

Despite an outstanding 2002 Interpol warrant, until last week he was able to successfully dodge arrest.

Mr. President, Viktor Bout benefited from the unrestrained capitalism and weak institutions that emerged in the aftermath of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union. He used that tumultuous period for his own personal gain, as he built an aircraft fleet, purchased cheaply from the stockpiles of discarded Cold War weapons, and sought out clients around the globe to help perpetuate his diabolical money-making schemes. He exploited the dearth of arms control initiatives in fledging countries and recognized that the lack of an international framework would serve his interests well.

According to Douglas Farah, one of the authors of the recently published "Merchant of Death," "[it] is highly unlikely [Bout] could have flown aircraft out of Russia and acquired huge amounts of weapons from Soviet arsenals without the direct protection of Russian intelligence, and, given his background, the [Russian military intelligence] seems the most likely candidate." Indeed, it is likely that such assistance was needed to create such a vast empire.

Mr. President, this empire had many and varied clients. In fact, during the early years of the Iraq war, Bout's aircrafts were used to support U.S. Government contractor and subcontractor work. I inquired about the use of these aircrafts at a 2004 Iraq hearing in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and learned shortly thereafter that both the State and Defense Departments had done business with Bout. Not long after my inquiry, this business relationship was purportedly terminated and Bout's assets were frozen by the Treasury Department. But despite this corrective action, Bout's work remained uninhibited and, according to some credible reports, he continued to associate with other entities of the U.S. Government.

Bout was clearly a savvy and dependable broker, but he used these talents to do business with some of the most unsavory characters in the world. The U.N. investigative team which pursued Bout found that he was pouring small arms and ammunition into Afghanistan, Angola, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, and the Democratic Republic of Congo for years—enabling millions of innocent people to be slaughtered and supporting carnage at unprecedented levels.

Bout was able to circumvent both national and international arms controls by exploiting holes in the system. Despite the arrest warrants, asset freezes, and international embargoes, he was able to operate with impunity because of the lack of concerted international cooperation within the arms control and law enforcement arenas. Last week's arrest is a testament to the importance of that global cooperation and a reminder that as our world continues

to globalize we must work together in order to hold individuals like Bout accountable for their actions.

#### UPCOMING ELECTIONS IN ZIMBABWE

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, since independence in 1980, politics in Zimbabwe had been dominated by one party and indeed one man President and head of the ruling ZANU-PF, Robert Mugabe. In February 2000, Zimbabwe's citizens delivered a blow to President Mugabe when they rejected his party's proposed new constitution, and then in June's legislative elections, even without access to the state-run media and without significant financing, opposition candidates managed to win 58 of 150 parliamentary seats, up from just 3.

In 2000, I joined many in Zimbabwe and the international community in hoping that this victory would mark the end of the ruling party's stranglehold on the state and herald the opening of democratic space and opportunities in a country that has seen repression for too long. Instead, Mr. Mugabe and his party responded to these defeats by tightening their grip on power. In 2000, international headlines warned of "Zimbabwe's unprecedented economic and social crisis" with unemployment at 50 percent and almost 60 percent inflation, and the 2000 elections were marred by the harassment of opposition candidates and supporters in which at least 25 were killed.

These numbers pale in comparison with the devastating economic and political situations in Zimbabwe today. According to official figures, annual inflation now tops 100,000 percent with 80 percent employment despite the fact that at least one quarter of the population has fled the country. Meanwhile, the harassment and intimidation of the independent media, opposition politicians, civil society leaders, and human rights advocates has become more widespread and systematic.

Exactly 1 year ago today, when opposition party activists and members of civil society attempted to hold a peaceful prayer meeting in response to President Mugabe's announcement that he would seek reelection, they were brutally assaulted by ZANU-PF police officers, security forces, and youth militia. More than 50 were arrested, at least 1 killed, and many badly beaten.

On this somber anniversary, I appeal to political leaders here in the United States, in Africa, and around the world to send a strong signal to President Mugabe and his supporters that we want to see Zimbabwe recover from its current crisis and we will be watching as the unprecedented simultaneous presidential and legislative general elections are held on March 29. The violent repression, and even coercive harassment, we saw in March 2007 is unacceptable and will have negative consequences both internally and externally.

For years, I have been frustrated and saddened by the hastening decline of this country. The courageous, patriotic citizens of Zimbabwe who resist the state's repression, even at enormous personal cost, must know that the world supports them, and the country's corrupt and tyrannical rulers must be told that their time is up.

Although it will not happen this month, I hope that someday soon the people of Zimbabwe will be given a chance to freely express their will in a genuine democratic process that is free from manipulation, intimidation, and coercion.

#### THE TRUE COSTS OF THE IRAQ WAR

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, the economists Linda Bilmes and Joseph Stiglitz recently produced an illuminating analysis of the real costs of the war in Iraq, which was published last Sunday in *The Washington Post*.

As the war grinds on toward its fifth year, and as the war continues to warp our Nation's priorities at home and abroad, this is an analysis that every American deserves to see. I also commend it to the attention of the Members of the Senate.

I ask unanimous consent it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the *Washington Post*, Mar. 9, 2008]

THE IRAQ WAR WILL COST US \$3 TRILLION, AND MUCH MORE

(By Linda J. Bilmes and Joseph E. Stiglitz)

There is no such thing as a free lunch, and there is no such thing as a free war. The Iraq adventure has seriously weakened the U.S. economy, whose woes now go far beyond loose mortgage lending. You can't spend \$3 trillion—yes, \$3 trillion—on a failed war abroad and not feel the pain at home.

Some people will scoff at that number, but we've done the math. Senior Bush administration aides certainly poo-hooed worrisome estimates in the run-up to the war. Former White House economic adviser Lawrence Lindsey reckoned that the conflict would cost \$100 billion to \$200 billion; Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld later called his estimate "baloney." Administration officials insisted that the costs would be more like \$50 billion to \$60 billion. In April 2003, Andrew S. Natsios, the thoughtful head of the U.S. Agency for International Development, said on "Nightline" that reconstructing Iraq would cost the American taxpayer just \$1.7 billion. Ted Koppel, in disbelief, pressed Natsios on the question, but Natsios stuck to his guns. Others in the administration, such as Deputy Defense Secretary Paul D. Wolfowitz, hoped that U.S. partners would chip in, as they had in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, or that Iraq's oil would pay for the damages.

The end result of all this wishful thinking? As we approach the fifth anniversary of the invasion, Iraq is not only the second longest war in U.S. history (after Vietnam), it is also the second most costly—surpassed only by World War II.

Why doesn't the public understand the staggering scale of our expenditures? In part because the administration talks only about the upfront costs, which are mostly handled

by emergency appropriations. (Iraq funding is apparently still an emergency five years after the war began.) These costs, by our calculations, are now running at \$12 billion a month—\$16 billion if you include Afghanistan. By the time you add in the costs hidden in the defense budget, the money we'll have to spend to help future veterans, and money to refurbish a military whose equipment and materiel have been greatly depleted, the total tab to the federal government will almost surely exceed \$1.5 trillion.

But the costs to our society and economy are far greater. When a young soldier is killed in Iraq or Afghanistan, his or her family will receive a U.S. government check for just \$500,000 (combining life insurance with a "death gratuity")—far less than the typical amount paid by insurance companies for the death of a young person in a car accident. The stark "budgetary cost" of \$500,000 is clearly only a fraction of the total cost society pays for the loss of life—and no one can ever really compensate the families. Moreover, disability pay seldom provides adequate compensation for wounded troops or their families. Indeed, in one out of five cases of seriously injured soldiers, someone in their family has to give up a job to take care of them.

But beyond this is the cost to the already sputtering U.S. economy. All told, the bill for the Iraq war is likely to top \$3 trillion. And that's a conservative estimate.

President Bush tried to sell the American people on the idea that we could have a war with little or no economic sacrifice. Even after the United States went to war, Bush and Congress cut taxes, especially on the rich—even though the United States already had a massive deficit. So the war had to be funded by more borrowing. By the end of the Bush administration, the cost of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, plus the cumulative interest on the increased borrowing used to fund them, will have added about \$1 trillion to the national debt.

The long-term burden of paying for the conflicts will curtail the country's ability to tackle other urgent problems, no matter who wins the presidency in November. Our vast and growing indebtedness inevitably makes it harder to afford new health-care plans, make large-scale repairs to crumbling roads and bridges, or build better-equipped schools. Already, the escalating cost of the wars has crowded out spending on virtually all other discretionary federal programs, including the National Institutes of Health, the Food and Drug Administration, the Environmental Protection Agency, and federal aid to states and cities, all of which have been scaled back significantly since the invasion of Iraq.

To make matters worse, the U.S. economy is facing a recession. But our ability to implement a truly effective economic-stimulus package is cramped by expenditures of close to \$200 billion on the two wars this year alone and by a skyrocketing national debt.

The United States is a rich and strong country, but even rich and strong countries squander trillions of dollars at their peril. Think what a difference \$3 trillion could make for so many of the United States—or the world's—problems. We could have had a Marshall Plan to help desperately poor countries, winning the hearts and maybe the minds of Muslim nations now gripped by anti-Americanism. In a world with millions of illiterate children, we could have achieved literacy for all—for less than the price of a month's combat in Iraq. We worry about China's growing influence in Africa, but the up-front cost of a month of fighting in Iraq would pay for more than doubling our annual current aid spending on Africa.

Closer to home, we could have funded countless schools to give children locked in

the underclass a shot at decent lives. Or we could have tackled the massive problem of Social Security, which Bush began his second term hoping to address; for far, far less than the cost of the war, we could have ensured the solvency of Social Security for the next half a century or more.

Economists used to think that wars were good for the economy, a notion born out of memories of how the massive spending of World War II helped bring the United States and the world out of the Great Depression. But we now know far better ways to stimulate an economy—ways that quickly improve citizens' well-being and lay the foundations for future growth. But money spent paying Nepalese workers in Iraq (or even Iraqi ones) doesn't stimulate the U.S. economy the way that money spent at home would—and it certainly doesn't provide the basis for long-term growth the way investments in research, education or infrastructure would.

Another worry: This war has been particularly hard on the economy because it led to a spike in oil prices. Before the 2003 invasion, oil cost less than \$25 a barrel, and futures markets expected it to remain around there. (Yes, China and India were growing by leaps and bounds, but cheap supplies from the Middle East were expected to meet their demands.) The war changed that equation, and oil prices recently topped \$100 per barrel.

While Washington has been spending well beyond its means, others have been saving—including the oil-rich countries that, like the oil companies, have been among the few winners of this war. No wonder, then, that China, Singapore and many Persian Gulf emirates have become lenders of last resort for troubled Wall Street banks, plowing in billions of dollars to shore up Citigroup, Merrill Lynch and other firms that burned their fingers on subprime mortgages. How long will it be before the huge sovereign wealth funds controlled by these countries begin buying up large shares of other U.S. assets?

The Bush team, then, is not merely handing over the war to the next administration; it is also bequeathing deep economic problems that have been seriously exacerbated by reckless war financing. We face an economic downturn that's likely to be the worst in more than a quarter-century.

Until recently, many marveled at the way the United States could spend hundreds of billions of dollars on oil and blow through hundreds of billions more in Iraq with what seemed to be strikingly little short-run impact on the economy. But there's no great mystery here. The economy's weaknesses were concealed by the Federal Reserve, which pumped in liquidity, and by regulators that looked away as loans were handed out well beyond borrowers' ability to repay them. Meanwhile, banks and credit-rating agencies pretended that financial alchemy could convert bad mortgages into AAA assets, and the Fed looked the other way as the U.S. household-savings rate plummeted to zero.

It's a bleak picture. The total loss from this economic downturn—measured by the disparity between the economy's actual output and its potential output—is likely to be the greatest since the Great Depression. That total, itself well in excess of \$1 trillion, is not included in our estimated \$3 trillion cost of the war.

Others will have to work out the geopolitics, but the economics here are clear. Ending the war, or at least moving rapidly to wind it down, would yield major economic dividends.

As we head toward November, opinion polls say that voters' main worry is now the economy, not the war. But there's no way to disentangle the two. The United States will be paying the price of Iraq for decades to come.

The price tag will be all the greater because we tried to ignore the laws of economics—and the cost will grow the longer we remain.

#### DEATHS OF WOMEN IN GUATEMALA

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I wish to speak about the tragic deaths of women and girls in Guatemala and to note the passage of a resolution I introduced that is aimed at enhancing efforts by the Governments of Guatemala and the United States to address this serious issue. The resolution, S. Res. 178, which passed the Senate last night, is cosponsored by Senators Boxer, Casey, Dodd, Durbin, Feingold, Feinstein, Lautenberg, Leahy, Lincoln, Menendez, Sanders, Smith, and Snowe.

Mr. President, since 2001 more than 2,000 women and girls have been murdered in Guatemala. Although the overall murder rate in the country is extremely troubling, the murder rate with regard to women has increased at an alarming rate it almost doubled from 2001 to 2006. While these killings may be due to a variety of factors, what clearly unifies these cases is the fact that very few of the perpetrators have been brought to justice. It is my understanding that, as of 2006, there were only 20 convictions for these killings.

The general lack of respect for the rule of law, inadequate legal protections for women, ongoing violence in the country, corruption, insufficient resources, substandard investigations, and the lack of independent and effective judicial and prosecutorial systems, all contribute to the inability of the Government of Guatemala to hold those responsible for these killings accountable for their crimes. The result is a sense of impunity for crimes against women in the country.

The Government of Guatemala has taken some steps to address these killings. Guatemala has created special police and prosecutorial units to investigate these murders and repealed the so-called "Rape Law" which had absolved perpetrators of criminal responsibility for rape upon the perpetrator's marriage with the victim. The Government also entered into an agreement with the United Nations to establish the International Commission Against Impunity in Guatemala, CICIG, which has a mandate to investigate and prosecute illegal security groups operating with impunity. And Guatemala established the National Institute for Forensic Sciences to improve investigatory and evidence gathering efforts.

The resolution the Senate passed last night is aimed at raising awareness of this issue and encouraging the Governments of Guatemala and the United States to work together to stop these killings. Among other things, the resolution: condemns these murders and expresses the sympathy of the Senate to the families of women and girls murdered in Guatemala; encourages the Government of Guatemala to act