grandchildren, that we are resolutely determined not to allow Iraq, under this leader, to have biological and chemical weapons, and we support the President in taking steps to defend the United States and that our prayers and our support in the strongest way will be with our young men and women in the Middle East if they should have to undertake missions in order to save the world from chemical and biological weapons.

CALLING FOR THE RESOLUTION SUPPORTING THE PRESIDENT ON IRAQI POLICY

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

Mr. GEPHARDT. I thank the Speaker. I thank the Speaker for his statement. And I certainly agree that the President's policy should be supported by the Congress of the United States and the people of the United States to bring an end to this activity by Saddam Hussein.

Seven years ago, Congress authorized the President to use military force to repel the aggression of Saddam Hussein against Kuwait. Seven years ago, U.S. forces, with the full support of the American people, freed the people of Kuwait from Iraqi domination. Seven years ago, the international community began an inspection and monitoring regime to assure that Saddam Hussein could no longer pose a threat to the Gulf region and the world community.

Despite these efforts, Saddam Hussein has defied the clear requirements set forth by the United Nations. His repeated refusal to allow full inspection and compliance by the United Nations inspectors have prevented the readmittance of Iraq into the community of peaceful nations. Both the Iraqi people and the entire Gulf region remain imperiled by Saddam Hussein's deadly policies.

Over the past several months, the Iraqi government has increased its defiance of the world community. At the same time, it continues to pursue unabated development of weapons of mass destruction and concealment of those efforts. After months of discussions with the Iraqi government by both international organizations and individual governments, diplomatic efforts to resolve this matter appear to have had little, if any, impact on the regime's behavior. It is therefore reasonable to consider the use of military force to ensure that Iraq can no longer threaten its neighbors or United States interests in the region.

If we cannot assure this through diplomatic means, we must be prepared to ensure this by the other means at our disposal, including the use of military force. As this administration contemplates the use of military force, I believe that it is necessary for the American people, through their Representatives in Congress, to speak on this serious matter. The President should have the support of the Congress and the public when sending our servicemen and women into harm's way.

I am very concerned that we have not acted on a resolution of support already. Two weeks ago, on the eve of the President's State of the Union address, Speaker GINGRICH and Majority Leader LOTT both pledged their support of the President's policy, as the Speaker so eloquently said again today. Two weeks later, we are still not having action in the Congress on a resolution.

I urged the Speaker yesterday to bring before the House prior to the President's Day recess a resolution supporting all necessary and appropriate actions to respond to the threat posed by Iraq's weapons of mass destruction program.

It is now clear that because of time we will not have such a resolution before the recess. I, therefore, respectfully call on the Republican leadership to bring up bipartisan legislation for consideration by the House as soon as possible after the recess. It is our responsibility and duty to ensure that Members have an opportunity to express support for our men and women in uniform prior to military action in the Persian Gulf.

One hundred and eighty years ago, Thomas Jefferson said, and I quote, that ''in a free government, there should be differences of opinion as to public measures and the conduct of those who direct them is to be expected. It is much, however,'' he said, ''to be lamented that these differences should be indulged at a crisis which calls for the undivided councils and energies of our country and in a form calculated to encourage our enemies.''

I urge this House to take up this resolution as soon as we come back. I believe it is the right thing to do for our country, for our people and, most importantly, for the young men and women which we may have in harm's way in the days ahead.

URGING CAUTION ON ACTION TAKEN IN IRAQ

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

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, obviously, I am not in the leadership; I do not speak for the leadership. But I do hope that I speak for a lot of people in America and other Members of Congress who may feel differently. I equally condemn the horrors going on in the country of Iraq. I have no desire at all to defend Hussein. I rise, though, to just urge some caution on what we do.

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I have a problem with the procedure, which we are pursuing, that we are condoning, encouraging and literally paying for a program which permits the President to go and bomb another nation. There was a time in our history when bombing another country, when that country had not attacked us, was an act of war. But today we do this rather casually.

Morally, the only justifiable war is a war of defense, a war when our national security is threatened. A legal war in this country is one that is declared by the Congress acting for the people.

We have not declared a war. If we had a declared war even once since World War II, possibly we would have fought for victory. Instead, we get involved too carelessly and we do not fight to victory, and maybe that is why we are standing here today debating the consequence of the Persian Gulf war because we really did not achieve victory and the war continues.

It is argued that the legislation passed in 1990 gives legitimacy for the President to pursue this adventure, but this really contradicts everything intended by the founders of this country that we could literally pass legislation which was not a declaration of war and to allow it to exist in perpetuity. And here it is 7 or 8 years later, and we are going to use legislation passed by Congress. Very few of us were even in that Congress at that time that are in the current Congress, but they want to use that.

Also a contradiction to our established form of government is the fact that that legislation was passed more or less to rubber-stamp a U.N. resolution. So I think those are terms that are not justifiable under our system of law, and I call my colleagues' attention to this because this is very serious.

I do not care more about military than those who would bomb; they have just as much concern as I have. But I am concerned about the rule of law, and obviously, I am concerned about consequences that are unforeseen, and there could be many.

I am worried that we do not have allied support, and everybody recognizes that now. There are very few neighbors of Saddam Hussein who are very anxious for us to do this. So that should cause some reservation.

Also the military strategy here is questionable. It is actually what are we going to try to achieve? Are we going to try to literally destroy all the weapons, or are we going to try to destroy him? Are we just going to bomb people where maybe innocent people will be killed? The long-term military strategy has not been spelled out, and I have a concern for that.

Also we are not doing real well on the P.R. front because just today on the Reuters wire line there was a report that came out of a television program in Britain, which is rather frightening. Although I have criticized our policy of the 1980s, because during the 1980s we were obviously allies of Saddam Hussein, but the reports on British

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

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

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

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

ACHIEVING OUR GOAL IN IRAQ

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

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

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

So, first and foremost, let us recognize there is a special relationship with the people of Kuwait that for the rest of our lives we will have, because if that war is reversed, America will lose its ability to determine events around the world, and Americans, when we lose this power as the leading power of the world, we will pay a dear price.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

POWERS WHICH BELONG TO CONGRESS

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

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

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

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

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

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