

great metaphor for what I am saying. We looked down. Here was the port of entry with a line of cars maybe a mile deep into Mexico waiting to come into the United States, everybody being checked, but, of course, Nogales is in a desert area, very flat area, and we were flying in a helicopter, and so we looked at that, and it was ironic to say the least that not more than a mile on either side of that port of entry where everybody was being stopped, you could watch people walking across, sometimes simply driving off of a road in Mexico and into the United States through our national park down there, Organ Pipe Cactus National Park.

□ 2130

It looks like a racetrack. It is not a national park any more; it is a combination of a dump and a racetrack, where everywhere you look tracks have come through. People have simply driven over into the deserts, driven into the United States. You can fly over and see all these tracks looking like spiderwebs every place.

They have ruined the environment. They have destroyed much of the environment to the point that I cannot believe the Sierra Club does not go down there and really go ballistic. But of course they will not, because this is a politically incorrect thing for them to do, to complain about the degradation of the environment being done by illegal immigration.

And so we watched as people came into the country, of course completely undetected, except for the fact we happened to be flying over and watching it. But certainly we do not know who they are and, for the most part, of course, they are coming for the benign reason of a job. Absolutely true. But how do I know all of them come for that purpose?

And I guaranty you all of them do not come for that purpose, because of course we could also see the remnants of the drug trafficking, which is enormous. We picked up sacks all over the landscape where people had carried them in because they were coming in illegally and they were being used as what they call mules to bring the stuff in on their backs. And by the way, this is observable certainly on the southern border, but it is absolutely as rampant on the northern border, especially the drug traffic. So it is not just a southern border problem. It is a huge problem for America.

We do not know who is coming. We know that there are cartels in South and Central America that have now specialized in the importation of people, not drugs any more. They have changed their marketing tactics, their sales or whatever, because they are now importing people because it is more lucrative. It is \$1,500 to \$2,000 for a poor Mexican peasant to come into the United States paying a coyote; it is up to \$55,000 for someone coming from the Middle East or Asia. It is a very lucrative endeavor.

And what do they have invested in it? Hardly anything. It is not like they need to pay the grower to take care of the plants and all that kind of investment there is in drugs. You do not have that in people. And if they lose a load, there is plenty more where they came from, so it is no big deal.

So now there is a cartel in what is called the tri-border area. This is in southwestern Brazil, the corner of Brazil, Paraguay, Argentina. The tri-border area is a very lawless area, and it is the site of an enormous amount of smuggling activities and that sort of thing, but it is also the site of this Mexican mafia cartel that no longer deals in drugs specifically, it deals now primarily in people, and it wants to concentrate on Middle Easterners coming in because they pay the most, \$55,000.

So Middle Easterners will come into South and Central America, coming into what is called the tri-border region, be acclimated there in Brazil for a little bit, and then they are moved into Mexico and then into the United States. Some of them may be for jobs. Maybe they are all coming to do jobs Americans just will not do. I hear that all the time, of course. That is the only reason why we have illegal immigration; it is because we have so many jobs Americans will not do.

So therefore we have to bring in Saudis and Pakistanis and Iranians and Chinese? Well, no, Mr. Speaker, there are other reasons people are coming here, and some of them are nefarious. Some of the reasons are very, very scary. But our borders are porous, and they can come across at their will. And we are shirking the most basic responsibility we have in this body.

It may be bizarre to say such a thing here, but our primary responsibility in this House is not to educate America's children, it is not to provide welfare benefits to America's disenfranchised and poor, it is not to provide highways, and it is not to provide recreational services. Those things are not any of the identified responsibilities of this body in the Constitution of this country, which is supposed to be our guiding light.

Every Member takes an oath. We stand here at the beginning of the session, and we do not take an oath to the President. And we do not take an oath to our party. We take an oath to the Constitution. And when you look at the Constitution, what does it say about educating children or any of the other things? At least you are going to have to sort of interpret. But what does it say about our responsibility to defend America? What is the Federal Government's role here? Clear, unambiguous, it is our primary role. It is the one thing we are supposed to do: defend the Nation.

And, therefore, I say to you, Mr. Speaker, we shirk our primary responsibility here when we refuse to defend our own borders because of the politics of cheap labor. And that is the reason

we do not defend our borders. That is it. As ugly and as uncomfortable as that is to deal with, here, 2 years after the most devastating attack on our shores we have ever experienced, we still do not defend our own borders and enforce them because of that fear, the fear that we would stop cheap labor. It is politics. It is unacceptable. It is disgusting, in many ways.

So, yes, I am here tonight, as I am on the floor many nights, and I am speaking on this, which I have spoken on hundreds of occasions. And I will continue to do so because I believe with all my heart that this issue warrants our attention, our concern, and at least, Mr. Speaker, a debate.

MAKING IN ORDER ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 2003, CONSIDERATION OF H.J. RES. 69, CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS, FISCAL YEAR 2004

Mr. TANCREDO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it be in order at any time on September 25, 2003, without intervention of any point of order, to consider in the House the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 69) making continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 2004, and for other purposes; that the joint resolution be considered as read for amendment; that the joint resolution be debatable for 1 hour equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking member of the Committee on Appropriations; and that the previous question be considered as ordered on the joint resolution to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CARTER). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado? There was no objection.

MAKING IN ORDER AT ANY TIME CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 3161, RATIFYING AUTHORITY OF FTC TO ESTABLISH A DO-NOT-CALL REGISTRY

Mr. FEENEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it shall be in order at any time without intervention of any point of order to consider in the House H.R. 3161; that the bill shall be considered as read for amendment; that the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill to final passage without intervening motion, except: number one, 1 hour of debate on the bill equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Energy and Commerce; and, number two, one motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

IRAQ/MILITARY/RESERVES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 2003, the gentlewoman from

Ohio (Ms. KAPTUR) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, on March 19, 2003, the United States invaded Iraq against the broadest international opposition I had ever seen. President Bush remarked the coalition invaded; yet of the troops in combat theater, 94 percent were Americans.

Then on May 1 of this year, George W. Bush, as Commander in Chief, flew onto the deck of the USS *Abraham Lincoln*, after circling 30 minutes outside the San Diego shipyards as the ship approached shore, dressed in a flight suit, to announce that major hostilities were over. The battle of Iraq, he said, is one victory on a war on terror that began on September 11, 2001, and still goes on.

That is what the President said. But now 5 months later, more U.S. citizens have died in theater than before the President declared victory. Our National Guard and Reserve forces are experiencing their longest deployments in U.S. history, with the Department of Defense extending their orders every day, and indeed today announcing more call-ups.

As of September 9, 2003, according to Department of Defense officials, approximately 148,000 U.S. forces are in Iraq in support of combat operations. There are also 21,700 non-U.S. coalition forces from 29 countries in Iraq. There are 172,362 Guard and Reserve soldiers on active duty during Operation Iraqi Freedom, the majority of those serving in the Army, 108,000.

America's Guard and Reserve forces are being sent to Iraq for record-breaking deployments. It is obvious that the war in Iraq is not proceeding as we were originally led to believe and longer troop deployments in theater have been necessary. But that is still no reason to turn our National Guard and Military Reserve into something they were never intended to be, active duty forces. Unfortunately, this is what is happening.

At the beginning of September, the Department of Defense extended the tours of duty for Guard and Reservists to 1 year. Because of the dynamic situation in theater, one Army official said, asking he not be identified by name, "We had to take a look at our overseas forces to make sure we were maximizing their deployment opportunity."

What possible dynamic situation could he be referring to? Could it be the fact that since President Bush announced that hostilities in Iraq were over that in fact 164 U.S. soldiers have been killed compared to the 138 who lost their lives before May 1? Over 1,240 have been injured.

In our foolhardy rush to war, this administration clearly missed the mark. By relying on faulty intelligence, an utterly ill-conceived notion of Iraqi resistance and the total lack of an exit strategy, our brave servicemen and women are being placed in harm's way to face a new guerilla-style warfare.

Active duty forces have been focused in Iraq, which the President says is the front in the battle on terrorism; yet most people know that 15 of the 19 September 11 hijackers did not come from Iraq; they came from Saudi Arabia.

The Taliban is now regrouping in Pakistan and in Afghanistan, and Afghanistan is a teetering tinderbox. More U.S. troops are being called to Afghanistan. Madrassas across the Islamic world turn out hate-mongering acolytes daily. And the Israeli-Palestinian killing fields have never been so bloody. So what state of mind would compel a President to say it is over, and why would he define the front as Iraq?

My primary concern this evening are those who are dying, in our Armed Forces and the innocent bystanders in the Middle East and central Asia. On "Meet the Press," before the war, Vice President CHENEY told Tim Russert, "I really do believe the war, that we will be greeted as liberators. There is no question that they want to get rid of Saddam Hussein and they will welcome as liberators the United States when we come to do that."

It is inconceivable that the administration could commit our brave men and women to battle with such a flawed perception of Iraqi sentiment. The fact is our troops are being shot at instead of welcomed with open arms. And when they are not being shot at, they are being price-gouged by profiteers because the administration has not adequately provided for our troops, ranging from telephone service to goods and supplies to even Internet access.

□ 2145

Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents tells me that troops are having to ask family members to send them cash in one-dollar-bill increments, so they can pay to call their families back home by going to Iraqi establishments to make phone calls stateside. It costs them \$1 a minute, our troops, the people who are putting their lives on the line. To me, that is totally unacceptable.

And if they cannot afford \$1 a minute, they are being told you can pay \$3 an hour to use e-mail. The problem is the lines are so long, they cannot wait to do it. The administration has asked Congress for \$87 billion more to fund nation-building in Iraq. Let me ask where has the \$79 billion that was voted on last year gone? We cannot get reports back to the Congress line item by line item on where that money has been expended.

Why can our troops not make free phone calls without having to pay \$1 a minute to an Iraqi citizen. Dozens of tales like this tell me that military morale will become lower in Iraq. Yes, our men and women are gutting it out, and we are proud of them, but it did not have to be this way. Here are quotes from soldiers deployed and their families. A letter I received on June 24 from a soldier stationed in Iraq, "If

morale was any lower, this soldier, my mother's son, would have taken his own life a week ago. There ain't nothing you can do but read the sorrow through my pen. I hope between us something can be done to alleviate some stupid mistakes the Army has unraveled on us."

Another letter from a soldier reads, "Mom, things here have just hit a new low. Go ahead, have a seat. Here is a small list of things going on here. Our deployment papers were cancelled before we left, but they still sent us. Nobody knew our unit was overseas until our tent burned down in Kuwait. We have enough bulletproof plates for half of our battery, front and back during the day. They give us one day's supply of water, and expect it to last 3 days. We receive mail once a week, Wednesdays, plus they lost two bags of mail. If morale was any lower, your son would not be writing you any more. What is happening?"

Another letter from a mother of a servicewoman writes, "We bravely watched as our soldiers left, not knowing what the future held. And surprisingly enough, we could not believe one of the first requirements from us would be to send such a basic item as toilet paper. Whenever I pack my care packages, I would use rolls of toilet paper to fill out the box. For anyone who says there is toilet paper in a soldier's MRE, don't be fooled. There are six squares, four inches by four inches. If you save all day, you will have 18 squares to handle your problem. Oh, and by the way, pray you do not get diarrhea. We sent our son mosquito netting, calcium and snacks. Today, we continue with our packages and ignore the cost of shipping. An average package costs around \$15 to send. Two a week, 4 weeks a month averages about \$120 a month. Oh, by the way, that does not include the cost of what goes into the package.

"Many families took considerable pay cuts when their soldier left, and today almost 7 months to the day, there are still families that are not getting the full benefits their soldier is entitled to. As families struggle to juggle all of their responsibilities at home, our soldiers are forced to struggle without many of the basics needed to survive. They are in heat averaging around 120 degrees with full gear on. Every day they face the risk of being shot. What is an issue and seems to be the most puzzling thing to me is their treatment by regular Army. In most cases, they are considered second-class citizens because they are Guard. As families, we go through the Guard ranks to inquire about help with this problem. We are told that the National Guard cannot help us because our soldiers are regular Army now. Well, if they are regular Army, why are they treated as if they are National Guard? And there is the ever-changing return date. Our soldiers have been deployed twice in 2 years, so we wait and we pray for a return date.

“Every time our leadership appears on the news and without blinking an eye, they say our soldiers’ orders are for 1 year, and that is what they should expect, but how can we keep up the morale of our soldiers without a real date of return to look forward to?”

Mr. Speaker, this week the Bush administration has asked Congress for another \$87 billion in American taxpayer money for the President’s nation-building experiment in Iraq. What I want to know as one Member is why the troops from our region do not have the supplies and do they not have the services we should be affording them with the billions we have already sent?

Yes, our Nation is being asked to do nation-building in Iraq. In fact, it is the mother of all nation-building experiments. Eighty-seven billion dollars in request is more than we send around the world for all of our foreign assistance in any year. In addition to that, it is more than we spend on all veterans’ costs in a year, plus all of our housing programs around the country, plus all of the costs of NASA, plus all of the costs of transportation, plus all of the costs of environmental cleanup, all rolled together.

It is an enormous amount of money. How ironic that the President, who was a candidate in 2000, bitterly denounced the practice of nation-building, but he is now engaged in the largest nation-building experiment in history. Make no mistake, this is an extremely expensive experiment in nation-building, especially when we stop to consider that the United States Government is already digging a hole of debt deeper and deeper every day.

Those \$87 billion being requested will come out of the Social Security trust fund. Why? Because the fact is there is no more money to go around. We have huge deficits, and so we are going to have to borrow the \$87 billion from somewhere and there is only one place to get it. This is the most fiscally irresponsible administration that I have ever seen.

Now, how much is \$87 billion? I do not think the American people really realize how huge this request is. Eighty-seven billion dollars equals \$3,480 for every man, woman and child in Iraq. How would you like to get a check for \$3,480? Eighty-seven billion dollars is more than all of the State budget deficits across this country combined.

Our States are raising taxes and cutting programs like education with college tuition going up, cutting jobless benefits, Medicaid, library services, social services. Our States are choking from a lack of tax revenue because of unemployment in this Bush economy. We have \$87 billion for Iraq, but not even half of that for our States in this union? Eighty-seven billion dollars more is double what we are investing here in homeland security right here in the U.S.A.

I can travel to any community in my district and hear from first responders,

fire departments, police departments, emergency personnel, and port security who are desperate for funds to protect their communities. I hear from our personnel from the Port of Toledo who need funds to upgrade the security of our port, and that is true of every port in America. Eighty-seven billion dollars is eight times what we invest in Pell Grants for our college students. Ask any middle-class family about economic anxiety, and they will tell you they worry about job security, economic security and pension security. And they worry about how to pay for their kids’ college.

Our young people leave college with tens of thousands of dollars of debt. Some of them will be in debt for the rest of their lives just to pay for college. The United States Government just does not have \$87 billion laying around. We have budget deficits as far as the eye can see. Our next Federal budget deficit is probably in the neighborhood of half a trillion dollars, the largest in the history of the Republic. Where does it stop? The administration has no idea. We had a subcommittee hearing today and heard testimony from Ambassador Paul Bremer and also from General Abizaid, both men who live the words honor, duty and country. They do not know, they do not have a clue what it is going to cost our Nation to stabilize Iraq.

This additional \$87 billion is only a down payment until next year when the money runs out. The ranking member, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY) asked them for a ballpark figure, how much ultimately? They could not provide an answer. It is an open-ended commitment. They even said during the hearing, well, the waste water systems of Iraq are so bad that only 6 percent of the people are accommodated.

I thought, oh, all right, so the \$400 million that might be needed for waste water treatment in Toledo, Ohio will have to be put on hold because we have to transfer those dollars there, even though the waste water treatment system in my home community is spewing pollution into Lake Erie every day. There are some important trade-offs we have to think about.

We have no exit strategy militarily, and that is a violation of the Powell Doctrine, in case anybody remembers, and we have no exit strategy fiscally. Iraq is a fiscal black hole becoming bigger every day. We can pour as much money as we want down that hole, and we have no idea, no idea where it ends.

I have never seen pallets of U.S. cash being flown to a country and handed out on the streets, but that is exactly what we are doing in Iraq. One of my questions is as money, as U.S. dollars are being distributed to Iraqis to pay their pensions, to pay them for doing police work, and I am not sure what all this money is going for, why is it being distributed in dollars? Why are dinars, their home currency, not being used? What is this business of pallets of U.S.

dollars being flown over? We have flown over plane loads of \$20 bills to hand out to people. In my life, I have never seen this happen. We have seen rice and flour and beans being handed out to hungry people. We have never seen pallets of money being distributed. It looks like what some people might call street money, walking around money. Maybe if we hand out enough \$20 bills, the Iraqi people will suddenly fall in love with America and with our confused policy of nation-building.

How strange that a neoconservative administration and Republican Congress, who are hostile to social programs such as Medicare and Social Security and students loans, would adopt a policy of handouts to the Iraqi people. Are we creating a Middle East version of a welfare state where people get money for doing nothing? While we cut benefits for Americans, we hand out \$20 bills to Iraqis? Is this the legacy of the Bush policy? Free money for Iraqis, is this really what the administration wants?

Meanwhile, the Bush administration is charging our troops in the Middle East in Iraq \$1 a minute to call home to their families, yet they are handing out \$20 bills in Iraq. Is this really U.S. policy in Iraq? It is happening. Families in my district are sending one dollar bills to their loved ones. One mother sent \$75 in one dollar bills, put on the postage and sent it over there so her son could call home. At the same time, our government is handing out \$20 bills to Iraqis.

Is it too much to ask that our government provide a seamless communication system for our troops in theater, including Guard and Reserve forces, without whom we could not conduct this campaign, who are experiencing the longest deployments in U.S. history, and their families are missing them? So it goes in the war on terrorism.

Yesterday, President Bush said that Iraq is the major front in the war on terrorism. But on Friday, he said that Saddam Hussein had nothing to do with 9/11. The administration cannot seem to get its story straight. Did Saddam Hussein have anything to do with 9/11? President Bush says no. Vice President CHENEY says yes. Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld says no. Paul Wolfowitz did not appear. Secretary of State Powell seems to be laying kind of low lately. The administration policy is confused about where the front is. The President says the front is Iraq, but let us look at the facts. Fifteen of the 19 hijackers were not from Iraq, they were from Saudi Arabia.

□ 2200

Now we see the Taliban forces are regrouping and fighting again in Afghanistan. Afghanistan is far from over, far from lockdown. Madrassas in Pakistan continue to churn out thousands of hate-filled young men each year. And the Israeli-Palestinian killing fields are bloodier than ever.

Think about this. Think about where the front is. When President Bush nominated Texan Phillip Carrol, the former chief executive officer of Shell Oil, to oversee oil operations in post-war Iraq, was it merely coincidental that over one dozen Shell gas stations in Pakistan were bombed by terrorists? Think about it. Where is the front? Yet President Bush insists that Iraq is the frontlines in the war against terrorism.

More troops from Ohio have just been deployed to Afghanistan because of uprisings in the border area between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Where is the front in this war? The President insists he needs another \$87 billion to clean up the mess in Iraq and build a stable nation, but the American people are deeply skeptical about where the front is and the administration policy in Iraq. And for good reason. Not only is there no coherent plan for the reconstruction of Iraq, there are serious doubts about where the front in terrorism really lies, and there is no clear road map, no exit strategy. Now more of our Reserve and Guard forces are being called up, without the ones currently in theater being given a certain rotation date out. It appears to me that the administration is making up their plan as they go along.

In terms of the cost of all this in the President's \$87 billion new request on top of the billions and billions already appropriated last year, Secretary Rumsfeld told us back in January of this year that we would not have to do this. In fact, his words were, "Well, the Office of Management and Budget has come up with a number that's something under \$50 billion for the cost. How much of that would be the U.S. burden and how much would be with other countries is an open question." But he said, "I don't know that there is much reconstruction to do." He said that in April of 2003. The story must have changed because now we are being asked for \$87 billion more.

Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz said, "There's a lot of money to pay for this that doesn't have to be U.S. taxpayer money, and it starts with the assets of the Iraqi people . . . and on a rough recollection," he said, "the oil revenues of that country could bring in between 50 and \$100 billion over the course of the next 2 or 3 years . . . We're dealing with a country that can really finance its own reconstruction, and relatively soon." I think the question I would ask there is, then, why are we appropriating hard U.S. dollars? Why are we not making loans that can then be repaid back once the oil fields begin to operate again?

Secretary Rumsfeld told us back in the fall of last year, "If you worry about just the cost, the money, Iraq is a very different situation from Afghanistan because Iraq has oil." And again the Secretary said in March of this year, "I don't believe that the United States has the responsibility for reconstruction because in a sense reconstruction funds can come from those

various sources such as frozen assets, oil revenues, and a variety of other things including the Oil for Food program, which has a very substantial number of billions of dollars in it."

Clearly, this administration really does not know what it is doing. Secretary Powell, in answer to my question this year in an appropriations hearing prior to the invasion of Iraq, assured me that the United States would be welcomed in Iraq as a liberator, because I had been questioning him, "Mr. Secretary, how do we know when we are a liberator versus when we are an occupier?" Secretary Powell, with all due respect, was wrong.

Vice President CHENEY said the same thing on TV on "Meet the Press" in March when asked by Tim Russert, and I will repeat Mr. Russert's question: "If your analysis is not correct, Mr. Vice President, and we're not treated as liberators but as conquerors and the Iraqis begin to resist, particularly in Baghdad, do you think the American people are prepared for a long, costly, and bloody battle with significant American casualties?" And the Vice President responded, "Well, I don't think it's likely to unfold that way, Tim, because I really do believe that we will be greeted as liberators . . . there is no question that they want to get rid of Saddam Hussein and they will welcome as liberators the United States when we come to that."

I think Vice President CHENEY was wrong. At best, Iraq is a cauldron of competing interests, much as it has been since it was created by the British Empire. At worst, the Bush administration has succeeded only in creating another failed state that can serve as a staging ground for more international terror war.

Before another \$87 billion in cash is directed at Iraq, we had better get clear answers on how the current situation can yield a governing structure that is representative. Of the 25 members the United States has appointed to Iraq's governing council, 11 are exiles, 11 of 25. These are people who had been living outside of Iraq for some 3 and 4 decades. That means 44 percent of the people on the governing council were not even there, some for decades. What do we really know about these people on the governing council? How representative are they of the Iraqi people? Indeed, whose interests do these 25 represent?

We should ask how can exiles be more representative of Iraqis than those living in the country now, those who endured the suffering of the Hussein regime. Indeed, many new sources have reported the current president of that council, appointed by the United States Department of Defense, Ahmad Chalabi, was a convicted felon who embezzled over \$350 million and counting in Jordan, who was then exiled, escaped in the trunk of a car, and subsequently took up residence in London for years. He had been associated with the former monarchy of Iraq. So whom does he represent?

In the RECORD tonight I am going to place two compelling news stories about who is this man, how democratically was he chosen? I am submitting for the RECORD also the names of all persons on the governing council of Iraq. The world community should assess them and their ability to represent the people of Iraq. From my study of the list, it appears Iraq's indigenous Shia majority is seriously underrepresented as is its Sunni minority. Tragically, one of the council's Shia members is the brother of the famed Ayatollah Hakim, who was just assassinated. And another Shia representative, Aquila al Hashimi, a woman, was shot a few days ago but survived.

With two thirds of Iraq's population composed of Shia Muslims, but only about a third of the council comprised of Iraqi Shias who actually have been living in the country, one can question how representative the governing council is. Further, the Sunni minority's underrepresentation is worrisome as well. Somehow the world community and our Arab friends must weigh in on creating a governing structure that is more representative and moves Iraq toward free elections as expeditiously as possible. After all, the Iraqi people are a literate people. An unrepresented governing council cannot possibly succeed in transferring democratic principles to Iraq.

Mr. Speaker, in concluding this evening, the path forward to me is clear. Congress should not give a blank check to the Bush administration on its \$87 billion request for more funds for Iraq. We must demand clear reporting of all expenditures to date in Iraq and demand clear explanations of why more appropriated dollars are necessary as opposed to loans that can be repaid as Iraq's economy recovers. We must clarify the front in this war on terrorism and not lose focus on other places where terrorism is spawning. A major diversion of funds to Iraq can indeed draw attention and resources from equally tender places where terrorists are spawning. For example, the deterioration of the Israeli-Palestinian situation feeds growing terrorism across the region. Indeed, it is its clarion call. The continuation of the madrassas schools that foment violence by young men continue to graduate thousands. There is no money in this budget to deal with that festering problem.

And Afghanistan is far from buttoned down. Importantly, we must do more for our troops and provide them with what is necessary to complete their mission and return them home soon. We must assure the administration provides them with clear rotation out schedules. And we must enlist the broader world community in assuming a larger role in the massive task of rebuilding. We must urge the composition of the governing council be more representative, indeed more democratic, in order that a transition to a more orderly society through free elections can occur soon. Doing any less

will not yield an enduring victory for freedom in Iraq.

MEMBERS OF THE IRAQI GOVERNING COUNCIL

Name	Shiite/Sunni, etc.	Organizational affiliation	Rotating presidency	Occupation	Other
Abd al-Aziz Al Hakim	Shiite	Political leader of the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution.	Yes		
Abdul Karim Mohammedawi.	Shiite	Guerrilla affiliated with Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution.			"Prince of the Marshes"—led opposition in the Southern Marsh Region.
Adnan Pachachi	Sunni		Yes		Served as Foreign Minister before the Baath Party came into power. 80 years old.
Ahmad al-Barak	Shiite	General Coordinator for the Human Rights Association of Babel.			Worked with UN programs in Iraq since 1991 in the Foreign Ministry.
Ahmad Chalabi	Shiite	Leads Iraqi National Congress	Yes		Exiled for the nearly 45 years. Educated at MIT. Convicted of embezzlement in Jordan.
Aquila al-Hashimi	Shiite			Diplomat. Holds doctorate in French literature	Woman. Led the Iraqi delegation to the New York donor's conference. Worked in the Foreign Ministry under Hussein.
Dara Noor Alzin	Sunni Kurd			Judge	Served on the Court of Appeal until Hussein imprisoned him for ruling against the government.
Ezzedine Salim	Shiite	Head of the Dawa Islamic Party			
Ghazi al-Yawar	Sunni			Civil engineer	Had been living in Saudi Arabia where he was president of Hicap Technology.
Hamid al-Moussa	Shiite	Secretary of Iraqi Communist Party		Economist	
Ibrahim Jafari	Shiite	Spokesman for the Islamic Dawa Party	Yes—first to take post		Party was banned in 1980 and he fled the country. Exiled.
Iyad Allawi	Shiite	Secretary-General of the Iraqi National Accord	Yes		
Jalal Talabani	Sunni Kurd	Leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan	Yes	Lawyer	
Mahmoud Othman	Sunni Kurd	Founder of Kurdish Socialist Party		Independent Kurdish politician	Lived in London.
Massoud Barzani	Sunni Kurd	Leader of the Kurdistan Democracy Party	Yes		Commands tens of thousands of armed militia fighters.
Mohammed Bahr Uloom	Shiite		Yes	Cleric	Fled Iraq in 1991. Headed charitable clinic in London. Considered pro-US.
Mohsin Abdul Hamid	Sunni	Secretary-General of the Iraqi Islamic Party	Yes		Author of more than 30 books on the interpretation of the Koran.
Muwaffaq al-Ruba	Shiite	Dawa Party		Physician and author	Human rights activist. Educated in UK.
Nasir al-Chadirchy	Sunni	Leads the National Democratic Party		Lawyer and businessman	Lived in Iraq throughout most of Saddam's regime.
Raja al-Khuzai	Shiite			Heads maternity hospital in Diwaniyah	Woman. Studied and lived in the UK during the 60's and 70's. Returned to Iraq in 1977.
Salaheddine Bahaaddin	Sunni Kurd	Founder of Kurdistan Islamic Union			
Samir Shakir Mahmoud	Sunni			Writer and Entrepreneur	
Sondul Chapouk	Turkmen	Directs the Iraqi Women's Organization		Engineer and teacher	Woman. Represents the Turkmen community.
Wael Abdulatif	Shiite	Governor of Basra		Lawyer and judge	
Yonodam Kanna	Assyrian Christian	Secretary-General of the Assyrian Democratic Movement.		Engineer	Served as Transportation the first Kurdish regional assembly and as Trade Minister.

Note.—Spelling of names may vary.

[From the New York Times, Sept. 20, 2003]
LISTENING TO THE WRONG IRAQI
(By David L. Phillips)

Critics say the Bush administration had no plan for postwar Iraq. In fact, before the war, hundreds of Iraqis were involved in discussions with Washington about securing and stabilizing their country after military action. Today's difficulties are not the result of a lack of foresight, but rather of poor judgment by civilians at the Pentagon who counted too much on the advice of one exile—Ahmad Chalabi of the Iraqi National Congress—and ignored the views of other, more reliable Iraqi leaders.

Last year the State Department, joined by 17 other federal agencies, put together the Future of Iraq Project, which was supposed to involve Iraqis from the country's many ethnic and religious factions, including representatives from the exile community. The project had working groups on topics ranging from agriculture to the economy to new government structure. I was adviser to the democratic principles working group, which the Iraqis called the "mother of all working groups." Anticipating many of the problems playing out in Iraq today, participants worked on plans for maintaining security, restoring services and making the transition to democracy.

On security, the participants envisioned a key role for reformed elements of the Iraqi Army. They insisted on the dissolution of agencies involved in atrocities—like military intelligence and the secret police (the Mukhabarat)—and proposed setting up a body to investigate war crimes, prepare a "most wanted" list, and prosecute war criminals. They envisioned a military council vetting and then taking steps to professionalize the armed forces.

Representatives of the Iraqi National Congress, however, claimed to control a vast underground network that would rise in support of coalition forces to assist security and

law enforcement. They insisted that the entire Iraqi Army be immediately disbanded. The Pentagon agreed, in the end leading many Iraqi soldiers who might otherwise have been willing to work with the coalition to take up arms against it. Mr. Chalabi's promised network didn't materialize, and the resulting power vacuum contributed to looting, sabotage and attacks against American forces.

The working group also emphasized winning hearts and minds of average Iraqis, largely through improving living conditions. It urged cooperation with Iraq's existing technocracy to ensure the uninterrupted flow of water and electricity. Though civil servants and professionals for the most part were required to be Baath party members, the working group maintained that not all Baathists were war criminals. The group proposed so-called lustration laws to identify and remove officials who had committed atrocities.

On the other hand, the Iraqi National Congress was adamant that all former Baath party members were inherently complicit in war crimes. Siding with Mr. Chalabi, the coalition provisional authority decided that the Baath party would be banned, and dismissed many party members from their jobs. As a result millions of Iraqis are still without electricity and fresh water, necessities they could at least count on under the criminal regime of Saddam Hussein.

Most important, the working group insisted that all Iraqis needed a voice in the transition to a stable, democratic Iraq. Participants agreed that exiles alone could not speak for all Iraqis, and endorsed discussions with leaders inside and outside the country as the basis for constituting a legitimate and broadly representative transitional structure.

Before the London opposition conference in December, Mr. Chalabi lobbied the United States to appoint a government in exile, dominated by his partisans, to be installed in

Baghdad at the moment of liberation. Concerned about legitimacy, the Bush administration ultimately rejected this proposal. Still, Mr. Chalabi's supporters in Washington—particularly civilians in the Pentagon—relentlessly promoted him as Iraq's future leader. Exceptional treatment included airlifting Mr. Chalabi and his American-trained 700-man paramilitary force to Nasariya in the middle of the war. He is now a member of the Iraqi Governing Council, serving as its president this month.

Why such devotion to a man whose prewar advice proved so misguided? For one thing, Mr. Chalabi has shown himself amenable to those in Washington who want to reshape the entire Middle East. They envision Iraq as a springboard for eliminating the Baath party in Syria, undermining the mullahs in Iran and enhancing American power across the region.

There are benefits to spreading democracy in the Middle East, but hegemonic ambitions are sabotaging the shorter-term project of turning Iraq into a viable state. The other day, a Sunni participant in the democratic principles working group told me he is reluctant to speak up about how his recommendations have been ignored lest criticism discourage the coalition. In frustration, he asked: "So this is liberation?"

The Iraqi people have suffered a generation of tyranny and deserve better. To succeed in Iraq, and be constructive elsewhere in the world, the Bush administration must listen to all voices, not just those that are ideologically compatible. Liberation cannot be imposed.

[From the New York Times, Sept. 23, 2003]
IRAQ COUNCIL HEAD SHIFTS TO POSITION AT
ODDS WITH U.S.

(By Patrick E. Tyler and Felicity Barringer)
BAGHDAD, IRAQ, Sept. 22.—Ahmad Chalabi, the president of Iraq's interim government,

is in New York this week to press alternatives to the Bush administration's occupation policy in postwar Iraq, he and his aides say. In the process, he may complete a personal transformation from protégé of Pentagon conservatives to Iraqi nationalist with a loud, independent voice.

In an interview today in New York, Mr. Chalabi professed gratitude to the Bush administration for toppling Saddam Hussein's government, but his specific proposals were directly at odds with the policies Washington is pursuing in Baghdad and at the United Nations. He demanded that the Iraqi Governing Council be given at least partial control of the powerful finance and security ministries, and rejected the idea of more foreign troops coming to Iraq.

Mr. Chalabi's strategy, he says, is to get from the United Nations General Assembly sovereign status for the unelected 25-member Governing Council. This move to lobby other nations for a swift transfer of some sovereignty is going down poorly in Washington, according to the Iraqi leader's aides.

Mr. Chalabi has sent representatives to France and Germany to discuss putting Iraq back in charge under a new United Nations mandate that would end American control of the occupation, even if American troops remain in Iraq. His aides say he also plans to tell the Senate that the United Nations could save billions of dollars on Iraq reconstruction by allowing an Iraqi administration to handle it.

"People in D.C. are accusing us of 'conspiring with America's enemies,'" one aide said, describing the reports of his advance men on the mood in Washington.

Mr. Chalabi insists that he is not changing diplomatic sides. "The last thing we are going to do is fall into the trap of France," he said this weekend. He said that he was looking forward to seeing the president at a reception Mr. Bush is giving for visiting government leaders on Tuesday evening, and that his strategy was intended to make it easier to maintain the American presence in Iraq.

"I am fighting to keep Americans in Iraq," Mr. Chalabi said before leaving Baghdad. "We are afraid that they will lose their resolve and go home if the current situation continues."

Yet Mr. Chalabi's arrival in New York with a delegation determined to advance the clock on sovereignty puts him and the interim government he heads in direct confrontation with Mr. Bush.

"We want to claim Iraq's seat at the United Nations," Mr. Chalabi said today.

He also declared that "we are not at cross purposes" with the Americans, but his words seemed so.

The United States is seeking a new United Nations resolution that would help bring foreign troops into Iraq in a newly constituted multinational force. At least one major potential troop donor, Pakistan, says it wants an invitation from the Governing Council first.

"We cannot be expected to solicit foreign troops in Iraq," Mr. Chalabi said. "We cannot be expected to do that."

He said some aspects of governance should be handed over immediately.

"They can start by putting Iraqis to be in joint control, with the coalition, of Iraqi finances," he said. "All of these are measures that would demonstrate increasing sovereignty in Iraq." Asked when, he replied, "Right away."

He also sought an immediate role in commanding security forces, saying, "We think that internal security in Iraq cannot be maintained unless Iraqis are far more involved than they are now."

A senior Bush administration official reiterated over the weekend that "we'll stay on

the same schedule" of keeping Iraq under a strong American-British occupation while proceeding with drafting a new Iraqi constitution, to be followed by national elections sometime next year.

That extended debate over sovereignty and the end of the occupation is part of a political struggle that neither side feels it can afford to lose.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. OSBORNE (at the request of Mr. DELAY) for September 23 and today on account of his mother-in-law's funeral.

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. PALLONE) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. BROWN of Ohio, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. PALLONE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. HINCHEY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. NORTON, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. KIND, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. BALDWIN, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. BERRY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. DEFAZIO, for 5 minutes, today.

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

Mr. SOUDER, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. PENCE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. BLACKBURN, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan, for 5 minutes, today and October 1.

SENATE BILL REFERRED

A Bill of the Senate of the following title were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 1404. An act to amend the Ted Stevens Olympic and Amateur Sports Act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

ADJOURNMENT

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

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 10 o'clock and 12 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, September 25, 2003, at 10 a.m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 8 of rule XII, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

4396. A letter from the Congressional Review Coordinator, APHIS, Department of Ag-

riculture, transmitting the Department's final rule—Importation of Pork-Filled Pasta [Docket No. 02-003-2] received September 16, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

4397. A letter from the Congressional Review Coordinator, APHIS, Department of Agriculture, transmitting the Department's final rule—Asian Longhorned Beetle; Quarantined Areas and Regulated Articles [Docket No. 03-018-2] received September 16, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

4398. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting report concerning His decision regarding the Singapore Technologies Telemedia in Global Crossing Ltd; to the Committee on Financial Services.

4399. A letter from the Director, Regulations Policy and Management Staff, FDA, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting the Department's final rule—Food Additives Permitted in Feed and Drinking Water of Animals; Selenium Yeast [Docket No. 1998F-0196] received September 16, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

4400. A letter from the Director, Regulations Policy and Management Staff, FDA, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting the Department's final rule—Orthopedic Devices; Classification for the Resorbable Calcium Salt Bone Void Filler Device [Docket No. 01N-0411] received September 17, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

4401. A letter from the Assistant Administrator for Procurement, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, transmitting the Administration's final rule—Format and Numbering of Award Documents (RIN: 2700-AC61) received September 16, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Science.

4402. A letter from the Director, Defense Security Cooperation Agency, transmitting notification concerning the Department of Navy's Proposed Letter(s) of Offer and Acceptance (LOA) to the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States for defense articles and services (Transmittal No. 03-23), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(b); to the Committee on International Relations.

4403. A letter from the Director, Defense Security Cooperation Agency, transmitting notification concerning the Department of the Air Force's Proposed Letter(s) of Offer and Acceptance (LOA) to Pakistan for defense articles and services (Transmittal No. 03-22), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(b); to the Committee on International Relations.

4404. A letter from the Director, Defense Security Cooperation Agency, transmitting notification concerning the Department of Army's Proposed Letter(s) of Offer and Acceptance (LOA) to Egypt for defense articles and services (Transmittal No. 03-24), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(b); to the Committee on International Relations.

4405. A letter from the Director, Defense Security Cooperation Agency, transmitting notification concerning the Department of the Army's Proposed Letter(s) of Offer and Acceptance (LOA) to Pakistan for defense articles and services (Transmittal No. 03-25), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(b); to the Committee on International Relations.

4406. A letter from the Director, Defense Security Cooperation Agency, transmitting notification concerning the Department of Army's Proposed Letter(s) of Offer and Acceptance (LOA) to Greece for defense articles and services (Transmittal No. 03-33), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(b); to the Committee on International Relations.