we had when the Croatians, the Serbians and the Bosnians were fighting what some called a civil war, and we did not at that time get ourselves involved in that matter.

Some might say that we were wrong and we were too late and we should have acted earlier. What we should have done, I think most of us would agree, is to permit the arming of the Bosnians so they could defend themselves from the Croatians and primarily the Serbians.

Now we do not have that situation where there is a democratic opposition to Saddam that is knowable. He is a brutal murderer, he would kill all opponents, he kills his generals on a regular basis. And we know what he did to the Shiites, and that was partly our fault when we did not reverse a stupid order which permitted him to use helicopters, and we know he killed the Kurds in northern Iraq.

So we do have people in Iraq that have suffered under his brutal regime.

But more of us should be involved in this decision than just a few. And that is the way the Constitution is written, and we ought to follow the Constitution.

I yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRABACHER).

Mr. ROHRABACHER. We, of course, worked together in opposing the American military commitment in Bosnia. But you do believe that America cannot just stand aside and let Saddam Hussein develop stockpiles of weapons, and we need to act in some way because it might then precipitate some type of military action that he might take on Kuwait.

Mr. HORN. Let me just say, for my own answer, I think that our problem here is that we have given too many Presidents powers that belong to Congress.

### □ 1730

I was on the floor as a young Senate assistant when the Tonkin Gulf Resolution came in. Only two United States Senators had the guts to stand up and oppose it, Mr. Gruening of Alaska, and I believe Mr. Morse of Oregon, and now we know that they were right. The Tonkin Gulf Resolution was a lot of baloney. This situation is not baloney.

The gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRABACHER) correctly notes that it is a very serious situation, and we need to deal with these things, either on a collective security basis with the United Nations forces, but we should not be the sole police force that has to remedy all problems in the world. That is what bothers me. If we are going to do it, let the members of the executive branch come up here, discuss this serious matter with a lot of us, and see where we are on the subject.

Now, President Bush did that in terms of the Gulf War. There was a debate, probably one of the better debates conducted in the House in the last twenty years, and then a vote was cast.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HORN. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. I would like to make two points. The other gentleman from California makes a good point about the character of Saddam Hussein, but my colleagues have to remember and have to realize that he was a close ally that we encouraged for 8 years during the 1980s, so we helped build him up, which contradicts this whole policy. I would like to see a more consistent policy.

Then the gentleman brings up the subject: Yes, he may be in the business of developing weapons, but he has gotten help from China and Russia, and possibly from Britain and the United States, and 20 other nations are doing the same thing. So if we are interested in stopping these weapons, we better attack 20 countries. So we have a job on our hands.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HÖRN. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, first of all, I do not know where the gentleman got his information that Saddam Hussein was an ally; a close ally, the gentleman says, of the United States. I am sorry that I was in the White House at the time. Saddam Hussein was never a close ally. He was not an enemy, but to label him a close ally is not only misreading history, it is naivete beyond anything.

We supplied some support for the Iraqis and sometimes we gave support for the Iranians during that war because during that time there was a strategy of keeping that war going in order to prevent those two powers from themselves individually dominating the region. Having them attack each other was a good strategy at that time, but far from being an Iraqi ally.

Saddam Hussein is obviously someone that right now, after we have already gone through this, our futures are linked. If Saddam Hussein ends up negating the results of the last war, who will then listen to us anywhere in the world? I pose that question to both of my colleagues. If he is able to have a lightning strike against Kuwait or stockpile these nuclear weapons, who will believe the United States again after we have made this commitment?

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HORN. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, the question is not so much, let us say, that we could concede some of the gentleman's argument, but why do you have such hostility to the Constitution and to the process as what we are talking about? Why do we not have a declaration of war and win it? Why should we go with a U.N. resolution and legislation that is 8 years old? That is one of our greatest concerns.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, I am certainly not here to oppose any particular plan of legislation; I am here specifically to make sure that people understand that this is a serious issue and that it cannot be negated simply by a misreading of history that Saddam was our friend back in the 1980s or some other type of wishful thinking about the nature of the strategic politics in the world that we have to play.

Mr. HORN. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, I would just say to the gentleman from California (Mr. Rohrabacher), I am certainly not saying that Saddam was our friend, but I think our administration was naive in its support of Iraq against Iran, and that is what concerns me. The balance of power system, while academics can write about it, and the British did that for 500 years, is frankly not the way in modern times that we should conduct ourselves.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin (at the request Mr. GEPHARDT) for today, Thursday, February 12, 1998, on account of illness in the family.

Mr. RIGGS (at the request of Mr. ARMEY) for today, Thursday, February 12, 1998, on account of viewing flooded disaster areas in California.

## SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Skelton) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Ms. SANCHEZ for 5 minutes today.

Mr. VISCLOSKY for 5 minutes today.

Mr. FILNER for 5 minutes today. Mr. BENTSEN for 5 minutes today.

Ms. Jackson-Lee of Texas for 5 min-

utes today.
Mrs. CLAYTON for 5 minutes today.

Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD for 6 minutes today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Shimkus) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. TIAHRT for 5 minutes today. Mr. FAWELL for 5 minutes today.

Mr. METCALF for 5 minutes today.

(The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. PAPPAS, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. GINGRICH for 5 minutes today.

(The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. GEPHARDT for 5 minutes today.

(The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. PAUL for 5 minutes today.

The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:

Mr. ROHRABACHER for 5 minutes today.

The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:

Mr. HORN, for 5 minutes, today.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. FAWELL) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. CLYBURN.

Mr. SHIMKUS.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Skelton) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mrs. Lowey.

Mr. LEVIN.

Mr. KIND.

Mr. Gonzalez.

Mr. Hamilton.

Mr. McGovern.

Mr. Lampson.

Mr. MILLER of California.

Mr. ROTHMAN.

Mr. Baesler.

Mr. Lantos.

Mr. YATES.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. Shimkus) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. PORTMAN.

Mr. FAWELL.

Mr. THOMAS.

Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina.

Ms. Ros-Lehtinen.

Mrs. Myrick.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania.

Mr. CHAMBLISS.

Mr. KLUG.

Mr. McKeon.

Mr. SHAW.

Mr. Hastert.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. SAXTON.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. PAUL) and to include ex-

traneous matter:)
Mr. SOLOMON.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado.

Mr. MANZULLO.

Mr. McHale.

Mr. GOODLING.

Mr. LEWIS of California.

Mr. STOKES.

Mr. McIntosh.

Mr. Costello.

Mr. Torres.

# ADJOURNMENT TO TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1998

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PITTS). Pursuant to the provisions of House Concurrent Resolution 201, 105th Congress, the House stands adjourned until 12:30 p.m. on Tuesday, February 24, 1998.

Thereupon (at 5 o'clock and 35 minutes p.m.), pursuant to House Concurrent Resolution 201, the House adjourned until Tuesday, February 24, 1998, at 12:30 p.m. for morning hour debates.

## EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

7237. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Dimethomorph; Pesticide Tolerances for Emergency Exemptions [OPP-300609; FRL-5767-8] (RIN: 2070-AB78) received February 10, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

7238. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Air Bag On-Off Switches [Docket No. NHTSA-97-3111] (RIN: 2127-AG61) received January 8, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

7239. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Parts and Accessories Necessary for Safe Operation; Glazing in Specified Openings [FHWA Docket No. MC-97-5; FHWA-97-2364] (RIN: 2125-AD40) received January 8, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A): to the Committee on Commerce

7240. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmiting the Agency's final rule—Approval and Promulgation of Air Quality Implementation Plans; Connecticut; Reasonably Available Control Technology for Volatile Organic Compounds at Siskorsky Aircraft Corporation in Stratford [CT7-1-5298a; A-1-FRL-5949-6] received February 11, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

7241. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmiting the Agency's final rule—Dried Fermentation Solids and Solubles of Myrothecium Verrucaria; Exemption from the Requirement of a Tolerance on All Food Crops and Ornamentals [PP 4F4398/R2209A; FRL-5570-1] (RIN: 2070-AB78) received February 10, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

7242. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmiting the Agency's final rule—Technical Amendments to National Emission Standards for Hazardous Air Pollutant Emissions: Group IV Polymers and Resins; Correction of Effective Date Under Congressional Review Act [FRL-5963-8] received February 10, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

7243. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Technical Amendments to Clean Air Act Reclassification; Arizona-Phoenix Nonattainment Area; Ozone; Correction of Effective Date [FRL-

5963-9] received February 10, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

7244. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Technical Amendments to Approval and Promulgation of State Implementation Plans for Louisiana: Motor Vehicle Inspection and Maintenance Program; Correction of Effective Date [FRL-5964-1] received February 10, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

7245. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmiting the Agency's final rule—Clean Air Act Reclassification; Arizona-Phoenix Nonattainment Area; Ozone [AZ-001-BU; FRL-5917-4] received February 10, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

7246. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—National Emissions Standards for Hazardous Air Pollutant Emissions: Group IV Polymers and Resins [AD-FRL-5508-6] (RIN: 2060-AE37) received February 10, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

7247. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmiting the Agency's final rule—Approval and Promulgation of State Implementation Plans for Louisiana: Motor Vehicle Inspection and Maintenance Program [LA-33-1-7357; FRL-5924-6] received February 10, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

7248. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Technical Amendments to Dried Fermentation Solids and Solubles of Myrothecium Verrucarria; Exemption from the Requirement of a Tolerance on All Food Crops and Ornamentals; Correction of Effective Date [FRL-5965-3] received February 10, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

7249. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Control of Air Pollution from Motor Vehicles and New Motor Vehicle Engines; Modification of Federal On-Board Diagnostic Regulations for Light-Duty Vehicles and Light-Duty Trucks; Extension of Deficiency Policy [FRL-5966-6] received February 10, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

7250. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Control of Air Pollution; Removal and Modification of Obsolete, Superfluous or Burdensome Rules [FRL-5966-4] received February 10, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

7251. A letter from the Acting Director, Defense Security Assistance Agency, transmitting the Department of the Air Force's proposed lease of defense articles to Pakistan (Transmittal No. 01–98), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2796a(a); to the Committee on International Relations.

7252. A letter from the Acting Director, Defense Security Assistance Agency, transmitting notification concerning the Department of the Army's Proposed Letter(s) of Offer and Acceptance (LOA) to Italy for defense articles and services (Transmittal No. 98–22), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(b); to the Committee on International Relations.