

## NAYS—1

Mollohan

## NOT VOTING—24

Blagojevich	Deutsch	Menendez
Bonior	Emerson	Murtha
Borski	Frank	Pombo
Brady (PA)	Greenwood	Riley
Burton	Johnson, Sam	Snyder
Cannon	Lewis (GA)	Stump
Conyers	Mascara	Traficant
Cox	Matsui	Watkins (OK)

□ 1421

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

### COMMEMORATING INDEPENDENCE OF AND EXPRESSING SENSE OF CONGRESS THAT THE PRESIDENT SHOULD ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH EAST TIMOR

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GILLMOR). The pending business is the question of suspending the rules and agreeing to the concurrent resolution, H. Con. Res. 405, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the concurrent resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution, H. Con. Res. 405, as amended, on which the yeas and nays are ordered.

This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 405, nays 1, not voting 28, as follows:

[Roll No. 178]

## YEAS—405

Abercrombie	Boyd	Cunningham
Ackerman	Brady (TX)	Davis (CA)
Aderholt	Brown (FL)	Davis (FL)
Akin	Brown (OH)	Davis (IL)
Allen	Brown (SC)	Davis, Jo Ann
Andrews	Bryant	Davis, Tom
Army	Burr	Deal
Baca	Buyer	DeFazio
Bachus	Callahan	DeGette
Baird	Calvert	DeLauro
Baker	Camp	DeLay
Baldacci	Cantor	DeMint
Baldwin	Capito	Diaz-Balart
Ballenger	Capps	Dicks
Barcia	Capuano	Dingell
Barr	Cardin	Doggett
Barrett	Carson (IN)	Dooley
Bartlett	Carson (OK)	Doolittle
Barton	Castle	Doyle
Bass	Chabot	Dreier
Becerra	Chambliss	Duncan
Bentsen	Clay	Dunn
Bereuter	Clayton	Edwards
Berkley	Clement	Ehlers
Berman	Clyburn	Ehrlich
Berry	Coble	Engel
Biggert	Combest	English
Bilirakis	Condit	Eshoo
Bishop	Cooksey	Etheridge
Blumenauer	Costello	Evans
Blunt	Coyne	Everett
Boehlert	Cramer	Farr
Boehner	Crane	Fattah
Bonilla	Crenshaw	Ferguson
Bono	Crowley	Filner
Boozman	Cubin	Flake
Boswell	Culberson	Fletcher
Boucher	Cummings	Foley

Forbes	Leach
Ford	Lee
Fossella	Levin
Frelinghuysen	Lewis (CA)
Frost	Lewis (KY)
Gallegly	Linder
Ganske	Lipinski
Gekas	LoBiondo
Gephardt	Lofgren
Gibbons	Lowe
Gilchrest	Lucas (KY)
Gillmor	Lucas (OK)
Gilman	Luther
Gonzalez	Lynch
Goode	Maloney (CT)
Goodlatte	Maloney (NY)
Gordon	Manzullo
Goss	Markey
Graham	Matheson
Granger	McCarthy (MO)
Graves	McCarthy (NY)
Green (TX)	McCollum
Green (WI)	McCrery
Grucci	McDermott
Gutierrez	McGovern
Gutknecht	McHugh
Hall (OH)	McInnis
Hall (TX)	McIntyre
Hansen	McKeon
Harman	McKinney
Hart	McNulty
Hastings (FL)	Meehan
Hastings (WA)	Meek (FL)
Hayes	Meeke (NY)
Hayworth	Mica
Hefley	Millender-
Herger	McDonald
Hill	Miller, Dan
Hilleary	Miller, Gary
Hilliard	Miller, George
Hinchee	Miller, Jeff
Hinojosa	Mink
Hobson	Mollohan
Hoeffel	Moore
Hoekstra	Moran (KS)
Holden	Moran (VA)
Holt	Morella
Honda	Myrick
Hooley	Nadler
Horn	Napolitano
Hostettler	Neal
Houghton	Nethercutt
Hoyer	Ney
Hulshof	Northup
Hunter	Norwood
Hyde	Nussle
Inslee	Oberstar
Isakson	Obey
Israel	Ortiz
Issa	Osborne
Istook	Ose
Jackson (IL)	Otter
Jackson-Lee	Owens
(TX)	Oxley
Jefferson	Pallone
Jenkins	Pascrell
John	Pastor
Johnson (CT)	Payne
Johnson (IL)	Pelosi
Johnson, E. B.	Pence
Jones (NC)	Peterson (MN)
Jones (OH)	Peterson (PA)
Kanjorski	Petri
Kaptur	Phelps
Keller	Pickering
Kelly	Pitts
Kennedy (MN)	Platts
Kennedy (RI)	Pomeroy
Kerns	Portman
Kildee	Price (NC)
Kilpatrick	Pryce (OH)
Kind (WI)	Putnam
King (NY)	Quinn
Kingston	Radanovich
Kirk	Rahall
Kleczka	Ramstad
Knollenberg	Rangel
Kolbe	Regula
Kucinich	Rehberg
LaFalce	Reyes
LaHood	Reynolds
Lampson	Rivers
Langevin	Rodriguez
Lantos	Roemer
Larsen (WA)	Rogers (KY)
Larson (CT)	Rogers (MI)
Latham	Rohrabacher
LaTourette	Ros-Lehtinen

Ross	Rothman
Roukema	Roybal-Allard
Royce	Royce
Rush	Ryan (WI)
Ryan (KS)	Ryun (KS)
Sabo	Sanchez
Sanders	Sanders
Sandlin	Sawyer
Saxton	Schaffer
Schiff	Schakowsky
Schrock	Schiff
Scott	Sensenbrenner
Serrano	Serrano
Sessions	Shadegg
Shaw	Shaw
Shays	Sherman
Sherwood	Sherwood
Shimkus	Shimkus
Shows	Shows
Shuster	Shuster
Simmons	Simmons
Simpson	Simpson
Skeen	Skeen
Skelton	Skelton
Slaughter	Slaughter
Smith (MI)	Smith (MI)
Smith (NJ)	Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)	Smith (TX)
Smith (WA)	Smith (WA)
Solis	Solis
Souder	Souder
Stark	Stark
Stearns	Stearns
Stenholm	Stenholm
Strickland	Strickland
Stupak	Stupak
Sullivan	Sullivan
Sununu	Sununu
Sweeney	Sweeney
Tancredo	Tancredo
Tanner	Tanner
Tauscher	Tauscher
Taylor (MS)	Taylor (MS)
Taylor (NC)	Taylor (NC)
Terry	Terry
Thomas	Thomas
Thompson (CA)	Thompson (CA)
Thompson (MS)	Thompson (MS)
Thornberry	Thornberry
Thune	Thune
Thurman	Thurman
Tiahrt	Tiahrt
Tiberi	Tiberi
Tierney	Tierney
Toomey	Toomey
Towns	Towns
Turner	Turner
Udall (CO)	Udall (CO)
Udall (NM)	Udall (NM)
Upton	Upton
Velazquez	Velazquez
Visclosky	Visclosky
Vitter	Vitter
Walden	Walden
Walsh	Walsh
Wamp	Wamp
Waters	Waters
Watson (CA)	Watson (CA)
Watt (NC)	Watt (NC)
Watts (OK)	Watts (OK)
Waxman	Waxman
Weiner	Weiner
Weldon (FL)	Weldon (FL)
Weldon (PA)	Weldon (PA)
Weller	Weller
Wexler	Wexler
Whitfield	Whitfield
Wicker	Wicker
Wilson (NM)	Wilson (NM)
Wilson (SC)	Wilson (SC)
Wolf	Wolf
Woolsey	Woolsey
Wu	Wu
Wynn	Wynn
Young (AK)	Young (AK)
Young (FL)	Young (FL)

## NAYS—1

Paul

## NOT VOTING—28

Blagojevich	Deutsch	Olver
Bonior	Emerson	Pombo
Borski	Frank	Riley
Brady (PA)	Greenwood	Snyder
Burton	Johnson, Sam	Spratt
Cannon	Lewis (GA)	Stump
Collins	Mascara	Traficant
Conyers	Matsui	Watkins (OK)
Cox	Menendez	
Delahunt	Murtha	

□ 1430

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the concurrent resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The title was amended so as to read: "Concurrent resolution commemorating the independence of East Timor and commending the President for promptly establishing diplomatic relations with East Timor."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and to include extraneous material on the bill, H.R. 3994, the Afghanistan Freedom Support Act.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GILLMOR). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

### AFGHANISTAN FREEDOM SUPPORT ACT OF 2002

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 419 and rule XVIII, the Chair declares the House in the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill, H.R. 3994.

□ 1432

## IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 3994) to authorize economic and democratic development assistance for Afghanistan and to authorize military assistance for Afghanistan and certain other foreign countries, with Mrs. BIGGERT in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to the rule, the bill is considered as having been read the first time.

Under the rule, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE).

Mr. HYDE. Madam Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Madam Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 3994, the Afghanistan Freedom Support Act of 2002.

The gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), the ranking Democratic member of the committee, and I introduced this bipartisan bill in support of the President's agenda in Afghanistan. The bill authorizes a broad range of development, economic, and security assistance over a 4-year period through fiscal year 2005.

The United States is currently supporting peace and recovery in Afghanistan through its assistance efforts on the ground and through its leadership in international organizations and among the members of the coalition against terrorism. Since the beginning of fiscal year 2002, the United States has provided more than \$374 million in food, humanitarian, refugee and other nonmilitary assistance provided to support the relief and recovery of the Afghan people. In order to be fully successful, this recovery effort must be sustained in the months and years ahead. Legislation is required to provide the President with a framework to ensure our success in meeting U.S. objectives in Afghanistan and in the region.

H.R. 3994 authorizes an additional \$300 million in assistance for fiscal years 2002 through 2004, with \$250 million authorized for fiscal year 2005. The additional \$300 million authorized for fiscal year 2002 is consistent with provisions included in the emergency appropriations bill currently under consideration by the Committee on Appropriations and represents a \$50 million increase over the President's request of \$250 million.

H.R. 3994 will assist the administration in developing a strategic approach to the assistance needs of Afghanistan. By authorizing a significant 4-year fund for the purpose of dealing with the special situation we find in Afghanistan, this legislation will give the administration great flexibility to design and implement a comprehensive assistance strategy in line with U.S. priorities and objectives in that troubled country.

Madam Chairman, H.R. 3994 was drafted in consultation with the administration and provides the President with great flexibility, taking into account the fluid situation in Afghanistan and the variety of economic, humanitarian, and security assistance needs. H.R. 3994 was reported out of the Committee on International Relations with broad bipartisan support.

The President has asked Congress to make available funds to support the reconstruction and development of Afghanistan and has requested \$250 million in emergency supplemental fiscal 2002 appropriations for Afghanistan. This supplemental assistance, if appropriated by Congress, will be in addition to the fiscal year 2002 funding already announced and allocated from existing accounts this fiscal year.

H.R. 3994 will promote the reconstruction of an independent, prosperous, and democratic Afghanistan. The primary goal of this legislation is

to provide for the national security of the United States and other nations by eliminating Afghanistan as a source of terrorism and instability in the region. By providing assistance to the people of Afghanistan, the United States will alleviate suffering, aid recovery, bolster stability, and promote democratic civil government. By reducing the amount of narcotics grown in or trafficked through Afghanistan, the U.S. will assist in Afghanistan's recovery, but will also provide for the security of the United States and other nations.

This bill authorizes assistance to meet urgent humanitarian needs, such as the provision of food aid and disaster relief. It also emphasizes the need to assist refugees in returning to their home communities in Afghanistan when it is safe to do so.

H.R. 3994 provides for aid in reconstruction and rehabilitation of basic infrastructure and assistance to the civil society and interim authority in Afghanistan. It underscores the importance of eradicating poppy cultivation in order to reduce supply and demand for illicit narcotics in Afghanistan and the region. The bill emphasizes the importance of supporting stability through employment programs and of improving food security, the health system, and the agricultural sector. This act will promote efforts already under way to improve the education system and support the transparency, accountability, and participatory nature of governmental institutions in Afghanistan.

Madam Chairman, H.R. 3994 also supports the President's plan for equipping and training an indigenous Afghan force, as well as efforts by other countries, in providing security assistance for Kabul by authorizing the provision of security assistance to Afghanistan, as well as to countries and international organizations supporting efforts to control terrorism.

H.R. 3994 exercises proper congressional oversight of U.S. foreign assistance programs by establishing 2 conditions for providing reconstruction development assistance to Afghanistan, exempting humanitarian, human rights and refugee assistance from conditionality. The first condition is that the government of Afghanistan must fully support counternarcotics efforts. The second is that the people of Afghanistan must follow through on commitments to peace made in Bonn, Germany in December 2001.

The U.S. has an essential role to play in Afghanistan's recovery from the horrific conflict and devastation of the past 30 years, but the administration needs a coherent strategy and structure in place in order to achieve our objectives of eliminating terrorism, securing the peace, combating drugs, and safeguarding the human and civil rights of all, particularly women and children. I urge Members to support H.R. 3994.

Madam Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

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

I want to thank my good friend and distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), the chairman of our committee, for his leadership in bringing this bill to the floor. I also want to commend the bipartisan manner in which he and his staff have worked with us to draft this legislation.

Our legislation includes many of the ideas and issues put forward in legislation which was introduced last December by myself and the gentleman from New York (Mr. ACKERMAN), my friend and colleague, and some 15 members of the Committee on International Relations of both political parties. I thank the chairman for working with us in including these provisions.

Madam Chairman, the legislation we are considering today is essential for America's national security. We have a strong interest in ensuring the reconstruction of Afghanistan and the establishment of democratic governmental institutions. An economically viable and democratic Afghanistan will no longer serve as an incubator for homegrown extremists such as the Taliban. It will no longer be a base of operations for foreign terrorists such as al Qaeda. It will no longer be the source of a huge proportion of the heroin that destroys lives around the world.

The United States, Madam Chairman, made a grave foreign policy mistake in 1991. After the implosion of the Soviet Union, the United States simply withdrew from Afghanistan. With the Soviet Union no longer a threat, the first Bush administration mistakenly assumed that there was no longer a threat to America. On September 11, our Nation suffered a horrendous blow for that misguided assumption.

Madam Chairman, as we move into the next phase in the war against terrorism, we must finish the job that our military forces have begun in Afghanistan. The legislation we are considering today is a critical element in that effort.

Our bill authorizes funding and makes statutory changes necessary for us to assist in establishing an economically viable, stable, and democratic Afghanistan. Our legislation authorizes \$1.3 billion over a 4-year period, a modest sum in relation to the amounts we are spending currently every single month for our military forces to continue this vital struggle. These funds and programs are essential to assure that our young men and women will not have to remain in Afghanistan to protect the security of Americans in New York and Washington and San Francisco, and everywhere throughout our Nation.

Madam Chairman, this bill comes before the U.S. House of Representatives at a critical time. As soon as this week, our House will consider supplemental appropriations for the current fiscal year. The President has requested \$250 million for Afghanistan in

this supplemental. However, only \$40 million of these funds are requested for USAID to fund the humanitarian and development needs in Afghanistan. It is my understanding that the Committee on Appropriations will increase the amount of money for USAID in Afghanistan, and I strongly support such a move.

Our bill emphasizes the development of Afghanistan's agricultural sector by promoting land mine removal, quick-impact public works programs to divert labor from narcotics production, and the development of water and sanitation systems in rural areas.

□ 1445

We expect that this aid will help stem further poppy cultivation.

Our legislation also contains strong language on the provision of assistance to meet the educational, health, and vocational needs of Afghanistan's long-abused and discriminated-against women, and it will promote the participation of women in government and civil society.

Finally, Madam Chairman, our bill underscores the need for security in Afghanistan, and provides military assistance to help establish a modern Aghan military and police force. It also provides support for those countries that are participating in the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan, and it authorizes military assistance to other countries helping in the war effort against al Qaeda.

Madam Chairman, the lack of security is perhaps the single biggest challenge facing the government and people of Afghanistan as they try to rebuild their lives and reclaim their country from the grasp of terrorists. It is vital to the United States that we work for a security environment in Afghanistan in order to prevent the return to power of al Qaeda and the Taliban.

Our bill makes a contribution to providing security in Afghanistan, but since the markup of this legislation in the Committee on International Relations, it has become clear that we must do more. Later in this debate, I will be offering an amendment to address this critical issue; and I hope all of my colleagues will support it. As the situation evolves, the needs in Afghanistan will change. Our legislation gives the administration the flexibility to adapt our assistance to the changing needs and priorities.

Madam Chairman, I believe this legislation will help ensure that the United States remains engaged to provide a secure future for Afghanistan. We can and we must play a critical role in Afghanistan's transformation into a stable, prosperous, and pluralistic nation.

Madam Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HYDE. Madam Chairman, I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER).

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

Mr. BEREUTER. Madam Chairman, I rise in strong support of H.R. 3994. I thank the chairman for yielding me this time, and for crafting, along with the distinguished ranking member, very important bipartisan legislation.

Specifically, I would also express my appreciation that the modest Bereuter amendment will be included in the en bloc manager's amendment. Specifically, this Member's amendment encourages the administration to maximize the use of the research capacity and technical expertise of U.S. land grant colleges and universities as it provides U.S. humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan.

Madam Chairman, this legislation includes important provisions which would authorize assistance to help the people of Afghanistan rebuild the capability to feed themselves. Indeed, the long-term stability of Afghanistan greatly depends on the country's ability to at least restore the subsistence level of agriculture in the area of food production.

Unfortunately, over 20 years of civil war and political unrest have destroyed nearly all of the indigenous tools and infrastructure for food production and rural development in Afghanistan. The people of this country have eaten their feedstocks, and most have slaughtered all of their livestock to meet their immediate food needs. Additionally, the country's limited basic irrigation systems largely have been destroyed.

Until these very basic components are restored, the people of Afghanistan will turn to other endeavors to survive, including the cultivation of poppies for producing drugs.

Madam Chairman, many land grant institutions have conducted very relevant world-class research in agricultural and rural development. Therefore, the following represents only a few of the areas in which the highly trained professions at these institutions could contribute to the assistance programs for Afghanistan: soil rehabilitation, water conservation, livestock breeding and herd maintenance, irrigation, and basic rural infrastructure constructions.

Furthermore, these professionals will have strong incentives to find innovative solutions for the massive challenges facing Afghanistan, and to continue their research if these land grant institutions are given a substantial opportunity to contribute to the reconstruction efforts.

Additionally, the use of land grant colleges and universities in assistance will serve, by experience, various similar projects in communities across our country. Too frequently, USAID grants are distributed among contractors based within the Beltway, or with those entities that have the best connections within the Beltway.

Madam Chairman, this legislation makes a very important contribution in so many areas, but I think it also helps provide the basis for the people of Afghanistan to begin to feed them-

selves again and avoid drug production. I urge support of the legislation.

Madam Chairman, it is clear that using U.S. land grant colleges and universities to implement U.S. assistance projects in Afghanistan would benefit the people of Afghanistan as they would be advised and trained by some of the world's leading experts in the fields of agriculture and rural development. In turn, land grant colleges and universities would benefit from participation in these projects, as they would have an opportunity to share their expertise and to encourage their professors and researchers to pursue creative projects. Finally, U.S. foreign policy certainly would benefit when U.S. land grant colleges and universities implementing assistance projects, as Americans from across the country would be contributing to the programs and subsequently feel a higher interest and satisfaction in the success of those programs.

Madam Chairman, before concluding this statement, this Member would like to bring to the attention of his colleagues other provisions within H.R. 3994 which would authorize the use of overseas cooperatives and microenterprise systems as development mechanisms in Afghanistan. For several decades, United States cooperative development organizations which operate overseas as well as microenterprise institutions, have served as effective grassroots mechanisms to promote democratic development and build economies in underserved areas. Certainly, rural areas of Afghanistan would benefit from experience with Americans from community-owned, member-controlled cooperative and microenterprise programs, particularly those which focus on micro-savings and credit, village infrastructure, and such community services as rural electrification and rural telecommunications. Indeed, these projects also would serve to complement the agriculture and other rural reconstruction activities which would involve America's land grant colleges and universities.

Madam Chairman, in conclusion, this Member encourages his colleagues to vote for H.R. 3994.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Chairman, I am delighted to yield 3 minutes to my distinguished friend and colleague, the gentleman from New York (Mr. ACKERMAN), who has played such a pivotal role in shaping intelligent, far-sighted foreign policy vis-a-vis Afghanistan.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Madam Chairman, I rise in strong support of H.R. 3994, the Afghanistan Freedom Support Act.

At the outset, I want to thank the gentleman from Illinois (Chairman HYDE) and the ranking member, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), for their tremendous efforts to craft a bipartisan bill supporting rehabilitation and reconstruction assistance in Afghanistan.

It is important for the Congress to speak loudly and clearly regarding a long-term commitment to Afghanistan, and I think the bill before us today does just that. In addition, the bill answers the President's call last October for the Congress to support reconstruction assistance for Afghanistan.

As has been noted, the bill provides over \$1 billion for humanitarian relief, refugee assistance, rehabilitation, and reconstruction in Afghanistan. This assistance is linked to adherence to the

Bonn process and to progress on eradicating poverty, but in neither case is the aid so closely linked that it deprives the President of the flexibility necessary to pursue U.S. objectives in that country.

Throughout the bill, the importance of the role of women is emphasized, from the structure of the future government to health care and education programs specifically for women and girls. In addition, the assistance has a particular focus on the agricultural economy in Afghanistan. I think this is especially important given that the vast majority of Afghans live in rural areas and depend on agriculture for their livelihood.

The emphasis also dovetails nicely with our efforts to eradicate poppy by giving farmers a viable alternative to the narcotics trade.

Madam Chairman, the bill also authorizes military assistance to support the formation of an Afghan police force and a national army. In addition, this assistance is available to foreign countries or international organizations who are directly supporting our military activities in Afghanistan, or are participating in peacekeeping or policing operations there. I believe that the military assistance provisions are appropriate and are focused on the needs of U.S. policy.

Madam Chairman, this bill is an excellent example of what can be accomplished through bipartisan efforts. I commend the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for their leadership on this issue, and I urge all of our colleagues to support the bill.

Mr. HYDE. Madam Chairman, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), the chairman emeritus of the Committee on International Relations.

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

Mr. GILMAN. Madam Chairman, I thank the chairman for yielding time to me.

Madam Chairman, I want to thank our distinguished chairman, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), and the ranking minority member, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), for bringing this measure so expeditiously to the floor.

The Afghan Freedom Support Act is an important measure. Afghanistan and the Afghan people are at a critical crossroads today in their survival. Afghanistan has been torn apart by hostilities, by drought, by regional disputes. It has caused a humanitarian crisis that has left millions of Afghans with little hope and too much despair.

The Afghanistan Freedom Support Act before us attempts to help Afghans help themselves. This bill authorizes \$1.05 billion over a 4-year period for a broad range of development, economic, anti-narcotics, and security assistance for Afghanistan that will assist its ad-

ministration in its efforts to build a better future for their people.

Madam Chairman, the former King of Afghanistan, Zahir Shah, recently returned to Afghanistan to help lead a Loya Jirga, a grand assembly. The Afghanistan Freedom Support Act will help the former King and will help Chairman Karzai, Dr. Abdullah, the Afghan foreign minister, and other representatives of the Afghan community to start a long-needed process and a discussion of renewal on all of their issues.

The Afghan Freedom Support Act will also help bring stability to Afghanistan and to the region. Accordingly, I urge my colleagues to fully support this important legislation, H.R. 3994, the Afghanistan Freedom Support Act.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Chairman, I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to my good friend and distinguished colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. SCHIFF).

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Madam Chairman, I rise today in strong support of H.R. 3994, the Afghanistan Freedom Support Act, and the Lantos amendment addressing the immediate security concerns in Afghanistan.

Last March I had the opportunity to accompany a delegation led by the gentleman from California (Chairman ROHRBACHER) to Afghanistan and assess some of the desperate needs of that country.

The challenges there were immediate and were very apparent. The day after our arrival, 300 people were arrested for attempting to overthrow the Karzai government. Three days after that, there was an effort to blow up the defense minister. Two weeks after that, a bumper opium crop was ready for harvest. As we drove through the country, rocks were painted red and painted white, one side that had been demined, another side that had not.

The challenges before that country are immense, but none was pointed out I think more graphically than the reports we received while we were there that al Qaeda and Taliban were circulating pamphlets in some of the small villages that said, "The Americans will leave. They will be here a few years and then they will leave. We are Muslims; we do not leave. If we find you working with the Americans, talking with the Americans, we will kill you and we will kill your family. We do not leave."

This, indeed, is the challenge for this country. The challenge for us is to support to rebuild the economy in Afghanistan, the infrastructure in Afghanistan, the educational system in Afghanistan, to make sure that this country never again becomes a haven for terrorists like al Qaeda and the Taliban.

The rap on any democracy and the rap on the United States is that we

have no staying power, and we must prove this wrong. We must demonstrate that we have the commitment; that we have seen history and we are determined not to repeat it. This act goes a long way to providing the building blocks to restore that nation to its people and to protect our country from any future September 11.

Mr. HYDE. Madam Chairman, I am very pleased to yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), the Vice Chair of the Committee.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Madam Chairman, I thank my good friend for yielding time to me and applaud him for this very, very important piece of legislation, H.R. 3994. The gentleman from Illinois (Chairman HYDE) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) have crafted a very important piece of pro-democracy humanitarian legislation.

Were Members here in 1989 when the Soviet Union withdrew its troops from Afghanistan, those who were, will remember that with the Soviet expansionist designs thwarted at the end of the Cold War, most Americans, including Congress, promptly forgot about Afghanistan. Foreign aid levels were slashed, and interest in the region plummeted.

For over a decade, Madam Chairman, Afghanistan festered in a mire of factional in-fighting, international neglect, and drug trafficking. Untold thousands were killed and others were crippled by landmines and unexploded ordnance left over from the Soviet occupation. Women were systematically degraded and exploited and reduced to chattel.

While Kabul was systematically reduced to rubble, the United States and the rest of the international community essentially stood by on the sidelines. While the West was trying to spend the peace dividend on other priorities, the vacuum of Afghanistan was filled with extremists who thrived on conditions of hopelessness.

One of the lessons, and especially post-September 11, that America has learned is that we can no longer afford to sit by and watch as developing nations collapse into chaos and anarchy.

This legislation, Madam Chairman, and the money that it will provide, will tangibly assist a suffering people. The Bush administration has it right and is doing a magnificent job in Afghanistan. They will help the people of Afghanistan to realize their hopes, their aspirations, and their dreams.

□ 1500

The people of Afghanistan deserve to be one of the nations among the democracies. Now they have the opportunity, this legislation will help to facilitate that.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Chairman, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LEE), my good friend and distinguished colleague.

Ms. LEE. Madam Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time.

I rise today in full support of the Afghanistan Freedom Support Act. This bill provides very important humanitarian, development and economic assistance. Afghanistan is a country that has been torn apart by war for decades. The seeds of terrorism grow where there is despair and poverty.

Manmade disasters have been compounded by nature. Afghanistan has been suffering from a terrible drought, for example, for several years, adding to the already extreme misery in that country. So we must remain committed to Afghanistan's reconstruction. It is not only for humanitarian reasons, but it is also in the United States' security interests as well.

We also must make sure that our assistance to Afghanistan recognizes the suffering of Afghan women in particular and in the importance of reintegrating women into the civic life of the country.

I submitted an amendment in committee authored by my colleague, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD) calling for resources to be sent to the Afghan Ministry of Women's Affairs to carry out its responsibilities for legal advocacy, education, vocational training and women's health programs. I want to thank the gentlewoman from California (Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD) who is the vice chair of the Women's Caucus for her leadership and also for the bipartisan support of the committee's adoption.

I want to thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) and our ranking member, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), for crafting this very common-sense, yet, I believe far-reaching legislation. I urge support for the bill. The United States must remain engaged in helping support the nation-building efforts in Afghanistan.

Mr. HYDE. Madam Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE).

Mr. ROYCE. Madam Chairman, I rise in support of the bill. I commend the chairman of the committee and the ranking member for their work.

Last March I traveled to Afghanistan to meet with our troops there and to meet with government officials. I think Americans are rightly proud over the efforts of our servicemen and women. But one thing was absolutely clear; the battle in Afghanistan is far from over. We met with Interim Chairman Hamed Karzai, and he has struck a delicate balance in heading up the multi-ethnic Afghan administration. A Loya Jirga will soon be held to appoint a transitional authority there. The United States must stand firmly behind Chairman Karzai and the interim government.

This legislation that the chairman and the ranking member have directed to us, this will help us better do this. I had the opportunity to travel to Kabul and visit a local orphanage where I spoke with a little girl who told me she wanted to be a doctor when she grew

up. Now with the liberation of her country from the Taliban regime, this dream has a chance.

Madam Chairman, thanks to the work of our armed services and thanks to Chairman Karzai, there is a window of opportunity there. The battered Afghan people are desperate for a brighter future, for a unified country that they can believe in. But that window is closing. And suspicion, cynicism, and self-interest are filling the gap. There are too many characters looking to bring Afghanistan back into chaos. The other week our forces fired a missile from an unmanned Predator plane that just missed Hekmatyar. Hekmatyar has been plotting attacks against the interim government and against American troops.

The U.S. training of an Afghan national army formally started this week. Although this is a welcome development, it will take some time to develop this force into one that can provide security nationwide. Turkey will be assuming command of the international security assistance force. Now that is confined to the Afghan capital. It is critical that we encourage Turkey to expand its force outside of Kabul to counter the regional warlords.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Chairman, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. CROWLEY), our good friend and distinguished colleague.

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

Mr. CROWLEY. Madam Chairman, I am pleased to rise today in support of the Afghan Freedom Support Act. I thank the chairman and the ranking member for their work on this very, very important act.

The Afghanistan Freedom Support Act is a critical step towards the reconstruction of Afghanistan. Among its notable provisions, the bill calls for a significant amount of humanitarian assistance to help deliver food, medical care and basic supplies to the people of Afghanistan; provisions to promote counternarcotics efforts; the need to develop the agricultural sector, both as a step towards economic development and self-sufficiency, but also as a means of stemming poppy cultivation; the furtherance of a bond process which provides a framework for Afghanistan's political factions to decide their country's political future; and strong language on the provision of assistance to meet the educational, health and vocational needs of women.

I am also strongly supporting the measures required by the amendment introduced by my good friend and colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS). While giving the President broad latitude to craft the most effective approach, this amendment would require the administration to develop a strategy to meet the immediate and long-term security needs of Afghanistan in order to promote the delivery of humanitarian assistance,

further the rule of law and support the formation of a representative government in Afghanistan.

Improved security is a necessary precondition for achievement of the U.S. pledge to help build a stable and peaceful Afghanistan. Since the current government led by Hamed Karzai is not able to provide security throughout the country outside of Kabul, in fact, other parts of the country seem like the Wild West, fighting between rival factions who are vying for regional control, human rights abuses and corruption, and the problems will continue to hinder the delivery of humanitarian aid, delay economic reconstruction and development, and undermine the delicate process by which factions are trying to create a stable, democratic, central government.

Uncontrolled violence also puts U.S. and allied soldiers throughout Afghanistan at risk. It is, therefore, critical for the administration and Congress to work together to find ways to improve security in Afghanistan. I believe the Lantos amendment provides a reasonable and speedy method for addressing this important issue, but once again I rise in support of the Afghanistan Freedom Support Act and I thank the chairman and ranking member again for their work on this important piece of legislation.

Mr. HYDE. Madam Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL).

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

Mr. PAUL. Madam Chairman, I thank the chairman for yielding me time.

Madam Chairman, I rise in opposition to this bill. The President has not asked for this piece of legislation; he does not support it. We do not anticipate that it will be passed in the other body. But there is one good part of the bill, and that is the title, "Freedom Support." We all support freedom. It is just that this bill does not support freedom. Really, it undermines the liberties and the taxes of many Americans in order to pump another in \$1.2 billion into Afghanistan.

One of the moral justifications, maybe, for rebuilding Afghanistan is that it was the American bombs that helped to destroy Afghanistan in our routing of the Taliban. But there is a lot of shortcomings in this method. Nation-building does not work. I think this will fail. I do not think it will help us.

I do not think for a minute that this is much different than social engineering that we try here in the U.S. with a lot of duress and a lot of problems; and now we are going to do it over there where we really do not understand the social conditions that exist, and it is not like here. Some, especially those in that part of the world, will see this as neo-colonialism because we are over there for a lot of different reasons. And even in the bill it states one of the reasons. It says, "We are to design an

overall strategy to advance U.S. interests in Afghanistan."

Well, I wonder what that means? Over 10 years ago there was an explicit desire and a statement made by the administration that until we had a unified government in Afghanistan, we could not build a gas pipeline across northern Afghanistan. And that is in our interests. Does that mean this is one of the motivations?

I imagine a lot of people here in the Congress might say no, but that might be the ultimate outcome. It is said that this bill may cut down on the drug trade. But the Taliban was stronger against drugs than the Northern Alliance. Drug production is up since we've been involved this past year in Afghanistan.

Madam Chairman, I think it is important to state first off that while it is true that the administration has not actively opposed this legislation, it certainly has not asked for nor does it support the Afghanistan Freedom Support Act. It did not support the bill when we marked it up in the International Relations Committee, it did not support the bill after it was amended in Committee, and it does not support the bill today.

Madam Chairman, perhaps the "Afghanistan Freedom Support Act" should more accurately be renamed the "Afghanistan Territorial Expansion Act," because this legislation essentially treats that troubled nation like a new American territory. In fact, I wonder whether we give Guam, Puerto Rico, or other American territories anywhere near \$1.2 billion every few years—so maybe we just should consider full statehood for Afghanistan. This new State of Afghanistan even comes complete with an American governor, which the bill charitably calls a "coordinator." After all, we can't just give away such a huge sum without installing an American overseer to ensure we approve of all aspects of the fledgling Afghan government.

Madam Chairman, when we fill a nation's empty treasury, when we fund and train its military, when we arm it with our weapons, when we try to impose foreign standards and values within it, indeed when we attempt to impose a government and civil society of our own making upon it, we are nation-building. There is no other term for it. Whether Congress wants to recognize it or not, this is neo-colonialism. Afghanistan will be unable to sustain itself economically for a very long time to come, and during that time American taxpayers will pay the bills. This sad reality was inevitable from the moment we decided to invade it and replace its government, rather than use covert forces to eliminate the individuals truly responsible for September 11th. Perhaps the saddest truth is that Bin Laden remains alive and free even as we begin to sweep up the rubble from our bombs.

I am sure that supporters of this bill are well-intentioned, but judging from past experience this approach will fail to improve the lives of the average Afghan citizen. Though many will also attempt to claim that this bill is somehow about the attacks of 9/11, let's not fool ourselves: nation-building and social engineering are what this bill is about. Most of the problems it seeks to address predate the 9/11 attacks and those it purports to assist had nothing to do with those attacks.

If we are operating under the premise that global poverty itself poses a national security threat to the United States, then I am afraid we have an impossible task ahead of us.

As is often the case, much of the money authorized by this bill will go toward lucrative contracts with well-connected private firms and individuals. In short, when you look past all the talk about building civil society in Afghanistan and defending against terrorism, this bill is laden with the usual corporate welfare and hand-outs to special interests.

Among other harmful things, this legislation dramatically expands the drug war. Under the group we have installed in Afghanistan, opium production has skyrocketed. Now we are expected to go in and clean up the mess our allies have created. In addition, this bill will send some \$60 million to the United Nations, to help fund its own drug eradication program. I am sure most Americans agree that we already send the United Nations too much of our tax money, yet this bill commits us to sending even more.

The drug war has been a failure. Plan Colombia, an enormously expensive attempt to reduce drug production in that Andean nation, has actually resulted in a 25 percent increase in coca leaf and cocaine production. Does anyone still think our "war on drugs" there has been successful? Is it responsible to continue spending money on policies that do not work?

The bill also reflects a disturbing effort by the Washington elite to conduct experiments in social engineering in Afghanistan. It demands at least five times that the Afghans create a government that is "broad-based, multi-ethnic, gender-sensitive, and fully representative." We are imposing race and gender quotas on a foreign government that have been found inappropriate and in some cases even illegal in the United States. Is this an appropriate activity to be carried out with taxpayer funds?

Madam Chairman, the problem with nation-building and social-engineering, as experience tells us time and time again is that it simply doesn't work. We cannot build multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, gender-sensitive civil society and good governance in Afghanistan on a top-down basis from afar. What this bill represents is a commitment to deepening involvement in Afghanistan and a determination to impose a political system on that country based on a blueprint drawn up thousands of miles away by Washington elites. Does anyone actually believe that we can buy Afghan democracy with even the staggering sum of 1.2 billion dollars? A real democracy is the product of shared values and the willingness of a population to demand and support it. None of these things can be purchased by a foreign power. What is needed in Afghanistan is not just democracy, but freedom—the two are not the same.

Release of funds authorized by this legislation is dependent on the holding of a traditional Afghan assembly of tribal representatives—a "loya jirga"—as a first step toward democratization. It authorizes \$10 million dollars to finance this meeting. That this traditional meeting will produce anything like a truly representative body is already in question, as we heard earlier this month that seven out of 33 influential tribal leaders have already announced they will boycott the meeting. Additionally, press reports have indicated that the U.S. government itself was not too long ago

involved in an attempted assassination of a non-Taliban regional leader who happened to be opposed to the rule of the American-installed Hamid Karzai. More likely, this "loya jirga" will be a stage-managed showpiece, primarily convened to please Western donors. Is this any way to teach democracy?

Madam Chairman, some two decades ago the Soviet Union also invaded Afghanistan and attempted to impose upon the Afghan people a foreign political system. Some nine years and 15,000 Soviet lives later they retreated in disgrace, morally and financially bankrupt. During that time, we propped up the Afghan resistance with our weapons, money, and training, planting the seeds of the Taliban in the process. Now the former Soviet Union is gone, its armies long withdrawn from Afghanistan, and we're left cleaning up the mess—yet we won't be loved for it. No, we won't get respect or allegiance from the Afghans, especially now that our bombs have rained down upon them. We will pay the bills, however, Afghanistan will become a tragic ward of the American state, another example of an interventionist foreign policy that is supposed to serve our national interests and gain allies, yet which does neither.

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

Before yielding time, I would like to comment on the previous speaker's observations. It is very much in the U.S. national interests not to allow the Taliban and al Qaeda to reestablish their bases in Afghanistan. Unless I am mistaken, it is their activities that resulted in the deaths of 3,000 of our fellow citizens in New York and at the Pentagon. It is very much in the U.S. national interest to put an end to opium production in Afghanistan. It is very much in the U.S. national interest to have a stable, prosperous, and democratic society in that part of the world. And I believe the overwhelming majority of Members of this body and the American people see that as clearly as the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) and I do.

Madam Chairman, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to my good friend and colleague, the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE).

Ms. JACKSON-LEE. Madam Chairman, I thank the ranking member for his kindness, I believe that is what it is when we are allowed to bring very important issues to this floor, as well as his leadership, and the chairman of the Committee on International Relations for leadership they have shown together in bringing us this legislation which is a combined work of both the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) and the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE).

The reason I say that is because echoing the words of the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), "This legislation is both long overdue and essential."

Having visited Afghanistan in March and visited our troops who were doing a very able and needed job, even in speaking to our military personnel, they applauded the desire of America to help rebuild this nation.

It is important to note that we have evidence that we can help build nations. Just a few days ago Sierra Leone had a democratically held election and we hope that that democracy will last.

The Afghani people want democracy and they want to be able to have a strong nation. That was evident by our travels around the country. When we saw the children, a thousand of them in an orphanage, they desired an education and opportunity. When we saw the sick children and sick people in hospitals, they wanted resources to help them create a better health system. When I spoke to the women there, they wanted to make sure that they did have the opportunity for creating businesses so that microcredits would be an important concept for them.

This legislation combines the fight against opium-growing along with an investment in humanitarian needs. That means education and health care. It means teaching the government and teaching the people how to govern themselves. We did the wrong thing some years ago when Russia was fighting there, and what happened was a terrible, oppressive leadership of the Taliban. Might I change that word, not leadership, oppressiveness. We must weed out the oppressiveness of the Taliban by continuing to fight against those terrorists, but at the same time we must strengthen Chairman Karzai's government and encourage the growth and development and enhancement for the people of Afghanistan so that the 3 million who are refugees can return home.

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Mr. HYDE. Madam Chairman, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the learned gentleman from Ohio (Mr. NEY).

Mr. NEY. Madam Chairman, I rise in support of this bill since I strongly support our continued engagement in Afghanistan. The people of Afghanistan have suffered for too long, and lawlessness and international neglect have caused their country to become a haven for terrorists, but not anymore.

During my recent visit to Afghanistan, our delegation was often overwhelmed by the gratitude of the Afghani people to America for freeing them from the Taliban's chains of oppression and ignorance. It lies in America's interest to make sure that the darkness of those chains never returns to Afghanistan.

Madam Chairman, we helped the Afghan interim government get formed, and it is important that we continue to support the Loya Jirga process and those chosen by that body to represent the Afghan people for the next 18 months. These are Afghanistan's first steps towards democracy, and America should stand shoulder to shoulder with the Afghan people as they strive for freedom, prosperity, and self-representation.

Security, of course, is still an issue in Afghanistan. Without security, the

terrorists can find a way back into Afghanistan. Peacekeepers are currently only located in the Kabul area; and outside the capital rogue elements, as we know, continue to challenge the central government. Our troops should be there to fight the al Qaeda for everyone's interest. However, the overall security of Afghanistan, and indirectly the United States, would all significantly be enhanced if non-American peacekeepers were stationed in other areas of the country. Countries such as Turkey, Bahrain, Jordan, Sweden, and Britain have already shown interest in providing peacekeeping to those areas of our vast interest.

Madam Chairman, prosperity and stability go hand in hand. Hopefully, one day the U.S. private sector will return.

America has helped bring a new beginning to the people of Afghanistan. This bill reconfirms our determination to not let this new beginning slip out of our hands and represents the best of American ideals.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Chairman, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. HINCHEY), my friend and distinguished colleague.

Mr. HINCHEY. Madam Chairman, I wish to express my appreciation to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), our chairman, and to the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), our ranking member, for fabricating this bill and bringing it to the floor here so that we all have an opportunity to support authorizing \$1 billion of support for humanitarian and reconstruction aid for Afghanistan.

I was in Afghanistan in January of this year. At that time I had an opportunity to meet with Hamid Karzai and members of his cabinet, also with many of the people in that country, our new charge d'affaires there, the men and women of the 10th Mountain Division who are stationed there in that country and on its perimeter.

In our conversations with Hamid Karzai, I asked him what was most important to him. Without hesitation or equivocation he said security. He then said we need to rebuild our educational system; we need to refashion our transportation system; we need to rebuild our agriculture, which is the foundation of their economy. But none of that will be done unless we are able to maintain security.

The authorization that is contained in this bill provides the means for us to begin to do that in a meaningful way. We are going to have to stay involved in Afghanistan and committed and helpful to those people for some time in the future. I hope we have the staying power to do it, and I hope that this legislation which is here before us this afternoon will provide for us the solid foundation from which we can proceed on into the future.

The security of Afghanistan is critical to the people of that country, to the establishment of a new democratic

government, as well as to the security of ourselves and other freedom-loving peoples in other parts of the world.

We need to do this today. We need to remain involved with this new government that is developing there, and we need to continue to carry the people of Afghanistan in our hearts and in our purses.

Mr. HYDE. Madam Chairman, I am very pleased to yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentlewoman from Maryland (Mrs. MORELLA).

Mrs. MORELLA. Madam Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 3994, the Afghanistan Freedom Support Act.

I do want to thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) for his leadership in crafting this bill and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for his commitment to helping the Afghan people. I rise to thank them both for working with me and the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) to incorporate much of H.R. 3342, the Access for Afghan Women Act, into this bill. Their cooperation enables this body to continue our support for improving the lives of Afghan women and children.

H.R. 3994 will provide over \$1 billion in United States assistance to Afghanistan for humanitarian and reconstruction projects, as well as Afghan military and police assistance, and funds to stem poppy production. While the bill provides the President with broad flexibility, key aspects of humanitarian and reconstruction assistance are targeted toward Afghan women.

The bill reflects that it is the United States' policy that the United States and international community should support a broad-based, multi-ethnic, gender-sensitive and fully representative government in Afghanistan. In order to meet this goal of improving the human rights of all Afghans, particularly women, emphasis must remain on meeting the educational, health and sustenance needs of women and children to better enable their full participation in Afghan society.

Assistance should increase the participation of women at the national, regional and local levels in Afghanistan, wherever feasible, by enhancing the role of women in decision-making processes, as well as by providing support programs that aim to expand economic educational opportunities and health programs for women and girls. In addition, an amendment was added for resources to be sent to the Afghan ministry of women's affairs to carry out its responsibilities for legal, advocacy, education, vocational training and women's health programs.

H.R. 3994 prioritizes maternal and child health services as an urgent humanitarian need, especially programs to reduce child mortality. Assistance is authorized to recruit and train teachers in order to meet the desperate need in Afghanistan to make up for the lost time in the classroom. Thousands of children returned to school in March, some for the first time in many years,

and some had never been to school. By September, all Afghan children will have access to education.

Also authorized in this bill are programs establishing financial institutions capable of providing microenterprise credits and other income-generating programs for the poor with emphasis on women. Microenterprise loans have proven successful throughout the developed and developing world by providing an opportunity for self-sufficiency.

I support the Afghanistan Freedom Support Act and the conditioning of U.S. aid on presidential certification that Loya Jirga has convened and decided on a broad-based, multi-ethnic, gender-sensitive, fully represented transitional government.

I thank all my colleagues for this bill. I urge support.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Chairman, I am delighted to yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD), my good friend and good neighbor.

Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD. Madam Chairman, let me thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), the chairman; and my good friend and neighbor, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), the ranking member, for their leadership in bringing this very important issue, along with the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues, which the chairwoman and I co-chair that caucus, and to bring this piece of legislation to the floor. We thank our colleagues so much.

Today, we bring to conclusion an unrivaled bipartisan process in support of war-weary Afghanistan. We are about to vote on this important measure that will provide material resources to support the rebuilding and reconstruction of a country that has touched the popular imagination over the past years.

As democratic chair of the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues, I am proud to add my voice in support of this defining bill. It cannot come too soon to help the interim administration as it moves forward to the next stage of instilling a spirit of sound governance in Afghanistan.

When the Loya Jirga assembly meets in June, the provisional government will begin setting out the key principles of the rule of law that will help bring about stability and security where even now disorder and ethnic conflict too often prevail.

At least 160 women will be instrumental in playing a central role in this assembly. It may not be enough, but it is a start. As I stated on the House floor in December, the future of women in Afghanistan and ultimately the stability of any provisional settlement will rest upon a foundation of inclusion, not exclusion.

Madam Chairman, the comprehensive package of assistance before us today for final passage affirms the important aspirations being sought by Afghans, both inside and outside of that coun-

try. Helping Afghan women to regain their rightful place in national life is one of the best ways I know to combat terrorism in Afghanistan and to lessen the sense of peril of the global community everywhere.

This historic bill also specifically calls for providing resources to the ministry of women's affairs to ensure that the ministry can carry out its responsibilities for legal, advocacy, educational and vocational training. I am pleased to have authored this provision and to have had the cooperation of the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LEE), my distinguished colleague, my fellow Californian and friend, and the successful effort at the House Committee on International Relations markup last month.

Afghan women must be assured of their basic human rights once more to gain access to safe drinking water and sufficient food, to receive decent health and maternal care, and foremost, to again move freely in their society without being subjected to harassment and abuse.

The role of the women's ministry in realizing these objectives will be critical in building a new sense of nationhood and in helping to secure peace and democratic order. Restoring women's level of participation in the rebirth of Afghanistan after 22 years of warfare is a noteworthy contribution towards shaping a meaningful future for that country.

Mr. HYDE. Madam Chairman, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. PITTS), a member of the committee.

Mr. PITTS. Madam Chairman, I rise today in support of this legislation. In January, on January 2, with my colleagues, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF) and the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. HALL), I traveled to Afghanistan, met with Chairman Karzai and leaders. And let me offer my observations.

Despite the fact that the Taliban are out of power, the people of Afghanistan continue to suffer. Many people still do not have enough to eat. Food aid is needed. Medical, educational assistance is needed. However, the Afghan people do not want to subsist on handouts. Instead, they desire the opportunity to work, to use their skills to provide for their families.

Prior to the 1979 Soviet invasion, Afghanistan was self-sufficient and exported agriculture products to its neighbors. Before 1979, 80 percent of the society farmed the land. The skills are there, but development is needed in animal husbandry, irrigation system repair, drought assistance, and alternative crops to replace narcotics production.

As we continue to help the people of Afghanistan in rebuilding their nation, our development assistance should focus on providing employment opportunities; helping with demining so that families can return to their homes and plant their fields; investing in rebuild-

ing infrastructure so that people can get their goods to market; and supporting education, for children's needs are great.

Predictions were that 5,000 refugees would return to their homes this year. Over 500,000 refugees have already returned, and the year is not even half over. Most refugees are returning to homes in rural areas and will need help to get back on their feet. In addition, our government should continue to clearly express its support for the interim government led by Chairman Karzai and the June Loya Jirga.

As Chairman Karzai said in January during our meeting regarding our Nation's partnership, he said, "Think of the help as help to our children. The families will do well if the children do well."

Madam Chairman, in order to avoid another environment in which warlords and terrorists flourish, we must help the Afghan people as they rebuild their society. If the Afghan people do well, then our Nation will do well, their nation will do well; and we will avoid the situation that will produce more Taliban and terrorists.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Chairman, I am very pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from American Samoa (Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA).

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Madam Chairman, I am honored to rise as an original cosponsor of H.R. 3994, the Afghanistan Freedom Support Act; and I would be remiss if I do not express my deepest appreciation to the chairman of our committee, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), and our own ranking member, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), also, the chairman of our subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia, and the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) and the ranking member, the gentleman from New York (Mr. ACKERMAN).

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They have made such a tremendous contribution and leadership in bringing this vital legislation to the floor.

Madam Chairman, now that the people of Afghanistan have been released from the repressive regimes of al Qaeda and the Taliban, they face a daunting task and desperately need the international community's support to rebuild their government, their society and their nation.

While I support the body of the legislation, Madam Chairman, it glaringly fails to address the deteriorating security environment throughout Afghanistan which has become a crisis. Once outside Kabul, no one is safe, as humanitarian relief workers have been threatened, Loya Jirga election delegates murdered, and Afghan women and girls assaulted.

I deeply commend the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for focusing on this urgent problem and offering an amendment at a later point in time that requires the administration to

submit a plan of action to address the immediate security crisis in Afghanistan, in addition to long-term security concerns. We cannot afford any longer to ignore this cancer that significantly threatens to derail Afghanistan's recovery.

If we are truly serious about aiding the people of Afghanistan and that nation's development as a democracy, I urge my colleagues to adopt the Lantos amendment as well as this legislation, as amended, for final passage.

Mr. HYDE. Madam Chairman, I am delighted to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN), the distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights of the Committee on International Relations.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Madam Chairman, the bill that we are debating today serves as a symbol, a measure of the commitment and guarantees by the United States and, indeed, the international community to support the Afghan people so that they can quickly stand on their own. As the bill title reflects, it is intended to create the necessary conditions and environment for stability and peace to take root in Afghanistan. With the Loya Jirga, the seeds of freedom were planted. However, without the targeted assistance described in this legislation, democracy and respect for human rights cannot fully develop and flourish in this nation which has been devastated by decades of war and oppression.

Of foremost importance is the support for security during the transitional period in Afghanistan. This country has undergone great internal turmoil and tremendous brutality in recent history, resulting in deeply embedded scars in the psyche of its people, a people worried about the recurrence of violence. Sporadic incidents throughout the course of the last several months underscore the potential for such a negative outcome.

In providing for such security assistance, we are responding to and reflecting the demands of the Afghan people who want, as Chairman Karzai stated earlier this year, to ensure that "people will not have an opportunity any more to try to meddle in Afghan affairs or to cause trouble or civil strife." The Lantos amendment will expand later upon this.

In further addressing the internal situation, this bill also provides a multi-year authorization to finance a variety of necessary programs to meet urgent humanitarian needs, to assist in the development of civil society, and guaranteeing the full participation and reintegration of women in all sectors of Afghan life.

My dear colleagues, if we do not want a return to the grim past when Afghans were tortured and beaten, when they were repressed, when Afghanistan was a safe harbor and training ground for international terrorists, then we must render our support to this important legislation.

Let us not abandon the Afghan people. Vote "yes" on the Afghan Freedom Support Act.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Chairman, I am delighted to yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY).

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Madam Chairman, I thank my dear friend and colleague for yielding time and I thank Chairman HYDE and Ranking Member LANTOS for their leadership on this important legislation.

This bill authorizes over \$1 billion over the next 4 years for humanitarian and reconstruction projects as well as military and police assistance to help rebuild this nation. I am very pleased that the bill incorporates language from H.R. 3342, the Access for Afghan Women Act, a bill I authored along with my good friend and colleague the gentleman from Maryland (Mrs. MORELLA).

As a result, H.R. 3994 recognizes and now supports Afghan women and children by placing an emphasis on meeting the educational, health and sustenance needs of women and children so that they can participate fully in Afghan society. It also states that U.S. assistance should increase the participation of women and girls at all levels in decision-making areas.

Finally, this bill requires that resources be sent to the Afghan Ministry of Women's Affairs. Each of these provisions are extremely important because they recognize the importance of including women's participation in all areas of Afghan life.

Unfortunately, the underlying bill does not provide adequately for the safety and security of women living in Afghanistan, particularly in the areas outside of Kabul. That is why I support strongly the Lantos amendment which I understand Chairman HYDE likewise supports, which will help meet the immediate security needs of Afghanistan by calling upon the administration to come forward with a security plan for the entire country within 45 days.

In order to achieve participation in all aspects of life, women must feel safe when leaving their homes and their daughters must feel safe when they go to school, something they have been waiting for for 8 long years under the Taliban rule. And women must not be intimidated by troops and local warlords when they are finally on their way to gaining and getting their lives back.

We must continue to support Afghanistan and the women in Afghanistan. I urge a strong vote for the bill and for the Lantos amendment.

Mr. HYDE. Madam Chairman, I am pleased to yield the balance of my time to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRABACHER).

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRABACHER).

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRABACHER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Madam Chairman, I would like to thank the chairman for all the hard work that he has put in on this over not just this time since September 11 but the time before as well, as well as Ranking Member LANTOS. This has been an issue of importance to us all even before 9/11. And the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) Chairman GILMAN has been heart and soul behind the efforts to free the Afghan people even before it became clear that it was a threat to the United States.

There has been a great deal of discussion as of late as to how much President Bush knew about the terrorist threat that took the lives of 3,000 Americans on September 11. What is most pertinent, however, is how the terrorist monsters in Afghanistan came to power and how they held power, and, more urgently, how can we prevent this from happening again.

The legislation we vote on today is vital not only to the Afghans but to the peace and stability of the world. We are committing ourselves to this generous aid package in cooperation with other donor countries and, in doing so, sending a message to the Afghan people, and that is, put down your guns and pick up your tools and this time America and the decent people of the world will be with you and will help you rebuild your country and rebuild the lives of your people.

This message and the assistance that we are giving is long overdue. It repays a debt to the Afghan people which I am sorry that my friend from Texas does not recognize. The people of Afghanistan bled and died by the hundreds of thousands in the war against the Soviet Union, and in doing so helped us win the Cold War, bring peace to the world, and afterwards we walked away from them, owing them this vast debt.

This new package should provide the resources necessary to repay that debt, or at least begin repaying that debt, and the resources necessary to begin the process of uplifting the Afghan people and bringing them into the family of nations. Their well-being and a humane quality of life is the surest way to prevent a repeat of the tragedy of 9/11, a tragedy that not only affected them, of course, but has affected the entire world.

This aid package comes at a pivotal moment, because Afghanistan's course is now being determined. The aid program from the western countries must be implemented in a way to ensure that the brutal sectarian forces that are still present and still threaten the peace and stability of that area understand our strength of purpose. Our message again should be we will help you rebuild your country but only if the new Afghanistan is a responsible member of the family of nations, and we expect the rights of the Afghan people, men and women, to be respected by their leaders.

This bill addresses specific humanitarian needs, such as my amendment

to the original bill encouraged by the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) and his efforts to direct extra resources towards land mine clearance. The gentleman from California and I have been deeply concerned for a number of years about the enormous number of land mines in Afghanistan. We, at the end of that war, after they had fought for us, not only left them to sleep in the rubble, these poor Afghan people who had lost so many members of their family, but we left them in a country that was inundated with land mines. We did not even help them clear the land mines that we had given them to help defeat the Soviets. That was immoral and it is a totally moral basis for our insistence now that we help the Afghan people and help them rebuild their country.

We also in this bill have directed money to women and to other local programs and we have expressed our desire to make sure that the resources are necessary to make sure that the national security and humanitarian relief efforts that are going on in Afghanistan are well funded, not only by us, but by our allies who are also contributing a great sum.

Let me just say there has been some discussion as to whether or not we should be helping those people who were caught in the crossfire, and we will have a colloquy on this later, supposedly that we are making compensation to those people whom we accidentally hurt in trying to free Afghanistan. This is not a controversial position. This goes to the heart and soul of America. If we did not intend to hurt people and they were caught in the crossfire, of course, we are going to help these poor innocent people, and in doing so we are going to send a message to the people of the world: Yes, we are for freedom and we are going to stand by you, and if war is necessary, or conflict is necessary, we are not coming in like the 800-pound gorilla in caring less about the rights of others. We care about people. That is why we are engaged in this. That is what this aid package is all about, repaying a debt and telling the people of the world we care about their freedom and we care about their human condition. In doing so, we will have peace and our country will be secure.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Chairman, I yield myself the balance of my time.

I want to commend my friend from California for his powerful and thoughtful statement. The Congress is always at its best when it speaks in a bipartisan fashion. We have done so today. I again want to commend Chairman HYDE for his leadership on this issue. I want to commend my colleagues across the political spectrum who have spoken on behalf of this legislation. It embodies the finest values of the United States and it represents hardheaded, rational, farsighted foreign policy.

I urge all of my colleagues to support the legislation.

Mrs. CHRISTENSEN. Madam Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 3994, the Afghanistan Freedom Support Act of 2002.

The people of Afghanistan have not known freedom or peace for quiet some time. They are not our enemies, and I commend the sponsors of this bill for reaching across the oceans to them with a hand of assistance in rebuilding not only the physical but also the educational, social and economic fabric of their nation.

Madam Chairman, I want to call particular attention to the portions of the Act that promote the inclusion of women in the decision-making and nation building processes.

I want to add the voice of the people of the U.S. Virgin Islands as expressed in the attached resolution introduced by Senator Lorraine Berry, and passed by the 24th Legislature of the U.S. Virgin Islands, which expresses the sense of the legislature that women be a part of the total resolution in the ongoing process of normalization that the country of Afghanistan will be going through for a very long time.

And so on behalf of all of the people of my district, I urge my colleagues to pass H.R. 3994.

RESOLUTION NO. 1630

BILL NO. 24-0200

TWENTY-FOURTH LEGISLATURE OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS OF THE UNITED STATES

REGULAR SESSION, 2002

To petition the United States Congress and the White House to enact appropriate legislation, that would require future international aide to Afghanistan and other foreign countries, be conditioned, in part, upon the countries' elimination of discrimination against women.

Whereas, the history of Afghanistan is replete with women aiding the development of that country in the authorship of its constitution, serving in governmental positions, providing leadership in the academic world and serving as professionals; and

Whereas, the world has witnessed the gradual oppression of women in Afghanistan by varied male-dominated warring groups; and

Whereas, the eradicated Taliban Government had institutionalized total oppression of women as evident by edicts prohibiting women from working or being educated, by public flogging, stoning and killing; and

Whereas, some allies of the United States in the Middle East and elsewhere who receive aide continue to turn a blind eye to those who would oppress women in one form or the other, even to the extent of mutilation of sexual organs; and

Whereas, Tahmeena Faryal, Representative of the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA), graphically described the past horror visited upon the people of Afghanistan as "bullets instead of food and graves instead of houses"; and

Whereas, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights states, in part, that "no one shall be subject to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment"; and

Whereas, we have observed the fact that women of Afghanistan had been virtually imprisoned in their homes; they were required to wear burquas, which cover the entire head and body, with a mesh-like covering over the eyes, thereby creating certain health problems, and optical problems, and we have witnessed in the media credible news coverage of public flogging of women by so-called religious police when women walked too quickly, laughed loudly or, accidentally or otherwise, showed their face in public; and

Whereas, such cruel inhumane and degrading treatment of women has no rational nor credible sanction in any religious teaching or holy book; and

Whereas, the violation of human rights cannot be cloaked, rationalized or condoned as a cultural difference; and

Whereas, the harsh punishment reserved for women is more about control than religion; and

Whereas, the above-noted oppressive practices have left their mark on most women who remain fearful of availing themselves of even small concessions, especially since members of the former Taliban have been permitted to join the governing factions; and

Whereas, in outlining areas, away from western scrutiny, women continue to be oppressed and abide under intolerable restrictions; and

Whereas, there can be no true democracy without the participation of women; Now, Therefore,

*Be it resolved* by the Legislature of the Virgin Islands:

Section 1. The Legislature of the Virgin Islands, on behalf of the people of the Virgin Islands, hereby resolves to petition the United States Congress and the White House to enact appropriate legislation that would henceforth require that future foreign aide to Afghanistan and other foreign countries be conditioned, in significant part, upon the recipient's active commitment to eliminate discrimination against women.

Thus passed by the Legislature of the Virgin Islands on January 30, 2002.

Witness our Hands and the Seal of the Legislature of the Virgin Islands this \_\_\_\_ Day of February, A.D., 2002.

ALMANDO "ROCKY" LIBURD,  
*President.*

DONALD G. COLE,  
*Legislative Secretary.*

Mr. SHADEGG. Madam Chairman, I rise to address the inclusion of my amendment in the Manager's Amendment to H.R. 3994, the Afghanistan Freedom Support Act of 2002. The gentleman from Illinois, Mr. HYDE, has drafted an important piece of legislation that will help significantly in efforts to rebuild Afghanistan's economic infrastructure, create durable institutions of government that are representative and accountable to the people of Afghanistan, and reduce the production of narcotics. The bill helps the people of Afghanistan, and reduce the production of narcotics. The bill helps the people of Afghanistan to help themselves by providing the seed money needed to establish the necessary base of physical infrastructure and stable government upon which they can build a modern economy and thus a peaceful and prosperous society.

I believe that this legislation offers an excellent opportunity to allow the natural generosity of the American people and businesses in America to play a role in this effort. That is why I proposed an amendment, which the gentleman from Illinois has included in the Manager's Amendment, that states that the President should encourage donations from U.S. corporations and small business of manufacturing and other types of excess or obsolete, but usable, equipment to help rebuild the infrastructure of Afghanistan. Currently, the Federal Government does not solicit donations of usable equipment from U.S. corporations and small businesses. My amendment rectifies this problem and asks the Federal Government to look to all sources to provide the needed machinery and equipment to begin the rebuilding process.

U.S. corporations continually replace old but reusable equipment and are faced with relatively few choices for disposing of it. My amendment expands their choices and helps them contribute directly to a people who are in dire need. This equipment can be used to help start small businesses and begin entrepreneurship in Afghanistan that will lead to the creation of jobs and start the country on the long path to recovery.

I thank the gentleman from Illinois and look forward to working with the Chairman and the Administration to see that this important provision is enacted into law and fully implemented. With that I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. DICKS. Madam Chairman, I am pleased to come to the floor today in support of H.R. 3994, the Afghanistan Freedom Support Act. I believe it is critical that we fulfill the commitment made by the President and by the Congress to provide significant resources to help the nation of Afghanistan rebuild after more than 20 years of war.

After winning World War II, President Truman and the Congress took a bold step, committing enormous U.S. resources to help the nations of Europe rebuild after the devastation of total war. The Marshall Plan, as it is known, was not politically popular at the time—it languished in Congress for several months and passed through the other body with just a one-vote margin. But I believe nearly everyone today would argue that it was the right thing to do—for Europe, for the United States and the entire world.

Many of my colleagues decry Federal spending on foreign aid, arguing that it is a misappropriation of money that could be better spend domestically. But foreign aid was the genius of the Marshall plan—targeted investments to rebuild the economies of nations devastated by war, poverty, famine, and disease.

The continuing importance of foreign aid is underscored by the extreme need for such help now in Afghanistan. Afghan rebels, with significant financial and military support from the United States, succeeded in throwing off the yoke of Soviet occupation. Once finished, however, U.S. support evaporated. Perhaps we thought our work was done or that Afghanistan was too far away from the U.S. to be of any real concern once the Soviets had limped home. But we learned last September that our work had not been completed. And we learned that Afghanistan, despite its perceived isolation, could certainly cause us harm.

Clearly, there is a need for a continued U.S. presence to help Afghanistan rebuild its economy, establish a stable government, and encourage participation in the international community. Such spending is an important investment we can make to try to prevent a repeat of September 11. But is this need exclusive to Afghanistan?

Even if we are completely successful in Afghanistan, reconstructing that nation and eliminating the terrorist presence, we can be sure that these terrorist organizations will reappear somewhere. How can we best deal with this threat?

Strengthening and re-equipping our military, shoring up our borders and improving domestic security are certainly parts of the solution, but an equally important component is foreign aid. By helping other nations establish stable democratic governments and market economies, they will join us in the fight against terrorism.

I think most would agree that it would have been far cheaper to have appropriated the financial and technical assistance to Afghanistan 15 years ago to help them create a free nation than it has been to deal with the attacks on September 11 and their aftermath. I also believe that it is in our best financial interest to increase our foreign aid commitments and help struggling nations today rather than wait for them to deteriorate to the point where we are forced into military intervention.

The CHAIRMAN. All time for general debate has expired.

Pursuant to the rule, the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute printed in the bill shall be considered as an original bill for the purpose of amendment under the 5-minute rule by title, and each title shall be considered read.

During consideration of the bill for amendment, the Chair may accord priority in recognition to a Member offering an amendment that he has printed in the designated place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Those amendments will be considered read.

The Clerk will designate section 1.

The text of section 1 is as follows:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

**SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS; DEFINITION.**

(a) *SHORT TITLE.*—This Act may be cited as the “Afghanistan Freedom Support Act of 2002”.

(b) *TABLE OF CONTENTS.*—The table of contents for this Act is as follows:

*Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents; definition.*

**TITLE I—ECONOMIC AND DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE FOR AFGHANISTAN**

*Sec. 101. Declaration of policy.*

*Sec. 102. Purposes of assistance.*

*Sec. 103. Principles of assistance.*

*Sec. 104. Authorization of assistance.*

*Sec. 105. Promoting cooperation in major opium producing regions of Afghanistan.*

*Sec. 106. Coordination of assistance.*

*Sec. 107. Administrative provisions.*

*Sec. 108. Authorization of appropriations.*

**TITLE II—MILITARY ASSISTANCE FOR AFGHANISTAN AND CERTAIN OTHER FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS**

*Sec. 201. Support for security during transition in Afghanistan.*

*Sec. 202. Authorization of assistance.*

*Sec. 203. Eligible foreign countries and eligible international organizations.*

*Sec. 204. Reimbursement for assistance.*

*Sec. 205. Authority to provide assistance.*

*Sec. 206. Sunset.*

(c) *DEFINITION.*—In this Act, the term “Government of Afghanistan” includes the government of any political subdivision of Afghanistan, and any agency or instrumentality of the Government of Afghanistan.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any amendments to section 1?

If not, the Clerk will designate title 1.

The text of title 1 is as follows:

**TITLE I—ECONOMIC AND DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE FOR AFGHANISTAN**

**SEC. 101. DECLARATION OF POLICY.**

*Congress makes the following declarations:*

(1) *The United States and the international community should support efforts that advance*

*the development of democratic civil authorities and institutions in Afghanistan and the establishment of a new broad-based, multi-ethnic, gender-sensitive, and fully representative government in Afghanistan.*

(2) *The United States, in particular, should provide its expertise to meet immediate humanitarian and refugee needs, fight the production and flow of illicit narcotics, and aid in the reconstruction of Afghanistan’s agriculture, health care, and educational systems.*

(3) *By promoting peace and security in Afghanistan and preventing a return to conflict, the United States and the international community can help ensure that Afghanistan does not again become a source for international terrorism.*

(4) *The United States should support the objectives agreed to on December 5, 2001, in Bonn, Germany, regarding the provisional arrangement for Afghanistan as it moves toward the establishment of permanent institutions and, in particular, should work intensively toward ensuring the future neutrality of Afghanistan, establishing the principle that neighboring countries and other countries in the region do not threaten or interfere in one another’s sovereignty, territorial integrity, or political independence, including supporting diplomatic initiatives to support this goal.*

(5) *The special emergency situation in Afghanistan, which from the perspective of the American people combines security, humanitarian, political, law enforcement, and development imperatives, requires that the President should receive maximum flexibility in designing, coordinating, and administering efforts with respect to assistance for Afghanistan and that a temporary special program of such assistance should be established for this purpose.*

(6) *To foster stability and democratization and to effectively eliminate the causes of terrorism, the United States and the international community should also support efforts that advance the development of democratic civil authorities and institutions in the broader Central Asia region.*

**SEC. 102. PURPOSES OF ASSISTANCE.**

*The purposes of assistance authorized by this title are—*

(1) *to help assure the security of the United States and the world by reducing or eliminating the likelihood of violence against United States or allied forces in Afghanistan and to reduce the chance that Afghanistan will again be a source of international terrorism;*

(2) *to support the continued efforts of the United States and the international community to address the humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan and among Afghan refugees in neighboring countries;*

(3) *to fight the production and flow of illicit narcotics, to control the flow of precursor chemicals used in the production of heroin, and to enhance and bolster the capacities of Afghan governmental authorities to control poppy cultivation and related activities;*

(4) *to help achieve a broad-based, multi-ethnic, gender-sensitive, and fully representative government in Afghanistan that is freely chosen by the people of Afghanistan and that respects the human rights of all Afghans, particularly women, including authorizing assistance for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Afghanistan with a particular emphasis on meeting the educational, health, and sustenance needs of women and children to better enable their full participation in Afghan society;*

(5) *to support the Government of Afghanistan in its development of the capacity to facilitate, organize, develop, and implement projects and activities that meet the needs of the Afghan people;*

(6) *to foster the participation of civil society in the establishment of the new Afghan government in order to achieve a broad-based, multi-ethnic, gender-sensitive, fully representative*

government freely chosen by the Afghan people, without prejudice to any decisions which may be freely taken by the Afghan people about the precise form in which their government is to be organized in the future, as may be decided through the convening of a traditional Afghan assembly or "Loya Jirga" as agreed to on December 5, 2001, in Bonn, Germany;

(7) to support the reconstruction of Afghanistan through, among other things, programs that create jobs, facilitate clearance of landmines, and rebuild the agriculture sector, the health care system, and the educational system of Afghanistan; and

(8) to include specific resources to the Ministry for Women's Affairs of Afghanistan to carry out its responsibilities for legal advocacy, education, vocational training, and women's health programs.

#### SEC. 103. PRINCIPLES OF ASSISTANCE.

The following principles should guide the provision of assistance authorized by this title:

(1) **TERRORISM AND NARCOTICS CONTROL.**—Assistance should be designed to reduce the likelihood of harm to United States and other allied forces in Afghanistan and the region, the likelihood of additional acts of international terrorism emanating from Afghanistan, and the cultivation, production, trafficking, and use of illicit narcotics in Afghanistan.

(2) **ROLE OF WOMEN.**—Assistance should increase the participation of women at the national, regional, and local levels in Afghanistan, wherever feasible, by enhancing the role of women in decisionmaking processes, as well as by providing support for programs that aim to expand economic and educational opportunities and health programs for women and educational and health programs for girls.

(3) **AFGHAN OWNERSHIP.**—Assistance should build upon Afghan traditions and practices. The strong tradition of community responsibility and self-reliance in Afghanistan should be built upon to increase the capacity of the Afghan people and institutions to participate in the reconstruction of Afghanistan.

(4) **STABILITY.**—Assistance should encourage the restoration of security in Afghanistan, including, among other things, the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of combatants, and the establishment of the rule of law, including the establishment of a police force and an effective, independent judiciary.

(5) **COORDINATION.**—Assistance should be part of a larger donor effort for Afghanistan. The magnitude of the devastation—natural and man-made—to institutions and infrastructure make it imperative that there be close coordination and collaboration among donors. The United States should endeavor to assert its leadership to have the efforts of international donors help achieve the purposes established by this title.

#### SEC. 104. AUTHORIZATION OF ASSISTANCE.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—The President is authorized to provide assistance for Afghanistan for the following activities:

(1) **URGENT HUMANITARIAN NEEDS.**—To assist in meeting the urgent humanitarian needs of the people of Afghanistan, including assistance such as—

(A) emergency food, shelter, and medical assistance;

(B) clean drinking water and sanitation;

(C) preventative health care, including childhood vaccination, therapeutic feeding, maternal child health services, and infectious diseases surveillance and treatment;

(D) family tracing and reunification services; and

(E) clearance of landmines.

(2) **REPATRIATION AND RESETTLEMENT OF REFUGEES AND INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS.**—To assist refugees and internally displaced persons as they return to their home communities in Afghanistan and to support their reintegration into those communities, including assistance such as—

(A) assistance identified in paragraph (1);

(B) assistance to communities, including those in neighboring countries, that have taken in large numbers of refugees in order to rehabilitate or expand social, health, and educational services that may have suffered as a result of the influx of large numbers of refugees;

(C) assistance to international organizations and host governments in maintaining security by screening refugees to ensure the exclusion of armed combatants, members of foreign terrorist organizations, and other individuals not eligible for economic assistance from the United States; and

(D) assistance for voluntary refugee repatriation and reintegration inside Afghanistan and continued assistance to those refugees who are unable or unwilling to return.

(3) **COUNTERNARCOTICS EFFORTS.**—(A) To assist in the eradication of poppy cultivation, the disruption of heroin production, and the reduction of the overall supply and demand for illicit narcotics in Afghanistan and the region, with particular emphasis on assistance to—

(i) eradicate opium poppy, establish crop substitution programs, purchase nonopium products from farmers in opium-growing areas, quick-impact public works programs to divert labor from narcotics production, develop projects directed specifically at narcotics production, processing, or trafficking areas to provide incentives to co-operation in narcotics suppression activities, and related programs;

(ii) establish or provide assistance to one or more entities within the Government of Afghanistan, including the Afghan State High Commission for Drug Control, and to provide training and equipment for the entities, to help enforce counternarcotics laws in Afghanistan and limit illicit narcotics growth, production, and trafficking in Afghanistan;

(iii) train and provide equipment for customs, police, and other border control entities in Afghanistan and the region relating to illicit narcotics interdiction and relating to precursor chemical controls and interdiction to help disrupt heroin production in Afghanistan and the region;

(iv) continue the annual opium crop survey and strategic studies on opium crop planting and farming in Afghanistan; and

(v) reduce demand for illicit narcotics among the people of Afghanistan, including refugees returning to Afghanistan.

(B) For each of the fiscal years 2002 through 2005, not less than \$15,000,000 of the amount made available to carry out this title should be made available for a contribution to the United Nations Drug Control Program for the purpose of carrying out activities described in clauses (i) through (v) of subparagraph (A). Amounts made available under the preceding sentence are in addition to amounts otherwise available for such purposes.

(4) **REESTABLISHMENT OF FOOD SECURITY, REHABILITATION OF THE AGRICULTURE SECTOR, IMPROVEMENT IN HEALTH CONDITIONS, AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF BASIC INFRASTRUCTURE.**—To assist in expanding access to markets in Afghanistan, to increase the availability of food in markets in Afghanistan, to rehabilitate the agriculture sector in Afghanistan by creating jobs for former combatants, returning refugees, and internally displaced persons, to improve health conditions, and assist in the rebuilding of basic infrastructure in Afghanistan, including assistance such as—

(A) rehabilitation of the agricultural infrastructure, including irrigation systems and rural roads;

(B) extension of credit;

(C) provision of critical agricultural inputs, such as seeds, tools, and fertilizer, and strengthening of seed multiplication, certification, and distribution systems;

(D) improvement in the quantity and quality of water available through, among other things, rehabilitation of existing irrigation systems and

the development of local capacity to manage irrigation systems;

(E) livestock rehabilitation through market development and other mechanisms to distribute stocks to replace those stocks lost as a result of conflict or drought;

(F) mine awareness and demining programs and programs to assist mine victims, war orphans, and widows;

(G) programs relating to infant and young child feeding, immunizations, vitamin A supplementation, and prevention and treatment of diarrheal diseases and respiratory infections;

(H) programs to improve maternal and child health and reduce maternal and child mortality;

(I) programs to improve hygienic and sanitation practices and for the prevention and treatment of infectious diseases, such as tuberculosis and malaria;

(J) programs to reconstitute the delivery of health care, including the reconstruction of health clinics or other basic health infrastructure; and

(K) disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of armed combatants into society, particularly child soldiers.

(5) **REESTABLISHMENT OF AFGHANISTAN AS A VIABLE NATION-STATE.**—(A) To assist in the development of the capacity of the Government of Afghanistan to meet the needs of the people of Afghanistan through, among other things, support for the development and expansion of democratic and market-based institutions, including assistance such as—

(i) support for international organizations that provide civil advisers to the Government of Afghanistan;

(ii) support for an educated citizenry through improved access to basic education;

(iii) programs to enable the Government of Afghanistan to recruit and train teachers, with special focus on the recruitment and training of female teachers;

(iv) programs to enable the Government of Afghanistan to develop school curriculum that incorporates relevant information such as landmine awareness, food security and agricultural education, human rights awareness, and civic education;

(v) support for the activities of the Government of Afghanistan to draft a new constitution, other legal frameworks, and other initiatives to promote the rule of law in Afghanistan;

(vi) support to increase the transparency, accountability, and participatory nature of governmental institutions, including programs designed to combat corruption and other programs for the promotion of good governance;

(vii) support for an independent media;

(viii) programs that support the expanded participation of women and members of all ethnic groups in government at national, regional, and local levels;

(ix) programs to strengthen civil society organizations that promote human rights and support human rights monitoring;

(x) support for national, regional, and local elections and political party development; and

(xi) support for the effective administration of justice at the national, regional, and local levels, including the establishment of a responsible and community-based police force.

(B) For each of the fiscal years 2002 through 2005, not less than \$10,000,000 of the amount made available to carry out this title should be made available for the purposes of carrying out a traditional Afghan assembly or "Loya Jirga" and for support for national, regional, and local elections and political party development under subparagraph (A)(x).

(6) **MARKET ECONOMY.**—To support the establishment of a market economy, the establishment of private financial institutions, the adoption of policies to promote foreign direct investment, the development of a basic telecommunication infrastructure, and the development of trade and other commercial links with countries in the region and with the United States, including policies to—

(A) encourage the return of Afghanistan citizens or nationals living abroad who have marketable and business-related skills;

(B) establish financial institutions, including credit unions, cooperatives, and other entities providing microenterprise credits and other income-generation programs for the poor, with particular emphasis on women;

(C) facilitate expanded trade with countries in the region;

(D) promote and foster respect for basic workers' rights and protections against exploitation of child labor;

(E) develop handicraft and other small-scale industries; and

(F) provide financing programs for the reconstruction of Kabul and other major cities in Afghanistan.

(b) LIMITATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Amounts made available to carry out this title (except amounts made available for assistance under paragraphs (1) through (3) and subparagraphs (F) through (I) of paragraph (4) of subsection (a)) may be provided only if—

(A) with respect to assistance for fiscal year 2003, the President first determines and certifies to Congress that a traditional Afghan assembly or "Loya Jirga" has been convened and has decided on a broad-based, multiethnic, gender-sensitive, fully representative transitional authority for Afghanistan; and

(B) with respect to assistance for fiscal years 2004 and 2005, the President first determines and certifies to Congress with respect to the fiscal year involved that substantial progress has been made toward adopting a constitution and establishing a democratically elected government for Afghanistan.

(2) WAIVER.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The President may waive the application of subparagraph (A) or (B) of paragraph (1) if the President first determines and certifies to Congress that it is in the vital national interest of the United States to do so.

(B) CONTENTS OF CERTIFICATION.—A certification transmitted to Congress under subparagraph (A) shall include—

(i) a full and complete description of the vital national interest of the United States that is placed at risk by reason the application of subparagraph (A) or (B) of paragraph (1), as the case may be; and

(ii) an analysis of the risk described in clause (i) versus the risk to the vital national interest of the United States by reason of the failure to exercise the waiver authority of subparagraph (A).

**SEC. 105. PROMOTING COOPERATION IN MAJOR OPIUM PRODUCING REGIONS OF AFGHANISTAN.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subsection (b), a portion of the amount made available to carry out this title for a fiscal year shall be available for assistance in the major opium producing regions of Afghanistan, including areas within the Badakshan, Helmand, and Qandahar provinces with the goal of assisting in the elimination of poppy cultivation. Assistance under the preceding sentence shall be provided in coordination with the Government of Afghanistan, in consultation with the local leaders of such regions, and in coordination with the counter-narcotics efforts of other donors, particularly the United Nations Drug Control Program (UNDCP), and the European Union and its member states.

(b) LIMITATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subject to paragraph (2), amounts made available to carry out this title for a fiscal year (except amounts made available for assistance under paragraphs (1) through (3) and subparagraphs (F) through (I) of paragraph (4) of section 104(a)) may not be provided to an opium producing region if, with respect to such region, the Government of Afghanistan does not actively, effectively, and vigorously participate in illicit narcotics suppression activi-

ties or if, beginning on September 30, 2003, opium is produced (other than in a de minimis amount, as measured by surveys conducted by the United States Government, the United Nations Drug Control Program, or other reliable sources) in such region. Amounts withheld from an opium producing region by reason of the application of the preceding sentence shall be redistributed to qualifying opium producing regions.

(2) WAIVER.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The President may waive the restriction on assistance under the first sentence of paragraph (1) with respect to an opium producing region if the President first determines and certifies to Congress that it is in the vital national interest of the United States to do so.

(B) CONTENTS OF CERTIFICATION.—A certification transmitted to Congress under subparagraph (A) shall include—

(i) a full and complete description of the vital national interest of the United States that is placed at risk if assistance to the opium producing region involved is not provided under this section; and

(ii) an analysis of the risk described in clause (i) versus the risk to the vital national interest of the United States by reason of the failure to exercise the waiver authority of subparagraph (A).

(c) ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENT.—The coordinator designated by the President pursuant to section 106(a) and other appropriate officers of the Department of State and the United States Agency for International Development shall ensure that assistance under this title is provided, in appropriate amounts, to opium producing regions of Afghanistan consistent with the requirements of subsections (a) and (b).

**SEC. 106. COORDINATION OF ASSISTANCE.**

(a) DESIGNATION OF COORDINATOR.—The President is strongly urged to designate, within the Department of State, a coordinator who shall be responsible for—

(1) designing an overall strategy to advance United States interests in Afghanistan;

(2) ensuring program and policy coordination among agencies of the United States Government in carrying out the policies set forth in this title;

(3) pursuing coordination with other countries and international organizations with respect to assistance to Afghanistan;

(4) ensuring that United States assistance programs for Afghanistan are consistent with this title;

(5) ensuring proper management, implementation, and oversight by agencies responsible for assistance programs for Afghanistan; and

(6) resolving policy and program disputes among United States Government agencies with respect to United States assistance for Afghanistan.

(b) ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENT.—An individual designated by the President as coordinator pursuant to subsection (a) may only be an individual who is appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

**SEC. 107. ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS.**

(a) APPLICABLE ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITIES.—Except to the extent inconsistent with the provisions of this title, the administrative authorities under chapters 1 and 2 of part III of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 shall apply to the provision of assistance under this title to the same extent and in the same manner as such authorities apply to the provision of economic assistance under part I of such Act.

(b) USE OF THE EXPERTISE OF AFGHAN-AMERICANS.—In providing assistance authorized by this title, the President should—

(1) maximize the use, to the extent feasible, of the services of Afghan-Americans who have expertise in the areas for which assistance is authorized by this title; and

(2) in the awarding of contracts and grants to implement activities authorized under this title,

encourage the participation of such Afghan-Americans (including organizations employing a significant number of such Afghan-Americans).

(c) ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES.—Not more than 5 percent of the amount made available to a Federal department or agency to carry out this title for a fiscal year may be used by the department or agency for administrative expenses in connection with such assistance.

(d) MONITORING.—

(1) COMPTROLLER GENERAL.—The Comptroller General shall monitor the provision of assistance under this title.

(2) INSPECTOR GENERAL OF USAID.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The Inspector General of the United States Agency for International Development shall conduct audits, inspections, and other activities, as appropriate, associated with the expenditure of the funds to carry out this title.

(B) FUNDING.—Not more than \$1,500,000 of the amount made available to carry out this title for a fiscal year shall be made available to carry out subparagraph (A).

(e) CONGRESSIONAL NOTIFICATION PROCEDURES.—Funds made available to carry out this title may not be obligated until 15 days after notification of the proposed obligation of the funds has been provided to the congressional committees specified in section 634A of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 in accordance with the procedures applicable to reprogramming notifications under that section.

(f) AUTHORITY TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE.—Assistance under this title may be provided notwithstanding any other provision of law.

**SEC. 108. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—There are authorized to be appropriated to the President to carry out this title \$200,000,000 for fiscal year 2002, \$300,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 2003 and 2004, and \$250,000,000 for fiscal year 2005. Amounts authorized to be appropriated pursuant to the preceding sentence for fiscal year 2002 are in addition to amounts otherwise available for assistance for Afghanistan.

(b) AVAILABILITY.—Amounts appropriated pursuant to the authorization of appropriations under subsection (a) are—

(1) authorized to remain available until expended; and

(2) in addition to funds otherwise available for such purposes, including, with respect to food assistance under section 104(a)(1), funds available under title II of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, the Food for Progress Act of 1985, and section 416(b) of the Agricultural Act of 1949.

Mr. HYDE. Madam Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the remainder of the bill be printed in the RECORD and open to amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

The text of the remainder of the bill is as follows:

**TITLE II—MILITARY ASSISTANCE FOR AFGHANISTAN AND CERTAIN OTHER FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS**

**SEC. 201. SUPPORT FOR SECURITY DURING TRANSITION IN AFGHANISTAN.**

It is the sense of Congress that, during the transition to a broad-based, multi-ethnic, gender-sensitive, fully representative government in Afghanistan, the United States should support—

(1) the development of a civilian-controlled and centrally-governed standing Afghanistan army that respects human rights;

(2) the creation and training of a professional civilian police force that respects human rights; and

(3) a multinational security force in Afghanistan.

**SEC. 202. AUTHORIZATION OF ASSISTANCE.**

(a) TYPES OF ASSISTANCE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—(A) To the extent that funds are appropriated in any fiscal year for the purposes of this Act, the President may provide, on such terms and conditions as he may determine, defense articles, defense services, counter-narcotics, crime control and police training services, and other support (including training) to the Government of Afghanistan.

(B) To the extent that funds are appropriated in any fiscal year for these purposes, the President may provide, on such terms and conditions as he may determine, defense articles, defense services, and other support (including training) to eligible foreign countries and eligible international organizations.

(C) The assistance authorized under subparagraph (B) shall be used for directly supporting the activities described in section 203.

(2) DRAWDOWN AUTHORITY.—The President is authorized to direct the drawdown of defense articles, defense services, and military education and training for the Government of Afghanistan, eligible foreign countries, and eligible international organizations.

(3) AUTHORITY TO ACQUIRE BY CONTRACT OR OTHERWISE.—The assistance authorized under paragraphs (1) and (2) and under Public Law 105-338 may include the supply of defense articles, defense services, counter-narcotics, crime control and police training services, other support, and military education and training that are acquired by contract or otherwise.

(b) AMOUNT OF ASSISTANCE.—The aggregate value (as defined in section 644(m) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961) of assistance provided under subsection (a)(2) may not exceed \$300,000,000, provided that such limitation shall be increased by any amounts appropriated pursuant to the authorization of appropriations in section 204(b)(1).

**SEC. 203. ELIGIBLE FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND ELIGIBLE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.**

A foreign country or international organization shall be eligible to receive assistance under section 202 if such foreign country or international organization is participating in or directly supporting United States military activities authorized under Public Law 107-40 or is participating in military, peacekeeping, or policing operations in Afghanistan aimed at restoring or maintaining peace and security in that country, except that no country the government of which has been determined by the Secretary of State to have repeatedly provided support for acts of international terrorism under section 620A of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2371), section 6(j)(1) of the Export Administration Act of 1979 (50 U.S.C. App. 2405(j)(1)), or section 40(d) of the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2780(d)) shall be eligible to receive assistance under section 202.

**SEC. 204. REIMBURSEMENT FOR ASSISTANCE.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—Defense articles, defense services, and military education and training provided under section 202(a)(2) shall be made available without reimbursement to the Department of Defense except to the extent that funds are appropriated pursuant to the authorization of appropriations under subsection (b)(1).

(b) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—There are authorized to be appropriated to the President such sums as may be necessary to reimburse the applicable appropriation, fund, or account for the value (as defined in section 644(m) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961) of defense articles, defense services, or military education and training provided under section 202(a)(2).

(2) AVAILABILITY.—Amounts appropriated pursuant to the authorization of appropriations under paragraph (1) are authorized to remain available until expended, and are in addition to

amounts otherwise available for the purposes described in this title.

**SEC. 205. AUTHORITY TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE.**

(a) GOVERNMENT OF AFGHANISTAN.—Assistance to the Government of Afghanistan under this title may be provided notwithstanding any other provision of law.

(b) ELIGIBLE FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND ELIGIBLE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.—

(1) AUTHORITY.—The President may provide assistance under this title to any eligible foreign country or eligible international organization notwithstanding any other provision of law (other than provisions of this title) if the President determines that such assistance is important to the national security interest of the United States and notifies the Committee on International Relations of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate of such determination at least 15 days in advance of providing such assistance.

(2) NOTIFICATION.—The report described in paragraph (1) shall include information relating to the type and amount of assistance proposed to be provided and the actions that the proposed recipient of such assistance has taken or has committed to take.

**SEC. 206. SUNSET.**

The authority of this title shall expire on December 31, 2004.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. HYDE

Mr. HYDE. Madam Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. HYDE:

Page 3, line 16, insert "civil service, financial," after "health care."

Page 10, line 9, insert before the period the following: ", and humanitarian assistance to internally displaced persons, including those persons who need assistance to return to their homes, through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other organizations charged with providing such assistance".

Page 11, line 23, strike "not less than".

Page 11, line 24, strike "should" and insert "is authorized to".

Page 14, line 2, strike "and".

Page 14, after line 2, insert the following:

(K) programs for housing, rebuilding urban infrastructure, and supporting basic urban services; and

Page 14, line 3, strike "(K)" and insert "(L)".

Page 15, line 21, strike "and" the second place it appears.

Page 15, line 25, strike the period and insert "; and".

Page 15, after line 25, insert the following: (xii) support for establishment of a central bank and central budgeting authority.

Page 18, strike line 4 and all that follows through line 23 and insert the following:

(2) WAIVER.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The President may waive the application of subparagraph (A) or (B) of paragraph (1) if the President first determines and certifies to Congress that it is important to the national interest of the United States to do so.

(B) CONTENTS OF CERTIFICATION.—A certification transmitted to Congress under subparagraph (A) shall include a memorandum of justification that explains the basis for the determination of the President to waive the application of subparagraph (A) or (B) of paragraph (1).

Page 19, strike line 1 and all that follows through line 13 on page 21 and insert the following:

**SEC. 105. PROMOTING COOPERATION IN MAJOR OPIUM PRODUCING REGIONS OF AFGHANISTAN.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law (except as provided in

subsection (c)), subsections (a) through (g) of section 490 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2291j), as in effect on January 9, 2002, shall apply with respect to United States bilateral and multilateral assistance to Afghanistan for each of fiscal years 2003 through 2005.

(b) AUTHORITY TO APPLY SECTION 490 OF THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The President is authorized and encouraged, to the maximum extent practicable, to apply the provisions of subsections (a), (b), (c), and (e) of section 490 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to United States bilateral and multilateral assistance to major opium producing regions of Afghanistan, including regions within the Badakshan, Helmand, and Qandahar provinces.

(2) REDISTRIBUTION.—The President is authorized and encouraged to redistribute any United States assistance withheld from an opium producing region pursuant to this subsection to other major opium producing regions of Afghanistan with respect to which United States assistance has not been withheld pursuant to this subsection.

(3) MAJOR OPIUM PRODUCING REGIONS.—The President may define or redefine the boundaries of major opium producing regions of Afghanistan for purposes of this subsection.

(c) REQUIREMENT TO SUPERSEDE.—The provisions of this section shall not be superseded except by a provision of law enacted after the date of the enactment of this Act which specifically repeals, modifies, or otherwise supersedes the provision of this section.

Page 21, line 15, strike "(a) DESIGNATION OF COORDINATOR.—".

Page 22, strike line 9 and all that follows through line 13.

Page 23, after line 9, insert the following (and redesignate subsequent subsections accordingly):

(c) DONATIONS OF MANUFACTURING EQUIPMENT; USE OF LAND GRANT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.—In providing assistance authorized by this title, the President, to the maximum extent practicable, should—

(1) encourage the donation of appropriate excess or obsolete manufacturing and related equipment by United States businesses (including small businesses) for the reconstruction of Afghanistan; and

(2) utilize research conducted by United States land grant colleges and universities and the technical expertise of professionals within those institutions, particularly in the areas of agriculture and rural development.

Page 24, beginning on line 18, strike "\$200,000,000 for fiscal year 2002, \$300,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 2003 and 2004," and insert "\$300,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 2002 through 2004".

Mr. HYDE (during the reading). Madam Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

□ 1545

Mr. HYDE. Madam Chairman, I have a bipartisan amendment that I am very pleased to present. It was worked out with the cooperation, and that word describes the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) perfectly, the ranking minority member.

This is primarily technical, but it does make several substantive changes in the bill. For example, it deletes language which would require that \$15

million of the amount authorized in the bill for counternarcotics be made available for use by the United Nations Drug Control Program. The amount of \$15 million remains authorized, but it would not be earmarked. This was the only earmark in the bill. We fully expect that at least that much money will go to the United Nations Drug Control Program, which has been very helpful in our counternarcotics effort.

This amendment also modifies language in the committee-reported bill to conform the amount of assistance authorized to be appropriated for Afghanistan for fiscal year 2002 to the amount proposed to be appropriated in the House version of the Supplemental Appropriations Act. That is \$300 million, instead of \$200 million, which was authorized to be appropriated for fiscal year 2002 in the version of H.R. 3994 reported by the Committee on International Relations.

In addition, this amendment deletes language which requires that if the President designates a coordinator of assistance for Afghanistan, that individual shall be appointed with the advice and consent of the Senate. This amendment was requested by the administration, which has already named a coordinator, who is now in place. The administration does not want to pull that individual off his job to wait the many months a Senate confirmation may well require.

Finally, Madam Chairman, we included in this en bloc amendment several recommendations made by Members. At the suggestion of the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER), we included language that would assure, to the maximum extent practicable, that our President utilize research conducted by U.S. Land Grant Colleges and Universities in the area of agriculture and rural development.

A similar amendment was included at the suggestion of the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. SHADEGG) that our President encourage the donation of appropriate excess manufacturing equipment by United States businesses for the reconstruction of Afghanistan.

Also at the suggestion of the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), we expanded the assistance for voluntary refugee repatriation to include humanitarian assistance to internally displaced persons.

Finally, at the suggestion of the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. BLUMENAUER), we made it clear by adding a new subsection that money should be used for programs for housing, rebuilding urban infrastructure and supporting basic urban services.

I again would like to thank the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) and other Members for their significant contributions. I urge Members to vote in favor of this amendment.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment.

Madam Chairman, I first want to commend my good friend, the chairman of the committee, the gentleman

from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), for his amendment. As the gentleman from Illinois knows, our staffs have worked closely together on the text of this amendment, which I believe addresses all of the various concerns expressed by the administration on H.R. 3994; and it conforms this legislation to recent developments.

I do not believe there are any objections on our side to the Hyde amendment, and I urge all of my colleagues to support it.

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Madam Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Madam Chairman, I deeply appreciate the work that has been done on behalf of the majority and minority, the Chair, the ranking member, and their staffs.

Part of the reason we are in Afghanistan today is because the world turned its back on Afghanistan after the collapse of the former Soviet Union. The Taliban and other thugs and warlords and misfits filled the power vacuum left after the country was devastated. The lesson from past efforts is that you cannot leave a shattered country to its own devices and the tender mercies of the most corrupt and violent.

We have a good start before us today, and it is made better by the elements of the manager's amendment. The Afghanistan Freedom Support Act of 2002 will provide \$1.05 billion of reconstruction aid to Afghanistan over 4 years. The bill focuses on creating a stable environment for Afghanistan, addressing a wide variety of issues we have already heard related to on the floor.

It is, however, only a start. The United Nations and the World Bank estimate that reconstruction of Afghanistan will require at least \$1.7 billion in the first year, \$10 billion over the next 5 years, and \$15 billion in the next decade. Given that the world is still reeling, and, indeed, shots are still being fired, others argue that these numbers are far too low and put the overall cost at closer to \$30 billion over the next decade. But whatever the amount, we must be sensitive to a critical issue in the long-term political and social economic stability of Afghanistan, and that is the viability of its urban areas.

This is something, Madam Chairman, that really does not get the attention of people in this Chamber, in fact by the Federal Government, as we deal with issues of international security; but the CIA has ranked the problems of urbanization in the developing world as one of the seven top security concerns, suggesting that cities will be sources of crime and instability as ethnic and religious differences exacerbate the competition over scarcer jobs and resources.

The problems of poverty, unsafe drinking water, inadequate access to medical care and sanitation, too often we ignore these as we look at what happens in the rural areas of these developing countries. While we all recognize the importance that agriculture plays in Afghanistan's redevelopment,

the role of its cities are critical. It is an important component of rebuilding this war-torn country. It is necessary that the appropriate balance be reached between urban and rural development.

Through many years of civil war and the war on terrorism, the cities of Afghanistan have been devastated. With the real possibility of an influx of people into cities looking for work, especially if the drought continues to damage the agricultural sector, extraordinary challenges will be facing the cities, and these will only be compounded.

Yes, Afghanistan is largely rural. Only 22 percent of the country is urbanized. But with an annual growth rate of 5.3 percent projected over the next 12 years, this problem is going to compound. I had offered up an amendment, which I deeply appreciate having been made a part of the manager's amendment, that seeks an appropriate level of foreign aid to be targeted to restoring the urban infrastructure.

Any attempt to provide assistance to help foster political stabilization and economic development must recognize the critical role that these cities are going to play. This is the area that is the cultural center, of governmental interests, where the politics are going to be played out and where things that in the countryside are difficult, when you are talking about disease, sanitation, lack of potable water, in a city, these become devastating.

In addition, Afghanistan faces a series of challenges that are unique to its history of conflict and war that has devastated the country, the relocation of refugees and the environmental challenges linked to 2 decades of war-like land mines. It is important to recognize the capital city of Kabul is going to be critical to foster the support for the newly restored political regime and help build its new economy.

Today's bill is an important step, and I applaud the work of our committee leadership, the chairman and ranking member, in ensuring Afghanistan's urban areas are included in our aid to this country. It is vital to our long-term political interest and to the economic success of the people of Afghanistan to rebuild their war-torn country and to become an important ally of the United States in years to come.

When we are approaching a period in the next year or two when half of the world's population is going to move to cities, this is a model for the rest of our aid as well.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE).

The amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. LANTOS

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. LANTOS:

Insert after section 205 of the bill the following (and make such conforming amendments as may be necessary):

**SEC. 206. PROMOTING SECURE DELIVERY OF HUMANITARIAN AND OTHER ASSISTANCE IN AFGHANISTAN.**

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

(1) The President has declared his view that the United States should provide significant assistance to Afghanistan so that it never again becomes a haven for terrorism.

(2) The delivery of humanitarian and reconstruction assistance from the international community is necessary for the safe return of refugees and is critical to the future stability of Afghanistan.

(3) Enhanced stability in Afghanistan through an improved security environment is critical to the fostering of the Afghan Interim Authority and the traditional Afghan assembly or “Loya Jirga” process, which is intended to lead to a permanent national government in Afghanistan, and also is essential for the participation of women in Afghan society.

(4) Incidents of violence between armed factions and local and regional commanders, and serious abuses of human rights, including attacks on women and ethnic minorities throughout Afghanistan, create an insecure, volatile, and unsafe environment in parts of Afghanistan, displacing thousands of Afghan civilians from their local communities.

(5) The violence and lawlessness may jeopardize the “Loya Jirga” process, undermine efforts to build a strong central government, severely impede reconstruction and the delivery of humanitarian assistance, and increase the likelihood that parts of Afghanistan will once again become safe havens for Al-Qaeda, Taliban forces, and drug traffickers.

(6) The lack of security and lawlessness may also perpetuate the need for United States Armed Forces in Afghanistan and threaten the ability of the United States to meet its military objectives.

(7) The International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan, currently led by Turkey, and composed of forces from other willing countries without the participation of United States Armed Forces, is deployed only in Kabul and currently does not have the mandate or the capacity to provide security to other parts of Afghanistan.

(8) Due to the ongoing military campaign in Afghanistan, the United States does not contribute troops to the International Security Assistance Force but has provided support to other countries that are doing so.

(9) The United States is providing political, financial, training, and other assistance to the Afghan Interim Authority as it begins to build a national army and police force to help provide security throughout Afghanistan, but this effort is not meeting the immediate security needs of Afghanistan.

(10) Because of these immediate security needs, the Afghan Interim Authority, its Chairman, Hamid Karzai, and many Afghan regional leaders have called for the International Security Assistance Force, which has successfully brought stability to Kabul, to be expanded and deployed throughout the country, and this request has been strongly supported by a wide range of international humanitarian organizations, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, Catholic Relief Services, and Refugees International.

(11)(A) On January 29, 2002, the President stated that “[w]e will help the new Afghan government provide the security that is the foundation of peace”.

(B) On March 25, 2002, the Secretary of Defense stated, with respect to the reconstruction of Afghanistan, that “the first thing . . . you need for anything else to happen, for hospitals to happen, for roads to happen, for refugees to come back, for people to be fed

and humanitarian workers to move on the country . . . [y]ou’ve got to have security”.

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—It should be the policy of the United States to support measures to help meet the immediate security needs of Afghanistan in order to promote safe and effective delivery of humanitarian and other assistance throughout Afghanistan, further the rule of law and civil order, and support the formation of a functioning, representative Afghan national government.

(c) PREPARATION OF STRATEGY.—Not later than 45 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall transmit to the Committee on International Relations and the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate a strategy for meeting the immediate and long-term security needs of Afghanistan in order to promote safe and effective delivery of humanitarian and other assistance throughout Afghanistan, further the rule of law and civil order, and support the formation of a functioning, representative Afghan national government.

Mr. LANTOS (during the reading). Madam Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Chairman, my amendment declares that it should be the policy of the United States to support measures to meet the immediate security needs of Afghanistan and requires the President to submit a strategy for meeting the immediate security needs in Afghanistan.

I want to put my amendment in its proper context, Madam Chairman. There has been no one on either side of the aisle more in support of the President’s global war on terrorism than this Member, and that support continues. But I think it is important that while we support the President in this major global bipartisan effort we do not suspend our critical qualities. Our amendment deals with one such issue.

The United States and its coalition partners have freed Afghanistan from the chokehold of all the al Qaeda terrorists and the repressive regime of the Taliban. With the support of the international community, a new interim authority is now in place and the country is now on a path uncertainly towards peace and stability.

That very peace and stability is being threatened as the new government of Afghanistan under Chairman Karzai is being undermined by lawlessness and insecurity. Afghanistan is in grave danger of relapsing to the very conditions of violence and warlordism that created the Taliban and attracted al Qaeda to operate in Afghanistan.

Virtually the only safe place in Afghanistan where people can move freely, where humanitarian organizations and government ministries can deliver much-needed relief assistance and services, is Kabul, the capital, which is under the protection of the International Security Assistance Force known as ISAF. ISAF, soon to be under

the leadership of the government of Turkey, has demonstrated how effectively an international security presence contributes to stability and safety.

But Kabul itself is in danger of being overrun as refugees and displaced people continue to flood the capital in search of security. Nearly half of all the returning refugees are going to Kabul, and the city is already struggling to cope with this horrendous influx.

Outside of Kabul, Madam Chairman, Afghanistan continues to be a land of lawlessness, a land where every thug with a rifle can set up an illegal checkpoint to extort money from travelers, while the unarmed and outnumbered police cower in their makeshift headquarters. It is a land where women are still too fearful to remove their burqas and where relief workers risk their lives or have to offer hefty bribes to warlords and drug barons just to provide food and medicine to those in desperate need of assistance.

This is not the vision we had for Afghanistan as we sought to help to liberate it from the grasp of the terrorists and the Taliban. President Bush has pledged to help restore security and rebuild Afghanistan, and Secretary Rumsfeld himself noted on numerous occasions that security is fundamental to all other issues and objectives in Afghanistan. This is certainly not the Afghanistan that Chairman Karzai promised to his people when he asked them to rally behind him and behind the international war on terrorism.

□ 1600

In fact, Chairman Karzai has repeatedly pleaded with the United States and the international community to expand the mandate of the International Security Assistance Force beyond Kabul, and to help address the security situation.

Madam Chair, the purpose of the Afghanistan Freedom and Reconstruction Act is to help transform Afghanistan from a land of repression and chaos into a safe and secure environment where freedom, human rights and democracy can grow and terrorism and opium production will disappear.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. LANTOS was allowed to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Chairman, none of this can be accomplished without security. The United States is providing critical assistance to create a new professional, multi-ethnic Afghan army that will address Afghanistan’s long-term security needs. I support this assistance, and the bill before the House today authorizes military assistance to contribute to this effort.

However, building Afghan security forces to the point where they can meet the security needs of Afghanistan will take at least a year-and-a-half and

probably considerably longer. The period between now and the time that the Afghan military force can assume its duties is the critical period to assure the future of a secure Afghanistan. Something must be done now, Madam Chairman, whether it is the expansion of a multinational force or through some other mechanism to stabilize the countryside. Neither we nor our Afghan friends have the luxury to wait until a future security force, as yet only dreamed of, becomes fully trained and deployed.

My amendment requires the administration to address this issue in a constructive manner. It requires the administration to formulate a strategy to increase security in the country during the transition to a fully functioning national army and police force.

I fear that a failure to do so may lead to a failed Afghanistan. It will reduce international assistance. It will delay the accomplishment of our military objectives far longer. It will compel our military to stay in the region.

Madam Chairman, it is for all of these reasons that I offer my amendment, and I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting it, in supporting the people of Afghanistan. Without security, our courageous military's effort will be in vain. We must provide security throughout the whole of the country, not just in the capital city of Kabul. This makes common sense. It makes military sense. It will advance and promote U.S. national security.

Mr. HYDE. Madam Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment.

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

Mr. HYDE. Madam Chairman, I want to enthusiastically accept the amendment offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS). It improves the bill greatly. It emphasizes the importance of creating a secure environment in Afghanistan to ensure that humanitarian agencies will have access to meet the emergency needs of the Afghan people, and it calls on the President to develop a plan to address security concerns in Afghanistan.

To those people who might think this is too prescriptive, too interventionist, I think otherwise. I think it is only prudent to suggest to the President that we are authorizing a lot of money and we have a lot of things to be done, and we are expressing our hope and our request really that he come up with a strategy for employing the funds and the resources we are authorizing, because it is vitally important that we not flounder over there, that we know what we are doing, and that people think about an orderly way to bring security and stability to that part of the country. This is prudent, it is wise, and I hope my colleagues will accept it.

Madam Chairman, I congratulate the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for adding it to our bill.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Madam Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number

of words, and I rise in support of the Lantos amendment.

Madam Chairman, I congratulate the gentleman from California for offering his amendment, because it highlights a particularly important aspect of our current efforts in Afghanistan. Everything we have achieved to the present time is dependent on the security situation in Afghanistan. No level of assistance will be effective if aid workers cannot reach those in need.

Indeed, the Committee on International Relations received testimony from AID administrator Andrew Natsios that the current security situation on the ground is unsuitable for rapid or sustainable change. The Secretary of Defense has also said that before anything else can happen in Afghanistan, there must be security.

Yet, humanitarian aid organizations have reported threats to their workers and attempts at extortion by local commanders. These conditions will not only threaten the delivery of humanitarian assistance, but they will make it impossible to establish an effective program of reconstruction.

Recent events such as the assassination attempt on Defense Minister Fahim, the foiled plot to kill Afghanistan's King Zahir Shah, which delayed his return to his country, and the tragic killing of a United Nations aid worker are all part of a disturbing pattern of rising violence, a pattern that threatens to undermine the Loya Jirga process. In fact, Human Rights Watch reports that insecurity in certain provinces has caused the cancellation of Loya Jirga elections in portions of those provinces.

Madam Chairman, there are immediate security needs that as of now are going unmet. If we do not address the situation now, U.S. troops who are on the ground will have to stay in Afghanistan even longer. Such insecurity aspects put our troops at greater risk and threaten our ability to meet our military objectives in Afghanistan.

I know that the administration is opposed to expanding the International Security Force beyond the boundaries of Kabul, and I know the President supports the training of an Afghan police force and a national army. I support the President in the rebuilding of these institutions. Afghanistan should ultimately be responsible for their own security. But these are long-term solutions. Even the Department of Defense acknowledges that it will be at least 18 months before a national army is ready. What are the citizens of Afghanistan to do in the meantime?

We need a strategy to bridge the gap between now and the time when the Afghans can truly provide their own security across the country and that, Madam Chairman, that is what the amendment asks for.

Since the President has already foreclosed the option of expanding the International Security Assistance Force, I believe that it is incumbent upon him and the administration to

provide an alternative solution. Without U.S. leadership on this question, nothing will be done to address it. The President has said, and I agree, that Afghanistan's persistent poverty, war, and chaos laid the groundwork for the Taliban to seize power. If nothing is done now to address the security situation in Afghanistan, we risk plunging that nation back into the conflict from which it has so recently emerged.

Madam Chairman, the Lantos amendment can help us to avoid that fate, and I urge all of our colleagues to support it.

Mr. PAUL. Madam Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Madam Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment. The President has not been interested in this legislation. I do not see a good reason to give him the burden of reporting back to us in 45 days to explain how he is going to provide for Afghan security for the long term. How long is long term? We have been in Korea now for 50 years. Are we planning to send troops that provide national security for Afghanistan? I think we should be more concerned about the security of this country and not wondering how we are going to provide the troops for long-term security in Afghanistan. We should be more concerned about the security of our ports.

Madam Chairman, over the last several days and almost continuously, as a matter of fact, many Members get up and talk about any expenditure or any tax cut as an attack on Social Security, but we do not hear this today because there is a coalition, well built, to support this intervention and presumed occupation of Afghanistan. But the truth is, there are monetary and budget consequences for this.

After this bill is passed, if this bill is to pass, we will be close to \$2 billion in aid to Afghanistan, not counting the military. Now, that is an astounding amount of money, but it seems like it is irrelevant here. Twelve months ago, the national debt was \$365 billion less than it is today, and people say we are just getting away from having surpluses. Well, \$365 billion is a huge deficit, and the national debt is going up at that rate. April revenues were down 30 percent from 1 year ago. The only way we pay for programs like this is either we rob Social Security or we print the money, but both are very harmful to poor people and people living on a limited income. Our funds are not unlimited.

I know there is a lot of good intention; nobody in this body is saying we are going over there to cause mischief, but let me tell my colleagues, there is a lot of reasons not to be all that optimistic about these wonderful results and what we are going to accomplish over there.

Madam Chairman, earlier the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHR-ABACHER) came up with an astounding reason for us to do this. He said that

we owe this to Afghanistan. Now, I have heard all kinds of arguments for foreign aid and foreign intervention, but the fact that we owe this to Afghanistan? Do we know what we owe? We owe responsibility to the American taxpayer. We owe responsibility to the security of this country.

One provision of this bill takes a \$300 million line of credit from our DOD and just gives the President the authority to take \$300 million of weapons away from us and give it to somebody in Afghanistan. Well, that dilutes our defense, that does not help our defense. This is not beneficial. We do not need to have an occupation of Afghanistan for security of this country. There is no evidence for that.

The occupation of Afghanistan is unnecessary. It is going to be very costly, and it is very dangerous.

My colleagues might say, well, this is all for democracy. For democracy? Well, did we care about democracy in Venezuela? It seemed like we tried to undermine that just recently. Do we care about the democracy in Pakistan? A military dictator takes over and he becomes our best ally, and we use his land, and yet he has been a friend to the Taliban, and who knows, bin Laden may even be in Pakistan. Here we are saying we are doing it all for democracy. Now, that is just pulling our leg a little bit too much. This is not the reason that we are over there. We are over there for a lot of other reasons and, hopefully, things will be improved.

But I am terribly concerned that we will spend a lot of money, we will become deeply mired in Afghanistan, and we will not do a lot better than the Soviets did.

Now, that is a real possibility that we should not ignore. We say, oh, no, everything sounds rosy and we are going to do this, we are going to do it differently, and this time it is going to be okay. Well, if we look at the history of that land and that country, I would think that we should have second thoughts.

It has been said that one of the reasons why we need this legislation is to help pay for drug eradication. Now, that is a good idea. That would be nice if we could do that. But the drug production has exploded since we have been there. In the last year, it is just going wild. Well, that is even more reason we have to spend money because we contributed to the explosion of the drug production. There is money in this bill, and maybe some good will come of this; there is money in this bill that is going to be used to teach the Afghan citizens not to use drugs.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL) has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. PAUL was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

□ 1615

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, if this is successful, if we teach the Afghan peo-

ple not to use drugs, that would be wonderful. Maybe then we can do something about the ravenous appetite of our people for drugs which is the basic cause of so much drug production.

So to spend money on these kinds of programs I think is just a little bit of a stretch. Already there have been 33 tribal leaders that have said they will not attend this Loya Jirga, that they are not going to attend. The fact that we are going to spend millions of dollars trying to gather these people together and tell them what to do with their country, I think the odds of producing a secure country are slim.

Already in the papers just a few weeks ago it was reported in The Washington Post that our CIA made an attempt to assassinate a former prime minister of Afghanistan. He may have been a bum for all I know, but do Members think that sits well? He was not an ally of bin Laden, he was not a Taliban member, yet our CIA is over there getting involved. As a matter of fact, that is against our law, if that report is true. Yet, that is what the papers have reported.

So I would say that we should move cautiously. I think this is very dangerous. I know nobody else has spoken out against this bill, but I do not see much benefit coming from this. I know it is well motivated, but it is going to cost a lot of money, we are going to get further engaged, more troops are going to go over there; and now that we are a close ally of Pakistan, we do know that Pakistan and India both have nuclear weapons, and we are sitting right next to them. So I would hardly think this is advantageous for our security, nor advantageous for the American people, nor advantageous to the American taxpayer.

I see this as a threat to our security. It does not reassure me one bit. This is what scares me. It scares me when we send troops into places like Vietnam and Korea and other places, because it ultimately comes back to haunt us.

Mr. SAWYER. Madam Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Madam Chairman, it is a privilege here today to rise on behalf of the Lantos amendment and to express my gratitude, both to him and to the chairman of the Committee, for their bipartisan work on this overall bill, and to rise in support of this amendment.

I think it is very clear that if we are to accomplish the worthwhile goals that have been expressed in the body of this bill and in the previous Hyde amendment, that the substance embodied in the Lantos amendment is a requisite to achieve that.

In an interesting kind of way, I have to say that I find something to agree with in the previous speaker's remarks. We do not have to look much further than our own hemisphere, south to Colombia, to see the consequences of failing to address the importance of stabilizing conditions before we attempt to achieve real reform.

All we have to do is to look at what is going on with refugees and internally displaced populations there to understand the enormously destabilizing effect that those populations have in a country where we have not achieved the kind of security that is contemplated in the Lantos amendment.

In Afghanistan, the U.N. High Council on Refugees estimates that there are some 1 million internally displaced persons. There are some 3.7 million refugees in Iran and Pakistan that may well return. Of those displaced persons, some 1.5 million children have lost a parent, and over half a million of those have lost both parents. The strain that that places on a society attempting to stabilize itself is extraordinary.

We need to understand, though, that for those who would argue that dealing with that kind of problem is addressing the symptom rather than the cause, we need to understand that when it comes to instability, those kinds of displaced persons and populations straining at the infrastructure of a nation are not only a symptom of instability, but are in themselves a cause and exacerbator of that kind of instability.

We will not be able to address those kinds of problems until we have the kind of stability that is anticipated in the Lantos amendment.

So in conclusion, I would suggest that the lessons that we have learned over a difficult time in this hemisphere give us guidance as to the kinds of problems that we are capable of avoiding with the kind of wisdom, careful analysis, insight, and action that is contemplated in the Lantos amendment. I rise in support of that amendment.

Ms. WOOLSEY. Madam Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Madam Chairman, I also rise in strong support of the Lantos amendment. The Lantos amendment encourages the President of our country to improve security in Afghanistan and to support that effort. With women's security being most at risk, this amendment is especially critical for their quality of life and for their future.

A secure and stable Afghanistan is important for all the international community and for all Americans who value human rights and value democracy. Taliban rule in Afghanistan has illustrated how systematic violations against women, sanctioned by the governing authorities, can lead to danger and instability in those areas. Clearly, a country is not stable and/or democratic if half of its population remains oppressed.

Recent events have opened the door to a restoration of the rights of Afghan women, and today a fledgling government is forming; yet unacceptable violations against women continue. Afghanistan may soon enjoy its new democratic legislature; yet Afghan women are daily threatened with sexual violence and public intimidation.

The Lantos amendment seeks to improve the lives of Afghan women, and that is why I urge all of my colleagues to support it. I thank the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for providing this amendment.

Mr. ROHRBACHER. Madam Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Madam Chairman, I rise in strong support of the Lantos amendment.

Just to mention a few of the points that have been made here that might need a little bit of clarification, when we talk about the money that is being spent here, yes, it does cost us money to do something. I think the American people need to consider exactly how much money we are talking about. They also need to consider how much money we have already spent because we were not responsible in the years past.

I think the \$2 billion that this project will cost us, \$2 or \$3 billion. I am not sure at the end exactly how much it is going to cost, but I am sure that it is far less expensive than what it has cost us in rebuilding lower Manhattan and the Trade Center, and I am sure it cost us a lot more for not being responsible in the years past. If we would have spent this money 10 years ago or 5 years ago, perhaps we would have saved hundreds of billions of dollars, which is what this will cost us in the end.

When we left, yes, it is very difficult for one to imagine that we would owe a people who fought for our freedom a debt. Yes, it is very difficult for us to imagine that a group of people like the people of Afghanistan, who lost a huge percentage of their population in fighting the Soviet Army, in alliance with the United States, that we owe them a debt, because after what they did with their courage, their blood, the sacrifices of their families and homes, it made the world safer because it broke the will of the Soviet leadership, and shortly thereafter the Soviet Union disintegrated. It probably would not have done so if it was not for the courage and the tenacity and the sacrifice of the people of Afghanistan, who we encouraged to go and do our fighting for us.

Yes, we owe the people of Afghanistan a debt, and when we did not repay that debt, and when we walked away and told them to sleep in the rubble and let their children continue to be blown apart by land mines that we had given them to plant during the war against the Soviets, but we did not bother to stick around to help them clear them after the war was over, yes, there was a void. That void was filled by the Taliban and that void was filled by bin Laden and that void was filled by evil. When good people are not responsible and walk away, that void is usually filled by the evil people of this world. If there is any lesson of history, that is the lesson of history.

It is not the "loyal jerga," however you pronounced it, I say to the gen-

tleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL). It is called a Loya Jirga. It is not a gathering of people who are being gathered for us to tell them what to do; this is a noble effort on our part to have all of the tribal leaders and local leaders of Afghanistan to gather together so they can determine what they want for their country, and it is something we should be proud of.

Yes, there is a \$300 million cost, military cost, to that. That \$300 million is a drawdown so that the government of Afghanistan can create a military force that will permit Afghanistan to again be a unified country, rather than torn apart by warlords who are more powerful than the government, which is committed to the rights and liberties of their people at the center. We need to work with those people who want to rebuild a free and democratic Afghanistan.

For 10 years, I tried to struggle to get the King of Afghanistan back, who was dedicated to serving the role that other monarchs have served in situations like that, in Spain and in Greece and elsewhere, as a transition figure to democracy. I was opposed by our State Department, who undermined that effort. I am sure there are a lot of regrets now in our government that what we did not do in the past ended up creating this horrible situation on September 11, where thousands of Americans died.

But I can assure my colleagues that we will not have to have that same regret if we do what is right today, because, yes, there will be problems in the future, but those problems will be much greater if we do not act. If we do not back those people who are positive and want to have more democracy and want to respect the rights of their people, other people will fill the void, and then our challenges and problems and costs will be much greater.

What we are proposing today is a good deal. Yes, it costs money. It is a good deal. Also, let us not forget that other people around the world are joining us, and if we refrain from picking up our share of the load to help rebuild Afghanistan, our neighbors throughout the world will note that and they will not do their share. So this is a good deal in order to achieve a safer planet for our people, a safer country here, and also to pay that debt that we owe to the people of Afghanistan.

Mrs. TAUSCHER. Madam Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Madam Chairman, I would speak in support of the Lantos amendment. I would like to state my strong support for the Lantos amendment on improving security in Afghanistan. The Afghanistan Freedom Support Act provides critical economic and humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan; but without a security component to this aid, we have no means of assuring that our help will be effective or promote Afghanistan's long-term reconstruction.

The defeat of the Taliban and of all the positive social and political changes that came with it could not have taken place without United States leadership. I am seriously concerned, however, that our investment will be wasted if we do not directly consider how the United States can improve long-term security in Afghanistan.

In February, during testimony before the Committee on Armed Services, General Tommy Franks, Commander in Chief of the United States Central Command, restated President Bush's pledge to build "a lasting permanent solution for Afghanistan's security needs." The President's words have never been more relevant.

Since Chairman Karzai took the head of the interim government, one of his ministers has been killed, militia factions are fighting for influence, the refugee situation is worsening, and general lawlessness throughout the country is threatening the government's effectiveness.

By the end of the month, over 400 districts throughout Afghanistan must elect 16,000 delegates. They in turn will choose about 1,000 local leaders to participate in the new Afghan parliament. This is a delicate process that can easily be derailed.

The requirement in the amendment that the President submitted to Congress of the strategy for meeting Afghanistan's security needs is essential. This strategy should consider the use of U.S. military assets. At a time when U.S. troops are engaged in conflicts across the globe, from the Philippines to Georgia, it would be irresponsible for us to walk away from the one country where we have achieved victory without securing peace. A safe and secure Afghanistan is in the United States' national interest.

I applaud the acceptance by the gentleman from Illinois (Chairman HYDE), and I urge my colleagues to support the bill. It was a good bill, and it is a better bill with the Lantos amendment.

□ 1630

Mr. FORD. Madam Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Madam Chairman, I rise in support of this Lantos amendment. Never before, at least in my short time, I am just 32 years old, Madam Chairman, has America's standing been more precarious than it is today. In a lot of ways our need and responsibility to lead has never been greater. I have listened to some of my colleagues, particularly my friend, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL), who raised some interesting points about national security and whether or not we should shoulder the President with this burden when, in fact, he has not asked for it. We in this Congress have a tendency of burdening different agencies and departments with things that they did not ask for. That should not be a reason to defeat this amendment.

We have developed a reputation across the globe, whether we like it or not, and I see my friend, the gentleman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE) and I was proud to join her and 7 other colleagues on a trip to Kurdistan, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan some several months ago. We have developed, I think wrongly, as a Nation that being a country that supports things that narrowly benefit us or that is convenient to us and withdrawing in times when it may be inconvenient in the smallest ways. The rules of globalization call that we be better citizens. Part of that citizenship, I believe, is supporting this amendment; and coming to understand that for Chairman Karzai, whom the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. HOBSON) and the ranking member on the Subcommittee on Military Construction, Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. OLVER), and the gentleman from Maine (Mr. ALLEN), and the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE), and my friend, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. NEY), and the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. ROGERS), and the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. HAYES). Part of what we learned on this trip from Chairman Karzai is that he cannot accomplish the many things we all heard the President speak so eloquently about back in January and have heard Defense Secretary Rumsfeld talk about at length every day in his news conferences. We cannot accomplish the kind of peace and stability and bring about conditions for progress until we create a very stable and secure environment, not only there in Kabul but outside of that area as well.

We traveled there, as I said, and gained a greater appreciation for our men and women serving us there. For anyone who believes that young people are incapable of doing monumental things, I say one needs look no further than the U.S. military, and certainly the young men and women who are protecting and defending not only our interests but the free world's interests there in Baghram and all of our air bases in Manas and certainly there at K-2.

It is my hope that we in this Congress will have the courage to urge the President and the administration to do all that is laid out here in this Lantos amendment.

I close on this note. We have made so many great strides in this country over the last several years in science and medicine and technology and we will continue to do those things. One of the challenges that my generation, I think, will have, Madam Chairman, is to figure out ways in which not only we use all of that technology and science and advancements here in America but around the globe, but also to figure out how we take the human spirit and try to transfer that as well. Because I think the way we are thought about in other parts of the world, particularly Central Asia, is unfair to all Ameri-

cans, certainly to the good works of this Congress, this Senate and even this President is attempting and have been done in the past. There has been no greater citizen for freedom and no greater advocate for freedom and voice for freedom over the years than the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) whether it is the Middle East or Africa or other parts of the world.

It is my hope that this amendment is passed and that this Congress will take a harder and more thoughtful look and have a kind ear when it comes to foreign aid and issues affecting foreign countries. Because if, indeed, we want to contain or limit terrorism, we must come to grips with the fact that winning the war in Afghanistan alone will not accomplish that. Until we are willing to reach out and educate and close some of the awful gaps that exists between men and women, some of the awful disparities that exist between the children of our country and children around the globe, we will continue to be bedeviled with the challenges we saw on September 11 and continue to hear the kinds of threats that even Director Mueller and General Ashcroft are issuing today.

Madam Chairman, I urge support for the Lantos amendment.

Mr. FARR of California. Madam Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

(Mr. FARR of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FARR of California. Madam Chairman, I rise today in strong support of the Lantos amendment and the underlying bill, the Afghanistan Freedom Support Act.

The Afghanistan Freedom Support Act makes good on America's promise not to abandon Afghanistan. Our commitment to Afghanistan will be a testament to America's commitment to its allies in the war on terror. The most important commitment that the United States can make, however, is to support the security of our Afghan allies and friends. Without security, there can be no infrastructure rebuilding, no eradication of narcotics cultivation, no economic revitalization, no improved education and health care. None of our well-intentioned programs, which ultimately will be assumed by the Afghans themselves, will find any success without adequate security measures.

Security is most certainly not a partisan issue. Here we all agree that security is fundamental to prosperity. I am sure then that many of my colleagues shared my dismay when President Bush announced that the U.S. would not support an extension of Internal Security Assistance Force, the ISAF, to other major cities in Afghanistan besides Kabul. It contradicted the President's announcement that he would like to see the Peace Corps' Crisis Corps and eventually the Peace Corps volunteers back in Afghanistan as soon as possible.

Everybody in this body knows that I am one of the strongest supporters of the Peace Corps, having served as a volunteer in Colombia in the 1960s. I advocated strongly for expansion of the Peace Corps. I was the loudest to cheer when the President boldly committed himself to double the number of Peace Corps volunteers by the year 2007. I am also supportive of the President's intention to call upon the Peace Corps to help rebuild and revitalize Afghanistan. As their Peace Corps brothers and sisters went before them, the new volunteers will bring the great American gifts of optimism and enthusiasm to their important work in the Afghanistan villages. Nonetheless, we can not expect Peace Corps volunteers, even the Crisis Corps volunteers, to operate in a climate of insecurity that now reigns in Afghanistan.

I would like to bring our attention to an editorial from The Washington Post from April 27 of this year. I will submit this document for the RECORD.

The article was written by Anna Seleny, a political science teacher at Princeton, but also the last Peace Corps volunteer to be evacuated from Afghanistan in 1987 before the Soviet invasion. Miss Seleny believes, as I do, that the Peace Corps can play an important role in restoring peace and prosperity to Afghanistan. However, the ability of volunteers to play that role will be seriously compromised by the violence and impunity that still reigns there. Without security, the volunteers' mission will fail. Miss Seleny fears that they will be withdrawn again, and I fear worse.

What is required now is to be realistic. Without security and order, there can be no peace and prosperity. If we want the latter, we must also provide the former. I think that helping Afghanistan is the right thing to do. But let us do the job right. Let us expand the security mission beyond Kabul to cover other cities to other provinces. Let us help the Afghanistan democratic process by protecting the Loya Jirga from threats and intimidations. Let us help make it safe for women and girls to go outside and walk the streets without fear of attack. Let us help create an environment where Afghans can afford to stop dwelling on the past and worrying about the present, and allow them to think about the future, to dream and to build better lives for themselves and their families.

The Lantos amendment most reasonably asks the administration to prepare a strategy to meet the security needs of Afghanistan. It is an important first step towards meeting our obligations and laying the foundations for its successful U.S. policy in the region.

I thank my colleagues for their attention and consideration and urge them to support the Lantos amendment and the underlying Afghan Freedom Support Act.

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 27, 2002]  
 THE PEACE CORPS WILL NEED SOME BACKUP  
 (By Anna Seleny)

If things go according to the Bush administration's plan, the Peace Corps will be back in Afghanistan soon. This makes sense; it could spur Afghan reconstruction while teaching idealistic young Americans about the realities of life in the developing world.

But these laudable aims can be accomplished only if the administration agrees to extend the mandate of the international peacekeeping force there, and expand it to cover the provinces. I speak from experience; I was the last Peace Corps volunteer evacuated from Afghanistan in 1979 before the Soviet invasion.

I arrived in Kabul in January 1978 and was assigned to work in a health clinic north of Mazar-e-Sharif, near the Uzbek border. Three months later bombs started to fall, as part of a Soviet-backed coup in which the Communist "People's Democratic Party" murdered President Mohammed Daoud, the last ruling member of the Mohammedzai dynasty. After several days of intense fighting, an eerie calm settled over a capital now under strict military curfew. My most vivid memory of the following weeks is of riding my bicycle past ever-lengthening lines of people waiting outside prisons for news of relatives who had disappeared. Many never got answers, and the new regime's duplicity and brutality were only the beginning of the country's long nightmare.

Like other Peace Corps volunteers, I was given the option of leaving without dishonor or continuing my work. About a dozen of us stayed (out of approximately 150). It was no longer considered safe to work in the provinces, so I was reassigned to the Afghan Institute of Technology in Kabul. As the new regime tightened its grip, some of my friends and colleagues began to distance themselves from anything American, for self-protection; one even adopted Marxist rhetoric overnight. Others overcame their fears and continued to insist that I come to their homes. Eventually, after the assassination of American Ambassador Adolph Dubs, the rest of us were withdrawn, along with all but a skeleton embassy staff.

Today, after more than two decades of war and poverty, most Afghans want U.S. help in restoring a measure of peace, prosperity and normality to their country. The Peace Corps can play an invaluable role in this delicate task: serving as goodwill ambassadors and helping communities provide basic services to a population in desperate need. For quite some time, however, the Peace Corps volunteers will have to go about their tasks in a highly unstable local and geopolitical context. Afghan internal rivalries are still erupting in fierce vendettas, and no national government can exercise credible authority, let alone punish the perpetrators of violence. Some regions of the country remain dominated by former warlords. Without an expanded international peacekeeping force, there could be a major conflagration between dominant groups holding power in Kabul and their provincial rivals.

The administration is right to stress the need for reconstruction aid. But it seems poised to repeat America's mistakes in the region: committing too few resources for too short a time, and thus ultimately failing to secure hard-won gains. Before angry groups in Afghanistan can cooperate to put their country back on its feet, the peace must be fully secured—something beyond the power of the interim government, and probably the first post-conflict government as well. This is why the Afghans themselves have asked that the international peacekeeping force be significantly expanded in both time and scope.

Without some kind of force in place capable of maintaining order, moreover, any new Peace Corps volunteers will probably have to be withdrawn as things fall apart, just as we were in 1979. This would not only be a public relations disaster and a waste of substantial rhetorical, military and political capital; it would also be a historic lost opportunity.

Some speak of Afghanistan as if it had always been in turmoil, as if its ethnic and tribal groups had never reached a workable accommodation. Don't believe them. Before 1979 Afghanistan was miserably poor, but people did not starve. Daoud's government had serious flaws, but it was a moderate republic. There was increasing political and social pluralism, including enhanced freedoms and a range of professional careers for women. By the late 1970s Afghanistan had achieved a kind of rough tribal democracy that might well have developed into something better with time. The country also had a professional, multi-ethnic army of which many Afghans were justly proud, and a growing middle class.

The potential for a more prosperous and peaceful Afghanistan is there. The Peace Corps is at its best when helping distressed nations dig out from under. But for the Corps to do its job, somebody else must first keep the peace. And keeping the peace requires a firm commitment that, like the mission of the Peace Corps itself, conveys to Afghans and the world the patient determination that is the hallmark of true world leadership.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS).

The question was taken; and the Chairman announced that the ayes appear to have it.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Chairman, I demand a recorded vote.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to clause 6 of rule XVIII, further proceedings on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) will be postponed.

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Madam Chairman, I move to strike the last word for purposes of entering into a colloquy.

Madam Chairman, once again I appreciate the efforts of our diligent colleagues, the chairman of our committee, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), the ranking member, and the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRBACHER) in their work with me on an important issue for assistance for the unintended victims of the war in Afghanistan.

The current military operations in the United States Armed Forces and other allied forces in Afghanistan are directed against the members of Taliban and other terrorist organizations, not against the people of Afghanistan. Although the United States and our allies have demonstrated enormous good will towards the people of Afghanistan who have suffered under the former Taliban regime, there have been numerous unintended victims of the current military operations by us and other allied countries.

In the past the United States has provided aid to civilian casualties of military operations. Assistance should be provided to individuals who are unintended victims of the current military operation as well. The men and women

of our armed forces are well trained and there is no question that they do their job very, very well. Nonetheless, even in the most justified of wars, civilians will suffer and some will be killed.

In the aftermath of the Afghanistan campaign, we feel it is important for the United States to assist these people and particularly to help unintended victims who have suffered directly due to our munitions. There are children that have been injured or left to fend for themselves because adult members of their families have been mistakenly killed; widows who have been left to care for children without means to provide for food, health and clothing. Other victims have suffered property loss or personal injury.

Despite humanitarian efforts, women and children remain victims of this war and desperately, desperately need our help. I believe that providing this assistance speaks to the highest values of our Nation and of our people. It would be an important good will gesture for us to help these unintended victims of the war against terrorism that was appropriately and ably spearheaded by our country in Afghanistan.

Madam Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) to respond.

Mr. HYDE. Madam Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

My colleague from Oregon reminds us of the sad situation that unfortunately comes along with any war, unintended victims. Facing one's enemy in battle is hard enough; knowing that others may have perished without participating in the war is tragic. I am pleased, however, that the legislation before us will help the people of Afghanistan in a substantial way. It provides serious economic, democratic development and military aid. It will assist in meeting the urgent humanitarian needs of the Afghan people including food, shelter, medical care, family reunification services and the clearance of land mines. It will also assist refugees and internally displaced persons, eradication of illicit narcotics, and reconstruction efforts.

I am hoping these efforts will provide some comfort to the innocent people of Afghanistan who have had to bear witness to the evils of terrorism and this war.

If history was our guide, we are assured that the United States will undertake a serious investigation, examining these matters, and act accordingly to directly assist those injured or killed by tragic mistakes or accident.

I would be pleased to support the gentleman in moving legislation through the Committee on International Relations that would achieve those ends at the appropriate time. In the meantime, I agree with the gentleman that the unintended victims and their families should receive priority in receiving assistance under this legislation, if at all possible.

I hope this has satisfied the gentleman's inquiry.

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Madam Chairman, I thank the gentleman. I appreciate the gentleman's leadership and his words of direction. At this point I would yield to the ranking member of the committee, my good friend, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS).

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding and I thank him for his thoughtful remarks and for his very genuine and sincere interest in this matter.

Clearly there have been unintended innocent victims during our military operations, and I fully agree with my friend, the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. BLUMENAUER), that U.S. assistance should be provided to such victims and their families.

I also strongly endorse the commitment of our chairman to bring forward appropriate legislation on this issue, and I look forward to working with him and with my friend from Oregon on this matter and I thank the gentleman for yielding.

□ 1645

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Madam Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRBACHER) to seek his comments on the subject of this colloquy.

Mr. ROHRBACHER. Madam Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding to me.

I agree with both of my colleagues, or all three of my colleagues, of the tragedy of unintended victims of the war and when we have a situation we are fighting against terrorism.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. BLUMENAUER) has expired.

(On request of Mr. HYDE, and by unanimous consent, Mr. BLUMENAUER was allowed to proceed for 1 additional minute.)

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Madam Chairman, I continue to yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRBACHER).

Mr. ROHRBACHER. Madam Chairman, the tragedy of unintended victims in this war against terrorism should be investigated in order to determine the best manner of assisting them, and their claims should be dealt with if they are shown to be valid claims.

Afghan's civilians who have lost family members or homes due to being caught in a crossfire during the hostilities between the coalition forces and the Taliban or al Qaeda fighters need our help. This legislation is a big step in the right direction. It is my strong desire to see that these people, the unintended victims of this war, are granted a priority consideration for reconstruction assistance under this legislation.

This is the moral and the right thing to do, and I thank the gentleman for his efforts to make sure that we do the right thing.

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Madam Chairman, reclaiming my time, I deeply ap-

preciate the strong words of comfort and support and wisdom from my three colleagues. I know this will make a huge difference, not just to people in Afghanistan, but from what we have been hearing, of an outpouring of concern by Americans who are concerned about unintended victims, and this is an important step forward.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. HOEFFEL

Mr. HOEFFEL. Madam Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. HOEFFEL:

Page 21, beginning on line 15, strike "is strongly urged to designate" and insert "shall designate".

Page 21, line 17, insert "who shall report to the Assistant Secretary for South Asian Affairs and" after "coordinator".

Page 22, after line 8, insert the following:

(b) ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENT.—An individual designated by the President as coordinator pursuant to subsection (a) may only be an individual who is appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Mr. HOEFFEL (during the reading). Madam Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOEFFEL. Madam Chairman, the original bill, the Afghanistan Freedom Support Act, urged the creation of a coordinator at the Department of State for aid to Afghanistan and mandated that this coordinator be appointed with the advice and consent of the Senate. I am disappointed that these two provisions have been removed from the bill by the chairman's amendment.

My amendment would do three things. It would mandate that the President designate a coordinator for Afghanistan aid within the State Department. It would mandate that the coordinator report to the Assistant Secretary for South Asian Affairs, and it would mandate that this coordinator be designated with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Madam Chairman, one of the biggest problems in planning and implementing an Afghan aid program is the plethora of agencies and operations within the United States Government, each responsible for a portion of the overall program, a piece of the pie. There is a lack of a central coordinating authority to provide direction to these agencies.

A Senate-confirmed coordinator would establish prominent State Department leadership for this new program. The stature of this person would automatically command, would help the State Department rein in all of the 13 agencies that currently work on aid and policy affecting Afghanistan.

H.R. 3994 is a solid bill that will do very well to address the development needs of Afghanistan. It is a good start. It is not enough. If we want to eradicate terrorism, that fight will have to extend beyond Afghanistan's borders.

I want to thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), the chairman, and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), the ranking member, for supporting the insertion of my language into the declaration of policy section during committee consideration, that the U.S. should implement a broader comprehensive aid program that extends beyond the borders of Afghanistan into central Asia, to best foster stability and democratization and to effectively eliminate the causes of terror.

President Bush recently outlined his vision for a modern day Marshall Plan at the Virginia Military Institute on April 17, 2002. The President stated, "Marshall knew that our military victory against enemies in World War II had to be followed by a moral victory that resulted in better lives for individual human beings." I applaud the President and his vision of seeking hope and opportunity for all people.

The successful rebuilding of Afghanistan can only happen if we invest in the surrounding countries and help bring stability to the region.

Mr. HYDE. Madam Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOEFFEL. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. HYDE. Madam Chairman, I thank the gentleman for these thoughtful remarks and for his interest in this bill; and with regard to the issue of coordinator for Afghanistan policy, I fully agree with the gentleman of the importance of this position. Where the State Department and I disagree, however, is on the question of mandating such a position.

As I am sure my colleague knows, the State Department has appointed an individual to this position who is already performing the onerous task of coordinating aid and policy relating to Afghanistan. It seems to me, therefore, that in this instance mandatory language appointing a coordinator is unnecessary.

With regard to the issue of a broader comprehensive aid program that extends beyond the borders of Afghanistan and into central Asia, it is a laudable objective and is something I would be pleased to work with the gentleman in crafting solutions toward this end.

Mr. HOEFFEL. Madam Chairman, reclaiming my time, I thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) for his comments. I am particularly pleased by the chairman's interest in working with me and others in the future on these important issues.

Madam Chairman, out of deference to Secretary Powell and to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), I ask unanimous consent to withdraw my amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The amendment is withdrawn.

AMENDMENTS NO. 3 AND NO. 4 OFFERED BY MS. JACKSON-LEE OF TEXAS

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Madam Chairman, I offer two amendments, and I ask unanimous consent they be considered en bloc.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will designate the amendments.

The text of the amendments is as follows:

Amendments No. 3 and No. 4 offered by Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas:

AMENDMENT NO. 3: Page 14, line 2, insert before the semicolon the following: “, with particular emphasis on health care for children who are orphans”.

Page 14, line 17, insert before the semicolon the following: “, with particular emphasis on basic education for children who are orphans”.

AMENDMENT NO. 4: Page 14, line 17, insert before the semicolon the following: “, with particular emphasis on basic education for children”.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Madam Chairman, first of all, it is important to again thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for working with me and my staff for an interest that I have as a Chair of the Congressional Children's Caucus.

As I rise to support not only the amendments that I intend to offer today, I do want to add my support to the gentleman from Illinois' (Mr. HYDE) amendment that he just offered and as well the Lantos amendment which I will vote enthusiastically for.

As my colleagues have indicated, a number of us had both the privilege and the challenge to visit Afghanistan during these trying times after the horrific act of September 11. The first order of business for those of us in this Nation after September 11 was to mourn, but also to help heal the terrible and horrific acts that took the lives of so many Americans. We wanted to comfort, and we wanted to show that we would not stand for this happening again. Then we rallied and we said we will stand united to fight against terrorism.

It is important that that is done; but as we look to fight against terrorism, it was clear as we visited Afghanistan that there are people there who simply want a better way of life. The Lantos amendment acknowledges that there cannot be peace without security, and so I support his intentions and effort to ensure that Afghanistan is secure.

I also refute those who would think that we cannot build a nation and create democracy because, as we all know, we must eliminate the incubator of terrorism; but at the same time, we must balance that with giving the Afghanistan people the tools that they need to build a government and also to build a nation securely.

I, therefore, believe it is additionally important to focus on the children, and

so I offer these amendments to deal with two of the groups of children in Afghanistan.

As society breaks down during conflict, children have no access to school and are driven from their homes. Worst yet, they are separated from their family. Afghan children perceive armed groups as their best chance for survival. Others seek to escape from poverty while others join military forces to avenge family members who have been killed.

My amendments emphasize basic education for the orphan children, almost a million in Afghanistan and for the children of Afghanistan; and the reason I say this is because one of the sites we visited was an orphanage with 1,000 children needing basic education. I believe the right to an education for children in Afghanistan would develop not only the child's personality but all their talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential.

Education serves as a much broader function. It gives shape and structure to a child's life. Education can also instill community values, promote justice and peace, and respect for human rights, and enhanced peace, stability and independence. Likewise, the psychological impact of the past 20 years has left an immutable scar in over 1 million Afghan orphans' memories.

Two generations of Afghan children know only war, deprivation, homelessness, hunger, suffering and loss; and therefore they need good education and good health care. In addition, there are estimated to be 10 to 15 million land mines scattered in the landscape exploding and injuring at a rate of 20 to 25 people per day. They kill or injure predominantly children who sometimes are victims of demise because of their disguise or they are disguised as toys.

Can my colleagues think of how horrible it is living in a country where any moment a person could lose a leg or their life as a child? Their future seems bleak in a world that has largely forgotten them. We need to help them.

Let me for a moment applaud the Houston Independent School District, Madam Chairman, because they are working with me on a books, pens and pencils campaign for the end of the year to send these books and pencils and pens to the Afghan children. We all are trying to help.

The amendment I offer will emphasize in this legislation that children need educating and good health care. The stage of physical, psychological and cognitive and moral development that a child has reached directly affects his or her ability to cope with these impacts. We must promote the physical and psychological recovery and social reintegration of children affected by armed conflict. That means basic education, open schools, teachers who are teaching and good health care.

Another important issue, as I indicated, is children's health. Thousands of children are killed every year as a direct result of fighting, and we need to

ensure that they have food supplies. Because of the destruction of food crops and agricultural infrastructures, these children are in need of good health care.

One of the most telling stories was going to the hospital and seeing children with no medication, seeing malnourished children; and so this legislation with the humanitarian funds that are allotted can now emphasize immunization resources. It can now emphasize health professionals that will provide the care for our children. It can now provide the care for the 1,000 children in the orphanage who needed basic health care to get rid of the sores on their faces and bodies.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE) has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas was allowed to proceed for 1 additional minute.)

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Madam Chairman, as I close these two amendments en bloc, I emphasize in this legislation the need to focus on children's education for both orphanages and the children of Afghanistan and children's health and to provide the resources to the nation to ensure that our children are our priority.

Might I just lift the face of a child who evidences the need for helping our children. The United Nations focused on children in the last week for the first time in 12 years, but we can focus on this child to help her have a better education and better health care.

Madam Chairman, I ask my colleagues to support these two amendments, Nos. 3 and 4 en bloc.

Mr. HYDE. Madam Chairman, the majority is very pleased to accept the two amendments offered by the gentlewoman en bloc. They are worthy additions to the bill, and we accept them.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Chairman, on the Democratic side, we strongly support the amendments, and I want to commend our friend from Texas.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendments offered by the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE).

The amendments were agreed to.

□ 1700

AMENDMENTS NOS. 5 AND 6 OFFERED BY MS. JACKSON-LEE OF TEXAS

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Madam Chairman, I offer amendment Nos. 5 and 6, and I ask unanimous consent they be considered en bloc.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will designate the amendments.

The text of the amendments is as follows:

Amendments Nos. 5 and 6 offered by Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas:

AMENDMENT NO. 5: Page 26, line 3, insert before the semicolon the following: “and prohibits the use of children as soldiers or combatants”.

AMENDMENT NO. 6: Page 29, line 9, strike “Assistance” and insert the following:

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subject to paragraph (2), assistance

Page 29, after line 11, insert the following:

(2) LIMITATION.—Amounts made available to carry out this title for a fiscal year may be made available for assistance to the Government of Afghanistan only if the President first determines and certifies to Congress that the Government of Afghanistan prohibits the use of children as soldiers or combatants.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the amendments will be considered en bloc.

There was no objection.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Madam Chairman, these two amendments are so important, I believe, to a future in Afghanistan and around the world that I first express my appreciation to the chairman of the committee and the ranking member for listening to my concerns and having their own commitment to human rights, recognizing that we will not begin the 21st century in the right way as long as we put children to war.

Children are at war around the world. Clearly, there are hundreds of thousands of children who are put at war. And might I again refer us to this wonderful face, this wonderful young girl, because girls and boys are subjected to combat. I would simply ask, as we listen to this debate and pass this legislation, that my colleagues support me in the prohibition against using children as soldiers and combatants. These children have no other future, no other opportunity, no other goals, no other challenges, no other hope. That is what we do to children when we put them in combat for our disputes.

I believe children must get the best possible start in life. Their survival and protection, as well as their growth, are the essential foundation for proper human development. I believe we should fight for them, and we should make a concerted effort to fight infectious diseases, tackle major causes of malnutrition, and nurture children in a safe environment that enables them to be physically healthy, mentally alert, emotionally secure, socially competent, as well as able to learn.

However, the experience of the past decade does not allow this. Consequently, this confirms that the needs and rights of children must be a priority. Every moment that we stand by and silently watch Afghanistan crumble, more children will suffer and die. As I stated, my amendments ask, in the first, to prohibit the use of children as soldiers or combatants. My second amendment, amendment number 6, asks that the President certify that this has not occurred and as well that the money is limited.

One of the most deplorable developments in recent years has been the increasing use of children as soldiers. What is frightening today is the escalation of children used as fighters. Children soldiers are used as lethal weapons. Children are used because they have advantages as soldiers; they are easier to intimidate and do as they are told. Children soldiers are also less likely than adults to run away or de-

mand salaries. Children who have grown up surrounded by violence see this as a permanent way of life.

It is important to note that when schools are closed and families fragmented, there are few influences that can compete with a child's life. The military soldiering becomes their family. I believe children deserve the greatest protection, but as child soldiers they are often considered the most expendable.

There was a story recently about a child soldier in Afghanistan, barely 12 years old, and he had started at age 8. As an example of this, during the Iran-Iraq war, children soldiers were sent out ahead in waves over mine fields.

Children have been used as soldiers by all warring factions throughout 20 years of resistance and civil war in Afghanistan. Can we not do better? Is there not a better role for children? Two generations of Afghan children have been raised in a highly militarized culture. In schools, both inside the country and refugee camps, textbooks and teaching methods have used images of tanks, guns and bullets in mathematics and reading classes.

On October 2, 2001, The New York Times reported that children as young as 12 will be recruited as soldiers for the Taliban. I fear that without this amendment the current Afghan crisis could see unprecedented levels of conscription and mobilization of children.

In meeting with Chairman Karzai, let me say I believe he has the best intent and the best opportunity to bring Afghanistan together. With the amendment of the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), and with this legislation, we can secure Afghanistan and give him the support he needs, but at the same time we have to make sure that the country knows that children at war is wrong.

Children have become a direct participant in the war. Denied a childhood, and often subjected to horrific violence, Afghan children are serving as soldiers in current armed conflicts. These young combatants participate in all aspects of contemporary warfare. They wield AK-47s and M-16s on the front lines of combat. They serve, as I said, as human mine detectors; they participate in suicide missions; they carry supplies, and act as spies, messengers, or lookouts.

The primary reason for this or these amendments is to ensure that this legislation moves forward in order to protect the innocent child. Again, I bring my colleagues' attention to an innocent face. This is the face for education and as well good health care and a good quality of life.

I believe it is enormously important that we do what we can to protect against child soldiers.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE) has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas was allowed to proceed for 1 additional minute.)

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Madam Chairman, I have worked with the chairperson and ranking member of this committee. I am so committed to this issue that I really wanted to ensure that resources were kept from Afghanistan on the basis of using child soldiers. However, I am fully aware that it is important that any resource we have to help build this country is not reserved, if you will, it is not limited, and that with the confidence of having the legislation structured as it is, that this would provide for enough reinforcement against using children as combatants.

Madam Chairman, I rise today to speak for the children of Afghanistan. We are blessed with the privileges of living in a country as great as the United States. But we, too, often forget about the millions of people around the world whose daily life is a struggle for survival. In particular, the children of Afghanistan, who have seen the unspeakable pain and agony of over twenty years of war and crimes that have inflicted untold miseries.

I believe children must get the best possible start in life. Their survival and protection as well as their growth are the essential foundation for proper human development. I believe that we should fight for them. We should make a concerted effort to fight infectious diseases, tackle major causes of malnutrition, and nurture children in a safe environment that enables them to be physically healthy, mentally alert, emotionally secure, socially competent as well as able to learn. However, the experience of the past decade does not allow this. Consequently, this confirms that the needs and rights of children must be a priority. Every moment that we stand by and silently watch Afghanistan crumble, more children suffer and die.

One of the most deplorable developments in recent years has been the increasing use of young children as soldiers. What is frightening today is that the escalation in the use of children as fighters.

Children soldiers are used as lethal weapons. Children are used because they have advantages as soldiers. They are easier to intimidate, and do as they are told. Children soldiers also are less likely than adults to run away or demand salaries. Children who have grown up surrounded by violence see this as a permanent way of life. It is important to note that when schools are closed and families fragmented, there are few influences that can compete with a child's life. I believe that children deserve the greatest protection, but as children soldiers they are often considered the most expendable. An example of this was during the Iran-Iraq war, children soldiers were sent out ahead in waves over minefields.

Children have been used as soldiers by all warring factions throughout 20 years of resistance and civil war in Afghanistan. Two generations of Afghan children have been raised in a highly militarized 'kalashnikov culture'. In schools, both inside the country and refugee camps, textbooks and teaching methods have used images of tanks, guns and bullets in mathematics and reading classes.

On October 2, 2001, The New York Times reported that children as young as twelve were being recruited as soldiers for the Taliban. I fear that without this amendment the current Afghan crisis could see unprecedented

levels of conscription and mobilization of children.

In Afghanistan, children have become direct participants in the war. Denied a childhood and often subjected to horrific violence, Afghan children are serving as soldiers in current armed conflicts. These young combatants participate in all aspects of contemporary warfare. They wield AK-47s and M-16s on the front lines of combat. They serve as human mine detectors. They, also, participate in suicide missions, carry supplies. They act as spies, messengers or lookouts. The primary reason for this is the fact that children are physically vulnerable and easily intimidated, children typically make obedient soldiers. The issue of child soldiers is shocking and horrifying. Both boys and girls in Afghanistan, some as young as eight years old, are recruited (either kidnapped or forced) to join armed groups.

As a society breaks down during conflict, children have no access to school, and are driven from their homes. Worse yet, they are separated from their family. Afghan children perceive armed groups as their best chance for survival. Others seek to escape from poverty. While others join military forces to avenge family members who have been killed.

This is why, I believe, the right to an education for children would develop, not only, the child's personality, but all their talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential. Education serves as a much broader function. It gives shape and structure to a child's life. Education can, also, instill community values, promote justice and respect for human rights and enhance peace, stability and interdependence.

Likewise, the psychological impact of the past twenty years has left an immutable scar in over one million Afghan orphan's memories. Two generations of Afghan children know only war, deprivation, homelessness, hunger, suffering, and loss. In addition, there are estimated to be between 10 and 15 million land mines scattered in the landscape, exploding and injuring at a rate of 20 to 25 per day. They kill or injure predominantly children who are sometimes victims of mines disguised as toys. Can you think of how horrible it is living in a country where any moment you could lose a leg or your life or a child? Their future's seem bleak in a world that has largely forgotten them. We need to help them.

The effects of armed conflict on child development accumulate and interact with each other. The stage of physical, psychosocial, cognitive and moral development that a child has reached directly affects his or her ability to cope with these impacts.

We must promote the physical and psychological recovery and social reintegration of children affected by armed conflict.

Another important issue we must address, it that of children's health. Thousands of children are killed every year as a direct result of fighting, but many more die from malnutrition and disease caused or increased by armed conflicts. The interruption of food supplies, the destruction of food crops and agricultural infrastructures, the disintegration of families and communities, the displacement of populations, the destruction of health services and programs and of water and sanitation systems all take a heavy toll on children.

Many die as a direct result of diminished food intake that causes acute and severe mal-

nutrition, while others, compromised by malnutrition, become unable to resist common childhood diseases and infections. Given their vulnerability, it is no surprise that around 2 million children are estimated to have died as a result of armed conflict in the last decade.

Many of today's armed conflicts take place in some of the world's poorest countries, where children are already vulnerable to malnutrition and disease, and the onset of armed conflict increases death rates up to 24 times. All children are at risk when conflicts break out, but the most vulnerable are those who are under fire and already malnourished.

In conjunction with a child's health is education. The right to education for children should develop the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential. Education serves as a much broader function. It gives shape and structure to children's lives. It also can instill community values, promote justice and respect for human rights and enhance peace, stability and interdependence.

Education is particularly important during armed conflicts. While the surrounding environment may be in chaos, schooling can represent a sense of normalcy. School children have the chance to be with friends and enjoy support and encouragement. They benefit from regular contacts with teachers who can monitor their physical and psychological health. Teachers can also help children to develop new skills and knowledge that is necessary for survival and coping, including mine awareness, negotiation and problem solving, and information about HIV/AIDS and other health issues. Formal education also benefits the community as a whole. The ability to carry on schooling in the most difficult circumstances demonstrates confidence in the future: communities that still have a school feel they have something durable and worthy of protection.

Schools are targeted during war, in part because they have such high profiles. In rural areas, the school building may be the only substantial permanent structure, making it highly susceptible to shelling, closure or looting.

The destruction of educational infrastructures represents one of the greatest developments setbacks for countries affected by conflict. Years of lost schooling and vocational skills will take equivalent years to replace and their absence imposes a greater vulnerability on the ability of societies to recover after war.

Formal education is also generally at risk during war because it relies on consistent funding and administrative support that is difficult to sustain.

Even where services are maintained, however, education is usually of lower quality. Funds are short and the supply of materials slow or erratic. In addition, fear and disruption make it difficult to create an atmosphere conducive to learning and the morale of both teachers and pupils is likely to be low.

Though still inadequate, relief programs direct most attention in times of armed conflict to the education of refugee children. This is partly because, when children are massed together in camps, it is easier to approximate a classroom situation. In some countries, this reality simply reflects the dominance of inflexible formal education systems that persist despite growing doubts about this quality, relevance and content. Insufficient attention to the education needs of non-refugees during armed

conflict is also attributable to the fact that some of the donors most active during conflicts are constrained by their mandates to work exclusively with refugees. Other donors have been reluctant to use emergency funds for what they interpret as long-term development activities.

When children have been forced to leave their homes and are crowded into displaced camps, re-establishing schooling systems as soon as possible reassures everyone by signaling a degree of stability and a return to normal roles and relationships within the family and the community.

As Chair of the Congressional Children's Caucus, I am always concerned about the welfare of children here and abroad, because children are our future.

World leaders have made a joint commitment and issue an universal appeal to give children a better future. Children's rights are an effective rallying point.

A world fit for children is one in which all children get the best possible start in life and have access to a quality basic education. All children must have an ample opportunity to develop their individual capacities in a safe and supportive environment.

I was always taught that the family is the basic unit of society and as such should be strengthened. The primary responsibility for the protection, upbringing and development of children rests with the family.

War violates every right of a child—the right to life, the right to be with family and community, the right to health, the right to development of personality and the right to be nurtured and protected.

This bill does not specifically address the crisis of children soldiers or the need for basic education for children or their health in Afghanistan.

I have, therefore, proposed four amendments to be added to the bill for the protection and education for children:

- (1) prohibit the use of children as soldiers or combatants;
- (2) require the President to determine and certify that the Government of Afghanistan is not using children as soldiers or combatants.
- (3) would put emphasis on basic education and health care for children who are orphans.
- (4) would emphasize basic education for children.

I therefore urge my fellow members to vote for these amendments.

MODIFICATION TO AMENDMENT NOS. 5 AND 6  
OFFERED BY MS. JACKSON-LEE OF TEXAS

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Madam Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to modify my amendment, which would mean withdrawing amendment number 6, and that is the amendment that deals with the certification by the President and the limitation of funds.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the modification.

The Clerk read as follows:

Modification to amendment Nos. 5 and 6 offered by Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas:

Strike the portion of the amendment that was originally printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as amendment No. 6

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the modification offered by the gentlewoman from Texas is accepted.

There was no objection.

Mr. HYDE. Madam Chairman, I move to strike the last word, and I am

pleased, on behalf of the majority, to accept the gentlewoman's amendment number 5. It makes a worthy addition to the bill, and I appreciate her withdrawing amendment number 6.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words, and on behalf of the Democratic side I want to accept the gentlewoman's amendment, and I want to commend her for her indefatigable support for children everywhere.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Madam Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LANTOS. I yield to the gentlewoman from Texas.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Madam Chairman, before taking this vote, I just wish to thank both gentlemen very much.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendments, as modified, offered by the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE).

The question was taken; and the Chairman announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Madam Chairman, I demand a recorded vote, and pending that, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to clause 6 of rule XVIII, further proceedings on the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE) will be postponed.

The point of no quorum is considered withdrawn.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MS. WATERS

Ms. WATERS. Madam Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Ms. WATERS:

Page 30, after line 8, add the following (and conform the table of contents accordingly):

**TITLE III—ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENTS WITH RESPECT TO ASSISTANCE FOR AFGHANISTAN**

**SEC. 301. GENERAL PROHIBITION ON ASSISTANCE.**

Notwithstanding any provision contained in title I or II of this Act, assistance authorized by this Act may not be provided to any agency or instrumentality of the Government of Afghanistan, or any other individual (including an individual who exercises civil power by force over a limited region) or organization in Afghanistan, that is engaged in poppy cultivation or illicit narcotics growth, production, or trafficking, unless the agency, instrumentality, individual, or organization (as the case may be) agrees to cease the poppy cultivation or illicit narcotics growth, production, or trafficking (as the case may be).

**SEC. 302. PROHIBITION ON UNITED STATES INVOLVEMENT IN POPPY CULTIVATION OR ILLICIT NARCOTICS GROWTH, PRODUCTION, OR TRAFFICKING.**

No officer or employee of any Federal department or agency who is involved in the provision of assistance under this Act may knowingly encourage or participate in poppy cultivation or illicit narcotics growth, production, or trafficking in Afghanistan. No United States military or civilian aircraft or other United States vehicle that is used with respect to the provision of assistance under this Act may be used to facilitate the distribution of poppies or illicit narcotics in Afghanistan.

**SEC. 303. REQUIREMENT TO REPORT BY CERTAIN UNITED STATES OFFICIALS.**

(a) REQUIREMENT.—An officer or employee of any Federal department or agency involved in the provision of assistance under this Act and having knowledge of facts or circumstances that reasonably indicate that any agency or instrumentality of the Government of Afghanistan, or any other individual (including an individual who exercises civil power by force over a limited region) or organization in Afghanistan, that receives assistance under this Act is involved in poppy cultivation or illicit narcotics growth, production, or trafficking shall, notwithstanding any memorandum of understanding or other agreement to the contrary, report such knowledge or facts to the appropriate official.

(b) DEFINITION.—In this section, the term "appropriate official" means the Attorney General, the Inspector General of the Federal department or agency involved, or the head of such department or agency.

**SEC. 304. REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT.**

Not later than 6 months after the date of the enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter, the President shall transmit to Congress a written report on the progress of the Government of Afghanistan toward the eradication of poppy cultivation, the disruption of heroin production, and the reduction of the overall supply and demand for illicit narcotics in Afghanistan in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

Ms. WATERS (during the reading). Madam Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from California?

There was no objection.

Ms. WATERS. Madam Chairman, I rise to speak in favor of my amendment to H.R. 3994, the Afghanistan Freedom Support Act of 2002, but first I would like to thank the chairman, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), and the ranking member, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), for the work that they have done to bring this comprehensive piece of legislation to the floor. I think it has been well structured and that it speaks well to our intentions. And I think that the people of Afghanistan, for the most part, are going to be very, very pleased to receive the assistance that is so indicated in this bill.

Madam Chairman, my amendment would ensure that the United States government policies in Afghanistan work to eliminate the harmful trafficking and illegal drugs that destroy communities throughout the world. My amendment has been structured so that it is in 4 sections. The amendment would prohibit foreign assistance to any Afghan agency, organization, warlord, or other individual who is engaged in poppy cultivation or the growth, production, or trafficking of illegal drugs unless there is an agreement to cease all poppy cultivation or drug trafficking activities.

I know this portion of my amendment is going to present some concerns, because, on the one hand, how do you uplift this devastated nation and begin to get them out of poppy cultivation; how do you deal with the many

factions who have been involved in the cultivation as the only way that they know to earn a living and, at the same time, say to them that we will not help them if they are involved? This portion of the amendment would simply say that we raise it as a concern and have people respond to say, okay, I will not do it any more. And that allows them to get the assistance that we would like to give them.

This does not prohibit this country from exercising its assistance, but it simply gets all of those agencies and individuals understanding that this is a top priority of this government; that we would like to stop the cultivation and trafficking of illegal drugs. That is section 301.

Section 302 would prohibit Federal officers and employees who are involved in the provision of assistance under this bill from encouraging or participating in drug trafficking activities in Afghanistan. It would also prohibit the use of American aircraft and any other vehicles to facilitate the distribution of poppies and illegal drugs.

There are some people who would look at this portion of my amendment and say, well, no one representing our country would be involved in assisting with drug trafficking, no one would use our aircraft, no one would be involved in distribution. Let me just say to my colleagues, we all know enough now about trafficking and illegal drugs to know that many innocent people get caught up in drug trafficking because it is so lucrative. Many folks just lose their sense of what they are all about when they get thrown into situations where there is drug trafficking all around them, and some are tempted to take a chance, to try something. We want to send the message that we do not want anybody that we are putting on the ground in Afghanistan to take a chance, to be tempted to get involved.

The other portion of the amendment would require all Federal officers and employees who are involved in the provision of assistance under this bill to report known or suspected drug trafficking activities by recipients of foreign assistance in Afghanistan to the appropriate authorities.

Why am I doing this? Because I try and learn from our experiences. I spent almost 3 years dealing with the drug trafficking aspect of the war that we were engaged in when the Contras were fighting the Sandinistas down in Nicaragua. We discovered several things: We discovered that the warring factions on both sides, the Contras and the Sandinistas, were involved in drug trafficking, and we kind of turned a blind eye. It was just a way of doing things.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS) has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Ms. WATERS was allowed to proceed for 1 additional minute.)

Ms. WATERS. So, Madam Chairman, we want to discourage that.

And, finally, the amendment would require the President to submit an annual report toward the eradication of poppy cultivation and the elimination of drug trafficking activities in Afghanistan.

Let me just say that with all of the information that we have about what went on down in Nicaragua, too many people were involved. There was a Memorandum of Understanding between the CIA and the Justice Department that they did not have to support drug trafficking. We think we have done away with that, but we want to assure that we do not make the same kinds of mistakes as we move in to help this devastated country.

They need us and we need to do the right thing.

□ 1715

I think that we can change this country. We can change the direction. We can help very, very poor people in a devastated country. We can improve education. We can improve the infrastructure. But let us do it without drugs and drug trafficking being a part of it. We do not need the assistance of drugs in doing all of this.

I would ask for an "aye" vote on my amendment.

Mr. HYDE. Madam Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

If I might address the gentlewoman from California, I believe she understands that we support the gentlewoman's amendment, except section 301 as originally offered because of difficulties in interpretation and implementation. We are prepared to accept the remainder of the gentlewoman's amendment and praise it as a worthy addition to the bill. But I cannot accept 301 as originally offered. If the gentlewoman has a modification of that, we would be pleased to accept that.

Ms. WATERS. Madam Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

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

Ms. WATERS. Yes. Let me just say that 301 as originally authored did not have the proviso in it that said unless there is an agreement to seize all poppy cultivation or drug trafficking activities, which modifies the original 301 which did not have that in there. This would simply say that they could get assistance if they simply agree that they will not continue the activities as we know it. Is that what the gentleman is referring to?

Mr. HYDE. Does the gentlewoman have a modification she wishes to offer in lieu of section 301 as originally filed? A modified amendment?

Ms. WATERS. Yes, I do.

Mr. HYDE. Very well. If the gentlewoman will offer it.

I thank the Gentlewoman from California for her remarks. As you know, the underlying bill recognizes that local authorities in various regions of Afghanistan need incentives to cooperate in illicit narcotics eradication and provides assistance to opium growing regions.

Such assistance, other than for humanitarian purposes, is to be transferred away from these opium-growing regions where the authorities don't cooperate in narcotics suppression activities.

I agree with the provisions in the Gentlewoman's amendment that require United States officials to report knowledge of any involvement in illicit narcotics growth, production or trafficking by beneficiaries of this Act. Similarly, I support the report requirement on the Afghanistan government's progress in the eradication and reduction of supply of illicit narcotics. It also goes without saying that the prohibition of United States' involvement in the illicit narcotics trade is a measure that we all support vigorously.

I do not support Section 301 of the amendment, however. This section provides, without qualification, that all assistance would be cut off to any official entity in Afghanistan that is involved in the illicit drug trade. Arguably, aid would be ceased to any entity if one person within that organization is determined to be involved in the drug trade. All innocent beneficiaries of the aid would then be prohibited from receiving assistance.

Additionally, while this section raises a valid concern on its face, it is impossible to monitor. It virtually would require that each individual involved in the aid process would have to be certified as to not being involved in the drug trade. There is no standard or process outlined for determining who is involved in illicit narcotics and to what extent. As written, it could also cut off humanitarian and counter-narcotics aid—which is contrary to the intent of the bill. I also believe that the amendment does not provide for the flexibility that the President needs in this effort.

The people of Afghanistan need to be rewarded for the progress that has been made in this effort—not punished. Certainly, we don't want to give aid to anyone involved in the drug trade, and this legislation has already been crafted with several mechanisms that would divert the aid in the event that it is determined to be going to an area which is not cooperating with these eradication efforts.

I am happy to support the Gentlewoman on the remaining portion of her amendment.

In no way in accepting this modified amendment do we concede there has been any evidence that the federal government here or anywhere else around the globe has ever been engaged in drug trafficking.

MODIFICATION TO AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MS. WATERS

Ms. WATERS. Madam Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be modified in the form at the desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the modification.

The Clerk read as follows:

Modification to amendment offered by Ms. WATERS:

Page 30, after line 8, add the following (and conform the table of contents accordingly):

**TITLE III—ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENTS WITH RESPECT TO ASSISTANCE FOR AFGHANISTAN**

**SEC. 301. PROHIBITION ON UNITED STATES INVOLVEMENT IN POPPY CULTIVATION OR ILLICIT NARCOTICS GROWTH, PRODUCTION, OR TRAFFICKING.**

No officer or employee of any Federal department or agency who is involved in the

provision of assistance under this Act may knowingly encourage or participate in poppy cultivation or illicit narcotics growth, production, or trafficking in Afghanistan. No United States military or civilian aircraft or other United States vehicle that is used with respect to the provision of assistance under this Act may be used to facilitate the distribution of poppies or illicit narcotics in Afghanistan.

**SEC. 302. REQUIREMENT TO REPORT BY CERTAIN UNITED STATES OFFICIALS.**

(a) REQUIREMENT.—An officer or employee of any Federal department or agency involved in the provision of assistance under this Act and having knowledge of facts or circumstances that reasonably indicate that any agency or instrumentality of the Government of Afghanistan, or any other individual (including an individual who exercises civil power by force over a limited region) or organization in Afghanistan, that receives assistance under this Act is involved in poppy cultivation or illicit narcotics growth, production, or trafficking shall, notwithstanding any memorandum of understanding or other agreement to the contrary, report such knowledge or facts to the appropriate official.

(b) DEFINITION.—In this section, the term "appropriate official" means the Attorney General, the Inspector General of the Federal department or agency involved, or the head of such department or agency.

**SEC. 303. REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT.**

Not later than 6 months after the date of the enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter, the President shall transmit to Congress a written report on the progress of the Government of Afghanistan toward the eradication of poppy cultivation, the disruption of heroin production, and the reduction of the overall supply and demand for illicit narcotics in Afghanistan in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

Ms. WATERS (during the reading). Madam Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment, as modified, be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from California?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the amendment is modified.

There was no objection.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

I want to thank the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS) for her interest and concern on this issue and for her tireless efforts on behalf of the poor and disenfranchised not only in Afghanistan but around the world, and on our side we strongly support her modified amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment, as modified, offered by the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS).

The question was taken; and the Chairman announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Ms. WATERS. Madam Chairman, I demand a recorded vote.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to clause 6 of rule XVIII, further proceedings on the amendment, as modified, offered by the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS) will be postponed.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

I want to take this opportunity to highlight one of the most important aspects of this legislation, which is that it creates a separate account and authorizes additional funds for Afghanistan. Until now, Madam Chairman, funding for Afghanistan has been carved out of existing programs with cuts in important programs in other parts of the world.

What this legislation has done, and I want to commend our distinguished chairman for his idea, is to establish a new account with new money to fund the relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction of Afghanistan. So we do not have to dip into child survival funds or other accounts to fund health or education or reconstruction programs in Afghanistan.

With Chairman HYDE's bill, we no longer have to rob Peter to pay Paul; or more appropriately, we do not have to take funds from health programs in India or elsewhere in the world to provide health services for women in Afghanistan. We do not have to choose between HIV/AIDS in Honduras or education in Afghanistan.

I want to commend my friend, Chairman HYDE, for his foresight and his leadership in bringing new ideas and new resources to this important undertaking. I will work closely with him and with the other body to ensure that this additional provision is included in their version of the legislation.

Mr. HYDE. Madam Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LANTOS. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. HYDE. Madam Chairman, I just want to say two things: number one, I want to thank the gentleman for his superb cooperation and concede that so much would not be done in our committee without the gentleman's cooperation and enlightened farsightedness.

Let me say, number two, your staff and my staff are superbly qualified people who make this place work, and I salute all of them.

Mr. LANTOS. I thank my good friend for his very generous statement.

Madam Chairman, I would be remiss if I did not take this opportunity to thank all of the staff who have worked on the Afghanistan Freedom Support Act. Their efforts have been truly bipartisan in the best tradition of this body.

I want to acknowledge the work of Peter Smith, Hillel Weinberg, Steve Rademaker, and Walker Roberts on the staff of Chairman HYDE. On the Democratic staff of the Subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia, David Adams has made many contributions to this legislation. In particular, I want to thank the members of my own staff who have worked so tirelessly on this important bill. Nisha Desai has been creatively and actively engaged on this legislation from the very beginning. I want to pay special tribute to

her efforts. Our Democratic chief counsel, David Abramowitz, has shown his usual careful attention to detail and made important contributions to the quality of our legislation. I also want to acknowledge the efforts of Peter Yeo, David Fite, Carol Doherty, Keith O'Neil, and Matt Gobush of the Democratic staff. I want to express my personal appreciation to our extraordinary chief of staff, Dr. Bob King.

It is not often that a piece of legislation involves so many staff on both sides, but I think in this instance it is an indication of the importance of this issue and it is reflected in the quality of the legislation we have produced which would not have been possible without Chairman HYDE's leadership.

SEQUENTIAL VOTES POSTPONED IN COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to clause 6 of rule XVIII, proceedings will now resume on those amendments on which proceedings were postponed in the following order: the amendment offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS); amendment Nos. 5 and 6 offered en bloc, as modified to consist of amendment No. 5 offered by the gentleman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE); and the amendment, as modified, offered by the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS).

The Chair will reduce to 5 minutes the time for any electronic vote after the first vote in this series.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. LANTOS

The CHAIRMAN. The pending business is the demand for a recorded vote on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) on which further proceedings were postponed and on which the ayes prevailed by voice vote.

The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The Clerk designated the amendment.

RECORDED VOTE

The CHAIRMAN. A recorded vote has been demanded.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 407, noes 4, not voting 23, as follows:

[Roll No. 179]

AYES—407

Abercrombie	Berkley	Callahan	Cox	Hoyer	Norwood
Ackerman	Berman	Calvert	Coyne	Hulshof	Nussle
Aderholt	Berry	Camp	Cramer	Hunter	Oberstar
Akin	Biggert	Cantor	Crane	Hyde	Obey
Allen	Bilirakis	Capito	Crenshaw	Inslee	Olver
Andrews	Bishop	Capps	Crowley	Isakson	Ortiz
Armedy	Blumenauer	Capuano	Cubin	Israel	Osborne
Baca	Blunt	Cardin	Culberson	Issa	Ose
Bachus	Boehert	Carson (IN)	Cummings	Istook	Otter
Baird	Boehner	Carson (OK)	Cunningham	Jackson (IL)	Owens
Baker	Bonilla	Castle	Davis (CA)	Jackson-Lee	Oxley
Baldacci	Bono	Chabot	Davis (FL)	(TX)	Pallone
Baldwin	Boozman	Chambliss	Davis (IL)	Jefferson	Pascrell
Ballegger	Boswell	Clay	Davis, Jo Ann	Jenkins	Pastor
Barcia	Boucher	Clayton	Davis, Tom	John	Payne
Barr	Boyd	Clement	Deal	Johnson (CT)	Pelosi
Barrett	Brady (TX)	Clyburn	DeFazio	Johnson (IL)	Pence
Bartlett	Brown (FL)	Coble	DeGette	Johnson, E. B.	Peterson (MN)
Barton	Brown (OH)	Collins	DeLauro	Johnson, Sam	Peterson (PA)
Bass	Brown (SC)	Combest	DeLauro	Jones (OH)	Petri
Becerra	Bryant	Condit	DeLay	Kanjorski	Phelps
Bentsen	Burr	Cooksey	DeMint	Kaptur	Pickering
Bereuter	Buyer	Costello	Diaz-Balart	Keller	Pitts
			Dicks	Kelly	Platts
			Dingell	Kennedy (MN)	Pomeroy
			Doggett	Kennedy (RI)	Portman
			Dooley	Kerns	Price (NC)
			Doolittle	Kildee	Pryce (OH)
			Doyle	Kilpatrick	Putnam
			Dreier	Kind (WI)	Quinn
			Duncan	King (NY)	Radanovich
			Dunn	Kingston	Rahall
			Edwards	Klecza	Ramstad
			Ehlers	Knollenberg	Rangel
			Ehrlich	Kolbe	Regula
			Engel	Kucinich	Rehberg
			English	LaFalce	Reyes
			Eshoo	LaHood	Reynolds
			Etheridge	Lampson	Rivers
			Evans	Langevin	Rodriguez
			Everett	Lantos	Roemer
			Farr	Larsen (WA)	Rogers (KY)
			Fattah	Larson (CT)	Rogers (MI)
			Ferguson	Latham	Rohrabacher
			Filner	LaTourette	Ros-Lehtinen
			Flake	Leach	Ross
			Fletcher	Lee	Rothman
			Foley	Levin	Roukema
			Forbes	Lewis (CA)	Royal-Allard
			Ford	Lewis (KY)	Royce
			Fossella	Linder	Rush
			Frank	Lipinski	Ryan (WI)
			Frelinghuysen	LoBiondo	Ryun (KS)
			Frost	Lofgren	Sabo
			Gallely	Lowey	Sanchez
			Ganske	Lucas (KY)	Sanders
			Gekas	Lucas (OK)	Sandlin
			Gephardt	Luther	Sawyer
			Gibbons	Lynch	Saxton
			Gilchrest	Maloney (CT)	Schaffer
			Gillmor	Maloney (NY)	Schakowsky
			Gilman	Manzullo	Schiff
			Gonzalez	Markey	Schrock
			Goodlatte	Matheson	Scott
			Gordon	Matsui	Sensenbrenner
			Goss	McCarthy (MO)	Serrano
			Graham	McCarthy (NY)	Sessions
			Granger	McCollum	Shadegg
			Graves	McCrery	Shaw
			Green (TX)	McDermott	Shays
			Green (WI)	McGovern	Sherman
			Grucci	McHugh	Sherwood
			Gutierrez	McInnis	Shimkus
			Gutknecht	McIntyre	Shows
			Hall (OH)	McKeon	Shuster
			Hall (TX)	McKinney	Simmons
			Hansen	McNulty	Simpson
			Harman	Meehan	Skeen
			Hart	Meek (FL)	Skelton
			Hastings (FL)	Meeks (NY)	Slaughter
			Hastings (WA)	Mica	Smith (NJ)
			Hayes	Millender	Smith (TX)
			Hayworth	McDonald	Smith (WA)
			Hefley	Miller, Dan	Solis
			Herger	Miller, Gary	Souder
			Hill	Miller, George	Spratt
			Hilleary	Miller, Jeff	Stark
			Hilliard	Mink	Stearns
			Hinchey	Mollohan	Stenholm
			Hinojosa	Moore	Strickland
			Hobson	Moran (KS)	Stump
			Hoeffel	Moran (VA)	Stupak
			Hoekstra	Morella	Sullivan
			Holden	Myrick	Sununu
			Holt	Napolitano	Sweeney
			Honda	Neal	Tancredo
			Hooley	Nethercutt	Tanner
			Horn	Ney	Tauscher
			Houghton	Northup	Tauzin

Taylor (MS)	Udall (CO)	Weldon (PA)	Clayton	Hinojosa	Miller, Jeff	Souder	Thompson (MS)	Watson (CA)
Taylor (NC)	Udall (NM)	Weller	Clement	Hobson	Mink	Spratt	Thornberry	Watt (NC)
Terry	Upton	Wexler	Clyburn	Hoefel	Mollohan	Stark	Thune	Waxman
Thomas	Velazquez	Whitfield	Coble	Hoekstra	Moore	Stearns	Thurman	Weiner
Thompson (CA)	Visclosky	Wicker	Collins	Holden	Moran (KS)	Stenholm	Tiahrt	Weldon (FL)
Thompson (MS)	Vitter	Wilson (NM)	Combest	Holt	Moran (VA)	Strickland	Tiberi	Weldon (PA)
Thornberry	Walden	Wilson (SC)	Condit	Honda	Morella	Stump	Tierney	Weller
Thune	Walsh	Wolf	Cooksey	Hooley	Myrick	Stupak	Toomey	Wexler
Thurman	Wamp	Woolsey	Costello	Horn	Napolitano	Sullivan	Towns	Whitfield
Tiahrt	Waters	Wu	Cox	Hostettler	Neal	Sununu	Turner	Wicker
Tiberi	Watson (CA)	Wynn	Coyne	Houghton	Nethercutt	Sweeney	Udall (CO)	Wilson (NM)
Tierney	Watt (NC)	Young (AK)	Cramer	Hoyer	Ney	Tancredo	Udall (NM)	Wilson (SC)
Toomey	Waxman	Young (FL)	Crane	Hulshof	Northup	Tanner	Upton	Wolf
Towns	Weiner		Crenshaw	Hunter	Norwood	Tauscher	Velazquez	Woolsey
Turner	Weldon (FL)		Crowley	Hyde	Nussle	Tauzin	Visclosky	Wu
			Cubin	Inslee	Oberstar	Taylor (MS)	Vitter	Wynn
			Culberson	Isakson	Obey	Taylor (NC)	Walden	Young (AK)
			Cummings	Israel	Olver	Terry	Walsh	Young (FL)
			Cunningham	Issa	Ortiz	Thomas	Wamp	
			Davis (CA)	Istook	Osborne	Thompson (CA)	Waters	
			Davis (FL)	Jackson (IL)	Ose			
			Davis (IL)	Jackson-Lee	Otter			
			Davis, Jo Ann	(TX)	Owens			
			Davis, Tom	Jefferson	Oxley			
			Deal	Jenkins	Pallone			
			DeFazio	John	Pascrell			
			DeGette	Johnson (CT)	Pastor			
			Delahunt	Johnson (IL)	Paul			
			DeLauro	Johnson, E. B.	Payne			
			DeLay	Johnson, Sam	Pelosi			
			DeMint	Jones (NC)	Pence			
			Diaz-Balart	Jones (OH)	Peterson (MN)			
			Dicks	Kanjorski	Peterson (PA)			
			Dingell	Kaptur	Petri			
			Doggett	Keller	Phelps			
			Dooley	Kelly	Pickering			
			Doolittle	Kennedy (MN)	Pitts			
			Doyle	Kennedy (RI)	Platts			
			Dreier	Kerns	Pomeroy			
			Duncan	Kildee	Portman			
			Dunn	Kilpatrick	Price (NC)			
			Edwards	Kind (WI)	Pryce (OH)			
			Ehlers	King (NY)	Putnam			
			Ehrlich	Kingston	Quinn			
			Engel	Kirk	Radanovich			
			English	Klecza	Rahall			
			Eshoo	Knollenberg	Ramstad			
			Etheridge	Kolbe	Rangel			
			Evans	Kucinich	Regula			
			Everett	LaFalce	Rehberg			
			Farr	LaHood	Reyes			
			Fattah	Lampson	Reynolds			
			Ferguson	Langevin	Rivers			
			Filner	Lantos	Rodriguez			
			Flake	Larsen (WA)	Roemer			
			Fletcher	Larson (CT)	Rogers (KY)			
			Foley	Latham	Rogers (MI)			
			Forbes	LaTourette	Rohrabacher			
			Ford	Leach	Ros-Lehtinen			
			Fossella	Lee	Ross			
			Frank	Levin	Rothman			
			Frelinghuysen	Lewis (CA)	Roukema			
			Frost	Lewis (KY)	Roybal-Allard			
			Galleghy	Linder	Royce			
			Ganske	Lipinski	Rush			
			Gekas	LoBiondo	Ryan (WI)			
			Gephardt	Lofgren	Ryun (KS)			
			Gibbons	Lowe	Sabo			
			Gilchrest	Lucas (KY)	Sanchez			
			Gillmor	Lucas (OK)	Sanders			
			Gilman	Luther	Sandlin			
			Gonzalez	Lynch	Sawyer			
			Goode	Maloney (CT)	Saxton			
			Goodlatte	Maloney (NY)	Schaffer			
			Gordon	Manzullo	Schakowsky			
			Goss	Markey	Schiff			
			Graham	Matheson	Schrock			
			Granger	Matsui	Scott			
			Graves	McCarthy (MO)	Sensenbrenner			
			Green (TX)	McCarthy (NY)	Serrano			
			Green (WI)	McCollum	Sessions			
			Grucchi	McCrery	Shadegg			
			Gutierrez	McDermott	Shaw			
			Gutknecht	McGovern	Shays			
			Hall (OH)	McHugh	Sherman			
			Hall (TX)	McInnis	Sherwood			
			Hansen	McIntyre	Shimkus			
			Harman	McKeon	Shoos			
			Hart	McKinney	Shuster			
			Hastings (FL)	McNulty	Simmons			
			Hastings (WA)	Meehan	Simpson			
			Hayes	Meek (FL)	Skeen			
			Hayworth	Meeks (NY)	Skelton			
			Hefley	Mica	Slaughter			
			Hergert	Millender-	Smith (MI)			
			Hill	McDonald	Smith (NJ)			
			Hillery	Miller, Dan	Smith (TX)			
			Hilliard	Miller, Gary	Smith (WA)			
			Hinchee	Miller, George	Solis			

## NOES—4

Goode	Jones (NC)
Hostettler	Paul

## NOT VOTING—23

Blagojevich	Emerson	Pombo
Bonior	Greenwood	Riley
Borski	Kirk	Smith (MI)
Brady (PA)	Lewis (GA)	Snyder
Burton	Mascara	Trafficant
Cannon	Menendez	Watkins (OK)
Conyers	Murtha	Watts (OK)
Deutsch	Nadler	

□ 1748

Mr. JONES of North Carolina changed his vote from “aye” to “no.” So the amendment was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

## ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to clause 6 of rule XVIII, the Chair announces that she will reduce to a minimum of 5 minutes the period of time within which a vote by electronic device will be taken on each amendment on which the Chair has postponed further proceedings.

## AMENDMENTS NO. 5 AND NO. 6, AS MODIFIED, OFFERED BY MS. JACKSON-LEE OF TEXAS

The CHAIRMAN. The pending business is the demand for a recorded vote on Amendment No. 5 offered by the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE) on which further proceedings were postponed and on which the ayes prevailed by voice vote.

The Clerk will redesignate the amendment.

The Clerk redesignated the amendment.

## RECORDED VOTE

The CHAIRMAN. A recorded vote has been demanded.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 413, noes 0, not voting 21, as follows:

[Roll No. 180]

## AYES—413

Abercrombie	Becerra	Brown (FL)
Ackerman	Bentsen	Brown (OH)
Aderholt	Bereuter	Brown (SC)
Akin	Berkley	Bryant
Allen	Berman	Burr
Andrews	Berry	Buyer
Armey	Biggert	Callahan
Baca	Bilirakis	Calvert
Bachus	Bishop	Camp
Baird	Blumenauer	Cantor
Baker	Blunt	Capito
Baldacci	Boehler	Capps
Baldwin	Bonner	Capuano
Ballenger	Bonilla	Cardin
Barcia	Bono	Carson (IN)
Barr	Boozman	Carson (OK)
Barrett	Boswell	Castle
Bartlett	Boucher	Chabot
Barton	Boyd	Chambliss
Bass	Brady (TX)	Clay

Clayton	Hinojosa	Miller, Jeff	Souder	Thompson (MS)	Watson (CA)
Clement	Hobson	Mink	Spratt	Thornberry	Watt (NC)
Clyburn	Hoefel	Mollohan	Stark	Thune	Waxman
Coble	Hoekstra	Moore	Stearns	Thurman	Weiner
Collins	Holden	Moran (KS)	Stenholm	Tiahrt	Weldon (FL)
Combest	Holt	Moran (VA)	Strickland	Tiberi	Weldon (PA)
Condit	Honda	Morella	Stump	Tierney	Weller
Cooksey	Hooley	Myrick	Stupak	Toomey	Wexler
Costello	Horn	Napolitano	Sullivan	Towns	Whitfield
Cox	Hostettler	Neal	Sununu	Turner	Wicker
Coyne	Houghton	Nethercutt	Sweeney	Udall (CO)	Wilson (NM)
Cramer	Hoyer	Ney	Tancredo	Udall (NM)	Wilson (SC)
Crane	Hulshof	Northup	Tanner	Upton	Wolf
Crenshaw	Hunter	Norwood	Tauscher	Velazquez	Woolsey
Crowley	Hyde	Nussle	Tauzin	Visclosky	Wu
Cubin	Inslee	Oberstar	Taylor (MS)	Vitter	Wynn
Culberson	Isakson	Obey	Taylor (NC)	Walden	Young (AK)
Cummings	Israel	Olver	Terry	Walsh	Young (FL)
Cunningham	Issa	Ortiz	Thomas	Wamp	
Davis (CA)	Istook	Osborne	Thompson (CA)	Waters	
Davis (FL)	Jackson (IL)	Ose			
Davis (IL)	Jackson-Lee	Otter			
Davis, Jo Ann	(TX)	Owens			
Davis, Tom	Jefferson	Oxley			
Deal	Jenkins	Pallone			
DeFazio	John	Pascrell			
DeGette	Johnson (CT)	Pastor			
Delahunt	Johnson (IL)	Paul			
DeLauro	Johnson, E. B.	Payne			
DeLay	Johnson, Sam	Pelosi			
DeMint	Jones (NC)	Pence			
Diaz-Balart	Jones (OH)	Peterson (MN)			
Dicks	Kanjorski	Peterson (PA)			
Dingell	Kaptur	Petri			
Doggett	Keller	Phelps			
Dooley	Kelly	Pickering			
Doolittle	Kennedy (MN)	Pitts			
Doyle	Kennedy (RI)	Platts			
Dreier	Kerns	Pomeroy			
Duncan	Kildee	Portman			
Dunn	Kilpatrick	Price (NC)			
Edwards	Kind (WI)	Pryce (OH)			
Ehlers	King (NY)	Putnam			
Ehrlich	Kingston	Quinn			
Engel	Kirk	Radanovich			
English	Klecza	Rahall			
Eshoo	Knollenberg	Ramstad			
Etheridge	Kolbe	Rangel			
Evans	Kucinich	Regula			
Everett	LaFalce	Rehberg			
Farr	LaHood	Reyes			
Fattah	Lampson	Reynolds			
Ferguson	Langevin	Rivers			
Filner	Lantos	Rodriguez			
Flake	Larsen (WA)	Roemer			
Fletcher	Larson (CT)	Rogers (KY)			
Foley	Latham	Rogers (MI)			
Forbes	LaTourette	Rohrabacher			
Ford	Leach	Ros-Lehtinen			
Fossella	Lee	Ross			
Frank	Levin	Rothman			
Frelinghuysen	Lewis (CA)	Roukema			
Frost	Lewis (KY)	Roybal-Allard			
Galleghy	Linder	Royce			
Ganske	Lipinski	Rush			
Gekas	LoBiondo	Ryan (WI)			
Gephardt	Lofgren	Ryun (KS)			
Gibbons	Lowe	Sabo			
Gilchrest	Lucas (KY)	Sanchez			
Gillmor	Lucas (OK)	Sanders			
Gilman	Luther	Sandlin			
Gonzalez	Lynch	Sawyer			
Goode	Maloney (CT)	Saxton			
Goodlatte	Maloney (NY)	Schaffer			
Gordon	Manzullo	Schakowsky			
Goss	Markey	Schiff			
Graham	Matheson	Schrock			
Granger	Matsui	Scott			
Graves	McCarthy (MO)	Sensenbrenner			
Green (TX)	McCarthy (NY)	Serrano			
Green (WI)	McCollum	Sessions			
Grucchi	McCrery	Shadegg			
Gutierrez	McDermott	Shaw			
Gutknecht	McGovern	Shays			
Hall (OH)	McHugh	Sherman			
Hall (TX)	McInnis	Sherwood			
Hansen	McIntyre	Shimkus			
Harman	McKeon	Shoos			
Hart	McKinney	Shuster			
Hastings (FL)	McNulty	Simmons			
Hastings (WA)	Meehan	Simpson			
Hayes	Meek (FL)	Skeen			
Hayworth	Meeks (NY)	Skelton			
Hefley	Mica	Slaughter			
Hergert	Millender-	Smith (MI)			
Hill	McDonald	Smith (NJ)			
Hillery	Miller, Dan	Smith (TX)			
Hilliard	Miller, Gary	Smith (WA)			
Hinchee	Miller, George	Solis			

## NOT VOTING—21

Blagojevich	Deutsch	Nadler
Bonior	Emerson	Pombo
Borski	Greenwood	Riley
Brady (PA)	Lewis (GA)	Snyder
Burton	Mascara	Trafficant
Cannon	Menendez	Watkins (OK)
Conyers	Murtha	Watts (OK)

□ 1756

So the amendments, as modified, were agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

## AMENDMENT, AS MODIFIED, OFFERED BY MS. WATERS OF CALIFORNIA

The CHAIRMAN. The pending business is the demand for a recorded vote on the amendment, as modified, offered by the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS) on which further proceedings were postponed and on which the ayes prevailed by voice vote.

The Clerk will designate the amendment, as modified.

The Clerk designated the amendment, as modified.

## RECORDED VOTE

The CHAIRMAN. A recorded vote has been demanded.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 412, noes 0, not voting 22, as follows:

[Roll No. 181]

## AYES—412

Abercrombie	Bonilla	Condit
Ackerman	Bono	Cooksey
Aderholt	Boozman	Costello
Akin	Boswell	Cox

Duncan  
Dunn  
Edwards  
Ehlers  
Ehrlich  
Engel  
English  
Eshoo  
Etheridge  
Evans  
Everett  
Farr  
Fattah  
Ferguson  
Filner  
Flake  
Fletcher  
Foley  
Forbes  
Fossella  
Frank  
Frelinghuysen  
Frost  
Gallegly  
Ganske  
Gekas  
Gephardt  
Gibbons  
Gilchrest  
Gillmor  
Gilman  
Gonzalez  
Goode  
Goodlatte  
Gordon  
Goss  
Graham  
Granger  
Graves  
Green (TX)  
Green (WI)  
Grucci  
Gutierrez  
Gutknecht  
Hall (OH)  
Hall (TX)  
Hansen  
Harman  
Hart  
Hastings (FL)  
Hastings (WA)  
Hayes  
Hayworth  
Hefley  
Herger  
Hill  
Hilleary  
Hilliard  
Hinchey  
Hinojosa  
Hobson  
Hoefel  
Hoekstra  
Holden  
Holt  
Honda  
Hooley  
Horn  
Hostettler  
Houghton  
Hoyer  
Hulshof  
Hunter  
Hyde  
Inslee  
Isakson  
Israel  
Issa  
Istook  
Jackson (IL)  
Jackson-Lee  
(TX)  
Jefferson  
Jenkins  
John  
Johnson (CT)  
Johnson (IL)  
Johnson, E. B.  
Johnson, Sam  
Jones (NC)  
Jones (OH)  
Kanjorski  
Kaptur  
Keller  
Kelly  
Kennedy (MN)  
Kennedy (RI)  
Kerns

Kildee  
Kilpatrick  
Kind (WI)  
King (NY)  
Kingston  
Kirk  
Kleczka  
Knollenberg  
Kolbe  
Kucinich  
LaFalce  
LaHood  
Lampson  
Langevin  
Lantos  
Larsen (WA)  
Larson (CT)  
Latham  
LaTourette  
Leach  
Lee  
Levin  
Lewis (CA)  
Lewis (KY)  
Linder  
Lipinski  
LoBiondo  
Lofgren  
Lowey  
Lucas (KY)  
Lucas (OK)  
Luther  
Lynch  
Maloney (CT)  
Maloney (NY)  
Manzullo  
Markey  
Matheson  
Matsui  
McCarthy (MO)  
McCarthy (NY)  
McCollum  
McCrery  
McDermott  
McGovern  
McHugh  
McInnis  
McIntyre  
McKeon  
McKinney  
McNulty  
Meehan  
Meek (FL)  
Meeks (NY)  
Mica  
Millender-  
McDonald  
Miller, Dan  
Miller, Gary  
Miller, George  
Miller, Jeff  
Mink  
Mollohan  
Moore  
Moran (KS)  
Moran (VA)  
Morella  
Myrick  
Napolitano  
Neal  
Nethercutt  
Ney  
Northup  
Norwood  
Nussle  
Oberstar  
Obey  
Oliver  
Ortiz  
Osborne  
Ose  
Otter  
Owens  
Oxley  
Pallone  
Pascrell  
Pastor  
Payne  
Pelosi  
Pence  
Peterson (MN)  
Peterson (PA)  
Petri  
Phelps  
Pickering  
Pitts  
Platts  
Pomeroy

Portman  
Price (NC)  
Pryce (OH)  
Putnam  
Quinn  
Radanovich  
Rahall  
Ramstad  
Rangel  
Regula  
Rehberg  
Reyes  
Rivers  
Rodriguez  
Roemer  
Rogers (KY)  
Rogers (MI)  
Rohrabacher  
Ros-Lehtinen  
Ross  
Rothman  
Roukema  
Roybal-Allard  
Royce  
Rush  
Ryan (WI)  
Ryun (KS)  
Sabo  
Sanchez  
Sanders  
Sandlin  
Sawyer  
Saxton  
Schaffer  
Schakowsky  
Schiff  
Schrock  
Scott  
Sensenbrenner  
Serrano  
Sessions  
Shadegg  
Shaw  
Shays  
Sherman  
Sherwood  
Shimkus  
Shows  
Shuster  
Simmons  
Simpson  
Skeen  
Skelton  
Slaughter  
Smith (MI)  
Smith (NJ)  
Smith (TX)  
Smith (WA)  
Solis  
Souder  
Spratt  
Stark  
Stearns  
Stenholm  
Strickland  
Stump  
Stupak  
Sullivan  
Sununu  
Sweeney  
Tancredo  
Tanner  
Tauscher  
Tauzin  
Taylor (MS)  
Taylor (NC)  
Terry  
Thomas  
Thompson (CA)  
Thompson (MS)  
Thornberry  
Thune  
Thurman  
Tiahrt  
Tiberi  
Tierney  
Toomey  
Towns  
Turner  
Udall (CO)  
Udall (NM)  
Upton  
Velazquez  
Visclosky  
Vitter  
Walden  
Walsh  
Wamp  
Waters

Watson (CA)  
Watt (NC)  
Waxman  
Weiner  
Weldon (FL)  
Weldon (PA)  
Blagojevich  
Bonior  
Borski  
Brady (PA)  
Burton  
Cannon  
Conyers  
Deutsch  
Emerson  
Greenwood  
Lewis (GA)  
Mascara  
Menendez  
Murtha  
Nadler  
Pombo

Weller  
Wexler  
Whitfield  
Wicker  
Wilson (NM)  
Wilson (SC)  
Wolf  
Woolsey  
Wu  
Wynn  
Young (AK)  
Young (FL)

[Roll No. 182]

AYES—390

Abercrombie  
Ackerman  
Aderholt  
Akin  
Allen  
Andrews  
Armey  
Baca  
Bachus  
Baird  
Baker  
Baldacci  
Baldwin  
Ballenger  
Barcia  
Barr  
Barrett  
Barton  
Bass  
Becerra  
Bentsen  
Bereuter  
Berkley  
Berman  
Biggart  
Bilirakis  
Bishop  
Blumenauber  
Blunt  
Boehlert  
Boehner  
Bonilla  
Bono  
Boozman  
Boswell  
Boucher  
Boyd  
Brady (TX)  
Brown (FL)  
Brown (OH)  
Brown (SC)  
Bryant  
Burr  
Buyer  
Callahan  
Calvert  
Camp  
Cantor  
Capito  
Capps  
Capuano  
Cardin  
Carson (IN)  
Carson (OK)  
Castle  
Chabot  
Chambliss  
Clay  
Clayton  
Clement  
Clyburn  
Combust  
Cooksey  
Costello  
Cox  
Coyne  
Cramer  
Crane  
Crenshaw  
Crowley  
Cubin  
Culberson  
Cummings  
Cunningham  
Davis (CA)  
Davis (FL)  
Davis (IL)  
Davis, Jo Ann  
Davis, Tom  
DeFazio  
DeGette  
Delahunt  
DeLauro  
DeLay  
DeMint  
Diaz-Balart  
Dicks  
Dingell  
Doggett  
Dooley  
Doolittle  
Doyle  
Dreier  
Dunn  
Edwards  
Ehlers

Ehrlich  
Engel  
English  
Eshoo  
Etheridge  
Evans  
Farr  
Fattah  
Ferguson  
Filner  
Fletcher  
Foley  
Forbes  
Ford  
Fossella  
Frank  
Frelinghuysen  
Frost  
Gallegly  
Ganske  
Gekas  
Gephardt  
Gibbons  
Gilchrest  
Gillmor  
Gilman  
Gonzalez  
Goodlatte  
Gordon  
Goss  
Graham  
Granger  
Graves  
Green (TX)  
Green (WI)  
Grucci  
Gutierrez  
Gutknecht  
Hall (OH)  
Hall (TX)  
Hansen  
Harman  
Hart  
Hastings (FL)  
Hastings (WA)  
Hayes  
Hayworth  
Hefley  
Herger  
Hill  
Hilleary  
Hilliard  
Hinchey  
Hinojosa  
Hobson  
Hoefel  
Hoekstra  
Holden  
Holt  
Honda  
Hooley  
Horn  
Houghton  
Hoyer  
Hulshof  
Hunter  
Hyde  
Inslee  
Isakson  
Israel  
Issa  
Istook  
Jackson (IL)  
Jackson-Lee  
(TX)  
Jefferson  
Jenkins  
John  
Johnson (CT)  
Johnson (IL)  
Johnson, E. B.  
Jones (OH)  
Kanjorski  
Kaptur  
Keller  
Kelly  
Kennedy (MN)  
Kennedy (RI)  
Kerns

Kucinich  
LaFalce  
LaHood  
Lampson  
Langevin  
Lantos  
Larsen (WA)  
Larson (CT)  
Latham  
LaTourette  
Leach  
Lee  
Levin  
Lewis (CA)  
Lewis (KY)  
Linder  
Lipinski  
LoBiondo  
Lofgren  
Lowey  
Lucas (KY)  
Lucas (OK)  
Luther  
Lynch  
Maloney (CT)  
Maloney (NY)  
Manzullo  
Markey  
Matheson  
Matsui  
McCarthy (MO)  
McCarthy (NY)  
McCollum  
McCrery  
McDermott  
McGovern  
McHugh  
McInnis  
McIntyre  
McKeon  
McKinney  
McNulty  
Meehan  
Meek (FL)  
Meeks (NY)  
Mica  
Millender-  
McDonald  
Miller, Dan  
Miller, Gary  
Miller, George  
Mink  
Mollohan  
Moore  
Moran (KS)  
Moran (VA)  
Morella  
Myrick  
Napolitano  
Neal  
Nethercutt  
Ney  
Northup  
Nussle  
Oberstar  
Obey  
Oliver  
Ortiz  
Osborne  
Ose  
Otter  
Owens  
Oxley  
Pallone  
Pascrell  
Pastor  
Payne  
Pelosi  
Pence  
Peterson (MN)  
Peterson (PA)  
Petri  
Phelps  
Pickering  
Pitts  
Platts  
Pomeroy

NOT VOTING—22

Reynolds  
Riley  
Snyder  
Traficant  
Watkins (OK)  
Watts (OK)

□ 1805

So the amendment, as modified, was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there further amendments to the bill? If not, the question is on the Committee amendment in the nature of a substitute, as amended.

The committee amendment in the nature of a substitute, as amended, was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. SIMPSON) having assumed the chair, Mrs. BIGGERT, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 3994) to authorize economic and democratic development assistance for Afghanistan and to authorize military assistance for Afghanistan and certain other foreign countries, pursuant to House Resolution 419, she reported the bill back to the House with an amendment adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute adopted by the Committee of the Whole? If not, the question is on the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, this vote will be followed by three 5-minute votes on motions to suspend the rules on which further proceedings were postponed yesterday.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 390, noes 22, not voting 22, as follows:

Regula  
Rehberg  
Reyes  
Rivers  
Rodriguez  
Roemer  
Rogers (KY)  
Rogers (MI)  
Rohrabacher  
Ros-Lehtinen  
Ross  
Rothman  
Roukema  
Roybal-Allard  
Royce  
Rush  
Ryan (WI)  
Ryun (KS)  
Sabo  
Sanchez  
Sanders  
Sandlin  
Sawyer  
Saxton  
Schaffer  
Schakowsky  
Schiff  
Schrock  
Scott  
Serrano  
Sessions  
Shadegg  
Shaw  
Shays  
Sherman

Sherwood  
Shimkus  
Shows  
Shuster  
Simmons  
Simpson  
Skeen  
Skelton  
Slaughter  
Smith (MI)  
Smith (NJ)  
Smith (TX)  
Smith (WA)  
Solis  
Souder  
Spratt  
Stark  
Stenholm  
Strickland  
Stump  
Stupak  
Sullivan  
Sununu  
Sweeney  
Tancredo  
Tanner  
Tauscher  
Tauzin  
Taylor (MS)  
Thomas  
Thompson (CA)  
Thompson (MS)  
Thornberry  
Thune  
Thurman

Tiahrt  
Tiberi  
Tierney  
Toomey  
Towns  
Turner  
Udall (CO)  
Udall (NM)  
Upton  
Velazquez  
Visclosky  
Vitter  
Walden  
Walsh  
Wamp  
Waters  
Watson (CA)  
Watt (NC)  
Waxman  
Weiner  
Weldon (FL)  
Weldon (PA)  
Weller  
Wexler  
Whitfield  
Wicker  
Wilson (NM)  
Wilson (SC)  
Wolf  
Woolsey  
Wu  
Wynn  
Young (AK)  
Young (FL)

NOES—22

Bartlett  
Berry  
Coble  
Collins  
Condit  
Deal  
Duncan  
Everett

Flake  
Goode  
Hall (TX)  
Hostettler  
Johnson, Sam  
Jones (NC)  
Kerns  
Miller, Jeff

Norwood  
Paul  
Sensenbrenner  
Stearns  
Taylor (NC)  
Terry

NOT VOTING—22

Blagojevich  
Bonior  
Borski  
Brady (PA)  
Burton  
Cannon  
Conyers  
Deutch

Emerson  
Greenwood  
Lewis (GA)  
Mascara  
Menendez  
Nadler  
Pombo

Reynolds  
Riley  
Snyder  
Traficant  
Watkins (OK)  
Watts (OK)

□ 1825

So the bill was passed.  
The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.  
A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

**AUTHORIZING THE CLERK TO MAKE CORRECTIONS IN THE EN-GROSSMENT OF H.R. 3994, AF-GHANISTAN FREEDOM SUPPORT ACT OF 2002**

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that in the engrossment of the bill, H.R. 3994, the Clerk be authorized to correct section numbers, cross-references, and punctuation, and to make such stylistic, clerical, technical, conforming, and other changes as may be necessary to reflect the actions of the House in amending the bill.  
The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SIMPSON). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?  
There was no objection.

**ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE**

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the Chair will now put the question on motions to suspend the rules on which further proceedings were postponed yesterday.

Votes will be taken in the following order:  
H.R. 4515, by the yeas and nays;  
H.R. 4015, by the yeas and nays;  
H.R. 4085, by the yeas and nays.  
The Chair will reduce to 5 minutes the time for all electronic votes in this series.

**VETERANS' MAJOR MEDICAL FACILITIES CONSTRUCTION ACT OF 2002**

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The unfinished business is the question of suspending the rules and passing the bill, H.R. 4514, as amended.  
The Clerk read the title of the bill.  
The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 4514, as amended, on which the yeas and nays are ordered.

This will be a 5-minute vote.  
The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 411, nays 0, not voting 23, as follows:

[Roll No. 183]  
YEAS—411

Abercrombie  
Ackerman  
Aderholt  
Akin  
Allen  
Andrews  
Armedy  
Baca  
Bachus  
Condit  
Cooksey  
Costello  
Cox  
Coyne  
Cramer  
Crane  
Crenshaw  
Crowley  
Cubin  
Culberson  
Cummings  
Cunningham  
Davis (CA)  
Davis (IL)  
Davis, Jo Ann  
Davis, Tom  
Deal  
DeFazio  
DeGette  
Bishop  
Blumenauer  
Blunt  
Boehlert  
Boehner  
Bonilla  
Bono  
Boozman  
Boswell  
Boucher  
Boyd  
Brady (TX)  
Brown (FL)  
Brown (OH)  
Brown (SC)  
Bryant  
Burr  
Buyer  
Callahan  
Calvert  
Camp  
Cantor  
Capito  
Capps  
Capuano  
Cardin  
Carson (IN)  
Carson (OK)  
Castle  
Chabot

Chambliss  
Clay  
Clayton  
Clement  
Clyburn  
Coble  
Collins  
Combest  
Condit  
Cooksey  
Costello  
Cox  
Coyne  
Cramer  
Crane  
Crenshaw  
Crowley  
Cubin  
Culberson  
Cummings  
Cunningham  
Davis (CA)  
Davis (IL)  
Davis, Jo Ann  
Davis, Tom  
Deal  
DeFazio  
DeGette  
Delahunt  
DeLauro  
DeLay  
DeMint  
Diaz-Balart  
Dicks  
Dingell  
Doggett  
Dooley  
Doolittle  
Doyle  
Dreier  
Duncan  
Dunn  
Edwards  
Ehlers  
Ehrlich  
Engel  
English  
Eshoo  
Etheridge  
Evans  
Everett  
Farr  
Fattah  
Ferguson  
Filner  
Flake  
Fletcher  
Foley

Forbes  
Ford  
Fossella  
Frank  
Frelinghuysen  
Frost  
Gallegly  
Ganske  
Gekas  
Gephardt  
Gibbons  
Gilchrest  
Gillmor  
Gilman  
Gonzalez  
Goode  
Goodlatte  
Gordon  
Goss  
Graham  
Granger  
Graves  
Green (TX)  
Green (WI)  
Grucci  
Gutierrez  
Gutknecht  
Hall (OH)  
Hall (TX)  
Hansen  
Harman  
Hart  
Hastings (FL)  
Hastings (WA)  
Hayes  
Hayworth  
Hefley  
Herger  
Hill  
Hilleary  
Hilliard  
Hinchey  
Hinojosa  
Hobson  
Hoeffel  
Hoekstra  
Holden  
Holt  
Honda  
Hooley  
Horn  
Hostettler  
Houghton  
Hoyer  
Hulshof  
Hunter  
Hyde  
Inslee

Isakson  
Israel  
Issa  
Istook  
Jackson (IL)  
Jackson-Lee (TX)  
Jefferson  
Jenkins  
John  
Johnson (CT)  
Johnson (IL)  
Johnson, E. B.  
Johnson, Sam  
Jones (NC)  
Jones (OH)  
Kanjorski  
Kaptur  
Keller  
Kelly  
Kennedy (MN)  
Kennedy (RI)  
Kerns  
Kildee  
Kilpatrick  
Kind (WI)  
King (NY)  
Kingston  
Kirk  
Klecza  
Knollenberg  
Kolbe  
Kucinich  
LaFalce  
LaHood  
Lampson  
Langevin  
Lantos  
Larsen (WA)  
Larson (CT)  
Latham  
LaTourette  
Leach  
Lee  
Levin  
Lewis (CA)  
Lewis (KY)  
Linder  
Lipinski  
LoBiondo  
Lofgren  
Lowey  
Lucas (KY)  
Lucas (OK)  
Luther  
Lynch  
Maloney (CT)  
Maloney (NY)  
Manzullo  
Markey  
Matheson  
Matsui  
McCarthy (MO)  
McCarthy (NY)  
McCollum  
McCrery  
McDermott  
McGovern  
McHugh  
McInnis  
McIntyre  
McKeon  
McKinney  
McNulty  
Meehan  
Meek (FL)  
Meeks (NY)  
Mica  
Millender-  
McDonald

Miller, Dan  
Miller, Gary  
Miller, George  
Miller, Jeff  
Mink  
Mollohan  
Moore  
Moran (KS)  
Moran (VA)  
Morella  
Myrick  
Napolitano  
Neal  
Nethercutt  
Ney  
Northup  
Norwood  
Nussle  
Oberstar  
Obey  
Olver  
Ortiz  
Osborne  
Ose  
Otter  
Owens  
Oxley  
Pallone  
Pascrell  
Pastor  
Paul  
Payne  
Pelosi  
Pence  
Peterson (MN)  
Peterson (PA)  
Petri  
Phelps  
Pickering  
Pitts  
Platts  
Pomeroy  
Portman  
Price (NC)  
Pryce (OH)  
Putnam  
Quinn  
Radanovich  
Rahall  
Ramstad  
Rangel  
Regula  
Rehberg  
Reyes  
Rivers  
Rodriguez  
Roemer  
Rogers (KY)  
Rogers (MI)  
Rohrabacher  
Ros-Lehtinen  
Ross  
Rothman  
Roukema  
Roybal-Allard  
Royce  
Weldon (FL)  
Weldon (PA)  
Weller  
Wexler  
Whitfield  
Wicker  
Wilson (NM)  
Wilson (SC)  
Wolf  
Woolsey  
Wu  
Wynn  
Young (AK)  
Young (FL)

NOT VOTING—23

Blagojevich  
Bonior  
Borski  
Brady (PA)  
Burton  
Cannon  
Conyers  
Davis (FL)

Deutch  
Emerson  
Greenwood  
Lewis (GA)  
Mascara  
Menendez  
Murtha  
Nadler

Pombo  
Reynolds  
Riley  
Snyder  
Traficant  
Watkins (OK)  
Watts (OK)

□ 1835

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.  
The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.