

OWENS) for his powerful, intellectual, and passionate discourse. It has helped this discussion immeasurably.

I am pleased to yield to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE), my colleague on the Committee on the Judiciary in the House of Representatives. From the time she entered the Congress, the gentlewoman from Houston, Texas, has worked at my side on numerous issues and causes, a dear friend of mine.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from Michigan, the distinguished gentleman, for having the wisdom to be on the floor of the House in the absence of the acceptance by the leadership of the charge that should be taken up; that is, to be debating the question of war.

I think it should be noted, though everyone is aware of the continuing leadership that the gentleman has given to a myriad of issues fairly, evenhandedly, and seeking justice, that the gentleman rose to the floor at the time that the clock ticked off or ticked out for the threat or the admonishment or the instruction, direction, or directive that was given to Saddam Hussein to leave Iraq and Baghdad in 48 hours; and, of course, the Nation knows that that ended tonight at 8 p.m.

It is appropriate that we are on the floor, because we are filling in the gap of really what the Congress should be doing at this moment; that is, a somber, decided, and deliberative debate on the constitutional question of whether or not this Congress will declare war against Iraq.

Through the course of our interaction, we have pressed the issue of not whether one is for or against this war, but whether or not this Congress has the sole responsibility to declare war.

Frankly, Mr. Speaker, and, frankly, with respect to this debate, I do not believe we should be silenced on this issue. I will tell the gentleman why; because even as America is hovering and preparing for the worst, the Constitution is being shredded. It is being ignored, and it is being taken lightly, because it is clear that the Founding Fathers wrote this document to respect the three branches of government, to recognize that we are strong as a democracy if those three branches are interrelated.

The Constitution does enunciate that the President, whoever that is, is the Commander in Chief and can deploy troops. Many will suggest that a resolution debated in October 2002, satisfied the question. It did not, because it gave more power to the President than has ever been given to any President in the United States, Democratic or Republican, meaning that actions might be able to be perpetrated without coming back to the United States Congress.

Clearly, it is well known that if the Congress does not use its power, it does not give up its power. So going back to the Constitution, whether or not it takes us 6 hours or 24 hours, it is clear

that this body could debate that question. It is not, as I said, a question of winning or losing, it is a question of the sanctity of process. A President cannot singly and should not singly take the Nation into war.

I would just use as an example, we are not a parliamentary form of government, but it is interesting that our strongest ally was quite willing to appear before the British Parliament just yesterday and engage in a very open debate on this question. Would it not appear that we could do the same?

Let me just say this, and I will yield to the distinguished gentleman. We have been characterized, those of us who have been persistent in our opposition, and frankly I believe we should remain here in these Chambers until someone recognizes the responsibilities for this Congress to debate this question. But those of us who have raised our voices have been categorized and pushed to the side.

I do not think the media understands democracy, because whenever they present the largeness of this issue, it is a singular drumbeat: We are on the way to war. I assume now after 8 p.m. they are announcing war. It is a shame on them. As they say, it is a mockery on all of our houses; because, frankly, the American people deserve better. They deserve to know the facts, and that there are lucid and intelligent perspectives on both sides of this question.

I am not asking the President to give up everything and to suggest that Saddam Hussein should be given flowers, but I am saying that war should be the last option. I believe there will be a third option. I am appreciative of the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS) joining me on filing legislation that again restates the proposition that the Congress has the authority to declare war, and we have filed that bill today.

But we have options, and we will be discussing this in the context of reaching out: One, convene an international tribunal, war crimes tribunal, with the United Nations Security Council and indict Saddam Hussein and his party leaders, and try him for war crimes; two, leave 50,000 troops on the border and bring home at least 200,000 of our young men and women; a vigorous, strong 50,000-person coalition, troops that are in a coalition, vigorously allowing the U.N. inspections to go forward; humanitarian aid now. Reinvigorate the Mideast peace process, fight the war against terrorism, and restore the coalition. These are key elements that could be done.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that we can do something more than stand in silence. Frightening, deadening silence is appalling for this body that had the likes of the great leaders that we have known that have gone on before us.

I thank the distinguished gentleman for his leadership on this issue. I am not sure if the distinguished gentleman wants to close, but I think that more action is warranted than this Congress

seems to have decided to do or the courage to do.

I would think more of all of us that we want to have a debate, whether we vote up or down on the question. I have no interest in suggesting that the victory be mine, but only that the process be real and that we do not give up the duty of this Congress to debate the question of war.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my colleague on the Committee on the Judiciary, the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE), for her critical analysis of what we can do other than what we are about to do: that this person, Saddam Hussein, should be tried for crimes against humanity in the Hague court, the international criminal court, as Milosevic was and others; and that we could repair even at this late hour from a course that we think is disastrous. I thank the gentlewoman for joining me tonight.

THE CENTRAL ISSUE OF IRAQ

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BONNER). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 2003, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. MCINNIS) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. MCINNIS. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleague this evening, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BRADY). He and I for some time have wanted to get together and have a discussion on the House floor with our colleagues and discuss the central issue of Iraq.

As Members know, this evening is a very important point in time in our history. Tonight at 8 o'clock the what I would consider generous offer for Saddam Hussein to take his regime and liberate the country of Iraq expired. I would expect that at any hour from here on forward that the United States and its willing coalition, and I will present to my colleagues that this willing coalition actually today exceeds, exceeds the size of the coalition of the first Persian Gulf War.

This is not the United States acting alone, in contrary to some of the previous speakers that we have heard up here. Contrary to what they are saying, this is not the United States taking on the world; this is the United States and a large part of the free world taking on the horrible regimes of people like Saddam Hussein.

Contrary to what some of the previous speakers said about standing silent, it is the United States of America, it is the United Kingdom, it is the Spanish, it is the Italians, it is the Turks, it is the Netherlands, it is the Polish, it is the Hungarians, it is the Netherlands. I could go on through 45 of those names. These people are not standing silent. They are willing to stand up to a horrible monster, and they are willing to make sure that that horrible monster does not stand down the people of his own country, nor stand down the people of the world. For that, the United States and all of its allies deserve a great deal of credit.

Last night when I addressed this House, I talked about what I felt was patriotic action by citizens of this country and unpatriotic action. It is my feeling that it is certainly within the rights of our Constitution, it is something that people have fought and died for, the freedom of speech. While I disagreed with the likes of people like Martin Sheen, and George Clooney, and the Dixie Chicks, and Cheryl Crow and some of the people like that, although I disagreed with the brash, unjustified, unstudied, uneducated statements that they made, in my opinion, I am exercising my freedom of speech, and I did not take away from them the right to express those feelings.

□ 2100

I do not take away, although I find very hard to swallow, I do not take away from the right of anybody that wants to march in a peace protest or have a sign of protest. I do, however, find it somewhat ironic and somewhat sad that many of these people, including some of my colleagues on this very House floor, spend more time bashing our President who I think has done a remarkable job in the leadership understand a tremendous challenge, spend more time bashing the leadership of the country which has given them all of their privileges than they spend bashing the monster, the man who has killed more Muslims than anyone in the history of the world. That is ironic.

But then again these people, I think there are people that truly believe in this protest. And I think that they are within their rights, and I do not think they are unpatriotic because they march out there. But where they cross the line, where that line is crossed is when our troops engage and it is upon that moment of engagement that every person in this country that protested this, the George Clooneys, the Hollywood superstars, the Sheryl Crows, the Dixie Chicks, ought to drop those signs and ought to be in complete and unanimous support of our troops. And if you are not willing to support the troops of the United States of America, and I will state this again 50 times as I stated this last night and I will say it again now and I will say it till the day I die, if you are not willing to stand for the troops of the American forces, for those young men and women throughout the world that are standing on behalf of the security of this country and our allies, then you are unpatriotic and you have crossed that line. And there is a line between patriotism and being unpatriotic, and that line will be crossed within the next few hours if people like Martin Sheen or Sheryl Crow or George Clooney decide in their own manner, I will not support the troops of the United States of America.

How interesting I see the Oscars, the Academy Awards that are coming up. And by the way for people like Julia Roberts, some of these people that have taken positions, let me tell you, I think they are outstanding actors but,

you know, you cannot be a master of all trades. And they certainly are not masters of foreign knowledge or foreign affairs. They ought to stick with acting. And I hear that some of these actors who are amongst the very privileged few of this country, take a look at Hollywood, these are amongst the very privileged few. They get money. They get limousines. They are welcomed at the Academy Awards with red carpet. They are treated. They are spoiled. Anything you want to take a look at. It is not to say they did not earn it. I am not saying they did not earn it. I am just saying they are a very privileged few; and, frankly, those privileges that are then bestowed upon them have been bestowed because they live in the greatest country in the history of the world.

Do you think in Iraq these people, George Clooney, could stand up and criticize the government? Do you think Martin Sheen, Martin Sheen would have been executed by Saddam Hussein a long time ago. Do you see any pictures in the Iraq paper of anybody protesting the policies of Saddam Hussein? Of course you do not.

How interesting that Saddam Hussein says he has free elections in Iraq and in the last election he did not have one "no" vote. Out of the millions of people in Iraq not one "no" vote. Now that ought to tell Martin Sheen something about a democracy. And those people that are going to stand up at the Academy Awards and think it is their God-given duty, not right, not right under the Constitution, but their God-given duty to stand up and not support the troops of the United States and criticize the country that has allowed them to have the privileges that very few in our society ever dream of having, and that is to go to the Academy Awards and get an award and they are going to criticize this country. I find that appalling. I find that so, so disappointing.

But on the other hand, there are a lot of people who do support the troops of the United States of America. I want to show you a commercial. It is titled "Freedom," and I think it is very appropriate. I think it is very appropriate for what I am talking about right now, and that is appreciation of the history of this country, appreciation that the United States of America has done more good for more countries than any other country in the history of the world. This country gives by far more aid dollars than any other country in the world. This country has given more lives of its servicemen and servicepeople than any other country in the world in defense of other countries.

This country is not a conquering country. When the rest of the world gets in trouble, they come to the United States of America. They come to Great Britain. They come to the British and the Spanish. This alliance that we have put together to go in and cut the head off the snake is a coal-

ition that has built respect, that has put the best example forward for the rest of the world. This country is a great country.

I had the privilege today of talking to some college students. What a great generation coming up. And I want to first have my colleague speak for a few moments, but after he speaks I want to go through some of the questions they asked me. They have got so much promise, and they were so proud of this country. And they were not necessarily prowar to be proud of this country. You do not have to be prowar.

I heard the preceding speaker up here talk about war. We should not have war. War is the last resort. Of course war is the last resort. Of course it is. But what recommendation do you have that is going to change things right now? You do not have it. You like to blah, blah, talk, talk, negotiate, negotiate, negotiate some of you people, but the fact is at some point in time somebody has got to have the courage to stand up and attack the cancer. You cannot play around with cancer. You cannot talk it to death. You need to get in. You need to diagnose it. You need to figure out what alternatives you have, but if the facts show up that you have no alternatives left, you better attack cancer. And it is the same thing with people like Saddam Hussein.

Imagine what this world would look like, just for a moment, even if you disagree with what I am saying this evening, tell me what this world would look like in 5 years if the United States stood down from Saddam Hussein. Tell me what the world would look like. Tell me what the world looks like today in Iraq. Tell me about the women in Iraq today. Tell me what privileges they have in that society. Compare it to the privileges given to the Hollywood celebrities at our Academy Awards, for example. Tell me about the health care in Iraq. Tell me about the criminal justice system where they put men through shredders, well, maybe women too. Tell me about the abuses in that. Tell me about the starvation in Iraq. There are a lot of comparisons we can make. And you can be very proud, very proud that we are all lucky enough by sake of birth, we are lucky enough to be citizens of the United States of America, but it comes with a price. We have got to be willing to stand up and defend this flag that stands behind us.

I want to refer over here to my poster to the right of what I said earlier. Freedom. Is it not funny, this is from the former Senator, U.S. Senator Fred Thompson. Freedom. "It is the soldier, not the campus organizer who has given us the freedom to demonstrate." Look at that line. It is the soldier, not the campus organizer who has given us the freedom to demonstrate. It is the soldier not the reporter, not the reporter, it is the soldier, not the reporter who has given us the freedom of press. It is the soldier, not the poet who has given us the freedom of

speech. It is the soldier, not the poet who has given us the freedom of speech. It is the soldier who serves under the flag who defends the protesters' right to burn the flag. It is the soldier who stands under the flag and defends the flag that gives those protesters that right to burn the flag. Is it not time now to demonstrate that we support our troops? Were it not for the brave, there would be no land of the free. Were it not for the brave, there would be no land of the free.

The Martin Sheens of this world, the George Clooneys, the Julia Robertses, the Dixie Chicks, the people that have come out, the Howard Deans of Vermont, people like that, it is time for you to put down those signs of protest. It is time for you to support the troops of the United States of America. And if you fail to support those troops, I mean now, I mean today, this time limit is gone. At any given moment this Nation will engage in a military conflict. And let me repeat it once before I yield to my good friend from the State of Texas. Failure to support the troops of the United States of America by a United States citizen is representative and by definition unpatriotic.

Now, you can call my office all you want. You can be as mad as you want at me; but the fact is I believe in my heart that patriotism is defined right here, allows the campus organizers because of the soldier to have the freedom to demonstrate. Allows the poet the right to freedom of speech. Allows the defenders of the protesters' rights. But once we cross this line, once we ask these 18-, 19-, 20-year-old young men and women to take a weapon and risk the loss of their life, and, mind you, these are voluntary forces over there. This is not the draft. These are voluntary forces, the best fighting force the world has ever known. Once we ask them to stand on our behalf and to put their lives in the line of fire, then, by God, in my opinion you are unpatriotic if you do not support those troops.

Now, I am very pleased this evening that I have a colleague of mine who wished to join me and we wanted to do this as a joint statement. So I am very happy to yield to the gentleman from the State of Texas (Mr. BRADY).

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the leadership of the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. MCINNIS) on this issue and many other issues. He is a colleague of mine on the House Committee on Ways and Means. He plays a crucial role on a number of issues from tax reform to preserving Social Security and Medicare to trying and open up new markets around the world. But it is his, I think, vision on national security and this war on terrorism that prompted me to be here tonight. I appreciate him allowing me to be part of this program on an evening that I think history will mark as a very important next step in the war on terrorism.

Recently, I had the privilege of attending two rallies for America back in

Texas, in my home region. The first one a couple of weeks ago was coordinated by KPRC radio in Houston. Two of the on-air commentators, Chris Baker and Pat Gray, put together a rally just on a week's notice, a mere week's notice, just basically invited the community to come together and support our troops and support this country. It was a remarkable rally. It was a cold and dreary day, not one that attracts a lot of people naturally; but yet in this plaza in downtown Houston there were between 8 and 10,000 Americans there to show their support for this President and support our troops or military men and women. And then last weekend in Woodland, Texas, where I live, not three blocks from where Cathy and I live with our two young boys, we had a rally for America as well. This one was organized by Dr. K.P. Reddy, who is an immigrant from India, a legal immigrant who came here with very little money in his pocket but a desire to live the American dream.

He organized this rally basically to remind America what a remarkable Nation we live in and what remarkable freedoms and blessings we possess. And both of these rallies were to me remarkable because they were just a grass roots outpouring of people who understand the importance of our security to our families and to our Nation.

I had a chance to talk to the groups at both of these rallies and here are the thoughts I shared with them: back home 1,200 miles from here in Washington, D.C., back home in College Station, Texas, is the George Bush Presidential Library Museum. Captured in these magnificent engraved letters high on the granite walls on the museum where each afternoon if you drive past, the beautiful Brazos Valley sun captures these words, and I think they are very appropriate to our time in our Nation. And the words say, "Let every generation understand the blessings and burdens of freedom. Let them say we stood where duty required us to stand."

As we stand today on the eve of liberating Iraq and striking another blow against international terrorism, thousands of our young men and women stand watch on foreign soil. Our soldiers are on patrol in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo and Macedonia. They are hunting al Qaeda terrorists in Afghanistan and the Philippines. They are on patrols in the skies of Iraq and on the seas throughout the world. They are unloading the equipment near Turkey and training in the deserts of Kuwait. These patriots and their families are suffering hardships and making great sacrifices at this Nation's behest.

□ 2115

There is a good chance in the next few hours that we will ask even more of them. Another generation of Americans is standing where duty requires them to stand, and we are standing with them. For all our faults, America

remains a good, good country. We did not deserve the attacks of September 11, nor the celebrations that followed in some parts of the world. And as happens in times of crisis, 9/11 brought out the best in America. We sensed a Nation turning back toward what is truly important, our faith, our families and our precious freedom. We saw it in the thousand flags flying, in overflowing hearts and in overflowing churches.

You may recall in his September 20 speech to the Nation, to the joint session of Congress, President Bush spoke for all of us then when he vowed that America would not rest until we had rooted out terrorism around the world. He said that countries harboring terrorists would be treated as terrorist nations themselves; that if you financed terrorists, if you trained terrorists, if you provided them safe harbor in your country, that you would be treated as a terrorist nation yourself. He cautioned wisely that the coming war would be a long one, to be measured in years rather than months.

As we have been reminded repeatedly by the recent al Qaeda attacks in Bali and Kenya, by the audiotape of bin Laden and his second in command predicting more terrorist attacks in America, as we have been reminded in the announcement that American intelligence have quietly thwarted more than 100 separate terrorist efforts, the question is not if America will be attacked again at home, but when and by whom. Instead of crashing airplanes into our downtown buildings, the terrorists of the future may well turn to dangerous chemical and biological weapons, suicide bombers, attempts to poison our air and water, disrupt our energy supply, our electronic commerce, and destroy our economy and the jobs that we and our neighbors rely upon. They will direct these weapons of terrible destruction toward America, because standing as the world's lone superpower also means standing as the world's biggest target. Despite what Hollywood and others are trying so desperately to sell to you, our homeland, our communities, our schools, our neighborhoods and millions of American lives remain at risk as we speak tonight.

We are going to fight this war on terrorism one way or another, either overseas at its source or here at home when it lands right on top of our neighborhoods. We choose overseas, at terrorism's source.

Personally I can tell you that casting a vote for war is the most difficult vote you ever cast. I have a younger brother Matt, who is a medic in the Army. He was deployed to Desert Storm a decade ago. Since then, he and his wife have added two young children to their family, Mattie and Caitland. He recently got word he is headed back to Turkey. Any time you cast a vote that will send your family to war, any time you cast a vote to send anyone's family, anyone's son or daughter, to a war they may not return from, you think hard

and you pray hard over it. Yet I know it was the right vote to cast, and Matt feels even more strongly than me.

I am certain because the first responsibility of our government is to defend American citizens. It is not the United Nations' responsibility, it is not France's nor Germany's. It is ours. The Afghanistan campaign was certainly the first step in the war on terrorism, but does anyone believe all terrorism begins and ends in Afghanistan? Does anyone believe there is only one terrorist, Osama bin Laden? Does anyone seriously believe Saddam Hussein has disarmed? Of course not.

By any measure, Saddam Hussein presents a grave threat to the safety, the security and the well-being of Americans here at home. Disarming Iraq and its support for state-sponsored terrorism is the next logical step to secure peace for our families and the world.

I served as a member of the House International Relations Committee for a number of years. Serving on that committee, it became clear to me that terrorism expands according to our willingness to tolerate it. Terrorism expands according to our willingness to accept it. For too long the world has turned a blind eye to terrorism. We have been afraid to confront it. Terrorism has grown strong because the actions of our world leaders never really matched their tough words.

That is over now. That all changed September 11. That all changed with President Bush as our Commander in Chief, and that all changed with a Nation that supports him. For the sake of our community and our security, we have to mean what we say. And for the sake of our children's future, we must follow through on our vow to end terrorism.

We know from experience that America's security at home depends upon our strength in the world. The value of our military to deter attacks and maintain peace depends in great measure on the value of our word. If the United Nations fails, and unfortunately they have as of tonight, although President Bush has bent over backwards to reach a diplomatic solution, the bottom line is you cannot give someone a backbone. They have to have one themselves. I think the exercise with the United Nations in which we tried so hard proves what global security experts have long suspected. Many nations in the world want terrorism to end, but few want the responsibility of actually doing it. If Saddam Hussein chooses to continue to arm himself and harbor terrorists, then America must act. Words alone are not enough. And when we send U.S. troops overseas, it must be to win and to return home as planned.

President George Washington said, there is nothing so likely to produce peace as to be well prepared to meet an enemy. We know the enemy. We know the difficulty. We know the duty, and we know the strength of America's

military men and women, and we will not undermine them here at home. Despite what some believe, as Americans our rush is not for war, it is for peace, a secure peace, so that back in Texas where I live and in communities across America, when our families leave home each morning, they return home safely to us that night. That is not too much to ask. As the United States has shown in every world war, we are fighting not just for our Nation, but for a world free of fear, free from the horrors that fill our television screens too often, free from the threat of weapons of mass destruction which grow and grow each day, free from all that terrorism spawns.

If you think war is expensive, try living in terror. How much would we pay, how much would we give to have prevented the attacks of 9/11? To those who protest the war, I respectfully ask, was September 11 not enough? Was not September 11 enough to convince you this is not a game? This is not politics as usual. This is not Vietnam. This is like no other war. This is the prospect of a holocaust on our shores, on America's shores, among our communities, killing our families, injuring our neighbors, destroying our way of life for generations to come. And all the made-for-media protests, all the petitions and the slick TV ads in the world will not stop the next terrorists from attacking innocent Americans here on our shores again.

By standing tall, by standing firm, I believe President Bush has demonstrated what we all know in our hearts. Leadership is never easy, nor is it always popular, which is why we are so grateful for the nations and the leaders who stand with us, more than 30 of them, the third largest coalition in a century, people who are willing to say to international terrorism, enough. Enough. I am convinced, looking back, if more had stood with us, if France and Germany had put world security ahead of their shortsighted political ambitions, that we may well have disarmed Iraq and exiled Saddam Hussein without a shot being fired. Sadly, we will never know.

In some ways, I do not really worry about those in the free world who question the war. I worry about those in the world of terrorism who question the resolve of the American people. As you may recall, within days after the attacks of September 11, many around the world predicted that America would not have the heart nor the attention span nor the fortitude to mean what we say. They will soon learn they are wrong. No one knows better than Americans that if a nation values anything more than freedom, it will lose its freedom. The irony of it is that if it is comfort or it is money that it values more, it will lose that, too.

I have great faith in the American people. We will stand with President Bush. We will stand with our American military. We will stand where duty requires us to stand.

On the issue of defending America and disarming Saddam Hussein, people often ask, why Iraq and why now? To that, let me yield back to my colleague from Colorado, who speaks so eloquently about the need to defend our America and to secure peace throughout the world.

Mr. MCINNIS. Mr. Speaker, I hope the gentleman can stay around here for a while. I think this is a very good discussion. I want to point out something. I was moved by his remarks. On Sunday, there is going to be a special event in this country. On Sunday, we are going to have some of the privileged few of this country attend a ceremony called the Academy Awards. Today throughout the news, I read about how different people that were going to attend or perhaps even receive an Oscar at the Academy Awards were preparing these antiwar, anti-U.S., anti-American troop statements to present.

I want the people that are watching me and my colleagues this evening, on this floor, I want you to keep in mind that on Sunday as these movie actors such as George Clooney or Sean Penn or Julia Roberts or some of these other people, Martin Sheen is probably at the very head of that, as they pull up to the Academy Awards in their white limousines and walk on their red carpet and toast amongst the finest wine in this country, as they are in there on that stage being televised across this country on the Academy Awards, I want you to know that young American men and women could very likely be dying in the battlefield, dying to defend a country, dying to liberate another country, standing up for everything that this Nation believes in, a Nation that with its allies is willing to stand up and meet the challenge, to meet the cancer as it comes.

I will be very, very disappointed, and I hope the rest of America joins me in their disappointment if on Sunday during the Academy Awards that these people, the sponsors of the Academy Awards, the Motion Picture Association, the industry as a whole, if they stand there and allow these very privileged individuals, very privileged few amongst our population, condemn this Nation, condemn this administration, and in essence condemn the forces of the United States while, in fact, we have young men and women dying on those battlefields, and that could commence almost immediately.

Thank goodness there are nations like the United States of America and the British and the Spanish and the Italians and a number of other countries that are willing to stand up when good should rule over evil. They are willing to stand up and take on evil even though it is at the risk of their own life, at the risk of the safety of their own Nation, and how unfortunate that some people in the background who are safe in the foxhole take it upon themselves to come up with theories about how wrong the people that got out of foxhole are.

Again let me go back to the ad that Fred Thompson is running on TV. Freedom. It's the soldier, not the campus organizer, who's given us the freedom to demonstrate. It's the soldier, not the poet, who has given us the freedom of speech. It's the soldier, not the reporter, who's given us the freedom of press. It's the soldier who serves under the flag who defends the protester's right to burn the flag. Isn't it time now to demonstrate that we support our troops? Were it not for the brave, there would be no land of the free.

Again, for those of you, and I hope that some of you have some correspondence with Hollywood, I hope when you have the Academy Awards and the Oscar things on Sunday, that you can keep in mind, is it not time now to demonstrate that we support our forces of the Americans and our forces of our allies?

□ 2130

The gentleman from Texas (Mr. BRADY) brought up some stuff about the willing coalition, the coalition of the willing. I have heard a lot of propaganda, a lot of propaganda, including the preceding speakers, not my colleague from Texas, but before we got our hour some of the preceding speakers talked about how the United States is doing it alone, how the United States as a super power is going forward and going after poor little old Saddam. Let me say that that is nothing but pure propaganda. The coalition that is willing to stand up to the vicious regime of Iraq and liberate the people of Iraq, that coalition is larger than the coalition we had in the first Persian Gulf war. We do not have 10 other countries joining us. We do not have 15 other countries joining us. We do not even have 20 other countries joining us. We do not have 25. We have 45 other nations, 45 other nations that are willing to stand up and stand up to this threat and put their national defense in line to stop this cancer.

Let me just give an example of a few of them. To my right take a look at this. I will just jump around. Afghanistan, Denmark, Hungary, Japan, Lithuania, Nicaragua, Rumania, Turkey, United Kingdom. The British, they have been tremendous. Tony Blair, a profile in courage. Slovakia, the Philippines, Macedonia, South Korea, Iceland, Ethiopia, El Salvador, Colombia, Albania, Australia, Italy, Georgia, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain. Take a look at these. And I saw an interesting article today by Andrew Sullivan. Let me read this. There are three categories, countries that explicitly support the United States' position; countries that support it but wanted a second resolution, that is the second category; and the third category are the countries that oppose the war against Saddam. In the first camp, we have the United Kingdom, Spain, Denmark, Italy, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera. In the first camp those who support the

United States and its willing coalition number 45 as of this hour, 45 as of this hour.

In the second camp, supportive, we have the Netherlands, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, and Slovakia. I put those five in a broadly positive column. That makes the total, if we add to the 45, somewhere pushing 50. Then we have the neutral countries, the neutral countries out there in Europe: Ireland, Austria, Finland, Serbia, Switzerland, and Norway. Australia, by the way, has dedicated troops to this. Australia has come strongly into the coalition of the willing.

Then we have the opponents. Let me stress the opponents that we have here, and let us count them on a finger. France, Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, Sweden, and Greece. By my count we have about six countries that are neutral, six countries that are opposed; and over 45 nations, over 45 nations, have joined with the United States one way or the other to cut the snake off this horrible regime that has in fact enslaved the people of Iraq.

And let me give some examples. Afghanistan, they have pledged their support for the U.S. efforts, may open air space to U.S. military flights, U.S. and all of the allies. Albania, little Albania, offered to send troops, approved the U.S. use of their air space and their bases. Australia sent 2,000 of their elite SAS troops. These SAS troops are amongst the best in the world, 2,000 of them. They have sent fighter jets and they have sent warships to the Gulf. That is Australia. Bahrain, the headquarters of the U.S. Fifth Fleet; Bulgaria offered the use of air space, base and refueling for U.S. war planes, sent 150 troops specializing in chemical and biological warfare decontamination. Croatia, air space and airports open to civilian transport planes from the coalition. The Czech Republic sent non-combat troops specializing in chemical warfare decontamination in response to the U.S. request.

This list goes on and on and on. There are a lot of people out there that realize what we are facing. They understand what the world will look like in 5 years from now if we do not do something about this.

My good friend from the State of Texas mentioned that he regretted the fact that the French and the Germans did not come on board early on in this game, that had they come on board and had they let Iraq know that they meant business, we probably would have been able to resolve this diplomatically. When should they have come on board? They should have come on board 11 years ago. They should have come on board at any time during those 17 separate resolutions.

The French adopted one policy. First of all, they let Iraq know that under no circumstances, no matter what they do, neither the French nor the Germans nor the Belgians will ever attack them with a war. So do not worry about leverage; do not worry about a

threat. In the meantime let us negotiate and negotiate and negotiate. It was the French that took the lead in crafting the resolution called 1441 4½ months ago. It was the French that persuaded the Germans and the Belgians for a unanimous vote with the rest of their colleagues at the United Nations, for a unanimous vote, no "no" votes on 1441, and it was the French that were the first ones to back out. It was the French that were the first ones to stand down on enforcement of 1441. Had they stuck to their guns, had Saddam Hussein known that the entire international community including the limited few that are now are not part of the coalition, the French, the Germans, and the Belgians, had they known that we were unified, they probably would have resolved this diplomatically. Saddam Hussein really would have disarmed, probably. What kind of message does it send to the rest of the world, to a North Korea or to other countries like Iran or Libya or countries like that when they know that all they have got to do is get a little disagreement going between longtime allies and get one of the sides of that disagreement to say right at the very beginning we will never under any conditions go to war? What kind of leverage does that give to them?

I had a very interesting discussion today with the students, and they asked a number of questions, and I think they should be addressed. I want to just very quickly, briefly talk about them before I turn the floor over to my colleague again. First of all, we had a little discussion on the Hollywood type. I have talked about enough on Hollywood, although I would note that over the weekend the Dixie Chicks who made that very derogatory political cheap shot at our President, who I think has done a tremendous job with Condoleezza Rice, with Colin Powell, with DICK CHENEY, with Don Rumsfeld; but the Dixie Chicks brought it upon themselves on foreign territory to announce that they are disgraced that the President is from the State of Texas.

Let me say what America feels about that. Sales dropped so dramatically after their comment. They had the number one song in the country. It dropped off. Do the Members know what the number two song is after I think a week or 3 days of being out on the charts? A song entitled "Have You Forgotten." As my good friend from the State of Texas's comments were throughout his speech, have you forgotten September 11? Have you forgotten what this country stands for? Have you forgotten what these soldiers have done, the soldiers that have allowed the reporters the freedom of the press, the soldiers that have allowed the poets the freedom of speech, the soldiers that have allowed the protestors in this country the right to protest, protests where they would be immediately executed if they tried to pull that off in Iraq?

And I say to these people, have they forgotten what America is about? Have they forgotten about the greatness of this country, that this country has gone to war more often than any other country for other nations? How many thousands and thousands and thousands of Americans lay in their graves on foreign soils having fought for those other countries? The United States is not a cocky country. The United States does not try to bully people around, but the United States is willing to stand up when it counts. Have we forgotten?

And I venture to say this evening that the majority of Americans have not forgotten, that the majority of Americans understand that the good and the might of this country will in the end prevail for all good and that good will prevail over evil, and I venture to say that most Americans will not take with a grain of salt these movie Hollywood actors on Sunday when they appear at the Academy Awards condemning the United States, condemning the administration, condemning the very privileges that made them the privileged few. I venture to say that the American citizens are eminently proud of those soldiers and sailors and Marines and Coast Guard and the people in this country that are supporting logistically those troops.

The students asked me, What about the human shields? Should we avoid the human shields? My position is this: if the human shields took direction from Saddam Hussein of where to go to provide themselves as human shields, they have crossed that line from being noncombatants to combatants, and, frankly, they are a fair target.

Let me talk very briefly about the question that came up, What if we make the terrorists mad? If we attack Iraq and disarm Saddam Hussein and liberate that country, won't we make other countries mad at us, other terrorists? I said, as a comparison, imagine if we said to the police officers of this country, Before you make an arrest, make sure that you do not make the family of the defendant, the person you are arresting, make sure their families are not mad about the fact that you are arresting them.

What about the preemptive strike? they asked. Do we have a right that this Nation preemptively strike? On September 11 things changed dramatically. First of all, when it comes to terrorism, we can no longer defend this country from terrorism. We cannot put a police officer in every theater. We cannot put a police officer in every restaurant. We cannot guard everything. We have got to reach out and strike at the terrorists that are out there. We have got to go after them. We cannot wait for them to come after us. We cannot play a defensive game. We have to be offensive in our nature when we talk about terrorism. We have to be willing to stand up and take a preemptive strike when we have somebody like Saddam Hussein, who, by the way, took

the first preemptive strike when he invaded Iran, took another preemptive strike when he invaded Kuwait, took a preemptive strike when he gassed 60,000 of his own people. His own people, he gassed them, mustard gas, ricin, nerve gas, and I have got a chart of examples. We do not have time this evening, but I have a chart of examples of time after time that he used these weapons of mass destruction against the Iranians, against his own people.

So of course we have the right to go out there, and I said, As a comparison, think of your local police officers. We do not say to our police officers they do not have the right of a preemptive strike. In fact we specifically give them the right to preemptively strike. If they roll up at a bank and there is somebody with a gun or there is somebody anywhere, a domestic dispute, and there is somebody with a gun, we do not ask the police officer to be shot at first before he can under certain conditions. Fire first.

This country has met the highest of standards, and along with its allies do my colleagues think we can put together a coalition of 45 different nations in this world, opposed by only six? That is what we have right now. The governments of six people that have officially cited their opposition. Do my colleagues think we can put that together if we did not meet some pretty high standards, and if the snake and if the regime we are going after was not worthy of these people, sometimes not politically correct in their countries? Take a look at Tony Blair, still having enough guts to stand up and put a stop to the regime of Saddam Hussein.

Let me move on and kind of wrap up because I want to have my colleague, who made what I thought was a very accurate statement, conclude. But I want to just say a couple of things. I really was excited to talk to these students today, and I told these students, our newspapers just by the nature of the business they are in, they print the bad stuff. Young people, my son and daughters are now grown, but they are in their early 20s, and it is very easy for them to be discouraged about what does the future of this country look like, what is my future, the opportunities, myself and my colleagues we have for our family, we have for jobs, for opportunities? We read the papers. It is pretty easy to be discouraged.

But I say to them if they take a look at their generation, first of all, their generation has more opportunities than any other generation in the history of the world and certainly in the history of our country. Their generation is brighter than any generation in the history of this country, and I say to these young people, what is going wrong in our society? What is going right would go through the ceiling of this dome. In other words, what is going right way exceeds what is going wrong. And because of the military strength of this country, because of the

strength of the character of the people of this country, because of the dedication and the willingness to sacrifice for freedom, for democracy, for freedom of speech, for the freedoms that we have enjoyed and many, many times taken for granted, because this Nation has met those standards, that is why we are the finest country in the history of the world.

□ 2145

It is not because we have the biggest military machine, but it is because we have that machine that we avoid many fights. It is because people cannot wait to get into this country. I say to people, I say, what other country in the world has immigration problems like this country? You know what? In the United States, you do not see people falling over each other or swimming the Rio Grande to get out of this country. You see people coming into this country any way they can, because of the American dream, because of the American standards of democracy, because of the character of the American people. And at this very hour we are being tested.

We have a regime that believes in murder. We have the worst murderer of Muslim people in the history of the world, who dares the United States to take him on, who dares the United States to tell him he cannot have weapons of mass destruction.

Well, he has called the bluff on the wrong coalition of the willing. Not only has the United States accepted his challenge, in fact the United Nations did not accept the challenge, but the United States did accept the challenge, the British accepted the challenge, the Spanish accepted the challenge, the Italians accepted the challenge. Forty-five countries accepted the challenge to stand up for the character of freedom and democracy and to stand against the terrible regime of a dictatorship which has stolen from the people of Iraq the basic bill of rights, the basic freedoms they ought to be guaranteed.

I am so proud, and I will conclude with this, I am so, so proud of our forces out there, that voluntarily have entered there; the families, by the way, not just the men and women in the field, but those wonderful wives and husbands who are home managing families, without their spouse, worried about whether their spouse will survive. I am proud of all of you.

We are Americans. We will always be Americans, and America will always stand proud. I would like to yield to my friend from Texas. I thought his comments were most appropriate.

If the gentleman might yield for one moment, I have just been advised that the President of the United States will address the country at 10:15 this evening. I would urge, I am asking everybody, the gentleman from Texas will wrap these comments up in 5 or 10 minutes, I ask that you immediately

after the conclusion of these comments, go to your national TV network at 10:15. The President, the leader of our country will address this Nation. This speech is historical. It is imminently important. It is imminently important for all of us to watch that.

I am sorry to interrupt the gentleman.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. I appreciate your leadership, and I think you have really concluded on the right note at the right time.

We are facing history in a war that is so unique. It is unlike any other. I think what some people do not understand is that the international community has ranked those nations around the world who are the champions of state-sponsored terrorism, and have for many years. Of those countries, Iraq has topped that list for many, many years. Their ability and willingness to allow training of terrorists to occur, to allow financing of terrorists to occur, to allow safe haven and transit and medical treatment to those terrorists around the world all place them in a unique situation.

I will tell you that this past weekend we remembered the victims of Saddam Hussein's terrible chemical weapons attack on the people of Halabja, a city in northern Iraq, and other village attacks in the Al-Anfal campaign.

On March 6, 1988, 15 years ago, the Iraqi Air Force dropped a devastating mix of mustard and nerve gas on citizens in this city. Five thousand of Hussein's own people were killed immediately at his hand, several thousand died later, and an estimated 10,000 people were maimed and still are suffering the effects of this attack. If you wonder if this gentleman is capable of launching an attack, if not today, in the future as he grows stronger, all we need to do is look at his attack on his own people.

With this, I will conclude. I understand that the President's spokesman, Ari Fleischer, has just announced the disarmament of Iraq has begun. The President will address the Nation at 10:15.

I believe we are at this moment in time reflecting on, in the words on the wall of the George Bush Presidential Library in College Station, "Let every generation understand the blessings and burdens of freedom. Let them say we stood where duty required us to stand."

Tonight, under the President's leadership, yet again we will stand where duty requires us to stand.

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BONNER). Pursuant to clause 12(a) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

Accordingly (at 9 o'clock and 50 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

□ 2237

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. DREIER) at 10 o'clock and 37 minutes p.m.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H. CON. RES. 95, CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR 2004

Mr. HASTINGS of Washington, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 108-44) on the resolution (H. Res. 151) providing for consideration of the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 95) establishing the congressional budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 2004 and setting forth appropriate budgetary levels for fiscal years 2003 and 2005 through 2013, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION WAIVING REQUIREMENT OF CLAUSE 6(a) OF RULE XIII WITH RESPECT TO CONSIDERATION OF CERTAIN RESOLUTIONS

Mr. HASTINGS of Washington, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 108-45) on the resolution (H. Res. 152) waiving a requirement of clause 6(a) of rule XIII with respect to consideration of certain resolutions reported from the Committee on Rules, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. HYDE (at the request of Mr. DELAY) for today on account of medical reasons.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legis-

lative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

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

Mr. DEFAZIO, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. FILNER, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. WOOLSEY, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. KAPTUR, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. TIERNEY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. LYNCH, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. NORTON, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. HONDA, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. KUCINICH, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. LEE, for 5 minutes, today.

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

Mr. DUNCAN, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. FOLEY, for 5 minutes, today.

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

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. KINGSTON, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. RUPPERSBERGER, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. HOLT, for 5 minutes, today.

SENATE BILL REFERRED

A bill of the Senate of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 628. An Act to require the construction at Arlington National Cemetery of a memorial to the crew of the *Columbia* Orbiter; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs; and in addition to the Committee on Science for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. HASTINGS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 10 o'clock and 38 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until Thursday, March 20, 2003, at 10 a.m.

EXPENDITURE REPORTS CONCERNING OFFICIAL FOREIGN TRAVEL

Reports concerning the foreign currencies and U.S. dollars utilized for speaker-authorized official travel during the fourth quarter of 2002, pursuant to Public Law 95-384 are as follows: