

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.

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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

Bayh Federal Building and United States Courthouse.

Birch Bayh was born on January 22, 1928, in Terre Haute, Indiana. He is a graduate of Purdue. He holds a BS degree in agriculture and a JD degree from Indiana University School of Law. He is married to the former Katherine "Kitty" Halpin and is the father of two sons, Evan and Christopher.

Senator Bayh began his political career at age 26 when he was elected to the Indiana House of Representatives in 1954. He served as Speaker and 4 years as Democratic floor leader. Senator Bayh's career in the United States Senate from 1962 to 1980 is distinguished by his expertise in constitutional law.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on the Constitution of the Senate, Senator Bayh successfully authored and ushered two amendments to the Constitution, the 25th on presidential and vice presidential section, and the 26th amendment lowering the age from 21 to 18 years of age to enable people the right to vote.

No lawmaker since the Founding Fathers has authored two amendments successfully to the United States Constitution.

Senator Bayh wrote landmark legislation on behalf of women and minorities. He authored Title IX to the Higher Education Act providing equal opportunities for women, students and faculty. He was an architect of the Juvenile Justice Act to separate juvenile offenders from the adult prison populations. He played an integral and important role in the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Acts and the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

I believe this is the first time, Mr. Speaker, that we have had two Members, father and son, that served so prestigiously in the United States Senate. Senator Birch Bayh, for whom this building would be named, is the proud father of Senator EVAN BAYH, who now serves with distinction in the United States Senate. This is House bill 1082, and I would encourage unanimous support, Mr. Speaker.

CONTINENTAL DIVIDE NATIONAL SCENIC TRAIL

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

Mr. BEAUPREZ. Mr. Speaker, I yield a portion of my time to my colleague from California (Mr. CUNNINGHAM).

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

Mr. Speaker, I would ask that there are two issues that weaken the Democrats' chance in the White House. One is victory in Iraq. The second is the economy. You will see them stand up here and demagog all day long. I would ask my colleagues on the other side, where were they during Haiti, a hell hole today? Where were they in Somalia and where they denied armor and

they depicted Black Hawk Down? Where were they in Iraq four times when President Clinton went in there, or the Sudan, Bosnia, Kosovo and 147 other deployments?

Mr. BEAUPREZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise to call attention of the Members of this House of what has been called the most significant conservation project of our time, the Continental Divide National Scenic Trail.

The idea of a 31,000-mile trail stretching across 5 western States from our northern border with Canada, southward to Mexico, came into being in 1978 through congressional designation. For many of the same reasons national parks are established, national scenic trails are created to conserve the nationally significant scenic, historic, natural and cultural qualities of critical areas.

In 1995, a group of dedicated citizens founded the Continental Divide Trail Alliance to coordinate and gain support for the completion and protection of this king of all trails. Within 2 years, the first border-to-border inventory of the trail conditions was completed. Alliances were forged with the U.S. Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management, the National Park Service and the equivalent State and local agencies to plan and schedule trail development projects.

To date, through efforts of the CDTA, over 300 miles of new trail was built and opened to the public. Over 1,200 miles of existing trail has been improved or rerouted and hundreds of acres of land acquired or donated for the trail's route.

Through enormous effort by the CDTA, the trail is on track for completion and dedication in 2008, the 20th anniversary of its congressional designation.

Mr. Speaker, the vision of our predecessors in this body to create the Continental Divide National Scenic Trail in 1978, combined with the dedication and passionate commitment of the CDTA represents the very best of public-private partnerships.

Through governmental enabling legislation and regulation combined with private sector financial support and considerable sweat equity, an enormously grand conservation initiative is within a stone's throw of completion. Strategies incorporated by the CDTA over the last 7 years include local constituent involvement in public lands decision-making process, private sector financial support for Federal government initiatives, volunteerism and youths corps and conservation stewardship all found in the USA Freedom Corps and the President's Health and Fitness Initiative.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that the record of this House of Representatives include this acknowledgment and compliments to the members of Continental Divide Trail Alliance. May they achieve their 2008 completion objective and may they have our collective gratitude for a job well done, knowing their efforts will

preserve a national treasure for generations to come.

HONORING BIRCH BAYH

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

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, a couple of years ago, I was having dinner with my good friend from New York (Mr. WEINER) and he posed the question, who was more influential in the country, Justices of the Supreme Court or United States Senators. I remarked that I have thought United States Senators, to his surprise, and probably to the surprise of some Members in this body.

But I say that because it was my Senator, my former Senator, Senator Birch Bayh, who did some astonishing and good things for the United States. One of the things that he did was push through Title IX, which afforded women and children all across this country the opportunity to compete as men compete in athletics and other curricular activities. I had a particular interest in Title IX myself, being the father of three daughters who were given the opportunity to play soccer, volleyball and other outside activities, the same as men.

□ 1430

Today, my good friend, the gentleman from Indiana (Ms. CARSON), introduced a bill to rename the Federal courthouse and government building in Indianapolis after the former Senator.

From his humble beginnings in Terre Haute to his 18 years of service in the United States Senate, Birch Bayh remains one of the most respected and beloved Hoosiers of all time.

He is the first person since the Founding Fathers to offer two amendments to the Constitution of the United States, amendments 25 and 26. His accomplishments are a point of pride for Indiana.

I mentioned title IX. His years since his Senate service have been marked by his championing of numerous social causes, including his advocacy for senior citizens, the handicapped, women, and minorities.

I am proud to support the dedication of a Federal building in Indianapolis in our State's capital. It is important and appropriate that this Congress honor the service and commitment Senator Bayh gave to Hoosier constituents and the institution of the United States Congress.

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

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