

other reasonable alternative. I saw George Stephanopoulos on television a few days ago and he said that even in World War II, we had some people who were opposed to World War II. But I can tell you the day after Pearl Harbor, the Senate voted 82-0 and the House voted 388-1 to go to war against Japan. But Japan had attacked us at that time. It was a totally different situation from the one we face in Iraq. You can say any bad thing that you want to about Saddam Hussein and I would agree with you. But I can also tell you that he was greatly weakened by the first Gulf War, he has been weakened even more by the sanctions since then. I heard one commentator say that even the Italian army could beat Saddam Hussein at this time. The threat is not there. For us to spend all these hundreds of millions of dollars deploying all our troops over there in the Middle East is a tremendous waste of money. It is not something that should be done. We should try to be friends with all nations in the world that will let us be friends. But that does not mean we need to keep sending billions and billions of dollars overseas. Much of this money and many of these interventions are creating great resentment toward us.

I read recently that in regard to the International Monetary Fund that many of these countries, they feel like we are behind the International Monetary Fund interventions in Southeast Asia, and they are requiring some of these countries and peoples to do things that they do not want to do and really all they are doing is bailing out big banks and big multinational companies, and it is creating great resentment toward us.

I will stop with just two other points. One is that Tony Snow said in a column a few days ago in regard to the situation in Iraq, we are about to achieve the worst of all possible worlds. We are about to alienate our European allies and our Arab allies and achieve nothing of military significance.

President Kennedy in 1961 said: We must face the fact that the U.S. is neither omnipotent nor omniscient, that we are only 6 percent of the world's population, that we cannot impose our will upon the other 94 percent, that we cannot right every wrong or reverse each adversity, and that therefore there cannot be an American solution to every world problem.

That was President Kennedy in 1961. The only change is that now we are slightly less than 5 percent of the population of the world instead of the 6 percent that we were then. I think President Kennedy was exactly right. There cannot be an American solution to every world problem. Let us be friends with every country, but let us not try and impose our will and create great resentment toward this country. Let us have a foreign policy, a trade policy, an economic policy that puts this country and its taxpayers and its workers first,

even if that is not politically correct or fashionable to say at any particular given time in history.

Mr. PAUL. I would like to ask the gentleman one question. He was just home in his district, he traveled and talked to quite a few of his constituents. Did he get a sentiment from his district on what they want?

Mr. DUNCAN. I spoke many places in my district. I represent east Tennessee, which is a very conservative, patriotic, pro-military district. I have said before that I think a strong national defense is one of the most legitimate functions of our national government. But we should not try to turn the Department of Defense into the department of offense and do things like that. When I spoke, and I told the people of my district what I had said on the floor just a few days before, that we should not rush into war, I told them some of the things that I had said on the floor that I have said here today, I got nothing but applause, nothing but support. All of my calls and letters that I have gotten have been totally against us attacking what Tom Aspell, the CNN correspondent, said now is a defenseless country.

I am not trying to get any sympathy for Saddam Hussein. I will say once again, you can say bad things against him. He is a megalomaniac. But the truth is even if we put every single person in this country in a military uniform, we could not 100 percent guarantee that there would not be some kook do something with a chemical or biological weapon of some sort. But we need to be a little more thoughtful in the way we handle some of these situations in the future and I think not be so eager to show that we are a macho nation and be so eager to go around and attack other countries. I do not think that is what the American people want us to do. I thank the gentleman for yielding to me.

Mr. PAUL. I thank the gentleman for his remarks. He made some very good points. I would like to follow up on the one point with regards to the military. That is one of the most essential functions of the Federal Government, is to provide for a strong national defense. But if we intervene carelessly around the world, that serves to weaken us.

I have always lamented the fact that we so often are anxious to close down our bases here within the United States because we are always looking for the next monster to slay outside of the country, so we build air bases in places like Saudi Arabia. Then when the time comes that our leaders think that it is necessary to pursue a war policy in the region, they do not even allow us to use the bases. I think that is so often money down the drain. It is estimated now that we have probably pumped in \$7 billion into Bosnia and that is continuing. Our President is saying now that that is open-ended, there is no date to bring those troops back. We have already spent probably a half a billion additional dollars these

last several weeks just beefing up the troops in the Persian Gulf.

The funds will not be endless. I have too many calls from so many in my district who serve in the military, and their complaint is that they do not have enough funds to adequately train. We are wasting money in the wrong places, getting ourselves into more trouble than we need to. At the same time we detract from spending the money where we should in training our personnel the way they should be. I think this is not so much a tactical decision made by management as much as it is a policy decision on what our foreign policy ought to be.

□ 1700

If we continue to believe that we can police the whole world and provide security and right every wrong, I think it will lead us to our bankruptcy, and just as was mentioned earlier, we receive the same kind of grief when we pretend that we can impose economic conditions on other countries.

We, as a wealthy Nation, are expected to bail out other countries who have overextended themselves and they get into trouble. At the same time, we put economic rules and regulations on them and resentments are turned back toward us. The Arabs in the Middle East do not understand our foreign policy because there have been numerous U.N. resolutions, but it is only this one particular resolution that we have felt so compelled to enforce.

And the real irony of all this is that first we use the United Nations as the excuse to go in. Then, the United Nations gets a little weak on their mandates, and they themselves do not want to go in. So it is a U.N. resolution that we try to enforce, and then when it is shown that it is not a good resolution, the U.N. then backs away from it. So there is no unanimous opinion in the U.N., I think further proving that this is a poor way to do foreign policy.

And those who would like to do more bombing and pursue this even more aggressively tend to agree with that. They do not like the idea that we have turned over our foreign policy making to an international body like the United Nations.

So this, to me, is a really good time to make us stop and think should we do this? I certainly think that our foreign policy in the interests of the United States should be determined by us here in the Congress, and then some will argue, well, it is not up to Congress to deal in foreign policy. That is up to a President. But that is not what is in the Constitution.

As a matter of fact, foreign policy, those words do not even exist in the Constitution, and the Congress has all the responsibility of raising funds, spending funds, raising an army, declaring war, so the responsibilities are on us.

And this is the reason why I have introduced a resolution that would say that we do have the authority to withdraw the funds from pursuing this

bombing, and there is another resolution that the gentleman from Maryland will mention here shortly dealing with that same subject, because we do have the responsibility, and we, especially in the House, are closest to the people.

We have to be up for reelection every 2 years, and if we listen to the polls that say that 70 percent of the American people want this war, at the same time if we fail to go home and talk to our people and find out that most Americans do not want this war and there is no good argument for it.

The whole idea that we can immediately go over there and make sure there are no weapons of mass destruction when we helped build the weapons up in the first place, and if we are really concerned about weapons of mass destruction, why are we not more concerned about the 25,000 nuclear warheads that have fallen into unknown hands since the breakup of the Soviet Union? Our allies in the Middle East have nuclear weapons, and we have China to worry about. What did we do with China? We give them more foreign aid.

So there is no consistent argument that we can put up that all of a sudden Saddam Hussein is the only threat to world peace and it is in our interest to go in there and take him out. It just does not add up. If he really was a threat, you would think his neighbors would be the most frightened about this, and yet the neighbors are urging us not to do it. They are urging us to take our time, back off and wait and see what happens.

We, in the United States, so often are involved in conflicts around the world, and one of the things that we urge so many to do is sit down and talk to each other. We ask the Catholics and the Protestants in Ireland to talk, we ask the Croats and the Serbs to talk, we ask the Jews and the Arabs to talk; why is it that we cannot do more talking with Saddam Hussein? Instead, we impose sanctions on him which does nothing to him, solidifies his support, rallies the Islamic fundamentalists while we kill babies. There is now a U.N. report that shows that since the sanctions, well over a half a million children died from starvation and lack of medicines that we denied them.

So I think that there is every reason in the world for us to reassess this policy. There is a much more sensible policy. What we need is more time right now. There is no urgency about this. We did the bombing in the early 1990s, and by the way, I can see this as a continuation of that single war. But since that time with inspections, even the President claims that they have gotten rid of more weapons since the war ended than occurred with the war.

So if there is no military victory in sight by bombing and only great danger, what is the purpose? Why can we not continue with more negotiations and more inspections? And they say, well, we cannot trust Hussein. Well,

that may be true. But looking at it objectively when we finished in 1991 our policy was to encourage the Kurds and the Shiites to rebel, and we implied that we would be there, and what happened? We were not there. Thousands and thousands of Shiites and Kurds were just wiped out because we misled them, similar to our promises that we made to the Cubans in the early 1960s.

So we do not gain the respect of the world by, one, saying, well, we cannot trust anything he says. Of course not, we cannot trust it. But we have to be realistic, and can they trust us, as well, because our record is not perfectly clean.

I now yield to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. BARTLETT).

Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I am sorry I could not join the discussion before this, but I have just come from a Members-only briefing on Iraq, where we are now in the Iraq situation.

I would like to start my discussion by referring to something that Congressman PAUL has just referred to, and that is there really is not just one, but two constitutional issues involved here. The first of those constitutional issues is Article 1, section 8 of the Constitution, and it is a little document, a very important one; I carry it in my pocket.

Article 1, section 8 says that one of the responsibilities of the Congress is to declare war. There is no hint of that in the responsibilities of the President, who is Commander in Chief, who commands the troops after they are committed by the Congress.

Yeltsin said that if we bomb, that could start World War III. By our President's own admission we were going to take casualties. I think it is very difficult to argue that this bombing would not have been the equivalent of what our Forefathers were talking about when they mentioned declaration of war.

And that is not the only part of the Constitution that would have been violated by this. Article 1, section 9 says that no moneys shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law. There has been no appropriation for this activity over in Iraq, so I think that clearly two parts of the Constitution are involved here, the part that says that the President, as you know, we do not elect in our democratic republic, we do not elect an emperor. We elect a President, and the President is bound by the Constitution. And the Constitution says that the Congress declares war; that he is the Commander in Chief after war has been declared.

The Constitution also says that moneys cannot be taken from the Treasury except by appropriations. We have made no appropriation for this. So he clearly needs to come to the Congress.

I have a resolution that Congressman PAUL was on and a great many others, and by the way, this has wide support across the aisle. We have Members

from the most conservative to the most liberal on this. It is a very simple resolution. All it says is that, Mr. President, if you want to bomb Iraq, you have got to come to the Congress first.

We do not mention this resolution, the constitutional issues because one may debate those, but one cannot debate the common sense position that the President, if he is going to do this, has got to have the support of the American people.

The way to get the support of the American people is to have the Congress debate it. I would hope that debate would be long enough that the American people would have a chance to weigh in on that debate because we cannot do this kind of thing without involving the American people.

Let me just mention the two objectives of these strikes. The first was to destroy the weapons of mass destruction. This has to be the most telegraphed military strike in the history of mankind. If those weapons of mass destruction were where we thought they were when we said we were going to bomb him, you can bet that they are not there now, and we would have no way of knowing when you see some barrels moved on an ox cart or in the back of a truck whether they were barrels of molasses or chicken feed or anthrax. Our satellites are very good, but they cannot see inside the barrel.

The other objective was to diminish significantly his capability to produce weapons. If you have a brewery, you can produce biological weapons. That is why we call them the poor man's atomic bomb because they are so easy to make.

So we were not going to accomplish either one of those objectives. Let me tell you what we would have accomplished. We would have galvanized the Islamic world against us. We sit on 2 percent of the known reserves of oil. We use 25 percent of the world's energy. The Islamic world, the Middle East, controls 70 percent of the world's oil, and I cannot understand how it is in our vital national interest to alienate that part of the world, which controls 70 percent of the world's oil.

Let me tell you something else it would have done. I can see it now. Peter Arnett is holding up on CNN the shredded body of a baby. It would have been an absolute P.R. disaster, killing innocent civilians over there, and they are innocent. This is a tyrannical regime that does not represent, I think, the Iraqi people. But, you know, what are we going to accomplish by killing these innocent citizens? And we call that collateral damage, and there was an admission trying to steel us so that we could endure those TV pictures that were going to come. We were told we are going to have significant collateral damage.

□ 1715

As a matter of fact, they were all pleased that there had been a level of