say to that young man with sufficient moral certainty that the time must be now, and that we can afford to work no longer on an alternative to war?

Mr. Speaker, the world is watching us today as we show how the world's last remaining superpower sees fit to use its great influence. We are looked to as we set an example for the world. Are we a Nation that will work within the world community, or will we go it alone? Are we willing to exhaust every possible chance for a peaceful resolution, or are we ready now to commit to war? Have we made the strongest case for action that we can make to the world? And do we honestly have a plan for a post-war Iraq?

This great struggle against evil is not a Christian struggle, a Jewish

struggle, or a Muslim struggle. It is a common struggle among people of all faiths. But as a Nation of Christians, Jews, Muslims and Hindus, and as a Member who represents a district of all of these faiths, we should look toward the common thread of all our beliefs that it is our responsibility to win this struggle through peace, through negotiation, through coalition building, and as an international, not unilateral, effort.

As the world's last superpower, I believe that we must have a better plan for our Nation and for the world for a post-war Iraq. We must reassure those neighbors in the Middle East that we are committed first to peace and stability and second to regime change. And we must not give our friends and foes in the region more reason to distrust our sincerity and desire for peace by ignoring the world community's role in addressing this problem.

I commend our President for his commitment to protecting our national security and his honest heartfelt desire to do what he thinks is right to make our world safe for democracy and safe for future generations. I know that in his heart he will continue to do what is right. But I believe as a Nation we owe it to ourselves and to those of other nations who would fall victim to the horror of this war to make sure that every other option has been exhausted before we take this final and irrevocable step of authorizing full-scale military action.

I will follow my conscience and vote against House Joint Resolution 114.

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Utah (Mr. MATHESON).

Mr. MATHESON. Mr. Speaker, this debate is occurring at an auspicious anniversary in our Nation's history. Forty years ago this month, our Nation stood at the brink of nuclear annihilation. Offensive nuclear weapons were being placed 90 miles from Miami. A dictator stood ready to launch a missile strike against this Nation. And the United States, while supported by the world community, stood alone in confronting the menace.

Mr. Speaker, there are ominous parallels to the missiles of October 1962 and the Iraqi threat of 2002. While we debate this resolution, I believe it is illuminating to go remember what President Kennedy faced 40 Octobers ago. President Kennedy did not want to go to war. He knew what war meant. But he also knew the dangers of inaction far outweighed the risk of action.

We are faced with a similar situation today. A tyrant is building a nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons capability designed only for offensive use.

□ 1400

International mediation is preferred, but not an absolute method of engagement. The threat is real, and inaction on our part today will put us at greater risk tomorrow.

This resolution is not a blank check to go to war. It is not defiant of the

world community to pass this resolution. No one wants to go to war and see lives lost. No one wants our blood and treasures spent in far-off lands. But just as President Kennedy acted with threat of force of our military to end a threat 40 years ago, we must not remove this option from President Bush today. I urge support of this bipartisan resolution.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT), a leader in the battle against this resolution, and a member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, today, we must speak not with one voice, but as one democracy—giving voice to the millions of Americans increasingly concerned with an Administration's deliberate choice to make the terrible weapon of war a predominant instrument in its foreign policy.

Among the more than three thousand communications I have received from my neighbors in Central Texas concerned with this rush to inflame a region that is as volatile as the oil it holds, is that of Bill Hilgers, a World War II veteran with 30 bombing missions over Germany and a Purple Heart. He writes, "No one can foresee the potential damage [to] our troops or citizens. . . . We stake our future on an unprecedented breach of our moral principles . . . and our past commitment to peace. [W]e should . . . use every diplomatic strategy . . . to see that Iraq's weapons are destroyed before [using] military force."

A more recent veteran, General Norman Schwarzkopf, writing of the Gulf War, was more direct: "I am certain that had we taken all of Iraq, we would have been like the dinosaur in the tar pit." ["It Doesn't Take a Hero, Bantam Books, 1992, page 498]

The house-to-house urban warfare that would likely result from a land invasion would endanger our soldiers, detract from our ongoing war on terrorism, and expose our families to terrorism for years to come, in what to many in that part of the world would perceive as a war on Islam.

Many Americans are asking, "how best do we protect our families?" And, "do they know something in Washington that we do not know?"

From our briefings in Congress, we do know something about which the public is uncertain and fearful. We have been shown no evidence that Iraq is connected to 9/11. We have been shown no evidence that Iraq poses an imminent threat to the security of American families today. From Central Intelligence Agency reports, secret until very recently and finally released, we know that terrorism, not Iraq, is the real threat. The CIA has concluded that an American invasion of Iraq is more likely to drive our enemies together against us and certainly more likely to make Saddam Hussein use any weapons of mass destruction that he may possess.

How do we make our families safe at this time? Certainly, through a mili-

tary second to none, yes. Through effective law enforcement here at home, yes. But arms alone are insufficient protection, as the tragedy of September 11 demonstrated all too well.

True security means working together with nations, large and small. It means that we must be wise enough to rely on America's other strengths to rid the world of Iraq's danger, rather than unilaterally imposing our will by force that will only unite our enemies while dividing our natural allies.

Overreliance on packing the biggest gun and on having the fastest draw, will not make us safer. Rather, it is a formula for international anarchy. A quick draw may eliminate the occasional villain, but only at the cost of destabilizing the world, disrupting the hope for international law and order, and, ultimately endangering each of our families.

President Bush has correctly said, I would not trust Saddam Hussein with one American life. What fool would trust him? But that is not our choice today. Nor is it a choice between "war" and "doing nothing," or between "war" and "appeasement."

The better choice today is for effective, comprehensive, international inspections and the disarmament of Iraq of any weapons of mass destruction that we believe it possesses. The better choice is to follow the prudent, indeed the conservative approach, a firm policy of containment that kept the threat to American families at bay.

Abandoning that successful policy, a policy which Ronald Reagan used against another "evil empire," abandoning that policy which avoided nuclear Armageddon, abandoning that policy which we used successfully against Muammar Qadhafi—that abandonment will place America on a truly perilous path.

Containment and disarmament may not end all wars, but they are clearly superior to the new "first-strike" formula that risks wars without end.

America has the might and right to defend itself against imminent threats to its security, even unilaterally. If in fact the quality of the President's evidence matched the quality of his oratory, I would be "ready to roll." The President does not need us to consent to saber rattle, but let him return to Congress if he has any clear evidence, not yet provided, to show us it is time to let the saber strike.

With this daily talk of war overshadowing all our hopes and dreams for this country and world, I would address my final remarks to those who are struggling with how to respond. Continue to thoughtfully, respectfully but forcefully voice your opposition. Do not lose hope. Petition for peace. Pray for peace. Do not give up on peace. Let us work together for an America that remains, indeed, a beacon for the world, that joins with its allies in ensuring the collective security of families here and around the globe.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. RAMSTAD).

Mr. RAMSTAD. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, decisions involving war and peace are by far the most difficult and agonizing as they potentially involve putting America's sons and daughters in harm's way. That is why I focused heavily on the Iraq resolution for weeks, attending every possible briefing from the CIA, National Security Council, Joint Chiefs, and the State Department. I have examined the classified data made available by our intelligence officials.

I have also listened to the people of Minnesota. I realize there are people of goodwill and good conscience who will disagree with my conclusion.

My fundamental principles approaching this resolution are several:

First, the highest responsibility of the Federal Government is to keep the American people safe.

Second, the greatest danger to our national security is terrorists with weapons of mass destruction.

Third, diplomacy should always be exhausted and proven unworkable prior to the use of force.

Fourth, war should always be the last option.

Consistent with these beliefs, my oath of office, and my conscience, and based on all of the briefings and classified data I have seen, I have decided to vote for this bipartisan resolution for several reasons.

First, Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction and links to terrorists pose a clear and present danger to our national security.

Second, this resolution is the last best chance for a peaceful outcome with Iraq, because diplomacy not backed by the threat of force will not work with Saddam Hussein.

Third, this resolution puts maximum pressure on the United Nations to enforce its own resolutions and on Saddam Hussein to comply.

Fourth, this resolution requires the President to exhaust all possible diplomatic efforts and certify that diplomacy is unworkable prior to the use of force.

I am hopeful that diplomacy backed by the threat of force will work to get the United Nations weapons inspectors back into Iraq to disarm Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction. As history has taught us, diplomacy without the threat of force does not work with dictators.

Since September 11, the world has changed. Protecting our national security now means preventing terrorists from getting weapons of mass destruction. Our highest duty is to assure that no weapons of mass destruction are used to harm the people of the United States.

The overwhelming evidence is that Iraq continues to possess and develop a significant chemical and biological

weapons capability and is actively developing a nuclear weapons capability. Moreover, declassified intelligence reports document ties between al Qaeda and the Iraqi government, including the presence of senior members of al Qaeda in Baghdad. We also know from high-ranking terrorist prisoners at Guantanamo Bay that Iraq has provided training to al Qaeda in developing chemical and biological weapons.

In conclusion, I believe the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GEPHARDT) summed it up best when he said, "Iraq presents a problem after September 11 that it did not before, and we should deal with it diplomatically if we can, militarily if we must. And I think this resolution does that."

Like the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GEPHARDT), I believe this resolution will strengthen our diplomatic efforts to disarm Saddam Hussein and enhance the prospect of a peaceful outcome.

I ask all Members to vote their conscience, as I will in supporting this resolution.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentlewoman from Minnesota (Ms. MCCOLLUM), a member of the Committee on Education and the Workforce and a spokesperson for children.

Ms. MCCOLLUM. Mr. Speaker, we live in a dangerous world. We always have. But every day, the greatest democracy on earth wakes. All of us from Minnesota, we get up every day. We take our children to school. We go to work. We enjoy the hope, opportunity and freedom of this great Nation. We know that our democracy provides hope and opportunity not only for our own families here in America but for nations around the world.

Nevertheless, we do live in a dangerous world. We always have. I am 48 years old. There has never been a time in my life when the United States was not targeted by another country or countries with nuclear weapons, or when another nation has not had the capacity to attack us with chemical and biological weapons. How many nations today have the capacity to strike us within our borders? How many actually have targeted us today?

The world is filled with dangers, and Saddam Hussein and his regime pose a real danger to America, to the global community. Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda remain free and continue to pose a real danger to America. The anonymous assassin who 1 year ago murdered five Americans with anthrax remains free and is a real danger. How many other rogue states, terrorist organizations, drug cartels or pandemics pose a real security threat to the United States, our citizens and the millions of people around the world? If Saddam Hussein is today's threat, who or what is the next?

Today, I rise in opposition to this resolution because I do not believe we should provide a blank check to this administration to unilaterally attack

Saddam Hussein. The world looks to America to promote freedom and justice, not alone but in concert with the global community. In the past decades, we have had models of this success. Let us build again a global coalition.

In 1991, the senior President Bush collectively and carefully assembled a broad coalition against Iraq, unified in purpose and in action. We succeeded, and we brought freedom back to the Kuwaiti people.

After September 11, President Bush tapped the collective will of the international body to respond to terrorism around the world; and with the support of our allies, we rid Afghanistan of the Taliban. We sent operatives of the al Qaeda network scrambling, and we restored freedom to the Afghani people.

But, today, the President seeks to engage the American people in another conflict, void of broad-based international support and lacking a cohesive international voice. Today, some of our allies are beginning to move forward, begrudgingly, to join us, spurred more by a threat of a weakened relationship with the United States than by an immediate threat of Saddam Hussein.

□ 1415

While I believe Saddam is a threat, I do not believe we should take offensive military action, the first strike, without broad-based international coalition support. I ask why are we not standing side by side with our neighbors in the region, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Jordan, Egypt, our allies around Europe and around the world? The United States possesses the intelligence capacity to assess potential threats to our security. A diplomatic corps capable of diffusing tensions and a potent military force prepared to take appropriate action if necessary. Why have been unable to convince our closest allies to join us in this military undertaking against Iraq? This is a question that the families in my district have been asking me. This is a question that no one in this administration has been able to answer.

Mr. Speaker, as I said, we live in a dangerous world; and I want to be very clear if Iraq possesses an immediate threat to the American people, the President has all the authority he needs to take military action to protect our Nation without this resolution. The brave men and women of our Armed Forces must not be sent into harm's way alone. America's duty is to build a coalition of allies, seize the moral high ground, and act as part of a community of nations against Saddam's regime. When this administration convinces our allies in the region and around the world the need for joint military action, then the President will have my full support to take every action necessary to eliminate the danger in Iraq.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CARDIN).

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. Speaker, there is no question that Iraq's President, Saddam Hussein, is a dangerous individual. Under his control Iraq has violated United Nations resolutions on the development of weapons of mass destruction. Iraq possesses significant quantities of chemical and biological weapons and is attempting to develop nuclear and radiological weapons all in contravention of the U.N. resolutions.

Iraq has shown a disposition to use weapons of mass destruction when the regime used chemical weapons against its own citizens. Iraq has had 4 years to rebuild its weapons of mass destruction program without U.N. oversight or inspection. The current regime has also supported terrorism. It is in the interest of the United States to take action against Iraq to enforce the U.N. resolutions, mandating that Iraq destroy its weapons of mass destruction. The preferred course for the United States is to pursue that action through the United Nations. The use of force should be a matter of last resort if all other diplomatic means prove ineffective.

I support President Bush's efforts to secure a resolution in the United Nations Security Council along with a time schedule for enforcement. I also support President Bush's stated intent that force should only be used as a matter of last resort and that it is in the best interest of our Nation to avoid the use of force.

The question before Congress is how we should best address the threat posed by Saddam Hussein as he seeks to strengthen his arsenal of weapons of mass destruction. We all agree that the United States must exercise leadership at this critical time in world history. It is unfortunate that H.J. Res. 114 goes well beyond the President's statements. Under the resolution the President could take unilateral military action against Iraq without seeking the support of the United Nations. The President could also take unilateral military action against Iraq to enforce U.N. resolutions unrelated to weapons of mass destruction. The President has indicated that he will use his authority more narrowly but that it is useful to have broader legislative authority. However, the Congress has the responsibility under the War Powers Act to be very cautious on the authorization of the use of force.

The gentleman from Florida (Mr. DAVIS) and I presented a substitute resolution to the Committee on Rules. That resolution was originally proposed by Senators BIDEN and LUGAR of the Committee on Foreign Relations. It would have limited the use of force to the specific threat against our Nation. Unfortunately, the Republican leadership in the House refused to allow that resolution to be considered. The only other option on the use of force to the President's resolution is the substitute resolution offered by the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT). That resolution allows the President to use force if authorized by

the United Nations to eliminate Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. If the United Nations does not approve a resolution authorizing force, then the President could seek an immediate vote of Congress if he still believed the use of force by the United States is necessary.

Mr. Speaker, I shall support the Spratt substitute resolution because when compared to the President's resolution, I believe it most closely reflects the proper authorization from Congress. It is important that we speak as a united country in our determination to eliminate Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. I urge the President to follow the path he has announced in seeking U.N. action, limiting our forces to the elimination of weapons of mass destruction and working with the international community.

I have grave concerns about the consequences of unilateral preemptive military attack by the United States. Such a course of action could endanger our global coalition against terrorism, particularly from our moderate Arab allies. It also may increase terrorism activities around the world. The United States could also set a dangerous precedent in international law which could be invoked, for example, by India against Pakistan, Russia against Georgia, or China against Taiwan. In addition, we must not overlook the massive cost and effort that the United States would have to undertake in a post-Saddam Hussein regime. The United States will need the help of its allies as it attempts to transition Iraq from a dictatorship to a democracy which has the full respect of religious freedom and minority rights of the Kurds, Shiites, and Sunnis.

Ultimately, Mr. Speaker, by working through the United Nations we create an international coalition that will be critical in any future military campaign against Iraq or in any effort to stabilize and rebuild Iraq.

Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. SMITH), someone who has a great deal of experience in leadership in the area of antiterrorism, the chairman of the Subcommittee on Crime, Terrorism and Homeland Security.

Mr. SMITH of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Wisconsin for yielding me this time and for that nice introduction.

Mr. Speaker, soon each Member of Congress will vote on a historic resolution to authorize the President to use military force against Saddam Hussein. This is not a declaration of war, and war is not inevitable. Saddam Hussein may yet yield to international pressure and reveal his weapons of mass destruction and destroy them, or the Iraqi people might still install a new regime.

No President wants to send our sons and daughters into combat, but a President should be able to take action he deems necessary to respond to ter-

rorist threats and protect American lives. I know that given all the facts, President Bush will make the right decision.

Saddam Hussein is a dangerous man with dangerous weapons, weapons of mass destruction. His regime has stockpiled large amounts of chemical and biological weapons and is attempting to acquire nuclear weapons, has repeatedly violated United Nations Security Council resolutions, has repeatedly fired missiles at U.S. aircraft, has aided known terrorist organizations, and has openly praised the attacks of September 11, 2001, which killed 3,000 people.

Mr. Speaker, hoping that Saddam Hussein will not use his weapons or wishing that his threat to world peace will go away is not a responsible policy and certainly not a guarantee of success. Hope is not a strategy. Mr. Speaker, evil must be confronted and condemned. Either it will destroy itself or it must be neutralized. Avoiding the task only makes the future more dangerous and difficult. We should always pray for peace, but if the use of force becomes necessary, we must pray for victory.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 6 minutes to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. WU), a person who exemplifies the struggle and fight for human rights, a member of the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

Mr. WU. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New Jersey for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I was at home this weekend; and on Saturday morning at my very first town hall meeting, the first speaker or questioner got up and said, You know, I don't understand all this talk about Iraq in Washington, D.C. I have been out of work for over a year. I work in high tech. I have been looking hard and I have not been able to find a job, and all I hear about in Washington is this talk of war in Iraq. What are you going to do about the economy?

I gave the man the best answer I could, the things that I have been trying to do, some of which have been passed, some of which have not. This Congress owes that Oregonian that answer about that economy, and this government ultimately owes that Oregonian an answer also.

But we are here today on the most serious of topics, whether to send American men and women to war, and I oppose the resolution to grant the President's unilateral authority to go to war. Make no mistake about it, I would not hesitate to use force if there were sufficient evidence of an imminent threat to the United States, our allies, or our military forces; but in all the briefings that I have attended, in all of my study and research, I have not found sufficient evidence of an imminent threat to us, our allies, or our military. And if there were, the main resolution that we are considering delegates so much war-making power to

one person, I believe that if the Founders of this Republic were to read this resolution, they would tremble at the thought that one individual ever in America would have such terrible power in his or her hands no matter how much we trust that person or no matter how much we like that person. That is not the American way, to put so much unilateral power into one person's hands.

The gentleman from South Carolina's (Mr. SPRATT) resolution is a much better solution to this problem. It requires the President to take all steps and then to come back after exhausting diplomatic and other means.

I want to also seriously address the new first-strike doctrine which is being advocated by this administration. It is not a preemption doctrine because preemption assumes that there is an imminent danger and that is what we are preempting. This doctrine allows for first strikes even absent imminent danger.

Where will we draw the line? Will we strike next at the other nations of the Axis of Evil? What about Pakistan with a nuclear capacity and known ties to terrorists? Where will other countries draw the line? There are at least half a dozen hot spots around the world where conflicts could be of a conventional or a nuclear nature.

For over 200 years we have rarely been the first to shoot. For over 200 years American Presidents have taken a united America to war. Lincoln, Wilson, Roosevelt, Kennedy, they all made their public case that war was necessary and that there was an imminent threat. The exceptions: President Madison, President Johnson. I do not think that we want to fall into the historic situations in which those two Presidents ultimately found themselves. This first-strike doctrine puts us on the edge of a terrible, terrible precipice.

The vote on this resolution is a foregone conclusion. I think it is a foregone conclusion that we will be at war in January. We are fighting against the second war, the third war, the fourth war, the fifth war. We are trying to cut that chain of wars off as soon as we can. But make no mistake about it, with this first strike, with this first war, we will lose the high moral ground that has taken Americans 200 years to build. We will no longer be in a position through moral suasion or otherwise to be an example to the world, for democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. We will not be able to have others stay their hand by the example of us staying ours.

From the Lexington Green to Fort Sumpter, from the submarine campaign in the north Atlantic before our entry into World War I to the Cuban Missile Crisis, American Presidents have been restrained in their use of power.

□ 1430

Let not the innocent 3,000 of September 11 die in vain. If we lash out, if

we strike blindly, if we start a series of wars because of September 11, we will have given Osama bin Laden what he wanted. Let us stop as soon as we can.

Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, obviously, we are in the midst of a great and historic debate. In fulfilling the pledge that the gentleman from Illinois (Chairman HYDE) made yesterday, I ask unanimous consent that the time for debate on this resolution be extended for 4 hours, to be equally divided between the majority and the minority.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HASTINGS of Washington). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman. This is in accordance with the agreement set prior to the beginning of the debate, and I appreciate the cooperation.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to yield 1 hour of my time to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), and that he be allowed to control that time and yield it to others.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, it is my great honor to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. FOLEY), a Member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution.

Americans are a peace-loving people. While we desire a diplomatic resolution to the Iraqi crisis, we must be prepared to support the President if military force becomes necessary.

Saddam Hussein is a dangerous and unpredictable despot who has committed genocide, including the use of chemical weapons to slaughter his own people. It is estimated that Saddam has butchered over 200,000 of his own citizens in the past decade. He led his country into an 8-year war with Iran, a disastrous conflict with the U.S.-led coalition in 1991, and is open about his financial and technical support for Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

Saddam has always overestimated his military capabilities and underestimated the resolve of the civilized world. He surrounds himself with "yes men" who reinforce his ego and ambition and fail to warn him of the consequences of his actions. This makes Saddam an immediate threat to America who can neither be trusted nor dealt with rationally, in spite of the testimonials provided by two Members of Congress who recently visited Iraq.

We cannot wait for Saddam to develop a nuclear device and the missiles to threaten our troops, allies, and our own territory.

We cannot ask what will happen if we act, but, rather, what will happen if we do not. We must not only remove Saddam's weapons of mass destruction, but Saddam himself.

We cannot wait for Saddam to arm terrorist groups with weapons of mass destruction, nor can we allow him to use these weapons to blackmail his neighbors. He has proven himself to be a menace to the stability of the entire Gulf region.

In Afghanistan, U.S. forces worked with the anti-Taliban opposition to free the country. We also reversed an impending famine in that country. The U.S. is working with the new Afghan government to build the foundation for a civilized society that respects human rights and international law. No less should be expected for the people of Iraq.

Mr. Speaker, we cannot allow the world to be tormented by terrorists or tyrants. The problem is the regime. The problem is Saddam. We know who the enemy is, we know what he does, and we know what we must now do.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to yield 5 minutes to the gentlewoman from Nevada (Ms. BERKLEY), a member of the Committee on International Relations.

Ms. BERKLEY. I thank the gentleman from New York for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this resolution.

Iraq, under the tyrannical dictatorship of Saddam Hussein, has been in violation of 16 different United Nations' resolutions over the past decade, resolutions passed to ensure that Iraq dismantle its chemical, biological and nuclear weapons programs and destroy any remaining weapons of mass destruction.

Ensuring compliance with these U.N. resolutions, which represent the will of the international community, is essential. Iraq has demonstrated its willingness to use these horrific weapons in battle and against its own people.

One particularly gruesome example occurred in the late 1980s when Saddam Hussein unleashed deadly chemical gas attacks over entire villages in Iraq, killing thousands of innocent men, women and children, so he could experiment, with finding the most efficient ways to spread nerve, blister and mustard gas.

Given Saddam Hussein's 11-year record of defying and misleading the international community, I believe the United States, our allies and the United Nations are justified in their efforts to rid Iraq of biological and chemical weapons.

Just this week, a new CIA report exposed Saddam's vigorous concealment record as further proof that he has no intention whatsoever of honoring his U.N. commitments by giving up his ever-expanding stockpile of weapons of mass destruction.

Month by month, Saddam Hussein increases his arsenal of chemical and biological weapons, while he aggressively works to build nuclear capacity. The CIA now believes that Iraq could make a nuclear weapon within a year if it manages to obtain weapons-grade material from abroad.

The CIA further reports that Saddam is intent on acquiring nuclear weapons, and Iraq's expanding international trade provides growing access to the necessary materials.

Given these developments, we simply cannot wait any longer.

September 11 taught us that there are those who would use any means to harm Americans. I am increasingly concerned about weapons of mass destruction being transferred from Iraq to terrorists like Osama bin Laden's al Qaeda network, bent on destroying Americans, or being used by Saddam himself against his neighbors, our allies, or against the United States.

The United States should seek to achieve our objective with as little risk to Americans and Iraqi civilians as possible. However, we must act to permanently disarm Saddam Hussein, because the cost in lives and misery if we do not act will be incalculable.

Before any action is taken, the President is right in seeking approval of Congress, and I commend him for that. The more information the American people have, the stronger our Nation will be.

Further, it is important that we continue to make every effort to marshal international support. I would prefer to work in concert with the United Nations. Saddam Hussein is, after all, a threat to international security. But, in the final analysis, my responsibility is to protect my constituents and protect the national security of our Nation, so I will be voting in favor of this resolution.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New Mexico (Mr. UDALL), a member of the Committee on Resources and a great addition to this House.

(Mr. UDALL of New Mexico asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. UDALL of New Mexico. Mr. Speaker, the House is engaged in a great and serious debate on an issue of incredible importance; and, given the strong arguments on both sides, we may have missed the fact that we actually agree on many points.

We all agree with the President that Saddam Hussein is a brutal dictator. We all agree with the President that both Iraq and the world would be better off without him. We all agree with the President that Iraq must be rid of its weapons of mass destruction. So, as the President said on Monday night, we all agree on the goal. The issue is how best to achieve it.

Right now, we have two choices. We can vote for the resolution before us, or we can vote against it. If we vote for it we are, in effect, granting the President unprecedented authority to launch a unilateral, preemptive strike against Iraq.

Much has been made of the fact that the resolution is not the blank check originally submitted by the President, that concessions have been made, that under the current resolution the Presi-

dent is required to exhaust all diplomatic measures before launching an attack on Iraq, that the President is required to give Congress prior notice of such an attack.

Rhetoric and semantics aside, this is still a blank check. The President alone makes the final determination of exhaustion of diplomatic remedies. This resolution simply adds a step to the process. It will not have an impact on the final decision. It will not give Congress a greater role in the decision making. Notice to Congress is a mere formality.

Sadly, proper deference has not been given to the authority vested in the Congress by the Constitution to exercise the power to declare war. The Founders must have believed, as I do now, that the power to wage war is too awesome a power to vest in the executive. War is too dangerous and too important a matter to be left to the discretion of one man or woman.

This war would be especially dangerous. We would be acting alone, not only without allies but also with the hostile condemnation of the rest of the Arab world. We would undermine the war against terrorism and, indeed, increase the risk of future terrorist attacks against our own country. We would undermine the authority and mission of the United Nations, our best hope for a peaceful solution.

It is dangerous to go forward without knowing how long this war will take; without knowing how many lives will be lost, military and civilian; how much it will cost; how much of a drain it will be on our already dangerously weak economy; how long it will take to rebuild a devastated Iraq; and whether Iraq will ever be a viable democracy.

So, before we vote, we must ask, why now? Why the rush? There is too much danger lurking in the unknown and the untried. With the election only weeks away, there is too much of the taint of political expediency to gain the trust of our international friends.

I cannot support this resolution. I will support the United Nations leading an international coalition to disarm Iraq. At the very least, we should give the U.N. a chance before we embark on the dangerous path this resolution takes us.

I will vote against H.J. Res. 114.

Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, it is my great honor to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. VITTER), a Member of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. VITTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from Wisconsin for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of the resolution granting President Bush the authority he seeks to take decisive action against Saddam Hussein. Clearly, this decision is one of the most sobering I have had to make during my time in public service. It is a decision that no Member of Congress considers lightly. It is also one that I take confidently and with great moral clarity.

The President's critics urge dealing with this threat through diplomatic and U.N. efforts, but passage of this resolution is the only way Saddam will take those ongoing efforts at the U.N. seriously. It is, in fact, the only hope for those continuing efforts.

Many of those same critics say that our government should have connected the dots and better understood the terrorist threat before September 11. Well, that is exactly what we are doing here now, connecting the dots and better understanding a closely-related threat.

Saddam Hussein has proved time and again that his totalitarian regime threatens America, our allies and even his own people. He is a known exporter of terrorism. He causes regional instability. He actively pursues weapons of mass destruction. He has proven he is willing to use them. So inaction, or the mere return to the old frustrated U.N. resolutions, is clearly the riskiest path of all.

My constant prayers are for the members of our Armed Forces around the world as they embark on their missions. May God bless them, and may God bless America.

□ 1445

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 6 minutes to the gentleman from American Samoa (Mr. FALÉOMAVAEGA). (Mr. FALÉOMAVAEGA asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FALÉOMAVAEGA. Mr. Speaker, I just returned this morning from a 16-hour flight from my district, hoping very much that I would be able to participate in some small way in this most important debate now pending before this body.

In the course of the weekend, I had the opportunity of participating in the dedication of the opening of the construction of the brand-new U.S. Army Reserve Center that we are establishing in my district for the purpose of accommodating some 450 of our men and women in military uniform; also, in essence, sharing with my people the historical aspects of our participation in our unit as part of the famous 100th battalion 442nd infantry Army Reserve organization out of the State of Hawaii. I did this, in observing these men and women in uniform, as I reflected on the fact that in a couple of days I would be here before my colleagues expressing my opinion of what we should do in the aftermath of the President asking us to make a decision on this important issue.

As a member of the Committee on International Relations, Mr. Speaker, I voted in favor, in support of the proposed resolution now under consideration by this body. In principle, House Joint Resolution 114 embodies our Nation's efforts to work with our allies and work with the United Nations Security Council and the United Nations General Assembly to seriously consider the demands and the dangers that are now posed by the current regime ruled by dictator Saddam Hussein.

I am happy to observe that our President's initial rhetoric on this most serious matter is now more realistically applied. The fact is that our President must come to the Congress not just to consult, but must come to the Congress to justify himself on whether or not we should commit our men and women in military uniform and put them in harm's way. I am sure my colleagues need not be reminded of the wisdom of how the Founding Fathers established our system of government as plainly written, clearly written in the Constitution, where, this power in this most serious matter, is given to the Congress and not to the President, the power to declare war.

I think another matter that also needs to be restated in the aspects of how our government functions, Congress also is given the important responsibility of raising an Army and a Navy, not the President. I think it shows quite well how our Founding Fathers said, we do not want another emperor or another king; we want to make sure that there is a checks and balance system. I think this is how we came out with such an excellent way of proceeding to make sure that this kind of authority or power is not given exclusively just to the President.

When our Secretary of State Powell appeared before our Committee on International Relations, I asked Secretary Powell some questions that were very dear to my heart. I asked, "Secretary Powell, if and when our Nation should ever declare war, are we going to go there to win and nothing less? Secretary Powell, I don't want another Vietnam War. I don't want to hear another bunch of half-baked plans and objectives being done by some bureaucrats in the Pentagon, and then a policy where the enemy soldiers can shoot at you, but you can't shoot back." Secretary Powell's response was, "Yes, if we are going to go to war, we are going to go to win."

I also asked Secretary Powell, "Are we going to be working with the Security Council and the United Nations?" Again he responded and said, "Yes, exactly. This is our objective as far as the administration is concerned."

I also asked Secretary Powell, "Will our Nation take up the responsibility as well to provide for some millions of Iraqi refugees who will be fleeing from these horrible consequences of war which, I believe, will also cause serious economic and social conditions to the surrounding Arab countries in the Middle East?" And he said, "Yes, we will also have to take up that responsibility."

Mr. Speaker, as we consider this matter now before us, I am reminded of an incident that occurred years ago in the Middle East where a terrorist bombing of the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut, Lebanon, where hundreds of Marines were needlessly killed as a result of that incident. At that time our Secretary of Defense, Casper Weinberger, was literally tortured by this incident.

As a result, he proposed six principles or criteria or tests that I think our Nation must answer positively before our Nation should commit its sons and daughters to war. I want to share these six principles with my colleagues here this afternoon.

Test number one, "Commit only if our allies and our vital interests are at stake. Number two, if we commit, do so with all of the resources necessary to win. Number three, go in only with clear political and military objectives. Number four, be ready to change the commitment if the objectives change, since war is rarely standstill. Number five, only take on commitments that gain the support of the American people and the Congress. And, number six, commit U.S. forces only as a last resort."

Mr. Speaker, I want to share with my colleagues a statement made by a general some 2,500 years ago named General Sun Tzu. He said, "The art of war is of vital importance to the State. It is a matter of life and death, a road either to safety or to ruin. Hence, under no circumstances can it be neglected."

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. STARK), ranking member on the Subcommittee on Health of the Committee on Ways and Means, but known as the fierce fighter for Medicare and Medicaid.

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

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this resolution. I am deeply troubled that lives may be lost without a meaningful attempt to bring Iraq into compliance with U.N. resolutions through careful and cautious diplomacy.

The bottom line is that I do not trust the President and his advisors.

Make no mistake. We are voting on a resolution that grants total authority to a President who wants to invade a sovereign nation without any specific act of provocation. This would authorize the United States to act as the aggressor for the first time in our history. And it sets a precedent for our Nation or any nation to exercise brute force anywhere in the world without regard to international law or international consensus. Congress must not walk in lockstep behind a President who has been so callous as to proceed without reservation as if the war is of no real consequence.

Mr. Speaker, 3 years ago, in December, Molly Ivins, an observer of Texas politics wrote, "For an upper-class white boy, Bush comes on way too hard, at a guess, to make up for being an upper-class white boy. Somebody," she wrote, "should be worrying about how all this could affect his handling of future encounters with some Saddam Hussein." Pretty prophetic, Ms. Ivins.

Let us not forget that our President, our Commander in Chief, has no experience or knowledge of war. In fact, he admits that he was at best ambivalent

about the Vietnam War. He skirted his own military service and then failed to serve out his time in the National Guard; and he reported years later that, at the height of the conflict in 1968, he did not notice any "heavy stuff" going on.

So we have a President who thinks foreign territory is the opponent's dug-out and Kashmir is a sweater. What is most unconscionable is that there is not a shred of evidence to justify the certain loss of life. Do the generalized threats and half-truths of this administration give any one of us in Congress the confidence to tell a mother or father or family that the loss of their child or loved one was in the name of a just cause? Is the President's need for revenge for the threat once posed to his father enough to justify the death of any American? I submit the answer to these questions is no.

Aside from the wisdom of going to war as Bush wants, I am troubled by who pays for his capricious adventure into world domination. The Administration admits to a cost of around \$200 billion. Now, wealthy individuals will not pay; they have big tax cuts already. Corporations will not pay; they will just continue to cook the books and move overseas and send their contributions to the Republicans. Rich kids will not pay; their daddies will get them deferments as Big George did for George W.

Well, then, who will pay? School kids will pay. There will be no money to keep them from being left behind, way behind. Seniors will pay. They will pay big time as the Republicans privatize Social Security and continue to rob the trust fund to pay for this capricious war. Medicare will be curtailed and drugs will be more unaffordable, and there will not be any money for a drug benefit because Bush will spend it on a war. Working folks will pay through loss of jobs, job security, and bargaining rights. And our grandchildren will pay, through the degradation of our air and water quality, and the entire Nation will pay as Bush continues to destroy civil rights, women's rights, and religious freedom in a rush to phoney patriotism and to courting the messianic Pharisees of the religious right.

The questions before the Members of this House and to all Americans are immense, but there are clear answers. America is not currently confronted by a genuine, proven, imminent threat from Iraq. The call for war is wrong.

What greatly saddens me at this point in our history is my fear that this entire spectacle has not been planned for the well-being of the world, but for the short-term political interests of our President.

Now, I am also greatly disturbed that many Democratic leaders have also put political calculation above the President's accountability to truth and reason by supporting this resolution.

But I conclude that the only answer is to vote "no" on the resolution before us.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HASTINGS of Washington). The Chair would remind the Member that it is not in order to refer to the President in personal terms. Although remarks in debate may include criticism of the President's official actions or policies, they may not include criticism on a personal level.

Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I thank the Chair for that reminder. I think it is an important reminder, especially when we are debating such serious matters here.

It is my honor, Mr. Speaker, to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. TERRY), a member of the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

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

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution. In dealing with Iraq, we must act in the best interests of our national security. Based on the evidence against Saddam Hussein, we no longer wonder if he has weapons of mass destruction or if he will use them, but when.

Defectors have reported the existence of mobile germ warfare laboratories. Dump trucks purchased through the U.N. humanitarian aid program have been converted into military vehicles. Saddam Hussein is an expert in dual technologies. Computers used in hospitals can also generate designs for nuclear weapons. Saddam imports dual-use technologies and then diverts them to military use.

□ 1500

His regime is founded upon the hatred of America and Israel, his loathing for freedom and liberty, and his fear for democracy. Saddam is driven by the fantasy to triumph over the free world. We must implement a long-term solution to neutralize this threat that Saddam poses to America, to the free world, and to his own people.

Military action is not the desired means of resolving the Iraqi situation. I do not take lightly the prospect of sending our young Americans to war. Force, however, may be an eventuality for which we must prepare. This resolution permits the use of force to prevent a ruthless dictator from using deadly weapons of mass destruction.

Without regard to U.N. resolutions or international law he has sought, obtained, and used weapons of mass destruction even on his own people. Unless the U.N. resolutions are backed by action, he will brazenly frustrate similar attempts to inspect and disarm his arsenal. Military consequences are the only way to stop Saddam Hussein's games and force legitimate inspections.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. HOLDEN).

Mr. HOLDEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend, the gentleman from New York, for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to offer my support for the resolution before us and to offer my support for our President.

There is no task that any of us faces that is more serious than making the decision to commit our military to danger abroad. Mr. Speaker, I do not take this task lightly, but with the decision that currently faces us, I feel we have no choice.

Above all, it is our responsibility as Members of Congress to work with the President to protect our citizens from danger. While it is my hope that continued diplomatic efforts ultimately prove this resolution unnecessary, history has shown that we should not and cannot take that chance.

As our esteemed colleague, the chairman of the Committee on International Relations, reminded us yesterday, 66 years ago another brutal dictator terrorized his own people, instigated religious and ethnic persecution on a massive scale, and declared his aggressive intent against his neighbors. The world still bears the scars from the mistake of ignoring the threat of evil posed by Adolph Hitler.

History has shown that Saddam Hussein, too, is a brutal dictator and he needs to be held in check. We know what he has done to the Kurds. We know what he has done to his own people. We cannot turn our backs as the threat of Saddam Hussein continues to plague our Nation and the world.

Iraq's use and its continued development of weapons of mass destruction, as well as its connections with terrorist organizations that wish to do the United States harm, demand that we act prudently to protect our citizens from danger.

While it is necessary for us to make the preparations to go to war, we should not be going at it alone. I encourage President Bush to work hard for the passage of a U.N. resolution acknowledging the threat that Iraq poses to the world. The United States does not suffer alone from the threat that Saddam poses. We should not go at it alone in combatting that threat either. Just as we did during the Gulf War, this administration should work to build a multinational coalition to share the burden of any possible military action against Iraq.

In conclusion, let me reiterate my support for this resolution.

Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Hampshire (Mr. SUNUNU), a member of the Committee on Appropriations and vice-chairman of the Committee on the Budget.

Mr. SUNUNU. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the resolution, a resolution which I believe will send a clear and an unmistakable message to our own citizens, our allies, and our enemies, as well, that Congress stands behind our President in defense of America's national security interests.

Mr. Speaker, there is no more serious an issue for Congress to debate than the question of authorizing the use of

America's Armed Forces. We are a peaceful Nation, preferring instead to rely on diplomacy in our relations with other countries.

On the question of Iraq in particular, the United States and the United Nations have been exceedingly patient, working steadily to integrate Iraq into the community of law-abiding nations, but to date we have failed. In the decades since Desert Storm, Iraq has chosen a very different path. Iraq has worked to develop weapons of mass destruction, including chemical and biological agents; and Saddam Hussein has repeatedly ignored U.N. resolutions demanding that he disarm. He has refused to allow weapons inspectors access to potential sites. Thus, the threat of obtaining stocks of these terrible weapons continues to grow.

Most troubling of all, Saddam Hussein has shown, has demonstrated, his willingness to use such horrible weapons against other nations and against his own people. Only when military action is imminent does the Iraqi regime begin to discuss allowing inspectors to return, but the restrictions they wish to place on these inspectors would effectively render their mission useless and, instead, simply delay action and allow a covert weapons program to begin to bear terrifying results.

If we wait until Iraq succeeds in achieving these goals, we will have waited too long.

The resolution we are debating today encourages a diplomatic solution to the threat that Iraq poses to our national security. The President has called on the U.N. to act effectively to enforce Iraq's disarmament and ensure full compliance with Security Council resolutions. But if the U.N. cannot act effectively, this resolution will provide the President with full support to use all appropriate means.

Mr. Speaker, neither I nor any Member of this body want to see a renewed conflict in Iraq. We must be prepared to act give the President flexibility that he needs to respond to this gathering threat to protect American lives and address the threat to global peace.

I urge my colleagues to support the resolution.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. BROWN), the ranking member of the Subcommittee on Coast Guard and Maritime Transportation and a fighter for the people of her district.

Ms. BROWN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I stand before the Members today, one of three African Americans sent to the United States Congress 10 years ago, the first time in 129 years that Florida sent an African American to Congress from the great State of Florida; the scene of the crime of the 2000 Presidential election, where thousands of African American votes were not counted, over 27,000 thrown out in my district, with the Supreme

Court selecting the President in a 5-4 decision.

Many of my colleagues say that the President is the only person elected by all of the people. Did I miss something? This President was selected by the Supreme Court, and that fateful decision was over 600 days ago. Now this President, who runs our country without a mandate, has pushed us to the brink of war.

The President is asking Congress to give him a blank check. I say today to the President, his account has come back overdrawn. This blank check gives him too much power: a blank check that forces Congress to waive its constitutional duties to declare war, a blank check that lets the President declare war and not consult Congress until 48 hours after the attack begins. Let me repeat that, a blank check that lets the President declare war and not even consult with Congress until 48 hours after the attack has begun.

Not only has the President given us an economic deficit, but there is a deficit in his argument. Why Iraq, and why today?

In the 10 years that I served in Congress, this is the most serious vote I will take. I have to say, the resolution on Iraq the White House drafted is intentionally misleading. It misleads the American people, the international community and, yes, the United States Congress.

This is a sad day, almost as sad as it was 627 days ago when the Supreme Court selected George W. Bush as the President. The White House talks about dictators, but we have not done anything to correct what has happened right here in the United States. It amazes me that we question other governments when in our country we did not have a fair election.

I recently traveled to Russia, China, and South Korea; and I believe it would be unfortunate to damage the goodwill our Nation was receiving after September 11. But there is a song, "You are on your own." Mr. Speaker, we are on our own with this. No one in the international community is behind us.

I have not seen any information demonstrating that Iraq poses a threat to our country any more than it did 10 years ago, and certainly I do not have reason to believe we should attack unilaterally without the support of the U.N. In fact, recent poll numbers suggest that many Americans do not support the way that the President is handling the situation and, indeed, the way Congress handles the situation. They think we are spending too much time talking about Iraq and not discussing problems like health care, education and, yes, their pensions.

Many also say they do not want the United States to act without support by allies and, by a 2 to 1 margin, do not want the United States to act before the U.N. weapons inspectors have had an opportunity to enter Iraq and conduct further investigations.

Although the administration is attempting to convince the American

public otherwise, they have not shown any evidence of a connection between 9/11 and Iraq. Iraq's government is not a democracy, but neither are many other countries on the State Department terrorist list.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, it is in the hands of my colleagues. I do believe that there is good and evil in the world, and what we are about to do here in the next couple of days will tilt it in a negative direction. I do believe that I am wrong, but I do believe what we will do here today will not only affect our children, but our children's children will pay for what we are about to do.

May God have mercy on America, and God bless America.

Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, as part of this great debate, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. CRENSHAW), a member of the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

Mr. CRENSHAW. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution.

No person of common sense wants war. Rational people agree that war should be the last resort. But there is a real, dangerous, and deadly threat posed by Iraq; and we must face this challenge head on or suffer the consequences of inaction.

Saddam Hussein ignores repeated demands to stop accumulating weapons of mass destruction. These are not our demands, they are the demands of the world.

In an ideal world, Saddam Hussein would disarm immediately. In an ideal world, Saddam Hussein would stop manufacturing, stockpiling, and pursuing weapons of mass destruction. In an ideal world, Saddam Hussein would tell us what happened to Captain Scott Speicher, a young man, a Navy pilot from my hometown of Jacksonville, who was the first man shot down behind enemy lines during the Gulf War. In an ideal world, Iraq would honor the 16 United Nations resolutions that he has thumbed his nose at for the last 11 years.

But we do not live in an ideal world. The reality demands that we act. We must act because the danger is grave and growing. We must act because Saddam Hussein is a man with no moral limits. He is uniquely evil, and the only ruler in power today, and the only one since Hitler, to commit a campaign of chemical genocide against his own people.

We must act because the worst thing we could do is turn our heads and pretend that Saddam Hussein does not exist. We must not allow this dictator to arm himself with nuclear capabilities and position himself further as the world's bully, blackmailing those within his nuclear grasp, blindsiding regional stability, and threatening our national security through his dealings with terrorists.

There is nothing desirable about breaching the bounds of civility to forge peace. Even so, I believe there are

situations that cause a nation to rise with certainty and defend itself.

I urge my colleagues to send a clear message to Saddam Hussein: disarm, or face the consequences. There is no middle ground.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Washington (Mr. SMITH).

Mr. SMITH of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution because I believe that the threat of force is required if we are to have any hope of disarming Saddam Hussein and removing the threat that he presents to our Nation and to the world.

Just about everybody agrees that Saddam Hussein does in fact pose a threat. The debate seems to be about how large that threat is, how imminent it is, and how much it is directed at us. I think the evidence makes it clear that we face a threat.

I am sympathetic to those who would like to wish away that threat because of the hard choice that we have to face when we realize that we do have a threat against us, but it does not change the facts. Saddam Hussein has a long history of trying to develop the most deadly weapons possible: chemical, biological, and nuclear. He was first thwarted in 1981 by Israel, then in 1991 by the Gulf War, and now all evidence points to the fact that he is trying to develop those weapons again. That makes him a threat right off the bat.

Plus he has a proven propensity for violence, a proven propensity to use those weapons. As bad as we think Iran and North Korea are, and the Soviet Union was, none of those countries have ever used chemical weapons. They drew the line; Saddam Hussein did not. He crossed over it, and he used chemical weapons against his own people.

He also has clearly expressed his disdain for the United States of America ever since the Gulf War, so clearly he is a threat to us.

□ 1515

The presence of international terrorism changes the nature of this threat. Many have said we have not proven a link to 9-11, we have not proven a link between Saddam Hussein and al Qaeda, but there is ample evidence that some degree of connection is there. And there is certainly ample reason that tells us that Saddam Hussein coming together with the international terrorists who oppose us is quite likely and quite possible; and that makes the threats both imminent and to the U.S. because terrorism would enable Saddam Hussein to deliver these weapons through means other than having to develop an intercontinental missile. He could deliver them in any manner of different ways and has shown a certain willingness towards violence against the U.S.

We face a threat. We cannot wish away that threat because of consequences of acknowledging it. We face

that threat, and we must stand up to it, and the threat of force against him is necessary to meet it.

Now, I want to deal with the preemptive argument because many have said we are becoming a rogue nation by doing this. And I regret what the President has said about a policy of preemptive strike because I think it has muddied the waters. We do not have to violate international law to go to war with Saddam Hussein. We are in an armistice with Saddam Hussein and Iraq. We went to war with them in 1991. That war was only ended by an armistice, an armistice which everyone knows Saddam Hussein is in violation of. We are clearly within the bounds of international law to use force to enforce that armistice. We do not have to get into a debate about first strikes and preemptive action. We are clearly within the bounds of the international law.

It has also been said that we should work multilaterally. I completely agree that we should. Again, I regret the approach the President took earlier this year when stories were leaked about how he could do it without congressional approval. He did not want to go to the U.N. He wanted to do it unilaterally. I think that was a mistake. I think he should have learned from his father's example when Iraq invaded Kuwait. The first thing the first George Bush did was to call the U.N. and say let us work together. We should have taken that approach, but now we are.

It has been said, How can we give this power to the President who wants to go right over our heads and totally ignore Congress? We are here talking about it. He is not going over our heads. He is asking us for that support. So that too is not an issue.

We should act multilaterally. We are. It is my profound hope that we will not go to war, that Saddam Hussein faced with this threat will allow for the disarmament to happen. But absent this threat, rest assured he will not react in the way that we want him to.

I also regret that politics has been brought into this. During the time when we were trying to deal with the crises in Kosovo and Bosnia and even Iraq in 1998, I was deeply angered by Republican colleagues who attacked the President's character as he tried to deal with this threat.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LINDER). The gentleman will suspend.

The Chair requests the doormen in the gallery to take care of that cellphone noise and remove it. Will the Sergeant at Arms find that and have it removed from the gallery?

The gentleman will continue.

Mr. SMITH of Washington. Mr. Speaker, the criticisms of President Clinton were that in trying to deal with Saddam Hussein, when he finally so thwarted the U.N. inspectors that they were forced to leave because they could not do their job, criticism was that the President was "wagging the

dog," he was dealing with his personal problems. We undercut our own President at a time when he needed us most. And now when I see Democrats doing the same thing by questioning the President's motives at a time when we need to come together as a country, I similarly disdain that partisanship.

There is plenty of room to disagree here about whether or not we should go to war. We do not need to question the personal motives of our President now any more than we should have back in 1998 when it was Republicans doing it to Democrats instead of Democrats doing it to Republicans.

Lastly, I would like to deal with the issue of how this affects the people of Iraq. There has been much criticism of the sanctions regime on Iraq, much criticism of the effect that has had on the Iraqi people. Ironically, that criticism has come from some of the same people who now criticize our threat to use force against Iraq. I think the criticism was this is harming the Iraqi people and doing nothing to Saddam Hussein.

So if we do not threaten to use force and back it up if necessary to disarm Saddam Hussein and remove that threat, what are we left with? Do we simply remove the economic sanctions and say it is okay for Saddam Hussein to make a mockery of international law, to make a mockery of the same multilateralism that we claim to support, to continue to develop weapons of mass destruction that threaten us and the world and simply say we will do nothing?

I fully admit this is a hard choice. Going to war is not easy, but we cannot wish away the threat and pretend somehow this is simply motivated by personal motivations of the President. There is a clear threat here we must deal with. I hope the threat of force deals with it; but if the threat does not, we must follow through in order to protect ourselves and protect the world.

Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. FLETCHER), a veteran of the U.S. Air Force, someone who understands the dangers of war very well.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. Speaker, before 9-11 the threat of terrorists and those states that harbored them was unfortunately not taken as seriously.

In the 1990's, terrorists bombed the World Trade Center, two American embassies, an American barracks, and the USS *Cole*. We took only limited action then, but now we cannot let the deaths of nearly 3,000 Americans on September 11 be in vain. We vowed after that to do our best to rid the world of terrorists and fear.

Over the past 12 years, the United Nations has issued numerous warnings about the blatant defiance of Iraq. Additionally, we know that Saddam Hussein's brutal regime has used biological and chemical weapons against even his own citizens. Hussein has violated the

Oil for Food Program, diverting uncounted millions to fund a military buildup and develop weapons of mass destruction, all the while allowing a reported 1 million children to die of starvation.

The oppressed citizens of Iraq are not our enemy, only the evil regime of Saddam Hussein. This resolution is a grave, but necessary, step in confronting the danger of his regime. It does not inevitably lead us to war. It encourages the United Nations to live up to its true purpose.

President John F. Kennedy described courage as "doing what is right even in the face of unrelenting pressure." The time has come for the U.N. to take decisive action, but we cannot let the U.N.'s inaction keep us from defending our national security.

President Bush is effectively building an international coalition, but for those countries afraid or unwilling to join our coalition, this resolution encourages them to help in our effort to preserve peace and democracy.

A few weeks after September 11, I personally visited Ground Zero. I will never forget the smoldering rubble where innocent thousands lost their lives. There I spoke with the New York City firefighter who lost so many of his heroic colleagues. And before I departed, he passionately challenged me, saying, "Don't you ever let them forget what happened here."

I now have the honor to speak on behalf of that brave firefighter and challenge this Congress. We must not forget those who lost their lives on 9-11, and we must overwhelmingly support this resolution to defend our freedom.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. PRICE), a leading member of the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on the Budget.

(Mr. PRICE of North Carolina asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PRICE of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the substitute resolution offered by the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) and in opposition to the Hastert-Gephardt resolution.

The Spratt-Allen-Price-Snyder-Clyburn-Matsui-Larson-Moran-Reyes-Levin resolution recognizes the danger posed by Iraq's possession and development of weapons of mass destruction, and it recognizes the need to enforce United Nations resolutions providing for the destruction of these weapons and of the capacity to produce them.

It authorizes the President to utilize armed forces to protect and support arms inspectors and to undertake enforcement actions under U.N. auspices. It does not, however, give the President open-ended authorization to use force unilaterally or preemptively. For that he would have to come to Congress for a specific vote after other means had been exhausted.

As the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) has testified, "A second vote is not an imposition on the

President's powers. It is the age-old system of checks and balances and one way Congress can say that we prefer for any action against Iraq to have the sanction of the Security Council and the support of a broadbased coalition."

An up-or-down congressional vote on a resolution authorizing force is a blunt instrument at best. And regardless of which resolution passes, the President and Congress and the country will still face critical decisions down the road. The Iraqi threat, as grave as it is, must be assessed in the context of other antiterrorist and diplomatic objectives. After all, the war against al Qaeda is hardly won. It is critical, as the Spratt resolution states, that action against Iraq not imperil international cooperation in the fight against terrorism or displace related diplomatic endeavors such as pursuit of an Israeli-Palestinian settlement.

Moreover, a complex of policies is either already in place or is envisioned in the resolutions before us: a regime of coercive inspections; U.N. enforcement of the mandate to disarm; readiness for a devastating response to any aggressive Iraqi military action; no-fly zones; intense surveillance; a tight embargo on strategic and dual-use materials. Could these policies contain, deter, and ultimately disarm Iraq, making a military invasion unnecessary and enabling us to attend to other equally important antiterrorist priorities?

We cannot answer that question now. But should we not know that answer before we authorize a massive military invasion which surely represents an extreme option?

We should not make this congressional vote any blunter an instrument than it needs to be. We are being asked to line up behind an open-ended resolution that has been improved by hortatory language but still authorizes the President to invade unilaterally or preemptively under circumstances, weeks or months hence, that we cannot possibly foresee. This, we are told, will help the administration influence the U.N. Security Council and apply maximum pressure on Iraq. Now, that is not a negligible argument; but it does not do justice to our duty, as members of a coordinate branch of government, to help set national policy.

Our job is to provide a responsible and rational guide to policy, should compliance and enforcement fail. The open-ended resolution requested by the President would represent an abdication of that responsibility.

The Spratt resolution with its required second vote would give us the means to exercise our constitutional role more fully and with better command of the facts. And, no less than the Hastert-Gephardt resolution, it would serve notice now of our resolve to see United Nations resolutions upheld and Iraq disarmed.

Our concern about granting open-ended authority to make war should be heightened as we consider the adminis-

tration's recently enunciated "doctrine" of the right of one country to take preemptive or even preventative military action against hostile states.

This doctrine goes far beyond the recognized right of anticipatory self-defense.

A unilateral attack on Iraq would be difficult to justify under existing standards, for even the Bush administration has not consistently argued that the threat to the U.S. from Iraq is imminent. But we must ask how this new doctrine would play out as other nations eagerly adopt it and act on it for their own purposes.

As former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger recently stated, "It cannot be either in the American national interest or in the world's interest to develop principles that grant every nation an unfettered right of preemption against its own definition of threats to its security."

Mr. Speaker, the question before us is not whether but how best to address the threats posed by Iraq's weapons programs and its continued defiance of the world community.

A purely military response, particularly one taken unilaterally or preemptively, would have costs and risks that should lead us to regard it as a last resort. We must deal with the threat in ways that do not compromise our broader war on terrorism and that maintain the support and engagement of our allies.

The Spratt substitute resolution keeps these priorities straight. It upholds Congress' role in authorizing military operations, not indiscriminately, but under specific conditions for specific purposes. It is vastly preferable to the open-ended Hastert-Gephardt resolution, and I urge its adoption.

Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. COLLINS), a veteran of the National Guard and a member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution to give the President of the United States the authority to exercise his sworn duty to protect the people of this Nation.

There is no question that Saddam Hussein is a threat to the United States and other parts of the world. He has used weapons of mass destruction against his own people, killing and maiming thousands upon thousands of innocents, including women and children. He has deceived weapons inspectors and violated the conditions of the 1991 cease-fire agreement with the United Nations. He has continued to stockpile chemical and biological weapons, and recent intelligence tells us he is much closer than we previously thought possible to developing and constructing a usable nuclear weapon.

Over the past few years, we have learned many painful lessons regarding the Middle East and terrorism: the Marine barracks in Beirut; the airmen we

lost in the bombing of the Khobar Towers in Saudi; the foreign service personnel we lost in Tanzania and Kenya; and then the sailors weapon lost in Yemen; and, finally, Mr. Speaker, the people we lost in New York and in D.C.

□ 1530

Intelligence tells us that Saddam Hussein has massive stockpiles of weapons and he has missiles, the capability of delivering those weapons.

Our President does not easily want to go to war. He has even stated this repeatedly on many occasions, but it is a difficult situation that he is in and we are in, Mr. Speaker. But this resolution demonstrates the resolve of the American people to force Saddam Hussein to comply with U.N. regulations which, until now, he has flagrantly abused.

This resolution will send a clear message to the Middle East, to the oppressive dictator, the Butcher of Baghdad, and to the rest of the world that we will not live in fear; that we will not tolerate terrorism; and that we will use the force necessary to protect our people, our freedoms and our way of life from those who seek only to destroy such.

It goes without saying this President has sworn to do a duty. We must give him the power and the necessary authorization to do so.

I strongly support this resolution and ask my colleagues to do the same.

Mr. Speaker, today we are debating whether or not to support the President of the United States in his efforts to exercise his sworn duty to protect the nation.

That there is a gathering threat to America from the dictator Saddam Hussein goes without saying, but let me reiterate some of the past actions that demonstrate that threat.

Saddam Hussein invaded neighboring Kuwait without provocation. He has used weapons of mass destruction against his own people, killing and maiming thousands upon thousands of innocents, including women and children. In 1993, Saddam sent a Land Cruiser loaded with 400 pounds of explosives into Kuwait to attempt to assassinate former President George Bush. He has deceived weapons inspectors and violated the conditions of the 1991 Cease-fire agreement with the United Nations. He has continued to stockpile chemical and biological weapons, and recent intelligence tells us, is much closer than we previously thought possible to developing and constructing a usable nuclear weapon.

Over the past 12 years we have learned many painful lessons regarding the Middle East and terrorism. Our citizens have been attacked and killed repeatedly. The 1996 bombing of the Khobar Towers by Saudi dissidents funded and organized by Iranian Leadership killed 19 of our servicemen and women. In 1998, the coordinated bombing of American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya killed 224 people, including 12 Americans. In 2000, 17 American Sailors were killed in the Port of Yemen when terrorists bombed the USS *Cole*.

And our nation still reels from the effects of September 11, 2001 when thousands of our countrymen were tragically lost to us in devastating attacks.

And yet, as painful as each of these incidents has been, nothing can compare to the

destructive and deadly capability of Saddam Hussein's arsenal of terror. Imagine for a moment the complete destruction of a city the size of Atlanta, with its entire population of 4.1 million people suddenly silenced in a nuclear blast. Imagine New York City and its 19 million residents dead from the effects of Sarin or VX Nerve gas. Imagine Washington, DC and its half million residents, sick or dying from Anthrax, Botulism, or one of the other deadly biological agents in Saddam's arsenal.

And can there be any doubt that he would fully use such weapons in American if given the chance. If you doubt it, I ask you to consider the Kurds who opposed Saddam and the horrid fate they met at his bloody hands.

Our President does not eagerly anticipate war. He is not bent on sending young men and women into harm's way. He has even stated repeatedly his desire to avoid a conflict. But this resolution demonstrates the resolve of the American people to force Saddam Hussein to comply with UN Resolutions which, until now he has flagrantly disregarded. Without the teeth provided by this resolution, nothing will change. This resolution will send a clear message to the Middle East; to the oppressive dictator—the Butcher of Baghdad; and to the rest of the world that we will not live in fear, that we will not tolerate terrorism, and that we will use the force necessary to protect our people, our freedoms, and our way of life from those who seek only to destroy.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution before us today is not about whether we will go to war against Iraq, it is about whether we will take the necessary precautions to protect American citizens from a cruel dictator, and while doing so, remove the yoke of oppression from the necks of the people of Iraq. It is about empowering the President to do the job he has sworn to do. It is about enforcing the United Nations mandates against a nation that has repeatedly disregarded them. It is about assuring our safety, security, and freedom. And it is a necessary tool to ensure the disarmament of Iraq and the removal of Saddam Hussein and his regime of terror.

I support this resolution and urge my colleagues to pass it.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentlewoman from the Virgin Islands (Mrs. CHRISTENSEN), a member of the House Committee on Resources and a leader in health care, and she has brought attention to the U.S. Virgin Islands.

Mrs. CHRISTENSEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I must preface my remarks by reminding my colleagues that as the representative of the people of the Virgin Islands, who serve in some of the highest per capita numbers in our Armed Forces, I do not get to directly influence this decision because I am not allowed to cast a vote on the resolution we are debating today.

Nevertheless, I rise because it is important that I speak on behalf of my constituents on this critical issue which affects them, as it does all Americans, despite the fact that neither do we vote for our Commander-in-Chief.

Mr. Speaker, I come to the floor today with a heavy heart, preferring

that I could do so having sufficient information to justify the President's request so that I could support it. Instead, I must come to express my opposition to H.J. Res. 114 which would, in effect, preauthorize the use of unlimited military force against Iraq and invest this awesome authority in one person, the President of the United States.

As many of my colleagues before me have stated, the decision that is ours by the authority bestowed upon us as Members of Congress by the writers of the Constitution, the Founders of this great country, to send our brave young men and women to war is the most solemn and serious choice we are ever called on to make.

I hold to the principle that war should be a last resort. This resolution makes it the first resort.

The President is asking for authority to wage a preemptive strike. I have attended many briefings, and, to date, nothing has been forthcoming to justify such an action at this time. The case has yet to be made that Iraq poses an imminent threat to our safety and national security.

In adopting H.J. Res. 114 without amendment, we would be setting a dangerous precedent, embarking upon a course which could allow nations to determine, without international support, who among their neighbors pose a threat to their national security and, upon that assertion, wage a first strike offensive attack, plunging the world once again into the dangerous era of unilateral preemptive use of force by nations. We should not be charting such a course.

While most Americans share the President's view, as do I, that Saddam Hussein is a dangerous man and the world would be better off without his brand of tyranny, we are gravely concerned about the repercussions of such a war if we have to fight it alone. The American people are concerned that, absent the endorsement of the U.N. Security Council, a unilateral first strike by us would lead to more terror at home and a wider war in the Middle East.

So, Mr. Speaker, taking heed of the reluctance and the concerns of my constituents and the American public at large, I also join with those who hold that we must exhaust all diplomatic efforts and fully utilize all options available to us through the United Nations first as proposed in the Lee amendment.

Mr. Speaker, the Spratt-Moran amendment, which I also support, which closely mirrors the statement of principles adopted by the Congressional Black Caucus, authorizes the President to use military force pursuant to a new U.N. Security Council resolution that mandates the elimination of weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles. The Spratt-Moran amendment would also provide that if the Security Council does not adopt such a resolution, the President should

seek authorization from Congress to use military force.

This threat of force included in the Spratt-Moran amendment clearly gives the Secretary of State and the administration the clout they need and they seek to pressure Iraq into full compliance.

Mr. Speaker, I remember one of our colleagues lamenting the possibility immediately after September 11 that the Constitution would be the first casualty of the war on terrorism. It has unfortunately been gravely wounded, but the mortal blow would come should we forfeit our constitutional authority to declare war and grant unlimited authority to the President at any time, and under whatever circumstances he sees fit, to take this country into war and too many of our young people to an untimely death.

To relinquish such an important constitutional authority sets another dangerous precedent that could endanger other provisions of the body of laws that has guided this Nation so well for over 226 years.

Finally, this yet-to-be-justified war would not only commit thousands of lives but would also commit resources that this country needs to improve and save the lives of people right here at home. This proposed war, which again we have not been convinced we need to undertake now, will undermine the war against terrorism, our homeland security and further threaten the very fabric of our society.

Mr. Speaker, let us not take action that would undermine the constitutional authority of the Congress. Vote no on H.J. Res. 114 and support both the Lee and Spratt-Moran amendment.

Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DAN MILLER), a member of the Committee on Appropriations and Committee on Government Reform.

(Mr. DAN MILLER of Florida asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DAN MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, a little over a year ago, this country saw evil demonstrated as we had never imagined possible. Last year's attacks on our Nation showed us all too well the immorality of evil persons who are determined to attack us, our way of life and the freedom we cherish. We must act to ensure that no such attack ever occurs again, and it is today more imperative than ever that Iraq's weapons programs be brought to light, halted and terminated. The consequences of not acting to prevent Iraq from continuing its weapons development are simply too great to be ignored.

For over a decade, Saddam Hussein and the Iraqi regime has defied and deceived the international community. In its blatant and deliberate violation of international will and its development of weapons of mass destruction, Iraq has continued to pose a real and significant threat to the security of its

neighbors and the entire Persian Gulf region, the national security of the United States and, indeed, the security of the civilized world.

Saddam Hussein is a ruthless and evil dictator of a regime that has again and again showed no respect for international norms and the rule of law or respect for human life, just like the terrorists responsible for the murder of 3,000 innocent Americans last year. As such, Saddam Hussein is as much a terrorist and a threat to our Nation as those directly responsible for last September's heinous acts.

What we know about Saddam Hussein and the Iraqi regime is unquestionably troubling, and, as President Bush said, what we do not know is even more so. His continued research and development of chemical weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, the extent of which is unknown due to his flagrant violation of international mandates, is a tremendous threat to the security of this Nation and must be stopped.

The power to declare war and authorize the use of military force is one of the most significant powers the Constitution gives this body. It is a responsibility that every Member of Congress takes seriously, and there is no more difficult decision that we can make than to choose to send our military into action. Ensuring the security of this Nation and the safety of the citizens is a responsibility that we all take seriously, and I provide my support to President Bush as he makes the tough decisions ahead.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this resolution to provide the President authorization to use the United States Armed Forces against Iraq.

A little over a year ago, this country saw evil demonstrated as we had never before imagined. Last year's attacks on our nation showed us all too well the immorality of evil persons who are determined to attack us, our way of life, and the freedom that we cherish. We must act to ensure that no such attack ever occurs again, and it is today more imperative than ever that Iraq's weapons programs be brought to light, halted, and terminated. The consequences of not acting to prevent Iraq from continuing its weapons development are simply too great to be ignored.

For over a decade now, Saddam Hussein and the Iraqi regime has defied and deceived the international community. In its blatant and deliberate violation of international will and its development of weapons of mass destruction, Iraq has continued to pose a real and significant threat to the security of its neighbors and the entire Persian Gulf region, the national security of the United States, and indeed the security of the civilized world.

When Iraq accepted the provisions of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 687 in 1991, it unconditionally accepted the inspection, destruction, and removal of its weapons of mass destruction and missile programs under international supervision. Unfortunately, however, the United Nations Special Commission's (UNSCOM) inspectors were repeatedly impeded and prevented from carrying out their mission, and were ultimately banned from Iraq

in October 1998. Since then, Iraq has indisputably been in breach of its obligations, and its weapons of mass destruction programs have gone completely unchecked.

Saddam Hussein is an evil person who cannot be trusted. Under his leadership, the Iraqi regime has had a repeated history of aggression against its neighbors, repression of its people, and hostility toward the international community and the United States of America. The facts speak for themselves:

When Iraq invaded its neighbor Iran in 1980, the ensuing eight year war saw over one million casualties;

Just ten years later, Iraq's brutal invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 was followed by the detention and use of foreign nationals as human shields, the torture of Kuwaiti citizens and coalition servicemen including Americans;

A year after the close of the Persian Gulf War, the Iraqi regime plotted a foiled assassination attempt on President George H. W. Bush during his visit to Kuwait in 1993; and

International coalition warplanes patrolling and enforcing the UN designated "no-fly zones" over Iraq—zones agreed to by the Iraqi regime—have continuously and repeatedly come under attack from Iraqi anti-aircraft installations.

But most troubling is Iraq's capability and capacity to use weapons of mass destruction: 45,000 Iranians were killed when Iraq used chemical weapons during the Iran-Iraq War;

5,000 Kurdish civilians were killed and another 7,000 injured when Saddam Hussein used chemical weapons on his own people in 1988; and

Iraq again threatened to use chemical weapons against international coalition forces during the Persian Gulf War.

Saddam Hussein is a ruthless and evil dictator of a regime that has again and again shown no respect for international norms and the rule of law, or respect for human life—just like those terrorists responsible for the murder of 3,000 innocent Americans last year. As such, Saddam Hussein is as much a terrorist and a threat to our nation as those directly responsible for last September's heinous acts.

What we know about Saddam Hussein and the Iraqi regime is unquestionably troubling, and as President Bush said, what we don't know is even more so. His continued research and development of chemical weapons and other weapons of mass destruction—the extent of which is unknown due to his flagrant violation of international mandates—is a tremendous threat to the security of this nation and must be stopped.

The power to declare war and authorize the use of military force is one of the most significant powers the Constitution gives this body. It is a responsibility that every Member of Congress takes very seriously, and there is no more difficult decision that we can make than to choose to send our military into action. Ensuring the security of this nation and the safety of her citizens is also a responsibility that I and the other members of this body take very seriously, and that is why I will vote in support of this resolution. I know that President Bush shares this concern for the security of this nation, and I have the utmost confidence that he will continue to demonstrate the leadership necessary to protect this nation, just as he has in our war on terrorism.

I urge passage of this resolution, to give the President the necessary flexibility to provide

for the security of this great nation by authorizing the use of force against Iraq.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. TIERNEY), a member of the House Committee on Education and the Workforce and a real reformer.

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

Mr. TIERNEY. Mr. Speaker, as the previous colleague just said, the decision of whether or not to send our young men and women to danger and to possibly kill or harm others is certainly the most solemn and serious decision the Members of Congress will have to make.

There was no ambiguity between Congress and the President with respect to our response to the events of September 11, 2001, but now the issue is how to deal with a nation under control of an undeniably dangerous and treacherous individual, Saddam Hussein.

The administration seeks to go it alone, seeks a resolution that would allow the President alone to decide and determine whether or not it is necessary to attack Iraq. It also seeks authorization to act for reasons beyond Iraq's failure to disarm after inspections. I believe there is a better way, a way recommended by other past commanders and present, names like Admiral Clark, Zinni and others. We should work within the international framework to create a consensus to impose inspections and disarmament and authorize the United States to participate in that U.N. Security Council effort to enforce those inspections and disarmament.

That resolution should also say that if efforts are honestly and diligently pursued and they prove unsuccessful, then the administration should return to Congress for the determination of what appropriate action the United States, and other countries choosing to act with it, should then take.

If Iraq were attacking the United States now, Congress would undoubtedly act with the same speed it did on September 14, 2001. If Iraq were doing that, we would act, but it is not attacking the United States at this point in time.

The administration presents the case that, as the world's remaining superpower, it is justified in using its global military superiority to preempt perceived threats before they occur. We all know that America always knows that it can act to prevent disaster, but elevation of that unilateral preemptive policy to a new norm would mean that any militarily stronger nation may perceive a not-yet-established imminent threat and act preemptively. That would conjure up thoughts of India and Pakistan, Russia and Chechnya, and China and Taiwan.

This would turn decades of international law and norms on their head, years in which the United States was a leader in establishing international entities and laws, just so that nations

would not act presumptuously and attack others, and instead we set up an international system within which differences could be resolved without preemptive attacks being the first resort.

The administration says that Hussein is bad, and no one disagrees, nor do we disagree with the notion that the U.N. resolutions must be enforced by the U.N. Security Council action. The administration, though, asserts that the United States must act preemptively and right now because Iraq is an imminent threat, but the truth be told, it has not met the burden of proof with respect for that claim.

Yes, Iraq has biological and chemical weapons and has had them for some time. Yes, they may have been trying unsuccessfully to get nuclear capabilities, but we have stopped them from doing that. In fact, the inspections were successful in inhibiting those attempts, and Iraq does not have nuclear capability nor does it have the means to deliver weapons of mass destruction against the United States.

We have kept those materials from Iraq and from terrorists. And the irony is that, while the administration cavalierly talks about a \$100 to \$200 billion cost of attack and rebuilding Iraq, it fails to come to this body and push for legislation that would be far less costly under the Nunn-Lugar cooperative threat reduction to safeguard weapons of mass destruction materials from getting into the hands of terrorists or Iraq or anyone else; and that simply is the path we should take.

There is currently insufficient evidence of Iraq's complicity with terrorists, and today we learned through declassified CIA reports that Iraq is not likely to use biological/chemical weapons against the United States unless we send people in and provoke it in that region, and a number of reports so indicate.

Given the absence of a direct threat to the United States and the absence of an imminent threat to the United States, we should proceed, but first, the United States, as a founder and a leader of the Security Council, should lead the international council to enforce inspection and disarmament, and we should seek further to get rid of weapons of mass destruction throughout that Middle East region and not stop with just Iraq. We should also use our diplomatic efforts to do that for every country, particularly in that region.

We should also use the time that we would have by going the international route to disclose fully to the United States the cost of action, if it is necessary, in people and in treasuries. As the senior Senator from Massachusetts said, what casualties would there be if we fight in the desert or if we fight door to door in the city or biological/chemical weapons are used on our troops? What will happen with Iraqi civilian victims and what are our intentions to minimize those victims' problems? What about the sacrifice in

terms of our economy? What will people be asked to forego in terms of education and health care and prescription drugs and infrastructure and getting people back to work? What about our plans for reoccupying and restabilizing Iraq?

Mr. Speaker, as I close, if we go it alone, how will we deal with maintaining the cooperation of other nations, especially Arab and Muslim countries, and our number one threat of terrorism, should we lose our leadership? Countries look to us for that.

Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Florida (Mr. JEFF MILLER), a member of the Committee on Armed Services and the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

Mr. JEFF MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, no Member of this body ever wants to put our men and women in harm's way in a war, a war that will undoubtedly cost lives and inflict anxiety on the families of the loved ones who are in harm's way.

My community hosts the Navy's future force in schoolhouses, in the Air Force's current command and wing commands and special operation units. It is these brave men and women who will fight this war.

□ 1545

These are the men and women who will put their lives on the line for us and defend freedom.

I do not question the need for this action. I do not question the risk that is presented. But I do not wish for this war. I wish with all my soul that this monster could be removed from power without firing a single shot. I wish the people of Iraq would rise up and put their lives on the line, as our military personnel will. I wish we did not have to send America's sons and daughters to liberate their sons and daughters from a man who murders his own people. I wish our European partners would see the threat as we do. I wish they would use their tools to unite a common response to Iraq rather than sow the seeds of division seen in the parliaments and personal political campaigns of our allies. But most of all, we see that the world is content to ride our backs to prosperity and to freedom, a weight that we have carried before and, apparently, will carry again.

Mr. Speaker, I know this task must be carried out by the United States of America. We must face this continued threat of terrorism head on, alone, or with our friends. And this position is no different than our position in the past. As leaders of the free world, we have always walked point. Mr. Speaker, we must trust our values, protect our freedom, and let liberty be our guide. This strategy has served us well over the past 200 years, and I can think of no reason to turn our back on it today.

I support the President of the United States, and I support this resolution.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5½ minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KUCINICH), a person who has proposed a peace committee; a person who has been a strong advocate against this resolution.

Mr. KUCINICH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New Jersey for yielding me this time and for his leadership and his work with all of us here.

Mr. Speaker, yesterday students held a peace rally on the west front of the Capitol. It may have been the first rally on the Capitol grounds in opposition to war with Iraq I attended, and I heard representatives of America's youth asking questions. Why? Why war against the people of Iraq? Why assert military power, which threatens innocent civilians? Why war to settle differences? Why separate our Nation from the world community? Why not give peaceful resolution a chance?

I looked into the eyes of our youth. I looked at their fresh faces, faces hopeful and optimistic yet challenging, asking why. Soon the voices of our youth will be heard across this Nation, and we should pay them heed. They will be heard on campuses, in town halls, and many marches. They will be raised to challenge and to confront senseless violence, mindless war, the death of innocents, the destruction of villages to save villages.

Voices will be lifted up in urgency because the future knows when the place it needs to build could be destroyed. The future knows and is skeptical about promises of peace that are wrapped in fire and brimstone. Our young people opposing war represent a message from the future America, the America that can be, and with the upwardly-spiraling aspirations of millions of Americans of all ages, the America that will be.

The future America works to make nonviolence an organizing principle in our society. The future America works to make war archaic. It is a Nation that lives courageously in peace, working to settle differences at home and abroad, without killing. The future America comprehends the world as an interconnected whole. It understands that changes in transportation, communication, and trades have made people throughout the world neighbors.

The future America believes that each person is sacred, that each person makes a difference, that each choice we make affects others, that an injury to one person is an injury to all, that justice ought to be international, and that vengeance is reserved to the Lord. It is an America where human rights and workers' rights and environmental quality principles are within the arc of the human covenant. It is a Nation where each life is given an opportunity to unfold, where all have access to health care, to higher education, to jobs, and to a secure retirement; where quality of life matters, where people build families, build communities, build an American community of our dreams; where our highest aspirations

light the way to a better Nation and to a better world.

The future America is a Nation which works to sustain life on Earth. It champions protection of the global environment. It works with all nations to abolish nuclear weapons, chemical weapons, and biological weapons. It is a Nation which preserves the heavens for the restless human soul, and it rejects putting weapons in space because it knows that the kingdom that will come from the stars should bring eternal peace and not war. While some voices clamor for war, a future America looks for deeper unity of all people worldwide and seeks not empire but harmony.

So to you, young America protesting this war, I sing a hymn of praise. Because while some may want to send you marching off to fight yesterday's wars, you are advancing from the future, reminding us that our Nation has a higher calling, reminding us of an America that can be, reminding us that there has to be a better way, reminding us to find that better way, joining with us to make straight the path of democracy.

This is a time for caution as we would face war; but it is also a cause for joy, because the same revelry that sounds a battle cry and clangs the toxins of war brings forth legions of others enlisted in a holy cause to relight the lamp of freedom in our own land. So come forth young and old, prepare for America's future.

Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. GOODLATTE), a member of the Committee on the Judiciary.

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

Mr. GOODLATTE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

On the eve of potential military action abroad, I am reminded of President Reagan's speech before the British House of Commons when he said, "If history teaches anything, it teaches self-delusion in the face of unpleasant facts is folly." Reagan was speaking to a people who knew well the ravages of war and the terrible price of appeasement.

Churchill called World War II the unnecessary war. He did not mean that it was unnecessary to rise to the occasion and defeat Nazism, he meant that had we taken early notice of Hitler's clearly stated intentions rather than naively drifting through the 1930s, a world war may not have been necessary. Weary of conflict, some of the allies adopted a policy of peace at any price, but no peace that a freedom-loving people could tolerate.

While the circumstances are different, there are lessons to be drawn from the annals of history. Just because we ignore evil does not mean that it ceases to exist. Appeasement invites aggression. Dictators, tyrants

and megalomaniacs should not be trusted.

Saddam Hussein has used weapons of bioterror against his own countrymen. He has committed genocide, killing between 50,000 and 100,000 people in northern Iraq. His regime is responsible for widespread human rights abuses, including imprisonment, executions, torture and rape. Just in the past 12 years, he has invaded Kuwait, he has launched ballistic missiles at Israel, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and previously at Iran.

Following the Gulf War, he arrogantly defied the international community, violating sanctions and continued in the development of weapons of mass destruction while evading international inspectors. His regime has violated 16 U.N. resolutions devoid of consequences.

Most ominously, in the wake of the September 11 terrorists' attacks, Saddam has quantifiable links to known terrorists. Iraq and al Qaeda have had high-level contacts stretching back a decade.

We know based on intelligence reports and satellite photos that Saddam is acquiring weapons of mass destruction. He possesses stockpiles of biological and chemical weapons, and he is aggressively seeking nuclear weapons. Every weapon he possesses is a violation of the Gulf War truce. A crazed man in possession of these instruments of death is a frightening prospect, indeed.

Had Saddam possessed nuclear capabilities at the time of the Gulf War, we may not have gone into Kuwait. Should he acquire nuclear capabilities, his aggressions would be virtually unchecked. Deterrence can no longer be relied upon.

President Bush was accurate to characterize Saddam as a grave and gathering danger. The President challenged the U.N., calling into question their relevance should they leave unchecked Saddam's blatant disregard for their authority. He consulted Congress and made a case to the American people. The President should continue to push for a U.N. resolution with uncompromising and immediate requirements for the Iraqi regime, thereby rejecting the tried course of empty diplomacy, fruitless inspections, and failed containment.

Americans looked on in horror as the events of September 11 unfolded. At the end of the day, the skyline of one of our greatest cities was forever changed; the Pentagon, a symbol of America's military might, was still smoldering; and a previously indistinguishable field in western Pennsylvania had suddenly and terribly become an unmarked grave for America's newest heroes.

In the aftermath, Americans have been asking questions, some of which we may never have satisfying answers to. But today we know that a sworn enemy is pursuing weapons of mass destruction. It is incumbent upon the

free world, led by the United States, to dismantle these destructive capabilities. We have before us a resolution which will authorize, if necessary, the use of America's military to enforce the demands of the U.N. Security Council.

There is no greater responsibility for us as elected officials than to provide for the common defense of our fellow countrymen. In voting for this resolution, we send a message to a tyrant that he should not rest easy; that those who would venture to strike at our Nation will encounter consequences. We send a message to the Iraqi people that the world has not forgotten them and their suffering at the hands of a madman. We send a message to the world community that we are unified as a Nation; that the President possesses the full faith and backing of this distinguished body; that we are committed to defending the liberties which are the very foundation of our Republic; and that we are steadfast in our resolve in the war on terror.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. LAMPSON), the conscience of the Congress on the issue of finding lost children.

Mr. LAMPSON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, we have heard many times over the course of yesterday and today that this is the most important vote that we will be asked to make in our service in Congress. And I, as all the rest of my colleagues, take it very seriously.

There is absolutely no doubt in my mind that Saddam Hussein poses a clear danger to the United States and to the world and he must be dealt with quickly and decisively.

□ 1600

It is my hope that this resolution will send a message to Saddam Hussein that America means business, and in return we will hear that U.N. inspectors will be granted unfettered access to any location deemed necessary with no exceptions.

I am pleased that the House leadership listened to the concerns of Members of both parties and developed a bipartisan resolution that does not give blanket approval to the President to carry this battle across the globe without consulting the American people, Congress, or our allies. I am also pleased that the President is continuing to enlist the support of other nations and that our action will not be unilateral.

The intent of Congress must be clear that this is not an endorsement of a foreign policy of preemptive strikes, but instead a resolution authorizing the President to take specific action against a specific, demonstrated threat, Saddam Hussein.

Action against Saddam Hussein is not a preemptive strike, it is a response to Saddam Hussein's blatant attacks, ranging from firing on our aircraft to the attempted assassination of

a former President. Foreign policy is not an exact science. What we as Members of Congress must do is weigh the evidence and at some point we must trust the President, Colin Powell, Condoleezza Rice and others in the administration to use this resolution as a tool, not just as a club.

After countless hours of briefings, soul searching and prayer, I am confident that this is our best course of action. I ask our President that, as I reach across this aisle to support him on this resolution, I must express in the strongest possible terms my disappointment with the President's handling of our economy. It is a disaster. Layoffs are occurring as we speak. The stock market is in a ditch, and the people of the 9th Congressional District of Texas and in this Nation are concerned for their family's future. There is a growing concern that the administration is asleep at the wheel on domestic issues.

This cannot continue. Just as I have reached across the aisle to support the President on foreign policy, I am urging the President to reach back across this aisle to help me and my colleagues address the economic problems facing this Nation, because that, too, poses a clear and present danger to the United States of America.

God bless America and all of the peoples of this world.

Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. HORN), a member of the Committee on Government Reform.

Mr. HORN. Mr. Speaker, last night the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. RYAN) gave a very fine statement on this matter.

In his remarks, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. RYAN) quoted the book "The Threatening Storm" by Kenneth Pollack, who served as the Clinton administration's expert on Iraq. This quotation cuts to the very heart of this debate by laying out the horrific nature of Saddam Hussein.

It paints a picture that no civilized person can find acceptable: the torture of children, the rape of women, the fiendish maiming of opponents, the gassing of entire Kurdish villages to spread terror.

Mr. Speaker, these crimes are well documented. We have eyewitness accounts, news photographs and videotapes of gas attacks against the Kurdish villages. We have first-person testimony on Saddam Hussein's reign of terror within Iraq. It is estimated that Saddam Hussein has murdered more than 200,000 of his own countrymen, generals and relatives included.

Given his record of brutality, there should be no question what Saddam Hussein will do once he obtains nuclear weapons. We must face squarely the true nature of this tyrant. We must act to deal with the threat he poses.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all of my colleagues to vote for this resolution. It is the right thing for America and humanity.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LOFGREN), a member of the Committee on the Judiciary and a member of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct.

(Ms. LOFGREN asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. LOFGREN. Mr. Speaker, should Congress authorize the President to use the Armed Forces of the United States to attack Iraq? The President is asking us to pass this resolution now, but he has not yet made the case for war.

I cannot support the President's request that we authorize military force against Iraq. I make this very difficult decision for three important reasons: The United States is not acting in self-defense or from an imminent threat from Iraq, the United States should not be pursuing unilateral action without international support, and the President has not stated an exit strategy.

I believe there are times when countries must resort to war, and indeed international law recognizes the rights of nations to defend themselves. I strongly support our campaign against terrorism. But are we voting this week on a case of self-defense? It would certainly be self-defense if Iraq supported the al Qaeda attack on September 11, but the evidence of such support is lacking.

I have listened to the administration and met with top officials. I have yet to see any credible evidence that Iraq is connected with al Qaeda. The experts readily admit that there is no real connection.

I can believe that Iraq is a threat to the region and to some American interests overseas, but I do not believe the threat is imminent or must be handled with a unilateral military strike.

The President is now choosing a new and dangerous policy, the America Strikes First Doctrine, when he argues we can attack any time we feel threatened.

I am the mother of a 17-year-old son. Maybe that is why I understand when mothers ask me about Iraq. A life lost to save America is a stinging pain that will always be with a Gold Star Mother. But the knowledge that the loss was necessary to protect the home of the brave and the land of the free gives both comfort and cause.

Is America prepared to sacrifice lives when the cause is not to defend America but to start a war unilaterally without a threat? I have not heard the American people say so.

We would be having a far different debate had President Bush come to Congress leading the world community and the United Nations or NATO. As of this moment, Great Britain is the only other nation dedicated to military action with us in Iraq. When even Canada is not prepared to march by our side, we have cause to pause and reflect. The United States should be leading the world, working with the world commu-

nity to resolve an international issue. We should be here, Mr. Speaker, debating a resolution because all other efforts have failed. Sadly, we are here discussing an end result with no end game in mind.

This resolution is an unwise step for America that will in the end weaken America. We are at our best when we are first among allies, standing tall for the free world. Let us be at our best when we deal with Iraq.

For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, I will not vote to authorize the President to carry out a unilateral and costly ground war against Iraq.

Mr. CANTOR. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, first, I would like to thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) for his tremendous leadership in bringing this resolution to the floor. In addition, I would like to commend President Bush for providing courageous leadership during this time of national crisis.

As America continues to wage a world war against terrorism, the time has come to weigh the dangers of confrontation against the risks of inaction.

A year ago on September 11, the United States, our people, and our institutions were attacked. That day the war began. I respond to those of my colleagues posing the question: Where is the imminent threat? Why must we confront Iraq now? I ask simply: How many more innocent Americans must die in order for the threat to be imminent?

We face an enemy that will stop at nothing to kill Americans, including taking their own lives. This enemy could not survive without the state sponsorship it receives from Saddam Hussein, an oppressive dictator who is a sworn enemy of the United States. In order to win the war on terror, we must effect a regime change in Baghdad.

As we consider the resolution before us, we must consider two fundamental questions: Does Saddam Hussein have the desire to harm the United States of America? And does Saddam Hussein have the ability to carry out that objective?

In answering the first question, we must be mindful that he has aligned his regime with the world's most unsavory characters who continue to seek the destruction of freedom and democracy around the world. He has openly praised the attacks of September 11, attempted to assassinate a former U.S. President, and directly ordered acts of terror against innocent civilians. Our national security requires us to conclude that he aims to threaten the lives of American citizens.

Saddam Hussein is an oppressive tyrant who, with each passing day, increases his ability to terrorize the world with the most destructive weapons known to man. He currently has chemical and biological weapons and is actively pursuing a nuclear capability. The accumulation of these weapons is

transforming Saddam Hussein from a regional threat into a global menace. Whether we act to prevent him from acquiring such weapons, or act to prevent him from using them once he has them, action is required.

Although the United States is a peace-loving Nation, there will never be peace and security so long as Saddam Hussein is in power. Effecting a regime change and liberating the people of Iraq is the official policy of the United States Government. President Bush has demonstrated a willingness to pursue peace, yet he must also have the authority to present Saddam Hussein with the absolute certainty that the full force of the United States military is ready to act.

This resolution gives the President this necessary authority, and I wholeheartedly urge its adoption.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. TURNER).

Mr. TURNER. Mr. Speaker, we confront in this Chamber today a decision of utmost gravity, to authorize the President to use military force if necessary to remove the threat of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons from the hands of Saddam Hussein.

To risk the lives of our sons and daughters for this cause burdens the hearts and minds of every Member of Congress. For the past several weeks, we have weighed this decision in the balance. People of goodwill have had their differences of opinion. We know that military action by its nature is an assumption of risk, risk to the lives and safety of our military forces, risk of outcome and duration of battle, and risk of economic and political dislocations.

In spite of these dangers, the greatest danger is to do nothing. The failure to act will leave an international outlaw undeterred and will sacrifice a freedom that President Franklin Roosevelt called fundamental, the freedom from fear.

On a clear autumn morning on September 11 we were awakened to the reality of a new and growing threat to our security. We saw all too vividly how vulnerable our Nation can be to unconventional warfare. We were forced to face the stark reality that an international terrorist organization named al Qaeda exists and is dedicated to the destruction of America and our way of life.

Our time-honored policy of security through deterrence backed by our overwhelming military superiority is no longer sufficient to protect our Nation from a weapon of mass destruction in the hands of a single terrorist on a suicide mission.

Opinions differ on the question of whether Saddam Hussein will engage in a terrorist act against our Nation or place weapons of mass destruction in the hands of terrorists, but there is no debate that the motive and the means

are present; and, in my judgment, the threat is unacceptable.

Much of what we know, we have known for a long time. We know Saddam Hussein has developed biological weapons. We know that Saddam has developed chemical weapons. We know that he has used them in war and against helpless civilians, and we know that he is working feverishly to acquire nuclear weapons. We know he has launched ballistic missiles at his neighboring countries of Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Israel; and he continues to develop missiles that can hit American bases. We know he invaded Iran in 1980, causing the deaths of over 1 million people.

□ 1615

We know he invaded Kuwait in 1990 and ordered the torture and murder of tens of thousands of civilians. We know this man and we know his works. He has the capability and he has the motive to bring great harm to our Nation. We have been at war with him for over 10 years. His hatred for the United States has no limits, and his cruelty and atrocities committed against his own people, his closest associates, and even his family leave no room to doubt his murderous nature.

For 10 years the United Nations Security Council passed resolutions to open Iraq to weapons inspectors, to disarm Saddam, to take away his weapons of mass destruction. For 10 years he has avoided, evaded, and escaped the rules we tried to use to secure the peace. Saddam Hussein is in material breach of international law.

Mr. Speaker, knowing these things to be true, to protect our homeland, to take weapons of mass destruction out of the hands of a tyrant, and to uphold the rule of law, I support the President in his request for authorization to use force, if necessary, to accomplish these goals in Iraq. Saddam Hussein is an international outlaw who is a clear and present danger to our country, and time is not on our side. To meet this threat, we will work with the United Nations, but we will not wait for the United Nations. We do not seek war, and the best way to avoid it is to be clear with our intent and be prepared to act. Saddam must have no doubt about our course. He can disarm or his days are numbered.

Some have suggested that we adopt a two-step resolution that would assure our allies that we seek U.N. approval; and if approval is denied, the President would seek a second resolution from this Congress authorizing the use of unilateral force. This could weaken our President's hand in the effort to secure Security Council support and work contrary to our very interest of securing multilateral cooperation. If the U.N. declined to act and then we had a subsequent resolution on this floor, we would be in a position that we all seek to avoid; and in addition, a two-step resolution would detract from the effort to send a clear message to Saddam

to give up his weapons of mass destruction without delay.

The quest for America's security in the 21st century begins with us. The Bible tells us to whom much has been given, much is required. Our duty and our responsibility to future generations of Americans leave us no option but to act with resolve, with courage, and the will to win.

America is a special place. God has blessed us beyond measure; and while a few pursue hatred and destruction and can bring us harm, there are millions every day who seek to come to this land of promise because we stand for peace, for justice, and for democracy.

Mr. CANTOR. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GEKAS).

Mr. GEKAS. Mr. Speaker, the value of this resolution is cast in a way that its failure to be enacted by this Congress would make havoc reign in the House of Representatives. What do I mean by that? If we should fail to adopt this resolution and some new terror strike visits our land and kills more of our people, God forbid, then we will be rushing back to this floor. Remember now, if this resolution fails, we will be rushing back to this floor eager to give new powers to the President to do something about the new terror attack. That is what the value of this resolution is.

We are preparing the President, we are preparing the Congress of the United States, we are preparing the people of the United States, and more vitally we are preparing the Armed Forces of the United States in a stalwart resolution which outlines the resolve of the United States to prepare for any kind of action that might be required not just to stabilize the region in which Iraq lies but also to stabilize the entire civilized world with respect to the threat and fear of terror.

And so if we forget everything else about what the resolution may do, if we recognize that our national security is the matter that atmospheres across every single word of the resolution, then we have additional rationale for adopting the resolution. The Armed Forces always look to the Commander in Chief for guidance, for leadership, as they will within this case; but they also look to see are the people of the United States, our people, our families, our neighborhoods at home, are they backing us? Are they supporting us? This resolution crosses through all the lines of communication right to the barracks of our Armed Forces and gives indication to them that the people of the United States, the people they are sworn to serve and for whom they would risk their life and limb that they are behind their actions.

I remember as a member of the Armed Forces myself in our own company that the words of the then-Commander in Chief were very important to us as to where and what direction we should go and whether or not the whole

thing was worth it; it is to the Armed Forces once they know that this resolution will pass and will guide them, in the words of the Commander in Chief, in the interest of national security.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. HINOJOSA), member of the Committee on Education and the Workforce and a diligent fighter for Hispanic-serving institutions to increase funding.

Mr. HINOJOSA. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to House Joint Resolution 114, giving authorization for military force against Iraq. I am determined to convince my colleagues to pass the substitute amendment that will be offered by the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT). I agree with my colleague that the resolution reported by the Committee on International Relations authorizing the use of force against Iraq is an amendment and an improvement over the original House draft; and, yes, I also agree with him that we must limit the broad authority it grants to our President.

While no one in this House believes that Saddam Hussein should be allowed to develop weapons of mass destruction, my fellow colleagues should see the need to encourage the President to persist in his efforts to obtain Security Council approval for any action taken against Iraq. The President should also be required to seek a Security Council resolution mandating a new and tougher round of arms inspection.

When the Gulf War ended, Iraq agreed to destroy all of its chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons; and, yes, Iraq should be held to that commitment. The safety of America and the world depends on Iraq's compliance with the United Nations resolutions. Because the Spratt substitute would call on the United Nations to approve the use of force, if necessary, to ensure that Iraq meets its obligations to disarm, the United Nations Security Council's approval of action in Iraq would provide several crucial benefits. It would encourage all allies to fall in line and support our efforts. It would allow moderate Arab states to use the council's approval as a guide to support our troops' presence in Iraq, consequently enhancing the chances of post-war democracy and economic success in Iraq. If Saddam Hussein's regime is toppled, a new government will have to be formed to revive Iraq's economy and bring together the various ethnic factions to form a viable government.

Nation-building should be the work of the United Nations, not the U.S. military. As I have said, U.N. approval of our efforts would improve our ties with our allies, both European and Arab, and would likely lead to a fledgling, yet strong, democracy. If the United Nations decides not to impose additional sanctions or to cooperate, then America should take unilateral action against Iraq within the guidelines of the Constitution.

Everyone in this Congress has sworn to uphold the Constitution. It was in 1787 that the founders of our country gave Congress, not the President, the power and the responsibility of declaring war and sending American troops overseas. The Spratt substitute would require the President to come to Congress and ask for the support through an expedited process after it is determined that the United Nations will not act. I think this is the appropriate manner in which to conduct such a serious endeavor as another war. We need to remind ourselves that we are not just entering and referring to a congressional resolution, we are talking about the potential loss of American troops and the lives of civilian Iraqis.

Life is too precious a gift to grant such broad powers even to our President without a thorough discourse with the United Nations or with the United States Congress. I do not question our President's authority to protect our national security. I am asking that our President work through the United Nations and consult Congress prior to engaging in what will become a serious international conflict.

In closing, over the last few weeks I have talked to many of my constituents from all walks of life: farmers, ranchers, veterans, educators, parents, students, doctors, businessmen, and businesswomen. I have listened carefully to all of their views and concerns; and as a result, I will vote against House Joint Resolution 114. I respectfully urge my colleagues to support the Spratt amendment.

Mr. CANTOR. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. WICKER).

Mr. WICKER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution because it provides an opportunity for peace through diplomacy while preserving the President's flexibility to engage the full force of our military to protect national security. The resolution before us does not preordain a path for our President to choose. Rather, this resolution provides the President with all possible options.

Enacting the resolution does not mean that an attack is imminent. It does mean that an escalation of our current military conflict with Iraq is a real possibility. Enacting this resolution does not mean that the President will stop pursuing diplomatic and peaceful means to a solution. It does mean that there can be consequences to continued inaction by the Iraqi regime. Enacting this resolution will show the world, our traditional allies, our potential allies, the Iraqi people, and most importantly Saddam Hussein, that the United States speaks with one voice in our determination to bring peace and stability to the world.

The resolution references the continuing threat posed by Iraq. Make no mistake, this threat is real and it is

growing. It is not just that Saddam Hussein has weapons of mass destruction, Mr. Speaker. He has used them. He used them against Iran. He used chemical weapons against his country's own people, the Kurds of northern Iraq. And we have to ask ourselves this question, Mr. Speaker: Since Saddam Hussein has no greater opponent than the United States and our people and since he continues to develop more and more weapons, where will he use them next?

In the aftermath of September 11, 2001, countless voices asked this question: Did we do everything we could do to prevent this tragedy? To answer that question in the world that exists today, in a world in which an enemy can inflict damage with an army of one, we must be willing to change fundamentally our security strategy by accepting that intervention is a necessary part of protecting our safety.

With the passage of this resolution, Mr. Speaker, Saddam Hussein will be able to choose his destiny. Either Saddam Hussein's regime must change the way it acts or the regime itself must change.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. LUCAS).

Mr. LUCAS of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the resolution before us. This is one of the most important votes I ever expect to cast on this House floor, and I make it after much serious thought and deliberation.

The events of the past year have affected every single person in America. Our lives will never be the same. The terrorists on September 11 tried to break the spirit of America, but they failed. The spirit of our Nation is unbreakable and unwavering. As a Nation, we will work together to fight the war on terrorism, to preserve our own lives and the lives of our peace-loving friends all around the world.

□ 1630

During his address to the United Nations on September 12, and again on Tuesday in Cincinnati, the President outlined a powerful case as to why pursuing regime changes by military means, if necessary, in Iraq, is in the vital national interests of America and all freedom-loving people everywhere. I feel that the President provided a clear and compelling case that will lead to broad international support of our objectives.

The President told us that Iraq possesses the physical infrastructure required to build nuclear weapons and maintains stockpiles of chemical and biological agents for the purpose of killing literally thousands of people. U.N. inspectors have stated that they believe Iraq has produced as much as four times the amount of biological agents it claims to possess and has failed to account for more than three metric tons of material that could be used to produce biological weapons. Along with this threat, Iraq possesses a

force of SKUD-type missiles with ranges beyond the 94-mile limit permitted by the U.N. resolutions.

Last week, I stood with the President and congressional leadership in the White House Rose Garden in support of this resolution authorizing the use of force against Iraq, and I am proud to rise to the support of that resolution today. All the while, I fervently hope and pray that force will not be necessary. However, I strongly believe that American foreign policy, especially with regard to eradicating weapons of mass destruction and terrorism, must be a top priority.

Our actions do not come without sacrifice or consequence; and I want to personally recognize our young men and women, these brave young men and women who are currently engaged in the war on terrorism and who may be called to service in Iraq. As a parent, I know firsthand the sacrifice that military personnel and their families are making.

I was a pilot in the Air Force, and nothing made my wife Mary and me more proud than our son Lance as he served his country as an Air Force pilot in the Desert Storm conflict. We know firsthand what it is like to have a loved one in harm's way.

However, once again, America is forced to defend herself against forces that do not respect human life, freedom or the American way.

We cannot wait until Saddam Hussein or one of his terrorist allies strikes first. We cannot let another horrific event like September 11 happen again while we stand idly by.

Mr. Speaker, I ask all my colleagues to join with me in support of this important resolution.

#### CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 5011, MILITARY CONSTRUCTION AP- PROPRIATION ACT, 2003

Mr. HOBSON submitted the following conference report and statement on the bill (H.R. 5011) making appropriations for military construction, family housing, and base realignment and closure for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2003, and for other purposes.

##### CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. 107-731)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 5011) "making appropriations for military construction, family housing, and base realignment and closure for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2003, and for other purposes," having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment, insert:

*That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated for military construction, family*

*housing, and base realignment and closure functions administered by the Department of Defense, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2003, and for other purposes, namely:*

##### MILITARY CONSTRUCTION, ARMY

###### (INCLUDING RESCISSION)

*For acquisition, construction, installation, and equipment of temporary or permanent public works, military installations, facilities, and real property for the Army as currently authorized by law, including personnel in the Army Corps of Engineers and other personal services necessary for the purposes of this appropriation, and for construction and operation of facilities in support of the functions of the Commander in Chief, \$1,683,710,000, to remain available until September 30, 2007: Provided, That of this amount, not to exceed \$163,135,000 shall be available for study, planning, design, architect and engineer services, and host nation support, as authorized by law, unless the Secretary of Defense determines that additional obligations are necessary for such purposes and notifies the Committees on Appropriations of both Houses of Congress of his determination and the reasons therefor: Provided further, That of the funds appropriated for "Military Construction, Army" in previous Military Construction Appropriation Acts, \$49,376,000 are rescinded.*

##### MILITARY CONSTRUCTION, NAVY

###### (INCLUDING RESCISSION)

*For acquisition, construction, installation, and equipment of temporary or permanent public works, naval installations, facilities, and real property for the Navy as currently authorized by law, including personnel in the Naval Facilities Engineering Command and other personal services necessary for the purposes of this appropriation, \$1,305,128,000, to remain available until September 30, 2007: Provided, That of this amount, not to exceed \$87,043,000 shall be available for study, planning, design, architect and engineer services, as authorized by law, unless the Secretary of Defense determines that additional obligations are necessary for such purposes and notifies the Committees on Appropriations of both Houses of Congress of his determination and the reasons therefor: Provided further, That of the funds appropriated for "Military Construction, Navy" in previous Military Construction Appropriation Acts, \$1,340,000 are rescinded.*

##### MILITARY CONSTRUCTION, AIR FORCE

###### (INCLUDING RESCISSION)

*For acquisition, construction, installation, and equipment of temporary or permanent public works, military installations, facilities, and real property for the Air Force as currently authorized by law, \$1,080,247,000, to remain available until September 30, 2007: Provided, That of this amount, not to exceed \$72,283,000 shall be available for study, planning, design, architect and engineer services, as authorized by law, unless the Secretary of Defense determines that additional obligations are necessary for such purposes and notifies the Committees on Appropriations of both Houses of Congress of his determination and the reasons therefor: Provided further, That of the funds appropriated for "Military Construction, Air Force" in previous Military Construction Appropriation Acts, \$13,281,000 are rescinded.*

##### MILITARY CONSTRUCTION, DEFENSE-WIDE

###### (INCLUDING TRANSFER AND RESCISSION OF FUNDS)

*For acquisition, construction, installation, and equipment of temporary or permanent public works, installations, facilities, and real property for activities and agencies of the Department of Defense (other than the military departments), as currently authorized by law, \$874,645,000, to remain available until September 30, 2007: Provided, That such amounts of this appropriation as may be determined by the Secretary of Defense may be transferred to such appropriations of the Department of Defense avail-*

*able for military construction or family housing as he may designate, to be merged with and to be available for the same purposes, and for the same time period, as the appropriation or fund to which transferred: Provided further, That of the amount appropriated, not to exceed \$50,432,000 shall be available for study, planning, design, architect and engineer services, as authorized by law, unless the Secretary of Defense determines that additional obligations are necessary for such purposes and notifies the Committees on Appropriations of both Houses of Congress of his determination and the reasons therefor: Provided further, That of the funds appropriated for "Military Construction, Defense-wide" in previous Military Construction Appropriation Acts, \$2,976,000 are rescinded.*

##### MILITARY CONSTRUCTION, ARMY NATIONAL

###### GUARD

*For construction, acquisition, expansion, rehabilitation, and conversion of facilities for the training and administration of the Army National Guard, and contributions therefor, as authorized by chapter 1803 of title 10, United States Code, and Military Construction Authorization Acts, \$241,377,000, to remain available until September 30, 2007.*

##### MILITARY CONSTRUCTION, AIR NATIONAL GUARD

*For construction, acquisition, expansion, rehabilitation, and conversion of facilities for the training and administration of the Air National Guard, and contributions therefor, as authorized by chapter 1803 of title 10, United States Code, and Military Construction Authorization Acts, \$203,813,000, to remain available until September 30, 2007.*

##### MILITARY CONSTRUCTION, ARMY RESERVE

*For construction, acquisition, expansion, rehabilitation, and conversion of facilities for the training and administration of the Army Reserve as authorized by chapter 1803 of title 10, United States Code, and Military Construction Authorization Acts, \$100,554,000, to remain available until September 30, 2007.*

##### MILITARY CONSTRUCTION, NAVAL RESERVE

*For construction, acquisition, expansion, rehabilitation, and conversion of facilities for the training and administration of the reserve components of the Navy and Marine Corps as authorized by chapter 1803 of title 10, United States Code, and Military Construction Authorization Acts, \$74,921,000, to remain available until September 30, 2007.*

##### MILITARY CONSTRUCTION, AIR FORCE RESERVE

*For construction, acquisition, expansion, rehabilitation, and conversion of facilities for the training and administration of the Air Force Reserve as authorized by chapter 1803 of title 10, United States Code, and Military Construction Authorization Acts, \$67,226,000, to remain available until September 30, 2007.*

##### NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION

###### SECURITY INVESTMENT PROGRAM

*For the United States share of the cost of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Security Investment Program for the acquisition and construction of military facilities and installations (including international military headquarters) and for related expenses for the collective defense of the North Atlantic Treaty Area as authorized in Military Construction Authorization Acts and section 2806 of title 10, United States Code, \$167,200,000, to remain available until expended.*

##### FAMILY HOUSING CONSTRUCTION, ARMY

###### (INCLUDING RESCISSION)

*For expenses of family housing for the Army for construction, including acquisition, replacement, addition, expansion, extension and alteration, as authorized by law, \$280,356,000, to remain available until September 30, 2007: Provided, That of the funds appropriated for "Family Housing Construction, Army" in previous Military Construction Appropriation Acts, \$4,920,000 are rescinded.*