

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 Rep-

resentatives 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