

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.

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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