

Garrett (NJ)	Lucas (KY)	Rothman
Gephardt	Lucas (OK)	Royal-Allard
Gerlach	Lynch	Royce
Gibbons	Majette	Ruppertsberger
Gilchrest	Maloney	Rush
Gillmor	Manzullo	Ryan (OH)
Gingrey	Markey	Ryan (WI)
Gonzalez	Marshall	Ryun (KS)
Goode	Matheson	Sabo
Goodlatte	Matsui	Sánchez, Linda T.
Gordon	McCarthy (MO)	Sanchez, Loretta
Goss	McCarthy (NY)	Sanders
Granger	McCullum	Sandlin
Graves	McCotter	Saxton
Green (TX)	McCrary	Schakowsky
Green (WI)	McDermott	Schiff
Grijalva	McGovern	Schrock
Gutierrez	McHugh	Scott (GA)
Gutknecht	McInnis	Scott (VA)
Hall	McIntyre	Sensenbrenner
Harman	McKeon	Serrano
Harris	McNulty	Sessions
Hart	Meehan	Shadegg
Hastings (FL)	Meek (FL)	Shaw
Hastings (WA)	Mica	Shays
Hayes	Michaud	Sherman
Hayworth	Millender-	Sherwood
Hefley	McDonald	Shimkus
Hensarling	Miller (FL)	Shuster
Herger	Miller (MI)	Simmons
Hill	Miller (NC)	Simpson
Hinchey	Miller, Gary	Skelton
Hinojosa	Mollohan	Slaughter
Hobson	Moore	Smith (MI)
Hoefel	Moran (KS)	Smith (NJ)
Hoekstra	Moran (VA)	Smith (TX)
Holden	Murphy	Smith (WA)
Holt	Murtha	Snyder
Honda	Musgrave	Souder
Hooley (OR)	Myrick	Spratt
Hostettler	Nadler	Stark
Houghton	Napolitano	Stearns
Hoyer	Neal (MA)	Stenholm
Hulshof	Nethercutt	Strickland
Hunter	Neugebauer	Stupak
Hyde	Ney	Sullivan
Inslee	Northup	Sweeney
Isakson	Norwood	Tancredo
Israel	Nunes	Tanner
Issa	Nussle	Tauscher
Istook	Oberstar	Taylor (MS)
Jackson (IL)	Olver	Taylor (NC)
Jackson-Lee (TX)	Ortiz	Osborne
Jefferson	Ose	Otter
Johnson (IL)	Thomas	Thompson (CA)
Johnson, E. B.	Thompson	Thompson (MS)
Johnson, Sam	Owens	Thornberry
Jones (NC)	Oxley	Pallone
Jones (OH)	Pallone	Pascarella
Kanjorski	Pastor	Pastor
Kaptur	Payne	Pearce
Keller	Pearce	Pelosi
Kelly	Pelosi	Pence
Kennedy (MN)	Pence	Peterson (MN)
Kennedy (RI)	Peterson (PA)	Peterson (PA)
Kildee	Petri	Pickering
Kilpatrick	Pickering	Pitts
Kind	Pitts	Platts
King (IA)	Platts	Pombo
King (NY)	Pombo	Pomeroy
Kingston	Pomeroy	Porter
Kirk	Porter	Portman
Kleckzka	Porter	Price (NC)
Kline	Portman	Pryce (OH)
Knollenberg	Price (NC)	Putnam
Kolbe	Pryce (OH)	Quinn
Kucinich	Putnam	Radanovich
LaHood	Quinn	Rahall
Lampson	Radanovich	Ramstad
Langevin	Rahall	Rangel
Lantos	Ramstad	Regula
Larsen (WA)	Rangel	Rehberg
Larson (CT)	Regula	Renzi
LaTourette	Rehberg	Reyes
Leach	Rehberg	Reynolds
Lee	Renzi	Rodriguez
Levin	Reyes	Rogers (AL)
Lewis (CA)	Reyes	Rogers (KY)
Lewis (GA)	Reynolds	Rohrabacher
Linder	Rodriguez	Ros-Lehtinen
Lipinski	Rogers (AL)	Ross
LoBiondo	Rogers (KY)	
Lowey	Rohrabacher	
	Ros-Lehtinen	
	Ross	

NAYS—

Paul

## ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1

NOT VOTING—23

Baca	Dooley (CA)	Lofgren
Barrett (SC)	Ferguson	Meeks (NY)
Bono	Frelenghuysen	Menendez
Boyd	Greenwood	Rogers (MI)
Brady (TX)	Jenkins	Solis
Carter	Johnson (CT)	Tauzin
DeMint	Latham	Wilson (SC)
Diaz-Balart, L.	Lewis (KY)	

## ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). Members are advised there are 2 minutes remaining in this vote.

□ 1315

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

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Stated for:

Ms. SOLIS. Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 149 on H. Res. 402—Laos People's Democratic Republic, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea."

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise to offer a personal explanation. Earlier today, I was unavoidably detained on rollcall votes 147, 148, and 149 due to a prior obligation. Had I been present, I would have voted "no" on rollcall vote 147, "yea" on rollcall vote 148, and "yea" on rollcall vote 149.

## DEPLORING ABUSE OF PERSONS IN UNITED STATES CUSTODY IN IRAQ

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 628, I call up the resolution (H. Res. 627) deplored the abuse of persons in United States custody in Iraq, regardless of the circumstances of their detention, urging the Secretary of the Army to bring to swift justice any member of the Armed Forces who has violated the Uniform Code of Military Justice, expressing the deep appreciation of the Nation to the courageous and honorable members of the Armed Forces who have selflessly served, or are currently serving, in Operation Iraqi Freedom, and for other purposes, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The text of H. Res. 627 is as follows:

## H. RES. 627

Whereas the American people and the world are dismayed by revelations of abuses inflicted upon detainees at the Abu Ghraib prison in Baghdad;

Whereas the military justice process so far has resulted in charges being brought against six individuals, three of whom have been recommended for trial by court martial;

Whereas the investigation by the United States Central Command has identified problems of leadership, chain of command, and training that contributed to the instances of abuse;

Whereas the Congress was not fully informed of the existence, or the seriousness, of those abuses or of the investigation of

those abuses until after they had been disclosed in the national media;

Whereas such abuses are offensive to the principles and values of the American people and the United States military, are incompatible with the professionalism, dedication, standards and training required of individuals who serve in the United States military, and contradict the policies, orders, and laws of the United States and the United States military and undermine the ability of the United States military to achieve its mission in Iraq;

Whereas the vast majority of members of the Armed Forces have upheld the highest possible standards of professionalism and morality in the face of illegal tactics and terrorist attacks on their lives;

Whereas members of the Armed Forces have planned and conducted, frequently at great peril and cost, military operations in a manner carefully intended to prevent or minimize injury to Iraqi civilians and property;

Whereas over 138,000 members of the United States Armed Forces serving in Iraq, a total force comprised of active, National Guard, and Reserve personnel, are executing a courageous and determined mission to rebuild and rehabilitate a proud nation after liberating it from the tyranny, oppression, and genocide of Saddam Hussein's evil regime;

Whereas the Department of Defense has awarded members of the Armed Forces serving in Operation Iraqi Freedom at least 3,767 Purple Hearts, as well as thousands of commendations for valor, including at least 4 Distinguished Service Crosses, 127 Silver Stars, and over 16,000 Bronze Stars;

Whereas members of the Armed Forces, United States citizens, over 30 Coalition partners, and patriotic Iraqis are working to finally return the government of Iraq to the Iraqi people after decades of despotism;

Whereas since the deposing of Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi people have enjoyed substantial improvements in essential services, including major water, sewage, power, infrastructure, transportation, telecommunications, and food security projects that already benefit millions more citizens than under the Ba'ath Party regime;

Whereas the quality of life for Iraqis has significantly improved in the areas of food availability, health services, and educational opportunities since the downfall of the Hussein government; and

Whereas security provided by the United States Armed Forces, the Coalition partners of the United States, and the Iraqi people has permitted the adoption by Iraq of a Transitional Administrative Law, with the promise of a sovereign Iraqi Interim Government, national elections, a constitution, and democracy: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the House of Representatives—

(1) deplores and condemns the abuse of persons in United States custody in Iraq, regardless of the circumstances of their detention;

(2) declares that the alleged crimes of a handful of individuals should not detract from the commendable sacrifices of over 300,000 members of the United States Armed Forces who have served, or who are serving, in Operation Iraqi Freedom;

(3) reaffirms and reinforces the American principle that any and all individuals under the custody and care of the United States Armed Forces shall be afforded proper and humane treatment;

(4) urges the Secretary of the Army to conduct a full and thorough investigation into any and all allegations of mistreatment or abuse of detainees in Iraq;

(5) urges the Secretary of the Army and appropriate military authorities to undertake corrective action to address chain of command deficiencies and the systemic deficiencies identified in the incidents in question;

(6) urges the Secretary of the Army to bring to swift justice any member of the Armed Forces who has violated the Uniform Code of Military Justice to ensure that their actions are not allowed to impugn the integrity of the United States Armed Forces or undermine the United States mission in Iraq;

(7) reaffirms the need for Congress to be frequently updated on the status of efforts by the Department of Defense to address and resolve issues identified in this resolution;

(8) expresses the deep appreciation of the Nation to the courageous and honorable members of the Armed Forces who have selflessly served, or who are currently serving, in Operation Iraqi Freedom;

(9) expresses the support and thanks of the Nation to the families and friends of the soldiers, Marines, airmen, sailors, and Coast Guardsmen who have served, or who are serving, in Operation Iraqi Freedom; and

(10) expresses the continuing solidarity and support of the House of Representatives and the American people for the partnership of the United States with the Iraqi people in building a viable Iraqi government and a secure nation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 628, the gentleman from California (Mr. HUNTER) and the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California (Mr. HUNTER).

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

Mr. Speaker, during the debate on the rule, I think every Member who was listening to the debate as they listened to a number of speeches being made over and over, sometimes the same things being said by different Members, they understand the subject which we are addressing today, which is the criminal acts of what has been identified so far as six individuals, with three of them having been recommended under article 32 of the UCMJ to the court martial convening authority for general court martial for abuse of prisoners, assault, and dereliction of duty.

That is one of the purposes of this resolution, for this House to condemn those activities. Understand that the criminal prosecutions have not taken place yet, the trials have not been held and that we are not passing judgment at this point on people who are being focused on as potential defendants in these cases. But I thought it was important, Mr. Speaker, to talk about the other people, because the tendency of the media and the discussion has been to forget about the 300,000 uniformed Americans who are serving our country with bravery, with compassion, with ingenuity and doing great things, not in their own communities, but in communities thousands of miles away where the only reward they may receive is from a kid that they have given a soccer ball to like hundreds of the 101 Airborne members, or for people whom they have hooked up a water

supply as people have done in all of the cities throughout central Iraq or children that have been vaccinated by American medics. The only thanks they are going to get, obviously, is not going to come from the American press at this point because the American press is fixated on what you might call the six bad apples who have been identified to date, and there may be more. We all know that.

But the 300,000 who served honorably, they are not going to get too much attention here because it is not in keeping with a good sound bite today if you want to get on television to talk about the good things that have been done in the country.

My great partner on this Committee on Armed Services, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON), was in full accord with this. We wanted to make sure that the good people got talked about and that this did not turn into the action of the demoralization of our fighting forces in Iraq.

So we wanted to talk about the good things they have done. And this resolution, and I would commend it to every Democrat and Republican, from the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI) and all of the others who may have had trouble or problems with this resolution, I would commend it to them to approve and to support and to vote for.

I just wanted to say, Mr. Speaker, I am looking at right now some of the untold stories; and I wanted to cite an untold story to you, a couple of them. It is true that there were abuses so far by six people who have been identified in this Abu Ghraib prison; but while that was going on, Gunnery Sergeant Jeffrey Bohr of the United States Marine Corps was awarded the Silver Star posthumously for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action against the enemy while serving as Company Gunnery Sergeant, Company A, 1st Battalion, 5th Marine Regiment, Regimental Combat Team 5, 1st Marine Division.

While moving through narrow streets toward the objective, the convoy took intense small arms and rocket-propelled grenade fire. Throughout this movement, Gunnery Sergeant Bohr delivered accurate effective fires on the enemy, while encouraging his Marines and supplying critical information to his company commander. When the lead vehicles of the convoy reached a dead end and were subjected to heavy enemy fire, Gunnery Sergeant Bohr continued to boldly engage the enemy while calmly maneuvering his Marines to safety.

Upon learning of a wounded Marine in a forward vehicle, Gunnery Sergeant Bohr immediately coordinated medical treatment and evacuation. Moving to the position of the injured Marine, Gunnery Sergeant Bohr continued to lay down a high volume of suppressive fire, simultaneously guiding the medical evacuation vehicle until he was mortally wounded by enemy fire.

Yes, we had abuses by some six people. We have had apparent abuses by some six people who are now going through the criminal justice system of the U.S. Army, which I think our Members will find moves a lot faster than the domestic justice system. But at the same time, Corporal Marco Martinez was undertaking actions which led to him being awarded the second highest award that our government can give for heroism, the Navy Cross.

So I thought I might take a little bit of this time that was intended to beat up the U.S. military, to congratulate some of those 300,000 people who have served U.S. so well.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise with heavy heart, a heavy heart for two reasons. The first reason is that a group of American soldiers forgot that they were soldiers and they forgot that the middle name of a soldier is "honor," in doing the despicable acts that they did in that prison. That breaks my heart. I know it breaks the hearts of Americans who saw those pictures and learned of those acts which border on the unspeakable.

But the seconds reason my heart is broken is that the occurrences happened between October and December of last year; they were reported in January of this year. A two star general in the Army, Major General Taguba was called to investigate and his report was rendered in February. And as ranking member on this committee, I found out about it this month, in May, not by any official sources, but through the news media.

Mr. Speaker, that also breaks my heart. We in Congress under the Constitution are the first of the three parts of government listed. We are the ones that raise the money and write the rules for those who serve in the military. We are an important part of the national security, and I think that we should be informed as quickly as possible when these very, very tragic occurrences happen.

Recently in the Wall Street Journal, on April 22, an administration official in response to the expenditure of appropriations funds regarding Iraq and the Middle East stated, "If lawmakers do not ask questions, they do not get answers."

Mr. Speaker, it is incumbent upon them to keep U.S. informed because we are the genesis of their funding. We are the genesis of the rules by which they in uniform operate and the defense of our Nation are concerned.

This error has become a mistake. The late John F. Kennedy once said, "An error does not become a mistake until you refuse to correct it. Without debate, without criticism, no administration, no country can succeed and no republic can survive."

We seem, Mr. Speaker, to have forgotten that.

I support this resolution, and I think it is necessary. It is a shameful series

of acts. I support this resolution because it deplores and condemns the abuse of those in custody. And it is not just about isolated cases of abuse. This incident could very well be the tipping of the security and reconstruction of Iraq. I hope that is wrong. But if we lose the trust of the Iraqi people, if we lose their hearts and minds, we cannot bring anything else effectively to that part of the world.

We must win back the trust, the safety of our troops, and the future of these citizens of Iraq. For that reason, I support this resolution. It urges the Secretary of the Army and the appropriate military authorities to complete a thorough investigation to bring anyone who committed crimes to justice. This applies regardless of who committed the crimes, military personnel, government agencies or private contractors.

The Iraqi people must see U.S. taking swift and strong action. As a matter of fact, we here in Congress and our chairman, the gentleman from California (Mr. HUNTER), has announced that we will have a hearing on this very subject tomorrow in the hearing room 2118 at 3 o'clock with Secretary Rumsfeld. I think that is the right thing for the gentleman to have called, and I thank him for it publicly.

It is an important role for U.S. to have continuing oversight of this issue. We do need, in addition thereto, a congressional inquiry by the staff on the broader policy issues that were raised by this incident. I will underline that.

Finally, I believe this resolution appropriately points out that so many of our troops have served honorably, and the chairman is correct on that, done extraordinarily well in difficult circumstances.

Not long ago I attended a funeral over here at Arlington Cemetery of a staff sergeant from the Fourth District of Missouri, which I am privileged to represent. And these soldiers who forgot that they were soldiers caused his death, in so many respects, to have been in vain. We have to correct this and make sure that those who pay the ultimate sacrifice will be remembered and will be honored for the work that they do in Iraq to bring stability and some sort of representative government there.

We have to look at the chain of command. We have to look at the command atmosphere that allowed these occurrences to happen. So for this reason and the reason that we were not told promptly and the fact that we need not only the hearing tomorrow, which I am pleased we will have, we need a thorough investigation to go forward on this subject.

We must be successful in Iraq. We must show not just the Iraqi people, we must show the world the values of our country. We need to. And one way to do it is to proceed to investigate this and make this a very transparent, clear picture for the world to see.

Mr. Speaker, I thank you for this time. It would be well for those in au-

thority to understand the admonition that sat on the desk of the late President Harry S Truman: "The buck stops here."

Keeping that in mind, let U.S. move forward and do the right thing, for the Iraqi people, for those who served so honorably and so well, and for those who paid for the sacrifice of their service. Let this be a reflection of the decency and honesty and thoroughness of the values of America in what we do.

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

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. HAYES).

□ 1330

Mr. HAYES. Mr. Speaker, let me thank the gentleman from California and chairman for yielding the time. Let me thank my friend, my colleague, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) with whom I completely identify and thoroughly agree with the remarks he made in setting the stage for the purpose of this resolution.

As I hold this picture here, it is reference that what our troops are about in Iraq. When I spoke earlier supporting the resolution and the rule, I referred to a call that I had just received from an 82nd Airborne trooper, who had lost a leg in Iraq for these children, for these men and women.

I called Daniel Metzdorf back on the phone at Walter Reed Hospital, where he is back because of additional infection. I said, Daniel, what do you all think about what is going on? He said, it is wrong. Those people will be punished, and, oh, by the way, the people who put the pictures on the television to undermine our troops, they ought to be in jail, too.

God bless our troops and protect them.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL), who is the ranking member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) for the time.

This is a very difficult time for me because I find it difficult to rise in opposition of this resolution, and the reason I do it is because there just does not seem to be enough outrage involved in what is being said.

We should not have to apologize for brave men and women. We should not have to apologize for what the executive branch or the Congress has or has not done. We should not be put in this position.

Several months ago, I called for the resignation of the Secretary of Defense because I thought, as a major architect of this war, that he was fighting this war with other people's children, and when he said that he did not know whether or not we were winning or losing the war, when he said that he did not know whether we were creating more terrorists than we were killing,

when he said we did not have any plan to end the war, that it was a slogan, I thought, as a former combat veteran, is this the leadership that we can expect from the Secretary of Defense? I thought that America and the military deserve better than that and he should resign.

Now the information that we receive is that a climate has been created where a handful of people have committed these atrocities against human kind in an atmosphere where all of the people that are in Iraq have been demonized where it appears to American people and certainly to our military that the people in Iraq are responsible for 9/11 and causing us pain, that the Secretary of Defense did have information months ago about these atrocities; and that he kept it from the President, he kept it from the Congress and he kept it from the American people. I think that this rises to the point that it is a high crime and misdemeanor if he disappointed the President, kept information from the Congress and kept this information from the American people.

I think America and the world wants us to show the outrage, not by rhetoric, but by taking action, and if the President does not fire the Secretary, if he does not resign, I think it is the responsibility of this Congress to file articles of impeachment and force him to leave office. Then the whole world would know, not just our military, not just Americans but the whole world what we stand for.

If people can say "mission completed" when it looks like there is victory and we see atrocities like this and it happens on someone's watch, if they do not have the dignity to say I am sorry and move on, then we have the responsibility under our Constitution to remove these people from office.

He kept the information away from this Congress. We have the responsibility of oversight. I am preparing articles of impeachment today.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Virginia (Mrs. JO ANN DAVIS).

Mrs. JO ANN DAVIS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this resolution, and I want to thank the gentleman from California (Chairman HUNTER) for bringing it to the floor.

First, I want to stress my unwavering support for our men and women in uniform. I am absolutely convinced that recent reports of prisoner abuses are in no way representative of the majority of those who serve in our armed services.

Our fellow Americans who are in Iraq are some of the most dedicated and honorable people in our whole country. It is a rare thing these days to find them with such strong commitment to the values that have made this Nation so great.

Our military is known throughout the entire world for upholding and fighting for human rights, and that is why the American people are so

shocked at the recent reports of prisoner abuse and torture. I, too, am shocked, and it is unfortunate that a few soldiers have harmed the reputation of our entire military.

There is no excuse for abusing and torturing any human being. We are there to restore dignity to the Iraqi people, not to demean and humiliate them.

It absolutely cannot and should not be tolerated. We would not want American POWs abused, and we should not abuse those who we hold as prisoners of war.

The United States has always held very strictly to the standards of the humane treatment of POWs that are universally accepted as international law. We should hold those standards now more than ever.

As the world's superpower, we are an example to every Nation and are viewed as the defenders of life and liberty.

One of the reasons we are in Iraq is because we wanted to liberate the Iraqi people from the torture and abuse of Saddam Hussein's regime. What kind of message do these very few soldiers send to the people of Iraq and to the entire Middle East by now abusing the people that we once rescued? There is absolutely no excuse.

The vast majority of Iraqi people have been treated with respect and dignity by our service members, and I know will continue to be treated properly. Our men and women in uniform know they have a moral and legal obligation to treat prisoners of war humanely and with decency.

These very few individuals who have not acted in this upright tradition should be quickly brought to justice.

Already, the Army has placed a new unit leadership at this facility. As of April 1, we now have one single person responsible for all the detainee activities in Iraq.

Additional training on the Geneva convention and the rules of engagement have been given to all new units going into these facilities.

A mobile training team of corrections and legal experts is on the ground working to help train soldiers to improve operations at the facilities.

I am encouraged and I applaud the quick response by our military leaders. I hope this incident, which involved just a very small group of individuals, will not overshadow the integrity of our soldiers.

The 138,000 Americans in uniform in the Iraqi theater are some of the most dedicated and honorable people, and they are doing a tremendous job. Because of the sacrifices that they are making, our Nation is more secure, and Iraq is on the path to becoming a free and prosperous Nation.

May God bless America and may God bless our men and women in uniform.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire as to how much time we have remaining, please?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. OSE). The gentleman from Missouri

(Mr. SKELTON) has 19 minutes remaining.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. HARMAN), who is the ranking member on the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

Ms. HARMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time and commend him for his leadership, along with that of the Chairman of the House Committee on Armed Services, a committee on which I was privileged to serve for 6 years.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution, though I wish it had called for a thorough investigation by Congress of the acts described in it. Our Nation is strong, not only because of our military might, but because of our values. In peacetime, those values may seem easy to uphold, but in wartime, they are inevitably going to be tested. To keep us strong, we must reaffirm to the American people and the world that those values permeate everything we do as a Nation, at home and all over the world.

We are not naive. We know that the fog of war is thick, and we understand, certainly those of us on the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence understand, that interrogation is an integral part of gathering intelligence about the enemy. Good intelligence hopefully prevents and disrupts attacks. That saves lives.

Many of us on the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence care deeply that we get it right. I have traveled to Guantanamo three times to assess the effectiveness of our interrogations and to assure that detainees are being treated properly. While I strongly disagree with the lack of legal status for Guantanamo's detainees, I have been increasingly impressed by the tangible improvements in prisoner treatment and by the yield from interrogations.

I have been to Baghdad twice, again focused on intelligence issues. There was no hint in my second visit to Baghdad in February of this year, a month after the devastating photos were delivered to the Pentagon, that anything was amiss with respect to interrogations in Iraq.

Mr. Speaker, my colleagues and I were doing our job to make sure things were done right, but the failure to alert us to the circumstances that led to the request of General Taguba to prepare his report was a failure by the intelligence community to keep our Committee informed. It was a failure by the executive branch to keep Congress informed.

After everything this country has been through over the past 3 years, the horrors at Abu Ghraib made crystal clear the need for major intelligence reform. It is not acceptable for people to retreat into "chain of command" stovepipes. It is not credible that a few bad apples carried out what the Taguba report calls "numerous incidents of sadistic, blatant and wanton criminal

abuse" without any explicit or implicit tolerance from those who supervised them.

Tom Friedman writes today, "We are in danger of losing something much more important than just the war in Iraq. We are in danger of losing America as an instrument of moral authority and inspiration in the world."

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SIMMONS), one of our great veterans.

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for the time, and I associate myself with the remarks of the chairman and of the ranking member.

I also have a heavy heart. As someone who served as a U.S. Army military intelligence officer for more than 30 years on active and reserve duty, I am appalled and disgusted by the images of U.S. soldiers mistreating prisoners in Iraq. Not only is the abuse of prisoners repugnant to our moral values as Americans, but it has little to no utility in eliciting useful intelligence from hostile elements.

Army Field Manual 34-52 clearly defines interrogation as the art of questioning and beaming a source to obtain the maximum amount of usable information. The goal of any interrogation is to obtain usable and reliable information in a lawful manner, in a lawful manner.

It goes on to say, "The use of force, mental torture, threats, insults, or exposure to unpleasant and inhumane treatment of any kind is prohibited by law and is neither authorized nor condoned by the U.S. Government. Experience indicates that the use of force is not necessary to gain the cooperation of sources for interrogation. Therefore, the use of force is a poor technique, as it yields unreliable results." This is Army Field Manual 34-52.

I am outraged to think that the stupid and insulting behavior of a very few soldiers and officers could undercut the honorable and the courageous service of so many American soldiers in Iraq. A full investigation is in order. Punishment for the guilty parties is required, and we must send a clear message to the world that the action of a very few does not represent the values of most American soldiers and most Americans.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CARDIN) for the purpose of making a unanimous consent request.

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

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. Speaker, the abuse of Iraqi prisoners by American soldiers and personnel constitute deplorable, despicable acts. We are all sickened by the pictures of our troops laughing and pointing at Iraqi prisoners who had been stripped naked, possibly beaten, and forced to pose in sexually explicit positions. These actions have compromised not only our mission in Iraq, but also the reputation of the American governments and its agents. Let me be clear: All but a few of our

soldiers and military personnel perform their jobs honorably on behalf of the American people, and our military is playing an important role in keeping the peace and promoting democracy around the world.

Our next step is clear: Congress must hold an open, complete and bipartisan investigation into these terrible allegations. We have a responsibility to oversee our military and intelligence services, and only through an independent investigation by Congress will we be able to regain our Nation's credibility as a champion for human rights. I am disappointed that the pending resolution does not reference an independent inquiry by Congress. The Pentagon must also take quick action to punish those involved, including holding those superiors who knew, encouraged, condoned, or should have known about those abuses. The resolution rightly points out the military must undertake corrective action to address chain of command deficiencies and systemic deficiencies in the military. We must also examine the role played by American civilian contractors in performing governmental functions such as interrogation of enemy prisoners.

Mr. Speaker, I serve as the Ranking Member of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), commonly known as the Helsinki Commission. The United States is one of the fifty-five nations that serve as members of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the largest regional security organization in the world.

The United States has agreed to a number of Helsinki commitments beginning in 1989 in Vienna regarding democracy, rule of law, and human rights. We regularly criticize other governments in Europe and Central Asia when they use, condone, or fail to stop acts of torture in their prisons. Part of our commitments include: The education and training of all personnel—whether civil, medical, or military—that handle prisoners; systematic review of interrogation rules, methods, and practices; and a systematic review of arrangements for custody and treatment of detained persons, with a view to preventing any cases of torture. The OSCE publishes a "preventing torture" handbook to help Participating States eradicate torture.

As the United States seeks to wage a global war on terrorism, many questions have been raised regarding U.S. efforts to combat terrorism and whether related actions are consistent with our international obligations and commitments. Last year on June 26, on the International Day in Support of the Victims of Torture, President Bush declared that "Torture anywhere is an affront to human dignity everywhere." He observed that "Freedom from torture is an inalienable human right." The State Department has also noted that "Freedom from torture is an inalienable human right, and the prohibition of torture is a basic principle of international human rights law. This prohibition is absolute and allows no exception." Finally, as the General Counsel to the Defense Department, William Haynes wrote to Senator LEAHY that, "the United States does not permit, tolerate, or condone any such torture by its employees under any circumstances."

Mr. Speaker, last year I offered, and then withdrew, an amendment to the Department of Defense Appropriations bill for FY 04 that would prohibit the use of any funds in the bill from being used to carry out torture. I was disturbed by a December 2002 article in the

Washington Post. The article cited a number of defense and intelligence sources which allege that some detainees in Afghanistan and elsewhere may have been tortured.

The abuse of Iraqi prisoners by American soldiers not only harmed the victims, but also harmed our country. It has damaged our mission in Iraq. It has soiled our reputation in pursuit of humanitarian issues.

What happened in Baghdad's Abu Ghraib prison does not reflect U.S. values. We must speak out and take action against torture anywhere in the world, even if it occurs under our watch. We must act decisively.

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

□ 1345

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. FERGUSON).

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution. The actions of several U.S. soldiers in Baghdad are fundamentally inconsistent with our mission in Iraq, American principles of justice, and the basic tenets of morality. They have stained our character and damaged our credibility.

I fear there are no words in the English language that can adequately describe the depth of our disillusionment over the goodwill generated by millions of Americans and billions of American dollars squandered in an instant.

But I do know this: out of this tragedy is born opportunity to show the watching world how we, a Nation founded on the rule of law, conduct ourselves in the aftermath of this tragedy. What distinguishes us from the regime that we ended is justice. While this behavior was once commonplace in Iraq, it is foreign to our national experience and to our nature, and we will deal with it not by saluting those who perpetrated those acts, as the former regime did, but by bringing the perpetrators to justice.

I was fortunate to visit a free Iraq in January. I met with our soldiers, including some from my home State, New Jersey. I say to each of our soldiers and servicemembers, do not allow the injustices done by a few to undermine your faith, for the cause which brought you to Iraq is right and just. You have freed 24 million people from the clutches of unspeakable tyranny, and your actions and character are sowing freedom in a place that has known evil. May God continue to bless all of those who serve honorably in our Nation's military, and may God continue to bless America.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Ms. DELAUBO), a senior member of the Committee on Appropriations.

Ms. DELAUBO. Mr. Speaker, all Americans were shocked by what we saw at the Abu Ghraib prison. The abuse of Iraqi prisoners offends our values as human beings and as Americans. I am deeply disturbed by the adminis-

tration's handling of this issue. A 3-month-old investigation has only now come to light. Some are questioning whether we may have lost control of civilian contractors who fall outside of the military chain of command.

But there is something equally as alarming about this news, the discovery that unregulated private contractors are interrogating prisoners in Iraq on behalf of the Coalition Provisional Authority.

This now becomes a question of accountability. In the fog of war, it is not only our military but also private companies deciding whom to deploy, whom to carry out operations, and how those people are vetted. There is almost no congressional oversight, civil regulation, or military law that governs them. By contracting out these critical tasks to civilian contractors who fall outside of the chain of command, there is no quality assurance, and there is questionable accountability.

The Secretary of Defense has been inattentive and perhaps negligent at great cost to our reputation and our security, and the call for the Secretary of Defense resignation is growing stronger day by day. At the very least, the Republican leadership in this House should convene bipartisan, bicameral congressional hearings to examine this urgent matter.

This reminds us that before we win the hearts and the minds of the Iraqis in this effort, we must win something else, trust, the trust of the American people.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 2 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to address what the gentlewoman just said because she has made a mistake. She said that the 3-month-old investigation has only now come to light. I have in front of me the news release that I will give to the gentlewoman. As of January 16, which was 3 days after the soldier came forward and gave to his commanding officer the evidence that bad things were taking place at the prison, CENTCOM released a news release to every news agency in the world stating that an investigation has been initiated into reported incidents of detainee abuse.

So they announced to the world 3 days after the soldier came forward in January that an investigation had been started; and General Kimmet announced to the combined audiences of Fox News, MSNBC and CNN, by my calculations over 20 million people, on January 16 that an investigation had been started. Outside of that, nobody was told.

Ms. DELAUBO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUNTER. I yield to the gentlewoman from Connecticut.

Ms. DELAUBO. Mr. Speaker, I would just say to the gentleman that I think the report in terms of Members of Congress, the people's House, that we have in fact been kept in the dark. There may have been some who have known about it. I listened to General Myers.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I will tell the gentlewoman the entire world was told by this news release.

Ms. DELAURO. Then it is even more poignant.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, I think this is a very important point. The soldier came forward on January 13 and gave this evidence to his commanding officer that prisoners were being abused. CENTCOM announced to the world through their official news release that they were investigating this 3 days later; and General Kimmet, who was before an audience of some 20 million people three days later, January 16, announced it was in fact being investigated.

So the statement that the investigation has just now come to light is not accurate.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield for the purpose of making a unanimous consent request to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WOOLSEY).

(Ms. WOOLSEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask that this resolution be less timid and actually ask for a commission beyond the Department of Defense.

Mr. Speaker, I was absolutely outraged last week when I, along with the rest of the world, learned that U.S. servicemembers and private American contractors in Iraq had abused and tortured Iraqi prisoners of war, and had forced them to commit heinous sexual acts.

War is devastating and terrifying, but even in war there is no place for actions such as these. The vast majority of soldiers in Iraq are performing courageously and honorably, upholding the high standards of the U.S. military. But the abuse inflicted by a few soldiers will likely be responsible for much ill will around the world. What's worse, I fear that it will embolden our enemies to commit further acts of terrorism against the United States.

We must get to the bottom of this scandal, but we must do it in the right way. H. Res. 627, which will be voted on today, does not adequately address these abuses because it doesn't go far enough. Instead of encouraging an investigation through the Department of Defense, this resolution should call for congressional investigations to investigate the roles of both servicemembers and private civilian contractors who may have played a role in the abuse of Iraqi prisoners of war.

The military should not investigate itself in this matter, because we don't yet know if the military leadership itself bears some responsibility for these atrocities.

We also owe an apology to the people of Iraq, and to all the countries around the world that look to the United States for leadership and guidance in the area of democracy. This resolution offers no apology. Instead, it absolves the Congress of blame, claiming that we weren't informed of the abuses while they were happening. But the fact that we weren't informed should not stop this body from offering our sincerest regret that military procedures failed to stop this kind of abuse from occurring. Are we so arrogant that we cannot apologize for some of the most heinous acts that member of our military have ever committed?

This resolution must be amended to get to the bottom of this terrible scandal. I urge my colleagues to vote against H. Res. 627 unless it is amended to include congressional investigations and regret for the acts of those wearing the uniform of the United States military.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DINGELL), the ranking member of the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

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

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I have read this bill. I may be one of the few on the floor who has. But as a long-serving Member of this body, as a private who finished World War II as a second lieutenant, I sat on boards, courts martial, served as military prosecutor, and also as defense. I find in the legislation no word of anybody other than Members of the armed services. I find no mention of discussion of members of the CIA, of members of the civilian leadership, of the Defense Department or other government agencies. I find nothing about civilian contractors.

My question to the chairman, are we going to go into that behavior, or are we just going to sack a bunch of poor infantrymen up to the rank of sergeant or something like that and say you are going to jail, when in fact this was policy which originated much higher?

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

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

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I would say that the investigation, there are now six investigations ongoing, the investigation that was started has identified some six individuals. Those are all people wearing uniform.

If the investigation reveals further people who are civilian contractors, those people can be punished under the laws of the United States which have been extended to theater.

Mr. DINGELL. It sounds to me like they are going to stick it to the ordinary uniformed military service under the rank of lieutenant, and let everybody else off the hook. This is a bad proposal.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. THORNBERRY).

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, generally I think we can be faulted on this floor for saying the same thing over and over again in our debates; but in this case, I think it is important to say over and over again so it is heard clearly and definitively that the conduct here, including the taking and distribution of photographs, is abhorrent to our Nation and to our values; and also to say that we are proud of and grateful to the thousands and thousands of men and women who do represent and exemplify our values every day in Iraq, for every day there are countless acts of kindness and generosity and respect shown to Iraqis by

American soldiers, risking their own lives. Part of the tragedy of this episode is it gets so much attention while all of those acts get so little attention.

Yet it is important for us to continue to do the right thing, to hold those involved accountable for their actions or their neglect, and to not let up in our efforts to overcome the malicious forces of oppression, working with the Iraqi people for a free and secure and stable Iraq.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield for the purpose of making a unanimous consent request to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE).

(Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise to support H. Res. 627 only because we need to begin the healing process, not because it offers a real solution to our troops and peace in Iraq.

Mr. Speaker, yet again we are seeing politics driving our policy in Iraq rather than logic, and compassion, and sense of duty. The resolution before us today is political damage control. This Congress has a constitutionally mandated duty of oversight over the executive branch. We and the world have seen over the past days that some horrible deeds have occurred in Iraq—deeds that truly threaten to undermine everything that we have worked toward on the international-diplomatic front for the past century. We must be thoughtful in crafting our approach to diffusing this awful situation, bringing those responsible to justice, and protecting the honor of those members of our armed-services who serve so valiantly and honorably around the world.

This resolution contains several provisions, including (1) deplored and condemning the abuse of Iraqi prisoners in U.S. custody; (2) reaffirming and reinforcing the American principle that any and all individuals under the custody and care of the U.S. armed forces shall be afforded proper and humane treatment; and (3) urging the Department of Defense to conduct an investigation into any and all allegations of mistreatment or abuse of Iraqi prisoners and bring to swift justice all members of the Armed Forces who have violated the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

I agree with all of that; however, is that all the duty of this Congress is? All this resolution does is says, "We read in the paper that mistakes were made. Somebody else, find out what happened. Somebody else, tell us what you find out. Somebody else, make this problem go away." That is a dereliction of our duty.

Members in this body have extraordinary experience and expertise in these issues. We owe it to the people we represent to immediately launch full congressional investigations into Iraqi prisoner abuse. After the Defense Department report was buried and hidden from Congress, and maybe even the President, for months, it is absurd to now trust that same department to police itself and purge itself of bad actors. We are already seeing the methods by which they will approach this—blame the six people in the pictures and maybe a couple of others, and assume that they were some sort of outliers.

We all hope that that is indeed the case, but we must make sure. Last week, I wouldn't have believed that any American soldiers were capable of such grotesque abuses. We must be objective as we delve into whether this problem goes far deeper than just a few cells at Abu Ghraib. Further missteps in the U.S. response to these atrocities could bring about a monstrous backlash in Iraq, and across the Middle East.

What message does it send to those struggling for democracy and freedom around the world, when this People's House, in the greatest democracy in the world—simply toes the majority party line?

We need bipartisan congressional investigations to be conducted immediately into these allegations of abuse, including those by U.S. civilian contractor personnel or other U.S. civilians, and into chain of command and other systemic deficiencies that contributed to such abuse.

We all know that the vast majority of U.S. troops in Iraq are performing superbly. It is tragic that the behavior of a small number of American soldiers has besmirched the reputation of U.S. troops overall. The vast majority of U.S. troops in Iraq are courageously performing their duties and are living up to the highest standards of the U.S. military. They are serving our country with honor, distinction and dedication and deserve our country's deepest gratitude.

However, the grotesque abuse of Iraqi prisoners is completely unacceptable—and is against everything our country stands for and holds dear. The abuse of Iraqi prisoners in the Abu Ghraib prison by U.S. soldiers that has been documented with photographs is abhorrent and does not represent America. The citizens of America have been appalled by what they have seen and condemn these actions as against our ethics and against our practices. These abuses are truly un-American.

Congressional investigations are critically needed in order to get to the bottom of this outrage. Among the questions that must be answered are: How widespread were these incidents of prisoner abuse? Were personnel trained adequately to do the jobs to which they were assigned? When did senior leadership of the Department of Defense learn of these allegations? Was their response timely and did it reflect the seriousness of this situation?

We owe it to the American people, to those around the world who are watching intently, and especially to our troops whose reputations have been called into question by this situation. We must put this Congress to work purging our military of those who encourage such un-American behavior, and restore the honor of our brave soldiers serving in Iraq and around the world.

I again call for Secretary Rumsfeld to appear before the full body of this House with the complete story of this travesty. Ultimately, I call for his resignation and that of Deputy Secretary Wolfowitz.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT), the ranking member on the Committee on the Budget and also a senior member of the Committee on Armed Services.

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

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, there is nothing we hold in trust more sacred than the good name of America, and the good name of our great country is at stake. We have been defiled, maligned, if not damaged irreparably in some parts of the world; and we cannot diminish the consequences.

Just as the world has been fixated on those revolting photographs, the world is watching now to see what America will do, not what we will say, but how we will respond in fact. We should first of all rise up in indignation and outrage and condemn these atrocities and not diminish them. I do not care whether six soldiers or 600 were involved. We should make it unmistakably clear that this is conduct that Americans will not tolerate, we will not diminish, we will not excuse, and we will punish with severity.

But our response cannot end with just indignation or even an abject apology. We must make every effort to find out what was involved in these atrocities, who was involved in these atrocities, directly involved, and involved in a supervisory capacity up the chain of command and down the chain of command, wherever it leads; and we must punish everybody who is culpable in a way that makes clear this is despicable conduct which we will not abide in the United States of America.

That quest for facts must ask candidly, painfully whether or not these were isolated acts, these atrocities were isolated acts of poorly trained, undisciplined reservists, or whether they arise out of a culture that permitted and allowed interrogation techniques that call for hoods, sleep deprivation, and incessant questioning.

These are hard questions. We have got to ask them. Was this military intelligence, military police, or was it both? Where did the system break down?

In the committee room of the Committee on Armed Services, Mr. Speaker, we have cast in bronze a plaque with article 1 clause 8 of the Constitution which gives Congress the power to raise and support an Army, a Navy, and provide for their regulation. This was the way that the Parliament in the 17th century gained control of the government by gaining control of the military, among other things, by keeping on a short leash the law that permitted courts martial.

The Department of Defense is and ought to be conducting its own investigation; but if we are worth our salt, if we are up to the powers the Constitution vests in us, we must conduct our own investigation.

□ 1400

Woodrow Wilson once said that our greatest power is the power to investigate, to inform, to check the Commander-in-Chief, to notify, to make the American people understand what is happening in their government. So this is not a matter that we can delete. This is not a matter that we can

trust anyone else. This is a matter where we must not take the role of outsiders looking in. We should launch our own investigation. And one of the places where this resolution stops short, I would say to my good friend, the chairman of the committee, is that it does not emphatically call for our own independent investigation to lead wherever the facts may take us. We should do it because it is our duty. We should do it because of the trust we hold. We should do it for the sake of the soldiers, the vast majority of soldiers, who have served honorably, who have served and sacrificed and secured the interests of our country.

But here, as in many places, this resolution pulls its punch. I support it. I will vote for it, but I think it should be more emphatic, more outraged, and I think it should be more of a beginning to our effort than an end, to the constitutional trust that we all hold, to find the facts, to ask why we are so late ourselves in being informed, and to see that the truth and the whole truth comes out.

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

I say to my good distinguished colleague I invite him to come to our committee hearing in which we are conducting oversight in this matter at 3 o'clock tomorrow afternoon, and I also remind him that we have now carried out by those people that we have trusted in uniform in the Iraqi theater and elsewhere, six investigations now ongoing into this particular matter, six investigations.

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

Mr. HUNTER. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I have great respect for the gentleman, and he and I served together, as he will recall, on one investigative panel that looked into what happened in Beirut in 1983. We had both been there a month before, both talked about what happened, and that was an investigation that really did unearth new facts. And it is a good illustration of why we need to have a similar investigation here where our committee has searched its constitutional authority and gets to the bottom of this matter.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I would say to my colleague that we have three of the people involved in this who have been bound over to the court-martial convening authority for general courts martial, that is, for criminal prosecutorial activity, and to say to my colleague again, who has told me many times about how much he respects our people in uniform, that our people in uniform themselves, starting with the private who reported this, have six investigations ongoing. And I think part of our job is not just to have oversight, but also to trust to the honor and integrity of the people who wear the uniform, and we now have six investigations going forward.

So let us have this hearing tomorrow and see where we go from there, but

my feeling is we have good, competent, honorable people undertaking these investigations.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. COLE), who cares so much about America's men and women in uniform.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the resolution and to express my revulsion and disgust at the abuse of Iraqi prisoners by a few reprehensible and unrepresentative individuals in our military or operating as representatives of our government.

The very first time I spoke on this floor, it was to warn Saddam Hussein and the Iraqi army of the consequences of not treating our prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Conventions. I feel just as strongly about the prisoners of war that are in the custody of our military.

This is not an issue I take lightly. My own uncle was a prisoner of war during World War II. He suffered terrible personal abuse.

Now a few soldiers have brought disgrace upon themselves. And in the process, they have embarrassed our Nation, its Army, and risked the lives of our soldiers.

Mr. Speaker, these abuses must be dealt with and the perpetrators prosecuted and punished. The incident represents a failure of leadership, clear and simple. Those in the chain of command responsible for this breakdown must be identified and sanctioned in some way stronger than simple letters of reprimand.

This resolution and the actions that follow are what makes us different from other nations, Mr. Speaker. Here in America when something like this happens, we put it out in front of the world, we identify the perpetrators, prosecute, and punish them. That is what our soldiers fight for. That is what 30 soldiers from my own district have died for.

In America, we do not have gulags. We do not have concentration camps. And we do not tolerate the mistreatment of those who are incarcerated. We are a just society built upon the rule of law. But make no mistake. Our cause in Iraq is just, and we will be successful in spite of this shameful episode.

Mr. Speaker, the vast majority of our soldiers are honest and upright and willing to risk their lives to defend and advance the cause of freedom. I know. I have had the honor of visiting them, and I am quite sure that they are as disgusted and outraged by the conduct of these few individuals as we in this House are.

Mr. Speaker, I would encourage other Members to vote in support of this resolution, but also to thank the many soldiers who serve us and the Iraqi people, while we sanction the few who have violated our trust.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), who is the minority whip.

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

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, the fact that we are on this floor today considering a resolution condemning outrageous conduct by American soldiers and perhaps some civilians against defenseless Iraqi detainees is an unmitigated and shameful embarrassment for this Nation. This abuse, which is as criminal as it is un-American, demands full accountability. And full accountability must be demanded not just at the bottom of the military chain of command, but for the highest ranking military and civilian officials who knew or should have known about this behavior and either turned a blind eye to it or failed to immediately address it.

Let us be clear. The buck should not and it must not stop with a 20-year-old enlisted man or woman who may well have thought they were acting within the framework of a psychology that permitted them to demean and deny basic decency of treatment to detainees.

Mr. Speaker, 43 years ago, I stood in front of this Capitol building as President Kennedy told the American people in one of the most famous inaugural addresses in our history that Americans, he said, are "unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this Nation has always been committed and to which," he said, "we are committed today at home and around the world."

Mr. Speaker, I believe we are still committed to those. That is the America that every Member of this body knows and loves; an America that stands for the rights and dignity of every human being; an American America that fights oppression, inhumanity, and intolerance wherever it rears its head.

This Congress, the elected representatives of 290 million Americans, must fulfill its constitutional duty as a co-equal branch of government and demand accountability for these criminal acts. This means that we must hold hearings so that the American people and all the world know the truth about this episode.

I am pleased to see the chairman of the committee is holding hearings. Some 4 days ago, he said they were not necessary and the leader of his party said they were not necessary. Those who perpetrated these criminal acts and those who created the environment in which such acts were thought to be acceptable should be, must be, held accountable.

Today we learn that the Secretary of Defense has known for months that prisoners in Iraq and Afghanistan have been humiliated, beaten, tortured, and even murdered. Twenty-five prisoners have died in U.S. custody. And, still, there is virtually no accountability for those deaths. No House congressional inquiry, no presidential or secretarial condemnation, and no end.

The buck must stop somewhere. Private admonishments are not sufficient. Full public accountability must be demanded. If the Secretary of Defense failed to perform his duty, he should be held responsible. If anybody below him failed to perform their responsibility, they too should be held responsible, as should those perpetrators.

Mr. Speaker, it is nothing short of tragic that this indefensible conduct threatens to overshadow the extraordinary courage and sacrifice of our brave men and women in our Armed Forces. I have supported their efforts and supported the President in removing Saddam Hussein. We have liberated 25 million Iraqis from the clutches of a ruthless dictator. How proud we are of our men and women in uniform.

The only way we can remove that dark cloud that now hangs over their noble efforts is to ensure that those who have acted outside the law are required to answer to it and those who allowed it to go unchecked and unpunished are removed from positions of responsibility.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, let me say that the damage inflicted upon our image and standing in the world is incalculable. As Tom Friedman pointed out in the New York Times this morning, it has been quoted before but let me quote it again: "We are in danger," he said, "of losing something much more important than just the war in Iraq. We are in danger of losing America as an instrument of moral authority and inspiration in the world."

I will offer a motion to recommit, which makes more clear our outrage and more pointed our demand for full investigation and responsibility. I urge my colleagues to support it.

I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 15 seconds.

To address the distinguished majority whip, the distinguished majority whip, like the previous speaker, is wrong. The statement was put out by the Army on January 15 that this investigation was taking place, 2 days after the soldier came forward. And 3 days after the soldier came forward, it was given in General Kimmitt's address to the combined audiences of Fox News, MSNBC, and CNN. That is not turning a blind eye.

I will give the gentleman the notice. It was put out on January 14. He can look at it.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. Cox).

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, this is not merely a matter of a small number of individuals who have violated the code of military justice. This is a disgrace. This country led an international effort to end the regime of a cruel dictator who abused his people. Now men and women wearing the American uniform have abused Iraqis.

The injury they have caused does not end with the Iraqi prisoners. They have

undermined the war effort. They have risked its success as surely as if they sold military secrets to the terrorists. They have humiliated our Nation more gravely than mere terrorists ever could. They have dishonored every brave American soldier who has lost or risked his life in the war effort and to help the people of Iraq. They have wasted the effort of those brave Americans who have rehabilitated more than 1,700 schools in Iraq. They have squandered the work of a global coalition that has delivered more than 25,000 tons of pharmaceuticals and supplies to health care facilities in Iraq and vaccinated over 70 percent of children in Iraq against polio, tuberculosis, measles, and diphtheria.

If ever justice could be swift, let it be now. If ever the punishment could fit the crime, let it be now. If ever our Nation needed the prayers and support of men and women of goodwill, it is now. The success and survival of liberty depend upon it.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), the minority whip.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, first, let me say to the gentleman from California (Mr. COX) that I associate myself with his remarks and thank him for those comments. Let me say to my friend, the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, he and I voted together probably 95 percent on issues of defense.

□ 1415

I will tell my friend, he has repeated the fact that we knew this in January at least four or five times, that I have heard. If that is the case, and I take him at his word, frankly, I did not focus on it, the chairman did not focus on it, there have been no hearings, there have been no investigations. It is a shameful reality that perhaps some knew this as early as January, and we are here today, some 4 months later, with the public getting that information and the Members of Congress being energized by it. And this resolution did not come from your committee, I say to my friend, until almost mid-May, notwithstanding the fact that you read that disclosure over and over and over again.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 10 seconds.

Mr. Speaker, let me just say to my friend, you say some knew about this. The combined audiences of Fox News, MSNBC and CNN heard this in the daily briefing in January. So your statement that the administration turned a blind eye to it is not true. They initiated an investigation, once again initiated by General Sanchez, 3 days after the soldier came forward.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire how many minutes are left.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SIMPSON). The gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELETON) has 3 minutes remaining, and the gentleman from California (Mr. HUNTER) has 8 minutes remaining.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield for the purpose of making a unanimous consent request to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. OLVER).

(Mr. OLVER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.)

Mr. OLVER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, the whole world now knows about the abhorrent behavior of American interrogators and guards at the Abu Ghraib prison and at other facilities maintained by the U.S. military in Iraq and Afghanistan. Unaccountably, neither Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld nor Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Meyers, took the matter seriously enough to brief the President on the Pentagon report that there were numerous, specific instances of "sadistic, blatant, and wanton criminal abuses" by American prison guards at Abu Ghraib. The President knew since January that a general investigation into the treatment of prisoners was ongoing, but neither the Pentagon nor the White House acknowledged that investigation until this week when hundreds of extremely graphic photographs were made public.

I opposed the war in Iraq in part because I was convinced that unilateral American military action in Iraq would lead to an increase in the number of terrorists. The behavior of American prison guards at Abu Ghraib will further breed hatred for the United States and sympathy for those who do us harm. The images of American soldiers humiliating prisoners in Iraq have caused severe damage to our efforts to establish Iraq self-rule and hold free elections. Our standing in the Islamic world is now far worse than it was even last week.

I am convinced that two actions are now necessary.

First, Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld must resign. The events at Abu Ghraib prison were the inevitable result of the Secretary's policy of ignoring the Geneva Accords that govern the rights of prisoners. Despite overwhelming criticism at home and around the world, Secretary Rumsfeld insisted that the United States will no longer be bound by the Geneva Convention and decades of previous practice by the U.S. military in its handling of detainees in foreign countries will be ignored. The Secretary's insistence on handling prisoners in secret and outside the law has led to an unaccountable regime in which prisoners in both Iraq and Afghanistan have been humiliated, beaten, tortured, sexually abused and killed.

Second, there must be a comprehensive investigation by Congress into the treatment of prisoners of war. There must be an investigation independent of the Department of Defense, where the abuses occurred, that includes an examination of the role of civilian contractors and other civilians who may have played a role in the incidents of prisoner abuse. A thorough investigation by Congress would reveal the systemic deficiencies that contributed to such abuse. Among the questions that must be answered are: How widespread were these incidents of prisoner abuse? Were personnel trained adequately to do the jobs to which they were assigned? When did senior leadership of the Department of Defense learn of these allegations? Was their response timely and did it reflect the profound seriousness of this situation?

The American people must have answers to these questions. I realize that congressional investigations will take months, but Secretary Rumsfeld must resign. By ignoring international law and insisting on a policy that allowed these prisoner abuses in Iraq to occur, the Secretary has greatly damaged our country's standing in the world and compromised our national security.

America cannot win the peace in Iraq while, in America's name, some, however few, commit outrages, as part of the occupation, more akin to those attributed to Saddam Hussein.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. TERRY).

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker, like all of us in here, I am sickened by the images of our military abusing Iraqi prisoners. These actions are deplorable in and of themselves, and it is even more so when we as an American society stand for justice and the protection of human rights. The abuse tears the very fabric of the values which make America great.

This abuse not only degrades the prisoners and the Muslim culture, but ours as well. If these abuses sicken me and most Americans, think of the legitimate reaction of those in Iraq and the Middle East and the world.

It should also trouble Americans that this terrible episode is being exploited by partisans who wish to make it an election-year issue. Republicans and Democrats should stand arm in arm condemning what occurred, apologizing for these abuses, and demonstrate the decent values for which America and we all stand.

I appreciate the President going on Arab television yesterday to directly address the Arab people. It is a good first step. But more must be done to rehabilitate our benevolent reputation.

We need to thoroughly investigate and make sure that those holes that allowed this to happen are plugged. America should stand for nothing less.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 30 seconds.

Mr. Speaker, I might say there was a serious attempt to have a bipartisan resolution today; but let me say that on this side we were not shown a draft until almost 6:30 last evening, and we were not permitted to share a copy with our leadership until 9:45. Our leadership was not given the opportunity to make a change on the draft that was given at that time, and we were not given a copy of the final version of the bill until after it had been introduced. When the leadership could not reach unanimous consent; we were not given the opportunity to offer an alternative, an amendment or even a motion to recommit. I was hoping we could do a better job of being bipartisan, but we are here and I intend to vote for this.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BUYER), a former member of the Committee on Armed Services, who is a colonel in the Army Reserve and was in fact a JAG officer at our POW camps in Gulf War I.

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

First of all, we are all outraged by the criminal conduct of a few. War is not simple; war is not easy. By its nature, it is chaotic. It is an effort to find humanity in a very inhumane environment. That is the reason for the creation of the Geneva Conventions and the laws of war. The United States is a signatory to the Geneva Conventions. The United States has not violated the Geneva Conventions. The United States is enforcing the Geneva Conventions and our laws under it. That is an important message for the world to know.

The United States sets the standard for the world. So we here in this body need to speak in a unified voice in the message to the world that we support the Geneva Conventions for bringing humane treatment to individuals, whether they are prisoners of war, whether they are detained civilians, whether they are detained personnel. It does not matter what status.

Sure, you get into the technicalities of the law, but what is important is they be treated humanely. There is no justification whatsoever for these "softening up" of individuals for interrogations. What occurred was wrong.

This did not occur whatsoever in the first Gulf War. I participated in interrogations. I was at the Joint Interrogation Facility. There was never even a hint nor even a rumor with regard to the mistreatment, abuse, or maltreatment with regards to prisoners.

What occurred here is wrong, and every American should be outraged. What is important is that we recognize there was a failure of the chain of command within the 800th MP Brigade and that individuals need to be held accountable. The question is, where does it go from there, whether that accountability function is strictly just of soldiers, or does it in fact move to civilian leadership in the Pentagon?

What I do know about facts is that facts are very stubborn things and that facts will hold the test of time. So beyond the rhetoric, beyond any form of allegation, beyond the spin, facts.

Mr. Speaker, it is important for this body to speak in a unified voice; let all of the investigations come through, let the sun shine in, let the world know and the facts will determine where the accountability lies.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI), the minority leader.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time and for his tremendous leadership on behalf of the national security of our country. I also thank the gentleman for his attempt to develop a bipartisan resolution that would bring us all together and take the opportunity to send a true message to the world of democratic values.

Mr. Speaker, last Thursday, Secretary Rumsfeld came to the Congress

and he briefed Members of the House of Representatives on the situation in Iraq. He neglected to tell Members of Congress that the situation in Iraq included this most unfortunate, disgraceful situation in the prison. He withheld that information from the Congress of the United States when he had full knowledge of it and apparently had full knowledge for a while.

Indeed, that very evening, "60 Minutes" broke the story, a story it had been working on for a while. So why was Congress the last to know, especially on a day when the Secretary was briefing the Congress on the situation in Iraq?

The distinguished chairman of the Committee on Armed Services has said repeatedly in the course of this debate that this information was made public in January by a public statement by General Kimmett. I do not know when that constituted keeping Congress informed; and if that is the standard, if a sentence that does not really explain the situation expressed in a press conference in Iraq meets the standard for informing Congress, then we are in a lot more trouble than we even thought.

Please do not bring that up as an example of "letting us know," because I do not think anybody, even within the administration, would have called that sufficient notification to Congress.

Since last Thursday when the Secretary of Defense withheld information from the Congress, the Senate has held robust hearings. They stopped in their tracks. They stopped the business of the Senate, which was the reauthorization of the Defense Act, and went into committee as the Committee on Armed Services because of the urgency of this matter. Yet this House had to be dragged kicking and screaming into having hearings on the subject. We should have hearings not only in the Committee on Armed Services, but in the Committee on International Relations. We should be having these hearings in the Committee on the Judiciary as well. We should be having these hearings in the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, it touches so many jurisdictions in this House, because we must get to the bottom of this.

So today we have this resolution that has come to the floor, missing an opportunity to send a very clear, forceful, values-based message to the world and to the American people about who we are and what we stand for and what we will not tolerate in the behavior of our people.

We all agree that our troops, our men and women in uniform, and even the civilians over there, are courageous, patriotic, and have acted with great courage. They are willing to sacrifice their lives. We owe them our deepest gratitude and respect and our prayers. This resolution acknowledges that fact, and it is right to do so.

Some U.S. personnel, military and civilian, abused Iraqi prisoners in ways that are shocking and reprehensible.

The resolution acknowledges that fact and deplores it. Unfortunately, by including a number of causes that seek to compare life in Iraq after the invasion with conditions that existed before, the resolution creates an inference that whatever post-invasion improvements exist, somehow they mitigate the abhorrent nature of the treatment of the prisoners. These "whereases" have no place in the same resolution.

The resolution should be focused tightly on the scandal and the need to find out why it occurred and who should be held accountable. Diffusing the focus conceals an important fact: this scandal increases the danger to our troops in Iraq, makes their mission more difficult to accomplish, and threatens the interests of the United States around the world. Even with a concerted effort in which a better-crafted resolution could have played an important part, it will be a very long time before the standing of the United States is restored in the eyes of the world, unless we face up to this matter.

Congressional oversight of the war in Iraq has not been aggressive enough. The administration's failure to provide accountability for its policies and an accounting of the money already provided has not been questioned adequately. Compounding that record of inaction by not investigating this matter thoroughly will be inexcusable.

This resolution could have called clearly for congressional investigations, to include a review of the role that the U.S. civilian contractors and other civilians may have played in it. That suggestion was outright rejected by the Republicans, saying we will not include the investigation and the contractors in this resolution; we will not add it. And it begs the question, Why?

Today, America has an opportunity to show the world our greatness by sending a message to the American people and to the world that we deplore this conduct, that we understand the significance of these abuses in the eyes of the Arab world, and that we will act to uncover the facts to find out who is responsible and to make sure that it will never happen again.

Every opportunity we get, we will always offer our praise and gratitude to our troops. We could have done that in a resolution that would have had bipartisan support, because it was very important that we send a message to the Arab world that we do understand the significance of these abuses to them. This is very, very, very significant; but it has been lost in the resolution before us.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support the motion to recommit to be offered by the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), which delivers a message that truly reflects America's values.

□ 1430

It does so clearly and forcefully, and there is a reason for that. The gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER) has

been a champion for human rights for as long as he has been in the Congress, and probably longer. His leadership on the Helsinki Commission, his bipartisan work on these issues gives him standing and authority to speak in a way, again, that clearly reflects America's values.

The Republican resolution does not do that; the Hoyer motion to recommit does.

Let us leave no doubt in the hearts and the minds of the world that we will live by the principles that we preach.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume just to reiterate the same thing that I have been stating, and that is that 2 days after the soldier in January reported to his superiors that abuses were taking place, the United States announced to the world in their press release that we were undertaking an investigation. And a few days after that, 4 days after the facts came forward, we announced to the combined audiences of Fox News, MSNBC and CNN, millions of people, that the investigations were taking place.

The investigations proceeded. We now have three individuals who are being recommended to the Court-Martial Convening Authority for court-martial for prisoner abuse, assault, dereliction of duty, and a large number of people in the chain of command have had their career ended, not because we found any connection between them and the acts, but because it was on their watch that these things took place.

I want to say just one thing about Mr. Rumsfeld before I recognize another speaker, Mr. Speaker. We have 135,000 good, hard-working, courageous uniformed men and women in theater. They are in contact in firefights on a daily basis. The job of the Secretary of Defense is to see to it that we win this war. He assigned to the legitimate, appropriate departments this investigation and told them to go forward, which they did, resulting in the criminal prosecution machine being set in motion under our court-martial authority, and he went back to trying to win this war. That is the appropriate action for the Secretary of Defense.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to my good friend, the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMPSON), a great member of the 173rd Airborne in the Vietnam War.

Mr. THOMPSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend the chairman and his colleagues on that side of the aisle on their debate today and associate myself with the remarks that they have made. I agree that this debate should not be limited to the actions of those responsible for these inhumane acts.

It is also about the tens of thousands of U.S. military personnel who are performing their jobs honorably and bravely in the face of danger every sin-

gle day. It is important for us to focus on these men and women today, Mr. Speaker, because the system that broke down and the system that is responsible for these inhumanities has just placed an even larger target on each of their foreheads. For the 138,000 brave men and women, and for the countless other Americans in Iraq today, their lives have become even more perilous with every new disclosure of atrocity.

This Congress was kept in the dark for months, but now the lights have been turned on. For every minute we take to find our voice, to take a bold action, to demonstrate to the world that American democracy and humanity are more than words that we teach to schoolchildren, is another minute that our soldiers face more danger and even greater odds than they would have faced otherwise, and they exacerbate their chances of getting back home to see their families again.

If this debate is truly about them, I say to my colleagues; if this debate is truly about them, they deserve more than a few words on this floor today. They deserve accountability, and they deserve action, and they deserve it now.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield our remaining time to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY), the majority leader.

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the ranking member, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) and the chairman, the gentleman from California (Mr. HUNTER) for bringing this resolution to the floor.

When I spoke to the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, I asked him what we should do about this incident. There was a lot of discussion about a lot of things, but we were talking about doing this resolution. I told him at the time that we wanted to make sure that this was bipartisan, and he expressed himself that we needed to have a resolution that condemned the actions at Abu Ghraib prison but, at the same time, we needed to talk about our troops. That is what this resolution does.

When others tried to come in and impose politics into the resolution, it was rejected.

This resolution is exactly written the way it should have been written, and I congratulate the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) and the gentleman from California (Mr. HUNTER) for doing it the right way.

The alleged abuses inside Abu Ghraib Prison in Iraq are an outrage. They are crimes by any definition of any terms in any culture, and their perpetrators must be dealt with swiftly and fully. Our government has a responsibility to find out exactly what happened, what went wrong, and make sure it never happens again. But while we meet that responsibility, we cannot allow these shameful crimes to undermine or distract the American people or ourselves from the task, the clear moral imperative at hand.

Operation Iraqi Freedom, whatever difficulty we have faced since the end of major combat, has been an absolute good for the cause of human freedom in the world. The men and women serving the United States in Iraq won the swiftest and most humane military campaign in history, and they turned from that victory in major combat to a protracted, difficult, and bloody guerrilla war against terrorist insurgents that still takes American lives every week.

We must, I say to my colleagues, we must not forget that while we have this chance to speak with one voice condemning what has happened in the Iraqi prisons, the war still rages. Attempts to politicize the abuse revelations will rightly be seen by our enemies as opportunities to recruit, to propagandize, and to incite.

The world must know that the abuses we have seen in recent days do not reflect the views, policies, or fabric of this Nation.

Our men and women in uniform are fighting today. Indeed, American blood is flowing in Iraq as we speak, and it is, therefore, incumbent on this body to offer our support for our troops and their mission all the more strongly today.

Our troops are changing the world and building a future for the people of Iraq, sacrificing more than most of us can know for the survival and success of liberty. They are the finest ambassadors, wherever they go everywhere in the world. They are the only thing that separates us from another 9-11. And in their time in Iraq, our servicemen and women have helped to rebuild schools, hospitals, food security systems, and infrastructure. They are an Army of charity. They are laying down their lives and their futures so that others might have themselves the freedom that we all take for granted.

"Greater love hath no man than this, Mr. Speaker." Our heroes must know that even in these troubling times, that love is returned.

Ms. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H. Res. 627, a resolution condemning the abuse of persons in U.S. custody in Iraq.

Every member of this body is outraged and saddened by the recent reports of the abuse of prisoners in Iraq as well as Afghanistan. H. Res. 627, however, is a "feel good" resolution that fails to empower Congress to exercise its oversight role in the investigation of the Iraqi prisoner scandal. Moreover, the resolution before us today was crafted by a narrow Republican majority, which once again did not permit either the appropriate committees of jurisdiction or the Democratic leadership to participate in the process of crafting language for the resolution.

In effect, this resolution does absolutely nothing. It fails to put forward any policy language to address the serious issues at hand. Most egregiously, the resolution fails to offer any form of apology to the prisoners abused or the Iraqi people.

The United States stands on the precipice of a major foreign policy disaster. It is long past time to change course in Iraq. Defense

Secretary Rumsfeld and Deputy Secretary of Defense Wolfowitz are the principal architects of this failed policy. I once again call upon the President to seek their resignations. Only then will the people of Iraq and the world perhaps begin to view U.S. actions and intentions in a more favorable light.

**Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD.** Mr. Speaker, I will be voting for the resolution today because I agree with its praise of our troops in Iraq, who under difficult circumstances continue to display high standards and professionalism during the occupation and rebuilding of Iraq.

However, I am very disappointed in the resolution and will vote for it with reservations. The primary purpose of the resolution should have been to deplore any abuses which have occurred while prisoners are in U.S. custody, and to demand swift prosecution of those who committed illegal or unethical acts, including those responsible in the military chain of command. Atrocities in the Abu Ghraib prison, and anywhere else they may have been committed, must be thoroughly and openly addressed through congressional investigations. These investigations must also include the conduct of American contractors who had a role in overseeing prisoners. Irresponsibly, these important points are left out of the resolution the House is considering today.

The recent abuse of prisoners in the Abu Ghraib prison is not only disgraceful, it is damaging to the interests of the United States, and ultimately it endangers our men and women in uniform not just in Iraq but around the world. We must act quickly to convince the court of world opinion that the American people do not tolerate illegal or unethical conduct by Americans and will take the necessary steps to stop it and prevent it from happening again.

**Mr. MEEK of Florida.** Mr. Speaker, I rise to strongly oppose H. Res. 627, the Iraqi Prisoner Resolution, because it is simply deficient as a statement expressing the outrage and revulsion that I feel, and that I believe the American people feel, about the despicable abuse and humiliation of these prisoners.

The resolution also lacks any call for bipartisan congressional investigations to be conducted immediately into these allegations of abuse, including those by U.S. civilian contractor personnel or other U.S. civilians, and into chain of command and other systemic deficiencies that contributed to this abuse, which have been called for by members of both parties.

It is impossible to exaggerate the seriousness and importance of this abusive mistreatment. It sets us back in the War on Terrorism by turning against us the very allies among moderate Muslims that we need in order to be successful. It taints the reputation of our Nation in the world community and the reputation of our men and women in uniform for years to come. It undermines U.S. credibility as the world's leader in the protection of international human rights. It hurts our efforts to protect the state of Israel and broker peace in the Middle East. And it invites similar abuse of members of our military, indeed any U.S. citizen, who may be captured by our enemies in the future. My great fear is that American lives will be lost because of the impact of this illegal, inhumane and un-American mistreatment.

The Bush administration has not gone nearly far enough or fast enough to apologize for these human rights abuses, or to hold accountable those who are responsible for them,

and neither does this resolution. I am therefore opposed to it.

**Ms. ESHOO.** Mr. Speaker, every American is appalled by the images and reports of the mistreatment of prisoners at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq, images which have now been shown around the world again and again over the past week. These criminal actions have greatly undermined America's credibility around the world, humiliated the prisoners and their families, besmirched the reputation of our Armed Services, and placed our troops and civilians at heightened risk. The good work of American troops has been diminished significantly and the Arab world is outraged.

While it's highly appropriate for Congress to condemn these criminal actions, this Resolution does not go far enough in offering a remedy. The Resolution does not call for a full Congressional investigation. Indeed, the Majority has blocked the Minority today from adding a provision that would launch such an investigation. The Resolution ignores the necessity of an investigation to examine the role that intelligence officials and private contractors may have played in these crimes. We have to pursue the truth wherever it takes us and as high up the chain of command as we must go. Finally, the Resolution does not call on the Administration to be fully accountable and to report fully to Congress and the American people about the scope of this most serious issue.

The Congress has been kept in the dark for months about the abuses in Abu Ghraib prison, yet no one from the Administration has informed Congress or offered an apology. In fact, Secretary Rumsfeld came to Capitol Hill to brief Congress on Iraq last week, but never even mentioned these serious abuses and the catastrophic fallout internationally against the United States.

**Mr. Speaker,** there must be consequences. Reprimands aren't enough. The people in charge should be replaced, beginning with the Secretary of Defense.

A year ago I traveled to Iraq and Kuwait and met with our troops and intelligence officers. The vast majority were doing their jobs superbly well under very trying and dangerous conditions. Their efforts have been made immeasurably more difficult by the actions of a small group.

While we express our outrage, we must do more. There must be a full accounting and there must be consequences. Unfortunately, this Resolution demands none. I vote for this Resolution with all these reservations and concerns, but it cannot be the end of the story. We could have done so much better on a bipartisan basis, and it is regrettable that we did not. Congress now has its constitutional responsibility of oversight and investigation to bring out the entire truth and then move to shape policies that will help assure this doesn't ever happen again.

**Ms. DEGETTE.** Mr. Speaker, while the recent reports and graphic photographs of the alleged prisoner abuse at the Abu Ghraib prison sound similar to the atrocities that occurred under the cruel dictatorship of Saddam Hussein, these unbelievable instances of brutality and inhumanity, instead, allegedly took place under American command, perpetrated by American troops. Sadly, the Abu Ghraib prison—the very prison that epitomized all that was evil under Saddam Hussein's regime to the Iraqi people—still represents evil, only under a new name.

Accordingly, Congress must send an unwavering message to the Iraqi people and to the rest of the world that the United States will not tolerate the alleged atrocities that have occurred in the Abu Ghraib prison. While I will vote for this resolution, I do not want to simply join my colleagues who want to pay lip-service to a solution without any subsequent action. Congress must ensure that the perpetrators of the alleged brutality, as well as those leaders who let such inhumanity occur under their watch, be brought to justice. Just as importantly, Congress must investigate the scope of this problem; the increasing number of revelations of alleged prisoner abuse at Abu Ghraib and other prisons in Iraq, leads me to believe that such brutality may not be isolated to six or seven individuals. We need to ensure that such abuse is not systemic within and outside of the chain of command by conducting a bipartisan Congressional investigation and by holding Congressional hearings.

Additionally, we must make sure that all people who participated in this alleged abuse are held accountable. This includes the private contractors who were allegedly involved in the brutality that took place at Abu Ghraib. While the Department of Defense has reportedly launched several investigations, none has yet to address the role that the private contractors played. In fact, several reports indicate that the private contractors who were named specifically in the classified Taguba report are still working as paid contractors in Iraq. Not only must Congress hold hearings to investigate the alleged role of the private contractors in the alleged prison abuses, the U.S. Department of Justice must also exercise its ability to investigate, and if warranted, prosecute those individuals to the fullest extent of the law.

Congress must also guarantee that this Administration is held responsible for its actions or more precisely, its inaction, and for its policies that may have allowed such atrocities to occur. The actions of Secretary Rumsfeld and the Pentagon, including the decision that the United States would no longer adhere to the Geneva Convention as well as the ruling that detainees would be held without due process, have arguably helped to create a standard for the treatment of prisoners, which allows for humiliation, torture and murder.

Even worse, Mr. Rumsfeld has not only not read the Taguba report in its entirety, he has failed on numerous instances to respond to other reports of alleged violations and abuse. There is no excuse for his woeful negligence. If Mr. Rumsfeld had responded to these reports, these abuses may not have occurred to this degree, or at all. Mr. Rumsfeld must be held responsible for his part and if doing so requires his resignation, such action must then be called for.

**Mr. LANTOS.** Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in expressing revulsion at the deeply disturbing images that have ricocheted around the world, showing abuses committed by members of the U.S. armed forces against Iraqi detainees. I have seen first-hand the abuse of civilians and others during wartime. I understand the dehumanizing humiliation that can be perpetrated against an individual. At the same time, I also know that if it were not for the bravery and heroism of the U.S. military, I probably would not be walking on this earth—and there are countless people around the world who could say the same thing.

It is important to keep in mind that the overwhelming majority of our men and women in

uniform have acted honorably in fulfilling their duty in Iraq. They have risked their lives and suffered personal hardship to fulfill their responsibilities, and we continue to respect their sacrifices. These loyal soldiers have been tainted by the appalling acts of a small number of individuals.

Mr. Speaker, among the most important values that we as Americans share are our profound respect for freedom and the rule of law, our respect for the value and worth of the individual, and our commitment to protect and respect human dignity. In this context, the images that we have seen in the past few days were simply sickening to me. They do not represent our American character. They do not represent the selfless sacrifice of more than a hundred thousand American soldiers in Iraq, trying to bring a new dawn to that country after decades of nightmare.

On a purely personal level, I find the actions of these individuals abhorrent. On behalf of all Americans, let me express my deepest regret and apologies to all those who were wrongfully mistreated at the hands of a few. There can be no excuse for these actions. Any American should know that they are wrong. Indeed, the Geneva Conventions adopted after the Second World War clearly prohibit this behavior and were accepted by virtually every nation in the world to prevent these abuses.

But Mr. Speaker, as everyone knows, these events are not merely about wrongdoing by a few foolish and misguided individuals that caused profound personal suffering. They have also damaged our credibility and crippled our efforts to pursue critical national security goals in the Middle East and around the world.

I welcome this resolution that we are considering today, Mr. Speaker, but this resolution is not enough. We must take action to be certain that such tragic and unfortunate actions do not occur again. Our standing and our goals and objectives in the Middle East require that we do more. The entire detention system in Iraq must be investigated and those responsible for perpetrating these horrendous events must be brought to justice.

Mr. Speaker, the responsibility for this episode is not only borne by the few who committed these offenses. These events represent a failure of leadership—not only in Iraq but throughout the chain of command. We must determine where and why those leadership failures occurred, and take appropriate remedial action. And we must also examine why it has taken months for this failure to be addressed. The initial reaction was slow and tepid at best. These atrocities should have generated an immediate and powerful response.

Mr. Speaker, it is not enough to say that the Iraqi people are better off today than they were under Saddam Hussein. It is not enough to say that the atrocities and human indignities that were carried out by his despicable and detested regime were more horrendous or more widespread than what we have seen in the last few days. We are—and we should be—judged by a higher standard. Because of our history and our commitment as a Nation to respect for human rights, human dignity and the rule of law, we must meet higher standards. This is who we are, and this is why we are different.

Mr. Speaker, I urge support for this resolution today, but more importantly, I urge our political and military leadership to act and to act

quickly and decisively to deal with these despicable acts and the failures that allowed them. Our credibility as a Nation committed to the rule of law and our efforts in the Middle East in the war against terrorism are at risk.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this resolution as written. Like so many resolutions we have seen here on the Iraq war, this one is not at all what it purports to be. Were this really a resolution condemning abuse of prisoners and other detainees, I doubt anyone here would oppose it. Clearly the abuse and humiliation of those in custody is deplorable, and the pictures we have all seen over the past week are truly horrific.

But why are we condemning a small group of low-level servicemembers when we do not yet know the full story? Why are we rushing to insert ourselves into an ongoing investigation, pretending that we already know the conclusions when we have yet to even ask all the questions? As revolting as the pictures we have seen are, they are all we have to go by, and we are reacting to these pictures alone. We do not and cannot know the full story at this point, yet we jump to condemn those who have not even yet had the benefit of a trial. We appear to be operating on the principle of guilty until proven innocent. It seems convenient and perhaps politically expedient to blame a small group of “bad apples” for what may well turn out to be something completely different—as the continuously widening investigation increasingly suggests.

Some of the soldiers in the photographs claim that their superior officers and the civilian contractors in charge of the interrogations forced them to pose this way. We cannot say with certainty what took place in Iraq's prisons based on a few photographs. We have heard that some of those soldiers put in charge of prisons in Iraq were woefully unprepared for the task at hand. We have heard that they were thrown into a terribly confusing, stressful, and dangerous situation with little training and little understanding of the rules and responsibilities. What additional stresses and psychological pressures were applied by those in charge of interrogations? We don't know. Does this excuse what appears to be reprehensible behavior? Not in the slightest, but it does suggest that we need to get all the facts before we draw conclusions. It is more than a little disturbing that this resolution does not even mention the scores of civilian contractors operating in these prisons at whom numerous fingers are being pointed as instigators of these activities. While these individuals seem to operate with impunity, this legislation before us all but convicts without trial those lowest in the chain of command.

But this resolution is only partly about the alleged abuses of detainees in Iraq. Though this is the pretext for the legislation, this resolution is really just an enthusiastic endorsement of our nation-building activities in Iraq. This resolution “expresses the continuing solidarity and support of the House of Representatives . . . with the Iraqi people in building a viable Iraqi government and a secure nation.” Also this resolution praises the “mission to rebuild and rehabilitate a proud nation after liberating it. . . .” At least the resolution is honest in admitting that our current presence in Iraq is nothing more than a nation-building exercise.

Further, this resolution explicitly endorses what is clearly a failed policy in Iraq. I wonder

whether anyone remembers that we did not go to war against Iraq to build a better nation there, or to bring about “improvements in . . . water, sewage, power, infrastructure, transportation, telecommunications, and food security . . .” as this resolution touts. Nor did those who urged this war claim at the time the goals were to “significantly improv[e] . . . food availability, health service, and educational opportunities” in Iraq, as this legislation also references. No, the war essential, they claimed, to stop a nation poised to use weapons of mass destruction to inflict unspeakable harm against the United States. Now historical revisionists are pointing out how wonderful our nation-building is going in Iraq, as if that justifies the loss of countless American and Iraqi civilian lives.

This resolution decries the fact the administration had not informed Congress of these abuses and that the administration has not kept Congress in the information loop. Yet, Congress made it clear to the administration from the very beginning that Congress wanted no responsibility for the war in Iraq. If Congress wanted to be kept in the loop it should have vigorously exercised its responsibilities from the very beginning. This means, first and foremost, that Congress should have voted on a declaration of war as required in the Constitution. Congress, after abrogating this responsibility in October 2002, now is complaining that it is in the dark. Indeed, who is to say that the legal ambiguity created by the Congressional refusal to declare war may not have contributed to the notion that detainees need not be treated in accordance with the Geneva Convention, that governs the treatment of prisoners during a time of war? Until Congress takes up its Constitutional responsibilities, complaints that the administration is not sufficiently forthcoming with information ring hollow.

This resolution calls on the administration to keep Congress better informed. But Congress has the power—and the obligation—to keep itself better informed! If Congress is truly interested in being informed, it should hold hearings—exercising its subpoena power if necessary. Depending on the administration to fulfill what is our own Constitutional responsibility is once again passing the buck. Isn't this what has gotten us into this trouble in the first place?

I urge my colleagues to oppose this resolution.

Ms. MAJETTE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to condemn torture in all of its forms. Acts of abuse and torture must never be tolerated, and those who commit such acts must be swiftly brought to justice. It is with great sadness and anger that I viewed the pictures of frightened, humiliated, and, in some cases, injured Iraqi prisoners in Baghdad's Abu Ghraib prison. Prisoners should never be forced to endure such atrocious behavior, no matter what the cause for their detention. The acts committed on these prisoners are an injustice to the Iraqis who were victimized, the citizens of Iraq, the hundreds of thousands of U.S. soldiers who have served their country in Iraq so honorably over the past year, and all people who hope and pray for peace the world over.

Because of the rage these pictures have generated in Iraq and across the Arab world, I am concerned for the safety of our brave soldiers as they patrol the streets in Iraq, guard

police stations and hospitals and work to rebuild the infrastructure of the country. It is important that we recognize the honor with which the vast majority of our armed service members conduct themselves. In the face of tremendous danger and uncertainty, in a theater fighting combatants dressed as civilians using indiscriminate force and even killing their own countrymen, our men and women have risked their lives to protect Iraqi civilians and restore pride and honor to this war-torn country.

Moving forward, military justice must be sure and swift for those who committed these acts. It will be a long, difficult process to win back the trust and support of the Iraqi people, but we must be successful if we are to accomplish our mission in Iraq. It is essential that we do so, not just for success in Iraq, but also for the global war on terrorism. We cannot win this war alone. American soldiers' torture of Iraqi detainees is a significant setback for our country and the global war on terror.

I expect decisive action from our executive and military leaders to ensure that such abuse will never again occur, and to take the diplomatic steps necessary to salvage America's good name around the world. The American people are justifiably saddened by the waning of our moral authority since the days immediately following September 11, 2001, when the world stood with us in solidarity. If America is to continue to be a force for good in the world, we must convincingly denounce all crimes against humanity, foreign or domestic, and demonstrate to the world that we are sincere when we decry hatred, injustice and terror.

**Mr. KUCINICH.** Mr. Speaker, I join with my fellow Members of Congress in deploreding the abuse of prisoners in Iraq by U.S. personnel. But this resolution does not go far enough.

It does not go far enough to ensure that a full and complete investigation and prosecution is undertaken. We should be opening Congressional investigations, not simply relying upon the Army to investigate itself.

It does not go far enough to demand accountability of the top military and civilian leadership of this fiasco in Iraq. We should demand the resignation of the Secretary of Defense, since we know that "rotten apples" are the fruit of a poison tree. And it's the top leadership who have grown that tree—the culture of permissiveness, disregard for the truth, and lack of accountability.

It does not go far enough to express America's regret and sorrow for the crimes committed at Abu Ghraib prison, and possibly elsewhere. We should apologize on behalf of the American people to the Iraqi people.

We have not begun to go far enough to examine the true intent and conduct of the leadership of this country. We have not gone far enough to assign responsibility and demand accountability for the misinformation and untruths that were marshaled to lead us to war. We have not gone far enough to bring an end to this unjustified war. As a result, we are seemingly surprised to discover, and then we deplore, corruption that is all too predictable from this imperial misadventure.

**Mr. LANGEVIN.** Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House Armed Services Committee, I rise in support of H. Res 627. Recent reports regarding the alleged abuse of Iraqi prisoners by American soldiers are deeply disturbing and inexcusable. While I know this outrageous behavior is not characteristic of our men and

women in uniform, we must make it clear to the international community and our own citizens that such actions are not our policy or common practices in Iraq, and they will not be tolerated under any circumstances. It is unfortunate that these abuses have overshadowed the work of the many service members performing critical, and dangerous, missions to ensure a stable and safe Iraq for the newly-freed Iraqi people.

I am equally troubled by the Administration's lack of attention to such abuses in Iraq and elsewhere. There is no excuse for their failure to act swiftly to remedy this stark violation of both the Geneva Convention and basic human rights. Not only did they withhold such allegations and the subsequent investigation from Congress, but the flouting of international law continued while those responsible went unpunished.

The Administration and the Pentagon must find those responsible and hold them accountable for these heinous actions. I have joined many of my colleagues in requesting that the Military Inspector General of the Department of Defense supervise the investigation of tortured Iraqi prisoners of war, and other reported violations of the Geneva Convention at Abu Ghraib Prison. In addition, I have urged Attorney General Ashcroft to investigate the role of private contractors in these abuses. I hope that thorough and open investigations will allow us to hold the appropriate parties responsible and ensure such behavior never occurs again.

**Mr. UDALL** of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I will vote for this resolution because I strongly agree with most of what it says. But I think its focus is too narrow and it does not say all that needs to be said.

The portions of the resolution calling for action are addressed solely to the Secretary of the Army. Intentionally or not, that suggests that the Army alone—not the Defense Department as a whole, and not any other part of the Administration—bears responsibility for the shocking abuses the resolution rightly condemns.

But what's involved here is not just an Army problem. It is much bigger than that. It involves not just the armed forces but civilian members of the intelligence community as well as civilians working for private companies under contract with the government.

This morning's newspapers report that President Bush has privately admonished the Secretary of Defense and that the Justice Department is examining the involvement of Central Intelligence Agency personnel as well as contract employees in suspicious deaths of detainees.

Clearly, the events at Abu Ghraib prison are only part of a bigger picture.

The resolution rightly complains about the fact that Congress was not properly informed of the abuses at that prison or the investigation of those abuses. But I am concerned that this failure to inform the Congress and the American people may not have been an isolated failure but just another instance of the Bush Administration's standard operating procedure.

In short, while this resolution is right in condemning the abuses at Abu Ghraib—and accurate in saying that they are offensive to the principles and values of the American people—passage of this resolution, by itself, is not an adequate response on the part of the House of Representatives.

We need to insist that the Administration—all of it, not just the Secretary of the Army—take strong action to change the policies and attitudes that made the abuses at Abu Ghraib possible. And we need to insist that all those responsible for those policies and attitudes be held accountable.

And that means Congress itself must do more than make speeches and pass resolutions. We must insist on finding out for ourselves; and for those we represent—the American people. They must bear the costs—in blood and treasure—for the Administration's actions in Iraq and around the world.

Those costs will be made all the greater by abuses like those cited in this resolution and the policies and attitudes that have produced them, and Congress must take an active role in making necessary changes.

**Mr. TOM DAVIS** of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to join my colleagues in support of this resolution condemning the abuse of prisoners held in United States custody. We've all seen the disturbing images of the unconscionable conduct carried out by a handful of our men and women in uniform. A swift and thorough investigation is needed, and needed now. For those responsible, justice must be swift and strong. Their conduct directly contradicts and undermines our mission in Iraq. The world is awaiting our response.

We must do everything possible to reassure the world community that all those things we take as self-evident—the honor of our military, our intentions in Iraq, our respect for human rights—remain as strong as ever. The vast majority of our troops, who perform heroically every day, are the best evidence of these tenets.

In the wake of this crisis, let us not lose sight of the fact that there are 138,000 Americans in uniform who uphold the highest standards of professionalism every day. They do so in the face of extreme danger and hardship. We should not let the egregious acts of a very small group overshadow the integrity of our soldiers nor deter our Nation from its overall objective of developing a democratic Iraq.

**Mr. BEREUTER.** Mr. Speaker, this Member is absolutely not satisfied with the language of H. Res. 627, as I believe it does not adequately convey how intensely this House and the American people feel about the exceptionally repugnant, insensitive, and damaging the alleged, but obviously documented, actions of the abusers of the Iraqi detainees are to all of us.

From Abu Ghraib prison, and perhaps from elsewhere, we have reports, with photographs, graphically telling and showing the outrageous abuses of Iraqi detainees by U.S. military personnel and possibly by military contractors. The international damage to the credibility and reputation of our country and our military absolutely cannot be overstated, especially in the Arab and Islamic communities. The alleged actions by at least a few members of our military, already confirmed by very recent disciplinary action, makes the job being done by our dedicated and courageous military personnel in Iraq and Afghanistan just that much harder and much more dangerous. The extraordinary gravity of this matter, the insensitivity and the degrading abuse, which has apparently been visited upon Iraqi detainees, call for swift and just accountability.

What has allegedly happened is so foreign to our country's principles and traditions and

those of our Armed Forces that these people conducting or condoning such abuse do not deserve to be called Americans. If the use of such tactics of physical abuse and sexual humiliation is not dishonorable conduct, this Member does not know what is. If supervisors of such military personnel were inappropriately unaware or unconcerned about such conduct, then this is a clear case of dereliction of duty, and this accountability should apply several levels up the chain of command. If military contractors were involved, at a minimum, the contracts with the firm which employed them should be immediately terminated.

Mr. Speaker, it is hard to imagine a more politically damaging set of actions, hopefully by just a few individuals, for American and for coalition efforts to replace the brutal regime of Saddam Hussein and to win the hearts and minds of the Iraqi people. We must have swift accountability, justice, and a demonstration that the American people repudiate such conduct and will not let it continue or happen again.

While the resolution fails to convey an important part of what needs to be said, or is at least inadequate in the aforementioned manner, it is probably impossible to vote against this resolution without seeming to denigrate the dedicated, courageous, and patriotic actions of the members of the armed forces of the United States. This Member wants our armed forces to know that their extraordinary service is greatly appreciated by this Member and the American people despite the horrendous conduct of a few service personnel, despite the failures of command and active notification procedures. Therefore, this Member will vote for the inadequate resolution as his only choice to avoid a misunderstanding by the members of our armed forces.

Mrs. DAVIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong condemnation of the atrocious behavior of a few, who have denigrated the values of all our armed forces.

I salute the overwhelming majority of Americans who have treated prisoners with respect; their actions have gone unheralded.

Sadly, this dreadful behavior has cast a cloak of mistrust on all our brave men and women and could result in more lives being lost.

Mr. Speaker, we can't ignore the role that contractors and other government agencies have played and their complicity in these crimes.

Their actions, as well as our policies, contributed to a terrible atmosphere.

That's why I am disappointed this body failed to add a clause regarding U.S. civilian contractors personnel and other U.S. civilians.

We must shed light on their role and hold everyone accountable.

The Attorney General and Secretary Rumsfeld should publicly commit to cooperate to apply swift and firm justice.

Ms. WATERS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to voice my outrage and disappointment in the soldiers who physically and mentally abused Iraqis at the Abu Ghraib prison.

I do not believe that these actions represent the character of our Armed Forces or of the United States. Unfortunately, however, these soldiers, through their despicable actions, have severely damaged the reputation of the United States and significantly complicated our task in the region.

Mr. Speaker, I am saddened that the President did not apologize to the Iraqi people for

these deplorable actions. An apology from the President clearly was in order.

I am also outraged, as all of us should be, that the Secretary of Defense failed to make Congress aware of these accusations in a timely manner. According to news accounts, the Department has been aware of the infamous photos, and the abuse, since at least mid-January. Yet, we only found out about them in the last week. This is outrageous and unacceptable.

Unfortunately, this is just one more example of the Administration not playing straight with the Congress or the American people. We have been misled about the weapons of mass destruction, troop levels and the length of their deployments, and the costs associated with the war—among others.

This Administration must change its way. Congress deserves better and, certainly, the American people deserve better.

Mr. MATHESON. Mr. Speaker, like many Americans, I was outraged by the images of torture and abuse of Iraqi prisoners of war at Abu Ghraib Prison in Iraq. These abuses harm U.S. interests in Iraq and the efforts of the coalition forces to foster stability in the region. It is unfortunate that the actions of a few have undermined the hard work and sacrifice of the thousands of men and women who have served in Iraq with honor and integrity.

The provisions of the Geneva Convention protect American soldiers when they are captured in battle. As a result, it is very important to ensure that we do not abuse prisoners of war in our keeping.

I believe that a prompt and thorough investigation of this matter is necessary and the individuals who were involved should be appropriately punished. I will strongly encourage both my colleagues in Congress and the President to disavow these acts and to prevent any similar transgressions in the future.

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I rise to strongly condemn the mistreatment of prisoners and detainees in Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq. These abuses are outrageous, deplorable, un-American, and contrary to the values and ethics that our country espouses. The atmosphere that allowed this to happen shows a level of tolerance for abuse that is intolerable.

The United States has suffered a blow to its credibility and effort to bring democracy to the Iraqi people. Photographs showing the abuse that Iraqi prisoners and detainees have suffered at the hands of American personnel damage the standing of the vast majority of U.S. troops in Iraq, who are performing with honor, bravery, and professionalism.

The response of the Bush administration to reports of systemic abuse has been both problematic and disquieting. Major General Antonio M. Taguba's report detailing these abuses, prepared in late February, should have been recognized as a serious matter. Instead, it was largely ignored. I am also disappointed that the administration chose to keep Congress and the public in the dark about this situation until the national news media decided to run the story last week. The administration has a responsibility to inform Congress and act decisively when volatile situations arise.

The U.S. Congress has a critical responsibility to conduct thorough and bipartisan oversight investigations to ensure that those involved are held accountable for their actions. These investigations must address possible abuse by U.S. civilian contractor personnel or

other U.S. civilians, as well as the command structure and systemic deficiencies that contributed to such abuse.

The abuse that has occurred at Abu Ghraib is the latest in a series of very serious failures of leadership from military and civilian leaders. The President and his team were wrong about weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. They were wrong about the way American soldiers would be greeted by the Iraqi people. They were wrong about how much the war would cost and how long it would last. And they were wrong about the number of soldiers necessary to win the war and secure the peace. Now, in light of serious human rights violations, they did nothing to get to the bottom of it. This mis-handling has created an international crisis that could set the Iraqi people against American efforts in the Middle East for generations. The President must recognize these consistent failures and take decisive action.

I ask unanimous consent to include in today's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a letter that I sent to Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld of February 5, along with six of my House colleagues. This letter inquires about the policy of CPA forces detaining Iraqis without due process and notification to their families. I also ask unanimous consent to include the response that we received from Thomas L. Carter, Senior Counselor to Ambassador L. Paul Bremer, III. Though the response is dated March 22, it was not received until May 3, three months after my initial inquiry. This response testifies that the processes established "afford all persons in Coalition custody all the rights and safeguards set out in applicable International Humanitarian Law."

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
Washington, DC, February 5, 2004.

Hon. DONALD H. RUMSFELD,  
*Office of the Secretary of Defense,*  
*The Pentagon, Washington, DC*

DEAR SECRETARY RUMSFELD: I write to inquire about the policy of Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) forces in Iraq detaining Iraqis without due process and notification of family.

Several news outlets and international advocacy organizations have criticized the CPA's treatment of Iraqi detainees. I am concerned that CPA tactics designed to secure the region are in fact compromising the long-term interests of Iraqis, other internationals, and even the CPA.

I request your response to the following concerns: What is the current procedure for communication between CPA forces and the families of detained Iraqis? Are they able to receive prompt and accurate information regarding the health and legal status of their family member; and what is the status of detainees who were to be freed under the provisional release program, and have family members of these detainees been kept abreast of developments?

I believe that CPA forces have the moral obligation to demonstrate respectful treatment of detainees and, of course, the legal responsibility to uphold the provisions of the Geneva Convention. Further, we must make sure that our treatment of detainees does not sow the seeds of resentment by Iraqis, subjecting CPA forces, other internationals, and Iraqis cooperating with the CPA, to great danger.

Seizing suspects in the middle of the night and leaving a bewildered, uninformed family behind brings to my mind the "disappeared" victims of detestable regimes around the world in the past. No American wants to see the CPA regarded as being in any way like those discredited regimes.

I understand the need to employ forceful tactics in a region that is still largely insecure and home to many insurgents and Saddam Hussein loyalists. However, I am concerned that CPA forces are not balancing the need to secure the region and arrest insurgents with their obligation to fair treatment of detainees and with the need for the cooperation of the general populace in force protection and eventual transition of political power to the people of Iraq. I look forward to your reply. If it is necessary to present your response in a classified setting, I would be willing to make such arrangements. I thank you for your cooperation with this matter.

Sincerely,

RUSH HOLT,  
*Member of Congress.*  
ROBERT WEXLER,  
*Member of Congress.*  
RAÚL GRIJALVA,  
*Member of Congress.*  
FORTNEY PETE STARK,  
*Member of Congress.*  
DENNIS KUCINICH,  
*Member of Congress.*  
BARNEY FRANK,  
*Member of Congress.*

OFFICE OF THE  
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,  
Washington, DC, March 22, 2004.

Hon. RUSH HOLT,  
*House of Representatives.*  
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. HOLT: Thank you for the letter from you and your colleagues to Secretary Donald Rumsfeld regarding individuals held by Coalition Forces in Iraq. I appreciate this opportunity to respond.

With regard to your question about the tactics of Coalition Forces, I would note that International Humanitarian Law obliges an occupying power to restore and ensure order as far as possible, including the detention of criminals and interning individuals for imperative reasons of security. In addition, Coalition Forces continue to retain some Enemy Prisoners of War in custody. There are therefore three classes of persons in Coalition custody: Enemy Prisoners of War, Criminal Detainees, and Security Internees. The obligations of the Coalition should be viewed in the context of the conditions that exist in Iraq. The Coalition inherited a situation whereby all the prisons had been destroyed or substantially damaged, and the entire criminal population of around 60,000 had been released onto the streets. Added to this situation is the security challenge presented by the Former Regime Elements and foreign terrorists conducting criminal outrages against the Coalition and the people of Iraq. Eliminating this violence and dealing with the criminal elements is a necessary step toward securing peace and freedom for all Iraqis. In dealing with these matters, the Coalition has established processes that afford all persons in Coalition custody all the rights and safeguards set out in applicable International Humanitarian Law.

Regarding Security Internees, the processes that have been established include review and appeal mechanisms that exceed International Humanitarian Law requirements. Moreover, steps have recently been taken to significantly increase the capacity and therefore the speed of the process. The current rate of review is about one hundred cases each day. Those who are deemed to no longer be a threat to security are being released. With regard to Criminal Detainees, a massive and expensive rehabilitation effort has resulted in the substantial transfer of the administration of criminal justice back to Iraqi authorities subject to continuing monitoring by the Coalition.

I also noted your interest in communications between Coalition Forces and the fami-

lies of individuals who are detained. Under the former Ba'ath Party regime, individuals who were taken into government custody often simply disappeared. In stark contrast, the Coalition has taken several measures to ensure that Iraqi families can learn the status and location of individuals who have been detained by Coalition Forces. The Coalition maintains a list of all the individuals in detention, and this list is available in specified locations throughout Iraq where families can make inquiries. The list is published in Arabic on the CPA website, <http://iraqcoalition.org/arabic/prisoners/index.html>. The Arabic list contains the individual's name, Internment Serial Number (ISN), place of birth, address, and the place of detention. The list is as complete and accurate as possible subject to the willingness of the detained individuals to provide the requested information. Work is continuing with regard to the expansion of both the amount and availability of this information to make it easier for Iraqi families to find their loved ones.

Finally, you inquired about the provisional release program. The Conditional Release Program is ongoing, and efforts are underway to make it even more effective. We continually strive to improve our ability to keep families abreast of the status of detainees. Communications under the auspices of the Conditional Release Program are but one of many efforts in that regard.

Again, thank you for your letter. We appreciate your interest in the future of Iraq. Rest assured of our commitment to bring peace, security, democratic values, and respect for human rights to the Iraqi people.

We have provided a copy of this letter to your colleagues, Representatives Robert Wexler, Raul Grijalva, Fortney Pete Stark, Dennis Kucinich, and Barney Frank.

Sincerely,

THOMAS L. CARTER,  
*Senior Counselor to  
Ambassador L. Paul Bremer, III.*

Ms. McCARTHY of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H. Res. 627, a resolution condemning the abuse of Iraqi prisoners, however I do so with great concern. The mistreatment of Iraqi prisoners by members of the Armed Forces and civilian U.S. contractors is shameful and inexcusable. I am outraged that these actions committed by a few reflect negatively upon our Nation and the many men and women who continue to serve our Nation with strength, honor and courage. We must investigate these allegations and take immediate and decisive action to reestablish our Nation's credibility and regain the trust of the Iraqi people and the world community.

I support provisions of this resolution that deplore and condemn these events and urge the Department of Defense to investigate every report of mistreatment of all prisoners in the custody of the U.S. military at all levels and locations including Guantanamo and Afghanistan. We have a breakdown in the chain of command at the highest level.

We must require heightened accountability of the senior leadership at the Department of Defense and determine why there was an intelligence breakdown. We need to know when Secretary Rumsfeld learned of these events, why he did not take immediate action and why he did not make this information available to Congress in a timely way. Above all, we must ensure that events like these never occur again.

Throughout our history, the United States has been a leader throughout the world and a strong voice for the principles of democracy, freedom, human rights and justice. The tragic events we are addressing today have jeopardized our credibility and our relationships with the people of Iraq and the international community. In his thoughtful column in Today's New York Times, Thomas Friedman writes, "I have never known a time in my life when America and its President were more hated around the world than today." It is our responsibility to restore our Nation's credibility, and I urge my colleagues to investigate these shocking allegations. I conclude by joining with other thoughtful individuals in calling upon the Secretary of Defense to take full responsibility for these human rights atrocities and fundamental breakdown in command and to act honorably and resign.

Mr. KIND. Mr. Speaker, the acts of abuse against Iraqi prisoners by American service members are abhorrent and sad. This is not behavior reflective of American values; it is not behavior that helps our cause, and it is not behavior that will be tolerated. Thorough investigations need to root out those responsible, directly and indirectly, for this unlawful conduct no matter how high up the chain of command it goes. Those responsible must be held accountable for their actions.

Congress needs to be highly involved in investigating the actions of abuse at Abu Ghraib prison and the conditions and circumstances that led to these abuses. Reports show that the military was well aware of the situation and conducting its own investigations for months prior to the release of the photos at Abu Ghraib now circulating through the world media. The failure of the Administration to keep Congress informed of the extent and seriousness of prisoner abuse, and the photos documenting it, is unacceptable.

Further, Congress must address and investigate the role of private security forces in Iraq. These forces, which constitute the second largest army in Iraq and account for over 40 percent of all contracting costs in Iraq, are outside the U.S. chain of command. The ability to hold these individuals accountable for their actions under law is questionable.

We must not lose focus, however, that the over 300,000 U.S. military personnel who have served and are serving in Iraq are doing an honorable job under difficult and dangerous conditions. While the Department of Defense investigation into the actions and conduct of the abuses at Abu Ghraib list a number of officers and enlisted personnel who failed to perform their duties as required, it also notes a number of officers and enlisted personnel who acted honorably and reported abuses up the chain of command. When I visited Iraq in October, 2003, I met with many honorable troops, including soldiers from western Wisconsin, who were performing their mission with outstanding commitment and professionalism. The abuses at Abu Ghraib serve only to cloud the accomplishments and sacrifices of our troops and put honorable U.S. service members in greater danger.

Mr. Speaker, perception matters when trying to execute our foreign policy and especially a military mission. We are dangerously losing the hearts and minds of the Iraqi people and the rest of the Arab world, and the abuses at the Abu Ghraib prison serve only to exacerbate this unfortunate reality. We must reinforce to the international community through our words and our actions that the United States is committed to helping the Iraqi people prosper in a free society.

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, I rise to vote no on this resolution. It is right to condemn the brutal and abhorrent abuse of Iraqi prisoners. But, this resolution is not strong enough. Without language authorizing a full-fledged Congressional investigation into this matter, we are failing our responsibility.

Republicans refused to allow any language to be added to this resolution providing for an investigation into these crimes. They have limited our ability to bring those responsible to account for their actions. This is wrong, especially when our ideals have been undermined and our leadership again tarnished throughout the world.

These acts of humiliation, torture and even murder are outrageous. They are a shameful affront to the Iraqi people and those throughout the Arab and Muslim World. As a Nation, we owe the victims of these acts and the Iraqi people a full apology and investigation into how these abhorrent abuses were allowed to occur.

The torture and abuse of prisoners at Abu Ghraib prison are part of a larger systemic pattern of abuse with which this administration has been complicit. We know—as the Washington Post reported in December, 2002—that prisoners captured in Afghanistan by the U.S. were transferred to other nations to be tortured for information. We already are well acquainted with the mistreatment of prisoners at Guantanamo Bay. This latest expose of torture and abuse at the Iraqi prison is just one more example of heinous treatment at the hands of our Government.

We trust in the honorable service of our troops. This does not reflect on the Americans bravely serving in Iraq. But, responsibility does lie with those at the very top of leadership and at the feet of this President.

It is time Congress launch an investigation to end these patterns of abuse. If Congress does not act to right this wrong, I do not trust this administration will. We must condemn these acts of torture and abuse. Given that this resolution completely fails to provide Congress with the tools to initiate such investigations, I am forced to vote no.

Mr. ORTIZ. Mr. Speaker, I share the revulsion of my colleagues, the House of Representatives, our friends and allies around the world—indeed of the entire human race—over the abuse of Iraqi prisoners by American soldiers . . . or in the presence of American soldiers.

We are obliged to investigate this event; it has given our great Nation a black eye around the world, particularly in the Middle East where our efforts have been to help them find democracy.

We are a humanitarian nation and a signatory to the Geneva Conventions. We depend on the protections the conventions offer to our own POWs . . . and we may have broken that assurance now. We shouldn't need to train our soldiers in basic humanity; the other 99.9 percent of our soldiers know this is inhuman behavior. If not for an American soldier burdened by conscience we might not know this today.

This is not a reflection of our professional military—it's an aberration. The action of the soldiers who have candidly come forward—even at the expense of their own careers—are the example of our professional military, and of the high standards democracy demands from those who serve in uniform. The actions

of a few have sullied the reputation of our all-volunteer fighting force, our mission in the larger Middle East, and the standing of the United States as a democratic, humanitarian Nation.

There is simply no excuse for this inhuman behavior. We are a superpower; we should be setting the example, not acting like barbarians. I hope desperately when the investigation is completed that it will expose the guilty parties, each and every one, who must be punished so the world will know that this Nation finds this behavior aberrant.

I thank Chairman HUNTER and Ranking Member SKELTON for bringing this issue before the House of Representatives today. This is very much an American issue, not a partisan issue. We must demand and expect that the people—all the people—with any responsibility for this are punished to show the world that this is not American. And we must never, ever, put this irrational, inhuman behavior on the young men and women serving honorably in the uniformed service of the United States.

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Speaker, this Resolution falls far short of the mark of adequately expressing the concerns I've heard from my Oregon constituents and that I have myself. Its failure to include a mechanism to hold Congress accountable and ensure that we do our job is unacceptable.

While concurring with the sentiment of outrage expressed against these acts and deplored those responsible, this Resolution is a very poor substitute for the oversight, fact-finding, and policy formulations that are the duties of this Congress. H. Res. 627 is window dressing, after the fact, and I refuse to support it.

Ms. KILPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, it is unfortunate that I find myself opposing this resolution. I do so because it is only a half way measure that attempts to gloss over the scope of the problem regarding the treatment of prisoners and detainees in Iraq.

First of all the resolution is limited to only the situation in Iraq when we are given to understand that the problem extends to the treatment of detainees in Afghanistan and in Guantanamo Bay.

Second, the resolution fails to call on the administration to provide assurances that it will treat all classes of detainees, prisoners and enemy combatants to the standards established by the Geneva Convention.

Third, it does not call on the leadership of this Congress to embark on an investigation of these “abhorrent” acts, as President Bush described this very sad episode that has left an indelible impression throughout the Arab world.

Fourth, the resolution seems to limit accountability to those in our Armed Services, principally the enlisted ranks of our Army, and exculpates those higher-level officers and civilian authorities within the chain of command.

Fifth, the resolution says nothing about investigating civilian, private military firms (PMFs) who are working under contract with the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA). The CPA has relied on PMFs to perform security functions that are normally performed by U.S. military personnel, including logistical support, interrogation of prisoners, convoy security, guarding vital facilities and personnel, and more.

Sixth, the resolution fails to hold Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld accountable. The day the story broke about the abuses of Iraqi

prisoners at Abu Ghraib Prison Secretary Rumsfeld was briefing the Senate and made no mention of the problem. I find myself in agreement with Sen. JOHN McCAIN of Arizona that there is a lack of communication between the administration and the Congress when it comes to the issue of Iraq. Secretary Rumsfeld is responsible for that lack of communication and this resolution is evidence enough that the leadership of this Congress is covering for him. I join with others in calling for the Secretary's resignation.

The Washington Post is right on target when it said: “The Pentagon ruled that the United States would no longer be bound by the Geneva Convention, that Army regulations on the interrogation of prisoners would not be observed; and that many detainees would be held incommunicado and without any independent mechanism of review.”

This administration has mastered the art of deniability. No one has been held accountable. It is time we hold the Secretary of Defense to account and ask for his resignation.

For these reasons, I cast my vote in opposition to this resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SIMPSON). All time for debate has expired.

Pursuant to House Resolution 628, the resolution is considered read for amendment, and the previous question is ordered.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT OFFERED BY MR. HOYER

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is the gentleman opposed to the resolution?

Mr. HOYER. I am in its present form.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. HOYER moves to recommit the resolution H. Res. 627 to the Committee on Armed Services with instructions to report the same back to the House forthwith with the following amendments:

#### POINT OF ORDER

Mr. HUNTER (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I make a point of order that the motion contains instructions not allowed under H. Res. 628.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Maryland wish to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. HOYER. I do.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Maryland is recognized.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, is it the contention that the rule, as presented and as passed by the majority, prevents the minority from offering a substantive substitute under the rule so that the alternative felt to be preferable by the minority may not be heard? Is that the condition under which the rule places the minority?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The point of order is that the motion includes instructions.

Mr. HOYER. I understand that, Mr. Speaker. My question is, does that preclude us, therefore, from offering an alternative that gives an alternative proposal to have that proposal be considered on the floor?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under House Resolution 628, the motion may not contain instructions.

## RECORDED VOTE

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, this 15-minute vote on adoption of H. Res. 627 will be followed by 5-minute votes on the motions to suspend the rules and adoption of House concurrent resolutions 326 and 398.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 365, noes 50, not voting 19, as follows:

[Roll No. 150]

AYES—365

Ackerman	Davis (CA)	Holden
Aderholt	Davis (FL)	Holt
Akin	Davis (IL)	Honda
Alexander	Davis (TN)	Hooley (OR)
Allen	Davis, Tom	Hostettler
Andrews	Deal (GA)	Houghton
Bachus	DeFazio	Hulshof
Baird	DeGette	Hunter
Baker	Delahunt	Hyde
Baldwin	DeLauro	Isakson
Ballance	DeLay	Israel
Ballenger	Deutsch	Issa
Barrett (SC)	Diaz-Balart, L.	Istook
Bartlett (MD)	Diaz-Balart, M.	Jackson (IL)
Barton (TX)	Dicks	Jefferson
Bass	Dingell	Johnson (CT)
Beauprez	Doggett	Johnson (IL)
Becerra	Doolittle	Johnson, E. B.
Bell	Doyle	Johnson, Sam
Bereuter	Dreier	Jones (NC)
Berkley	Duncan	Kanjorski
Berman	Dunn	Keller
Berry	Edwards	Kelly
Biggert	Ehlers	Kennedy (MN)
Bilirakis	Emanuel	Kennedy (RI)
Bishop (GA)	Emerson	Kildee
Bishop (NY)	Engel	Kind
Bishop (UT)	Blackburn	King (IA)
Blochert	Eshoo	King (NY)
Boehner	Etheridge	Kingston
Bonilla	Evans	Kirk
Bonner	Everett	Kleckzka
Boozman	Farr	Kline
Boswell	Feeley	Knollenberg
Boucher	Ferguson	Kolbe
Bradley (NH)	Filner	LaHood
Brady (PA)	Flake	Lampson
Brady (TX)	Foley	Langevin
Brown (SC)	Forbes	Lantos
Brown, Corrine	Ford	Larsen (WA)
Brown-Waite,	Fossella	Larson (CT)
Ginny	Franks (AZ)	LaTourette
Burgess	Frelighuyzen	Leach
Burns	Frost	Levin
Burr	Gallegly	Lewis (CA)
Burton (IN)	Garrett (NJ)	Linder
Buyer	Gephhardt	Lipinski
Calvert	Gerlach	LoBiondo
Camp	Gibbons	Lofgren
Cannon	Gilchrest	Lowey
Cantor	Gillmor	Lucas (KY)
Capito	Gingrey	Lucas (OK)
Capps	Gonzalez	Lynch
Capuano	Goode	Majette
Cardin	Goodlatte	Maloney
Cardoza	Gordon	Manzullo
Carson (IN)	Goss	Marshall
Carson (OK)	Granger	Matheson
Carter	Graves	Matsui
Case	Green (TX)	McCarthy (MO)
Castle	Green (WI)	McCarthy (NY)
Chabot	Gutknecht	McCotter
Chandler	Hall	McInnis
Chocola	Harman	McIntyre
Clay	Harris	McKeon
Coble	Hart	McNulty
Cole	Hastert	Meehan
Collins	Hastings (WA)	Menendez
Cooper	Hayes	Mica
Costello	Hayworth	Michaud
Cramer	Hefley	Miller (FL)
Crane	Hensarling	Miller (MI)
Crenshaw	Herger	Miller (NC)
Crowley	Hill	Miller, Gary
Cubin	Hinojosa	Moore
Culberson	Hobson	Moran (KS)
Cunningham	Hoefel	Moran (VA)
Davis (AL)	Hoekstra	Murphy

Mr. HOYER. I thank the Speaker. He has answered my question.

I withdraw my reservation because, under the rule, we have been gagged.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair is prepared to rule.

Although the Chair ordinarily would await the reading in full before broaching a question of order, the Chair is uniquely responsible to intervene in the present circumstances.

The Chair finds that the motion includes instructions, in unambiguous contravention of House Resolution 628. Therefore, the motion is not in order as a matter of form and without regard to its content.

The point of order is sustained.

## PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I have a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HOYER. That means not only can it not be considered on the floor, but it cannot even be disclosed to the Members?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman may enter the motion into the RECORD by unanimous consent.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to enter the motion into the RECORD.

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

There was no objection.

Strike the preamble and insert the following:

Whereas the American people and the world abhor the abuses inflicted upon detainees at the Abu Ghraib prison in Baghdad;

Whereas the investigation by the United States Central Command has identified problems of leadership, chain of command, and training that contributed to the instances of abuse;

Whereas the Congress was not adequately informed of the existence, or the seriousness, of those abuses or of the investigation of those abuses until after they had been disclosed in the national media;

Whereas such abuses are offensive to the principles and values of the American people and the United States military, are incompatible with the professionalism, dedication, standards and training required of individuals who serve in the United States military, and contradict the policies, orders, and laws of the United States and the United States military and undermine the ability of the United States military to achieve its mission in Iraq;

Whereas the vast majority of members of the Armed Forces have upheld the highest possible standards of professionalism and morality in the face of terrorist attacks and other attempts on their lives;

Whereas members of the Armed Forces have planned and conducted, frequently at great peril and cost, military operations in a manner carefully intended to prevent or minimize injury to Iraqi civilians and property;

Whereas over 138,000 members of the United States Armed Forces serving in Iraq, a total force comprised of active, National Guard, and Reserve personnel, are executing with courage and skill a mission to rebuild and rehabilitate Iraq and return the Government of Iraq to the Iraqi people; and

Whereas the Department of Defense has awarded members of the Armed Forces serv-

ing in Operation Iraqi Freedom at least 3,767 Purple Hearts, as well as thousands of commendations for valor, including at least 4 Distinguished Service Crosses, 127 Silver Stars, and over 16,000 Bronze Stars: Now, therefore, be it

Strike all after the resolving clause and insert the following:

That the House of Representatives—

(1) strenuously deplores and condemns the abuse of persons in United States custody in Iraq, regardless of the circumstances of their detention;

(2) reaffirms the American principle that any and all individuals under the custody and care of the United States Armed Forces shall be afforded proper and humane treatment;

(3) urges the Secretary of Defense to conduct a full and thorough investigation into any and all allegations of mistreatment or abuse of detainees in Iraq;

(4) urges the Secretary of Defense to ensure that corrective actions are taken to address chain of command deficiencies and the systemic deficiencies identified in the incidents in question;

(5) urges the Secretary of Defense to bring to swift justice any member of the Armed Forces who has violated the Uniform Code of Military Justice to ensure that their actions do not further impugn the integrity of the United States Armed Forces or further undermine the United States mission in Iraq;

(6) urges the Attorney General to bring to swift justice any United States civilian contractor or other United States civilian whose conduct in connection with the treatment of detainees in Iraq is in violation of law so to ensure that their actions do not further undermine the United States mission in Iraq;

(7) affirms the need for bipartisan congressional investigations to be conducted immediately into these allegations of abuse, including allegations of abuse by United States civilian contractor personnel or other United States civilians, and into the chain of command and other systemic deficiencies, including the command atmosphere that contributed to such abuse;

(8) reaffirms the need for Congress to be frequently updated on the status of efforts by the Department of Defense to address and resolve issues identified in this resolution;

(9) expresses the deep appreciation of the Nation to the courageous and honorable members of the Armed Forces who have selflessly served, or who are currently serving, in Operation Iraqi Freedom;

(10) declares that the alleged crimes of some individuals should not detract from the commendable sacrifices of over 300,000 members of the United States Armed Forces who have served, or who are serving, in Operation Iraqi Freedom;

(11) expresses the support and thanks of the Nation to the families and friends of the soldiers, Marines, airmen, sailors, and Coast Guardsmen who have served, or who are serving, in Operation Iraqi Freedom; and

(12) expresses the continuing solidarity and support of the House of Representatives and the American people for the efforts of the United States with the Iraqi people in building a viable Iraqi government and a secure nation.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I appeal the ruling of the Chair.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the appeal.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

