

[Roll No. 46]

YEAS—426

Abercrombie	DeFazio	Jackson-Lee
Ackerman	DeGette	(TX)
Aderholt	Delahunt	Janklow
Akin	DeLauro	Jefferson
Alexander	DeLay	Jenkins
Allen	DeMint	John
Andrews	Deutsch	Johnson (CT)
Baca	Diaz-Balart, L.	Johnson (IL)
Bachus	Diaz-Balart, M.	Johnson, E. B.
Baird	Dicks	Johnson, Sam
Baker	Dingell	Jones (NC)
Baldwin	Doggett	Jones (OH)
Ballance	Dooley (CA)	Kanjorski
Ballenger	Doolittle	Kaptur
Barrett (SC)	Doyle	Keller
Bartlett (MD)	Dreier	Kelly
Barton (TX)	Duncan	Kennedy (MN)
Bass	Dunn	Kennedy (RI)
Beauprez	Edwards	Kildee
Becerra	Ehlers	Kilpatrick
Bell	Emanuel	Kind
Bereuter	Emerson	King (IA)
Berkley	Engel	King (NY)
Berman	English	Kingston
Berry	Eshoo	Kirk
Biggett	Etheridge	Klecicka
Bilirakis	Evans	Kline
Bishop (GA)	Everett	Knollenberg
Bishop (NY)	Farr	Kolbe
Bishop (UT)	Fattah	Kucinich
Blackburn	Feeney	LaHood
Blumenauer	Ferguson	Lampson
Boehlert	Filner	Langevin
Boehner	Flake	Lantos
Bonilla	Foley	Larsen (WA)
Bonner	Forbes	Larson (CT)
Bono	Ford	Latham
Boozman	Fossella	LaTourette
Boswell	Frank (MA)	Leach
Boucher	Franks (AZ)	Lee
Boyd	Frelinghuysen	Levin
Bradley (NH)	Frost	Lewis (CA)
Brady (PA)	Galleghy	Lewis (GA)
Brady (TX)	Garrett (NJ)	Lewis (KY)
Brown (OH)	Gerlach	Linder
Brown (SC)	Gibbons	Lipinski
Brown, Corrine	Gilchrest	LoBiondo
Brown-Waite,	Gillmor	Lofgren
Ginny	Gingrey	Lowe
Burgess	Gonzalez	Lucas (KY)
Burns	Goode	Lucas (OK)
Burr	Goodlatte	Lynch
Burton (IN)	Gordon	Majette
Buyer	Goss	Maloney
Calvert	Granger	Manzullo
Camp	Graves	Markey
Cannon	Green (TX)	Marshall
Cantor	Green (WI)	Matheson
Capito	Greenwood	Matsui
Capps	Grijalva	McCarthy (MO)
Capuano	Gutierrez	McCarthy (NY)
Cardin	Gutknecht	McCollum
Cardoza	Hall	McCotter
Carson (IN)	Harman	McCrery
Carson (OK)	Harris	McDermott
Carter	Hart	McGovern
Case	Hastings (FL)	McHugh
Castle	Hastings (WA)	McInnis
Chabot	Hayes	McIntyre
Chocola	Hayworth	McKeon
Clay	Hefley	McNulty
Clyburn	Hensarling	Meehan
Coble	Hergert	Meek (FL)
Cole	Hill	Meeks (NY)
Collins	Hinchee	Menendez
Combest	Hinojosa	Mica
Conyers	Hobson	Michaud
Cooper	Hoeffel	Millender-
Costello	Hoekstra	McDonald
Cox	Holden	Miller (FL)
Cramer	Holt	Miller (MI)
Crane	Honda	Miller (NC)
Crenshaw	Hoolley (OR)	Miller, Gary
Crowley	Hostettler	Miller, George
Cubin	Houghton	Mollohan
Culberson	Hoyer	Moore
Cummings	Hulshof	Moran (KS)
Cunningham	Hunter	Moran (VA)
Davis (AL)	Hyde	Murphy
Davis (CA)	Insee	Murtha
Davis (FL)	Isakson	Musgrave
Davis (IL)	Israel	Myrick
Davis (TN)	Issa	Nadler
Davis, Jo Ann	Istook	Napolitano
Davis, Tom	Jackson (IL)	Neal (MA)
Deal (GA)		Nethercutt

Ney	Rogers (MI)	Strickland
Northup	Rohrabacher	Sullivan
Norwood	Ros-Lehtinen	Tancredo
Nunes	Ross	Tanner
Nussle	Rothman	Tauscher
Oberstar	Royal-Allard	Tauzin
Obey	Royce	Taylor (MS)
Olver	Ruppersberger	Taylor (NC)
Ortiz	Rush	Thomas
Osborne	Ryan (OH)	Thompson (CA)
Ose	Ryan (WI)	Thompson (MS)
Otter	Ryun (KS)	Thornberry
Owens	Sabo	Tiahrt
Oxley	Sanchez, Linda	Tiberi
Pallone	T.	Tierney
Pascrell	Sanchez, Loretta	Toomey
Pastor	Sanders	Towns
Paul	Sandlin	Turner (OH)
Payne	Saxton	Turner (TX)
Pearce	Schakowsky	Turner (CO)
Pelosi	Schiff	Udall (NM)
Pence	Schrock	Upton
Peterson (MN)	Scott (GA)	Van Hollen
Peterson (PA)	Scott (VA)	Velazquez
Petri	Sensenbrenner	Visclosky
Pickering	Serrano	Vitter
Pitts	Sessions	Walden (OR)
Platts	Shadegg	Walsh
Pombo	Shaw	Wamp
Pomeroy	Shays	Watson
Porter	Sherman	Watt
Portman	Sherwood	Waxman
Price (NC)	Shimkus	Weiner
Pryce (OH)	Shuster	Weldon (FL)
Putnam	Simmons	Weldon (PA)
Quinn	Simpson	Weller
Radanovich	Skelton	Wexler
Rahall	Slaughter	Whitfield
Ramstad	Smith (MI)	Wicker
Rangel	Smith (NJ)	Wilson (NM)
Regula	Smith (TX)	Wilson (SC)
Rehberg	Smith (WA)	Wolf
Leach	Solis	Woolsey
Lee	Souder	Wu
Levin	Spratt	Wynn
Lewis (CA)	Stark	Young (AK)
Lewis (GA)	Stearns	Young (FL)
Lewis (KY)	Stenholm	

NOT VOTING—8

Blunt	Snyder	Terry
Fletcher	Stupak	Waters
Gephardt	Sweeney	

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE
 The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). The Chair reminds Members there are 2 minutes left in this vote.

□ 1409

So the joint resolution was passed.
 The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERIODIC REPORT ON TELECOMMUNICATIONS PAYMENTS MADE TO CUBA PURSUANT TO TREASURY DEPARTMENT SPECIFIC LICENSES—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, without objection, referred to the Committee on International Relations:

To the Congress of the United States:
 As required by section 1705(e)(6) of the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992, as amended by section 102(g) of the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act of 1996, 22 U.S.C. 6004(e)(6), I transmit herewith a semi-annual report prepared by my Administration detailing payments made to

Cuba by United States persons as a result of the provision of telecommunications services pursuant to Department of the Treasury specific licenses.
 GEORGE W. BUSH.
 THE WHITE HOUSE, March 5, 2003.

COMMUNICATION FROM ASSOCIATE ADMINISTRATOR, OFFICE OF CHIEF ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from Kathy A. Wyszynski, Associate Administrator, Office of Chief Administrative Officer:

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
 Washington, DC, February 26, 2003.

Hon. J. DENNIS HASTERT,
 Speaker, House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: This is to formally notify you, pursuant to Rule VIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives, that the House Payroll Office has been served with a civil subpoena for documents issued by the Superior Court for San Francisco, County, California.

After consulting with the Office of General Counsel, I have determined to comply with the subpoena.

Sincerely,
 KATHY A. WYSZYNSKI,
 Associate Administrator.

CORRECTION OF APPOINTMENT OF MEMBER TO SELECT COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to section 4 of House Resolution 5, 108th Congress, and the order of the House of January 8, 2003, the Chair announces the correction of the Speaker's appointment of the following Member of the House to the Select Committee on Homeland Security:

Mr. SHAYS of Connecticut, to rank after Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania.

SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 2003, and under a previous order of the House, the following Members will be recognized for 5 minutes each.

EXPRESSING OPPOSITION TO WAR PENDING IN IRAQ

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Illinois (Ms. SCHAKOWSKY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. Mr. Speaker, I came to the House floor because I felt that I needed to come down here and speak before this body about my opposition to the war that seems to be pending in Iraq.

I come to the floor today to say that war is not inevitable; that this great Nation, whose power and hegemony is not disputed, can assert its leadership without the terrible destruction of a preemptive all-out war.

I come to the floor today to pay tribute to the millions and millions of everyday people all around the world, including throughout the United States, who have expressed so clearly their conviction that a U.S.-led invasion of Iraq is not the answer.

I come to pay tribute to the city of Chicago, one of about 100 U.S. cities whose elected leaders, responding to their citizens, voted "no" to a preemptive war. In Chicago it was by a vote of 46 to 1.

We are on the brink of the first war in history started by the United States against a country that has not threatened violence against the United States. We are on the brink of implementing a new policy of preemptive war, and ushering in not a new world order but a world of unprecedented disorder.

Let us examine the facts: Iraq is led by a tyrannical dictator, one who may have, who probably has, chemical and biological weapons; one who violates human rights and oppresses his people; the same tyrannical dictator, by the way, who was our ally in the 1980s when Iraq was at war with Iran; the same dictator to whom we sent chemical and biological materials in the eighties; the same dictator who we now charge with using chemical and biological weapons, but at the time, the United States refused to support a U.N. resolution condemning Iraq.

□ 1415

The same Saddam who was in place in 1998 when the Haliburton Company, led by Vice President DICK CHENEY, was doing business in Iraq. The same dictator that has onerous characteristics that can be applied to many other countries, many of which we call ally, friends and coalition partner. And can be applied to countries like North Korea and Iran, who pose an even greater danger to the United States.

So why Iraq and why now? I stand here today as a patriot and particularly resentful, not only for myself, but all of my constituents who oppose this war because we deeply love this country. But we believe that this war fails to meet the threshold test. Will it make us citizens and residents of the United States safer? Will it make the Middle East, and of particular concern to me, Israel, safer? Will it make the world safer?

I say the answer is, and I feel in my heart, a resounding no.

The Central Intelligence Agency reports that Saddam is likely to use chemical and biological weapons only if we attack. Saddam and Iraq had nothing to do with September 11, or at the time, Osama bin Laden, despite desperate attempts by this administration to link them. But an attack on Iraq now could meld an unlikely coalition of terrorist organizations and fundamental Muslim organizations that will be a real threat to the United States and other countries around the globe.

Most importantly, we have real options to disarm Saddam Hussein. The way this debate has been shaped is you are either for all-out war, or you are for nothing and that could not be further from the truth.

Saddam Hussein must be disarmed and no one disagrees with that. And we have a structure for doing that. The United Nations was set up for that, is ready to do that and with the mighty leadership that the United States could exert, can do an even better job to make sure that Saddam Hussein who has, in fact, been violating resolutions, will comply now with disarmament. We can be part of a large and growing coalition of civilized nations who says that in this 21st century, where the technology allows for chemical and biological and even nuclear weapons to proliferate around the globe, and it will be hard given this century and this knowledge to stop that, unless we have a coalition of civilized nations that will surround and isolate rogue states and rogue nations.

We should lead in developing that coalition. We do not have to go to war now. I say no war on behalf of my constituents and to this Congress.

DANGER OF UNILATERAL ACTION AGAINST IRAQ

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

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, President Bush continues to strongly suggest that America will go to war against Iraq without the support of the United Nations or a significant number of our traditional European allies. Following his lead, many Americans, as well as media commentators, have become critical of the United Nations and the member nations of the Security Council that have expressed opposition to U.S. military action at this time.

My concern, Mr. Speaker, is that the United States is needlessly losing the world opinion war with dangerous implications for the real war against Iraq or, even worse, for the larger war against terrorism.

I voted against the congressional resolution that authorized unilateral U.S. military action against Iraq in part because of my fear that President Bush would have less incentive to create the type of world coalition that was so successful in the Gulf War. We tend to forget that the Gulf War was successful in many ways beyond the mere fact that the U.S. liberated Kuwait. The coalition of support meant that many countries provided manpower, money, and the political support that made U.S. actions justified in world opinions, even in Muslim countries.

The situation, Mr. Speaker, we now face with Iraq is very different. The logistics to carry out the war may suffer from the inability to utilize bases or air flight over countries that were previously supportive in the Gulf War.

The cost of the war will be borne almost entirely by the United States. President Bush has not included the costs, estimated from 50- to \$200 billion in his budget. And this does not even include the cost to rebuild Iraq. It also does not include assistance that other countries are demanding. For example, Turkey, which has asked for an aid package in the tens of billions.

My greater concern, Mr. Speaker, is whether the lack of support by other countries stiffens the resolve of the Iraqis to fight and makes it more difficult for U.S. forces to conduct the war or alternatively encourage the fundamentalist forces that perceive American action as anti-Muslim and, therefore, accelerate terrorist attacks against the United States.

I keep asking why the Bush administration feels it is necessary to adopt the rhetoric of unilateral action given the perils that might accompany it. Why do the President and his advisors insist that they do not need the United Nations and our traditional allies even while they pursue resolutions in the Security Council and try to convince other countries to support us.

It often seems that their rhetoric makes it all the more difficult to achieve the world coalition that was so successful in the Gulf War.

Mr. Speaker, it is crucial that in the next few days and the next few weeks, the Bush administration make every effort to achieve the support of the United Nations as well as the key countries such as France, Germany, Russia and China that have voiced U.S. opposition to U.S. policy in Iraq. The President can best accomplish this goal if he makes it clear that a world coalition is crucial to the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that we can avoid a war altogether by working within the Security Council to successfully disarm Iraq. I still hope that that can be accomplished. But absent that, the President must work a lot harder to build a world coalition to support a war if it is going to take place and avoid the political perils of unilateral military action.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BISHOP of Utah). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. PAUL addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

BIRCH BAYH FEDERAL BUILDING

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Indiana (Ms. CARSON) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. CARSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to introduce, along with my colleague, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. HILL) legislation naming the Federal Courthouse located at 46 East Ohio Street, Indianapolis, as the Birch