

they had had access to real weapons of mass destruction, they would have used them to kill as many of our fellow citizens as possible.

Saddam Hussein has a track record of developing such weapons and of using them not only against his enemies but against his own people. So he certainly would have no qualms about using them against us.

Just 2 weeks ago, our committee received testimony from two of our Nation's leading experts on biological weapons. These experts, Dr. Richard Spertzel and Dr. Ken Alibek, agreed that there was most likely state involvement in the anthrax attacks that our Nation has experienced, and that the most likely state to have been involved was Iraq. So we are confronting a very serious threat, something that is literally a matter of life and death. This resolution expresses our very strong desire to see something done about it.

This resolution does not seek to give the President legal authority to use force against Iraq. There is a debate about whether he already has such authority, and I happen to believe he does; but this resolution does not speak to that question. All it says is that Iraq is violating its obligations under international law and that this violation presents a mounting threat to our Nation, to our allies, and to international peace and security. These statements are demonstrably true, and the truly dangerous course would be to remain silent in the face of these facts.

For these reasons, I urge my colleagues to support the resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I first want to pay tribute to our colleague, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. GRAHAM), for introducing this resolution; and I want to thank the distinguished chairman of the Committee on International Relations, my friend, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), for his invaluable work in refining the resolution and in bringing it so promptly to the floor.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly support H.J. Res. 75, and I urge all of my colleagues to do so. Our Nation faces a critical terrorist threat that goes well beyond that posed by the Taliban and al Qaeda. The threat is from Saddam Hussein's Iraq, a nation that is both a supporter and a generator of international terrorism and a proliferator of weapons of mass destruction.

Increasingly, Mr. Speaker, the media is full of speculation as to whether Iraq is the next U.S. target in the war against terrorism. The resolution before us today speaks to that issue. Iraq has had more than a decade to comply with United Nations resolutions requiring it to end its weapons of mass destruction programs. Rather than comply, it has made a fool of the international community.

A vote for this resolution, Mr. Speaker, tells Saddam Hussein this: you

must comply with the terms of your surrender, once and for all, and soon, or you will face the consequences.

In the past half century, no government has so consistently and flagrantly flouted the will of the international community as has Saddam Hussein's Iraq. No national leader has so regularly demonstrated that he is a threat to the lives of his citizens and his neighbors.

Without provocation, Saddam Hussein attacked Iran in 1980, swallowed up all of Kuwait in 1990, the first time, Mr. Speaker, since Hitler that one nation tried to wipe another off the map. He rained missiles on Saudi Arabia and Israel in 1991. He is the only current national leader to have employed weapons of mass destruction, using chemical weapons to attack Iran during the Iran-Iraq war and to murder some 5,000 Kurdish citizens of Iraq itself.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 687, the cease-fire resolution that ended the Gulf War in 1991, required Saddam Hussein to transfer his weapons of mass destruction and all related capabilities to the United Nations Special Commission on Iraq, widely known as UNSCOM, and to the International Atomic Energy Agency for purposes of destruction. This was to have been done by the middle of 1991, Mr. Speaker. Now, more than a decade later, Saddam Hussein continues to defy contemptuously the requirements of the international community. During the past 10 years, Saddam first obstructed and lied to the inspectors, then he effectively expelled them, and now he will not let them return.

Of course, Saddam Hussein has ignored virtually every United Nations Security Council demand, including those dealing with missing Kuwaitis taken prisoner by Iraq and property looted from Kuwait during Iraq's brutal 1990-1991 occupation. Meanwhile, the state-controlled Iraqi media continued to threaten Kuwait with another invasion.

Saddam Hussein's resort to terror is legendary, including an attempted assassination of our former President, George Bush. Most recently, we have been reminded of his terrorist activities by the capture of a 15-man Iraqi-trained terrorist cell in the West Bank. In view of Saddam Hussein's total disregard of the value of human life and of his demonstrated willingness to use weapons of mass destruction and terrorism to achieve his aims, nobody in Iraq, the Middle East, or the West, including the United States, is safe from his evil designs.

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The world, Mr. Speaker, can no longer live with a Saddam Hussein who is developing weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear weapons. An Iraqi defector who spent 20 years working on Saddam's nuclear program put it well. Khidhir Hamza wrote in the December 10 Wall Street Journal,

"Saddam's express goal is to continue building up his chemical and biological stockpiles and to ultimately wield a nuclear weapon. Each day we wait we allow him to go further toward that goal."

Mr. Speaker, September 11 has demonstrated that we must take resolute action to prevent disasters before they occur. If our preferred recourse for now is to assure that UN's weapons inspectors return to Iraq, let this much be clear: The only acceptable inspection regime is one that assures, in the words of the UN Security Council resolution 707, "immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access" to all weapons of mass destruction facilities and documents.

I repeat, Mr. Speaker. Saddam Hussein must provide immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to all facilities where weapons of mass destruction may be hidden or produced and to all documents relating to these programs. An inspection regime that enhances Saddam's legitimacy, while allowing him secretly to continue his weapons of mass destruction programs, is totally unacceptable.

The resolution before us today says, in effect, that Saddam Hussein has one last chance to do what he was obligated to do over a decade ago. I believe, Mr. Speaker, Saddam Hussein poses an imminent danger to our Nation, to our friends and to our allies, and there is little time to lose before we will have no choice but to take much stronger measures. I urge all of my colleagues to join me in supporting H.J. Res. 75.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Mr. PAUL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, first I would like to start off by thanking the chairman for having made some changes in this bill. The bill is not nearly as bad as it was at the beginning. However, I obviously cannot support it. But changing the tone was helpful in talking about Saddam Hussein versus Iraq, "Iraq" suggesting the people of Iraq, who are hardly enemies of the American people. Saddam Hussein is a different subject. Also changing the word "aggression" to "a mounting threat." Aggression means that we have to immediately retaliate, I would suppose. Even "a mounting threat" is a bit threatening to me, but at least it is better and moving in the direction of less confrontation with a nation 6,000 miles from our shore that I hardly see as a threat to our national security.

One of the reasons why I take an approach on foreign policy where we are less involved overseas is mainly because I feel that the number one obligation for us in Congress and for the people of this country is to preserve liberty and defend it from outside threats. The authors of this resolution, I am sure, have the same goals, but,

over the years, I think those goals have been undermined. We as a Nation are now probably weaker rather than stronger and we are more threatened because of what we do overseas.

For instance, just this week, we had Stinger Missiles fired at our airplanes. Fortunately, they did not hit our airplanes. But we paid for those Stinger Missiles. And this week there was an attack in India by allies, supposedly, in Pakistan, who are receiving billions of dollars from us at the current time. This vacillation, shifting, on and off, friends one time, enemies the next time, this perpetual war seems to me not to be in the best interests of the United States.

Take, for instance, one of the whereases in this resolution. "Whereas the Iraq attacked the Islamic Republic of Iran." We keep hearing this all the time. It was horrible. But they were our allies at the time. We were financing them, giving them money, helping them with technology.

So I see this as a perfect example of us always flip-flopping. Not only do we frequently have those weapons that we sell and give to support a so-called friend turn against us, we so often have the opponents in the wars around the world fighting each other with our weapons.

My idea of national defense is minding our own business, being strong, and making sure our borders are secure. After 9/11, we had to go to Germany and ask them for help for AWACS airplanes to patrol our shores. I understand our ports are not necessarily secure, and yet we have Coast Guard cutters down in Colombia and in the Mediterranean Sea. I think if we learn anything it is that we ought to work harder to protect our country and not make us so vulnerable, yet we continue along this way.

We criticize the possibility or suggest the possibility of what might be happening in Iraq, and, out of frustration, this amendment came up because there has been no evidence that Iraq is connected. Not that Saddam Hussein can be construed as any type of a good guy, but there has been no connection, so there had to be some new reason given to go into Iraq.

I tend to agree with the gentleman from Illinois (Chairman HYDE) that if there was evidence, we probably have, under the authority we have given the President, to go in to Iraq. But that is not what we are talking about. We are talking about the perpetuation, the continuation of the Persian Gulf War, which at the time was designed as a fight for our oil. I think that is what this is all about.

It's been suggested that the anthrax came from Iraq. The mounting evidence today, sadly, suggests that it may well be coming from our CIA. Here we are almost ready to go to war against Iraq at the suggestion that our carelessness and our development of anthrax here in this country may have been a contributing factor to this anthrax being spread in this country.

It is suggested that it will be easy to overtake Iraq because we have had this tremendous success in Afghanistan, and we will have this uprising and the Kurds will be a reliable ally in this uprising. The plain truth is, the Kurds will not be the salvation of our securing Iraq. As a matter of fact, most of our allies, the Turks, although they may be bought and allow us to use their bases, they are very nervous about this plan to invade Iraq.

The whole idea that Iraq is the one that we have to be addressing, when you look at the problems throughout the world, when you look at what is happening in Saudi Arabia, Saudi Arabia has not cooperated, and yet we have troops on their soil antagonizing the people over there, and at the same time, people are saying that all we have to do is invade Iraq, get rid of Saddam Hussein, and everything is going to be okay.

Another "whereas," mentioning UN Resolution 678 it was declared that under Resolution 687, we have authority to go back in today. That is not true. As a matter of fact, 687 gave us the authority to get Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait. That does not mean that we can perpetuate war forever under that resolution.

As a matter of fact, if you want to go into Iraq and follow the rules and you are pretending you are following the rules, you ought to do a couple of things. If you believe in the United Nations, you have to go back to the United Nations, if you believe in the rule of law. Also you have to answer the question, why does this resolution need to be enforced versus other resolutions that have never been enforced? Why is it assumed that the United States has to enforce UN resolutions? When did it come to the point where the UN dictates foreign policy to us?

So, there are a lot of questions to answer about this desire to immediately go into Iraq. I think it actually poses a threat to our security, more than it helps us. So I am suggesting that we go more cautiously.

I am glad this resolution has been toned down a little bit, but it does represent those individuals who think that we should be at war with Iraq today, and I disagree with that.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL), the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) and I each be given an additional 5 minutes, as we have other colleagues who wish to speak on this.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HASTINGS of Washington). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

(Mr. GILMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in whole-hearted support this joint resolution highlighting Saddam Hussein's refusal to allow weapons inspections and the threat that this refusal poses to international peace and security.

I want to thank the gentleman from Illinois (Chairman HYDE) and the ranking minority member, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), for bringing this measure to the floor at this time. I particularly want to thank the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. GRAHAM) for his sponsorship of this very important measure.

There have been no substantive UN inspections in Iraq for more than 3 years, and there are numerous reports of Iraqi attempts to reconstitute its weapons of mass destruction. Having openly admitted to having produced anthrax and other biological agents, Iraq could transfer that capability to terrorist organizations it harbors, including the notorious Abu Nidal Organization and the Abu Abbas group. We must not risk Iraqi biological agents falling into the hands of such barbarians.

Iraq's weapons and biological programs must be stopped once and for all. Some in our Nation and in the Arab world contend, why go after Saddam now? He has been relatively quiet recently. That faulty rationale reminds us that following the bin Laden bombings of our two embassies in Africa, we heard similar arguments, that these threats are far away and that bin Laden cannot succeed if he were to attack the United States. That threat was minimized by the prior administration, regrettably resulting in the September 11 barbaric attacks on our Nation.

We must not repeat those risks when it comes to Saddam Hussein. He already invaded Kuwait, used chemical weapons against the Kurds and Iranians, fired ballistic missiles at our troops, at the Saudis and the Israelis. It is questionable if Saddam would be deterred by any U.S. military power. It is a risk we must not take.

Hopefully, this resolution is an important first step in our renewed campaign against Saddam Hussein. Not only does he need to be stripped of his weapons of mass destruction, but he should be ousted from power. He has shown no regard for international law nor for the Iraqi people, who, along with his neighbors, would welcome and be gratified to be rid of him. He has turned what should have been a rich, progressive nation into a bellicose, bully and pariah, working with an indigenous opposition.

We gave the Afghan people a brighter future. Working with the Iraqi opposition, we should give the Iraqi people no less. Accordingly, I urge my colleagues to fully support this important resolution.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to yield 2 minutes to my friend,