

(Ms. NORTON addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

IRAQ

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, during the August recess, I had the opportunity to meet with a number of my constituents from all walks of life and hear what was on their mind. The question that came up over and over was are we going to invade Iraq and, if we were, what did that mean? How many troops would it take? Would we have to attack civilian centers? How long would we have to stay in Iraq? Would our allies join us? How much would it cost? Who would rule Iraq after we invaded? How would this affect our efforts in Afghanistan? How would this affect our efforts to promote peace in the Middle East?

I have thought long and hard about this matter as I am sure all of my colleagues have. I believe the questions my constituents have raised are legitimate and require genuine and detailed replies. I also believe that as a Member of this body, I need to know in very specific detail how the United States will find and allocate the necessary resources for such a venture without jeopardizing our current priorities in Afghanistan and the Middle East.

Dismantling and destroying the al Qaeda terrorist network and stabilizing and restoring a functioning representative government in Afghanistan are top priorities for U.S. policy.

We are a long way from achieving these goals. Known al Qaeda and Taliban fighters continue to operate in parts of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Other top al Qaeda leaders are known to be in Iran. Al Qaeda funds have been relocated to Sudan. The task of creating a stable post-conflict government in Afghanistan has barely begun, and warlords are reasserting their hold over former territory. Development aid has been slow to arrive and even slower to take effect, and most is unable to reach very far beyond Kabul.

Mr. Speaker, I recognize that it will take years for Afghanistan to become truly stable and able to meet the needs of its own people, but right now the country is already beginning to slip backward. It is imperative that we stay the course and succeed in Afghanistan, and it will cost the United States a great deal in time, personnel, effort, and money.

Completing the mission in Afghanistan requires holding together the international coalition Washington assembled following the September 11 attacks. War in Iraq, especially any unilateral action, would almost certainly shatter that coalition and alienate significant partners. A unilateral U.S. invasion of Iraq will make it difficult to get Arab support for a fair and lasting

resolution to the Middle East conflict. It would also inflame anti-American sentiment in the region. Diplomacy and coalition building aside, the military challenges of war and especially its aftermath in Iraq are still quite formidable. Iraq, like Afghanistan, is a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural nation with no apparent popularly supported opposition. Armed paramilitary and clandestine organizations opposed to a U.S.-led occupation of Iraq are likely to engage in guerrilla attacks against American soldiers. Internal strife and even civil and ethnic war are even more likely. Experts on Iraq from both prior Republican and Democrat administrations have indicated that it could take a decade or more of U.S. troops occupying Iraq before it is stable once more.

I will listen closely to the speech that President Bush will deliver next week at the United Nations. I welcome the fact that the administration has decided to reach out to our allies and to work with the United Nations on this matter. The President has also made the right decision to come before Congress and seek specific authorization for any military action in Iraq. Many questions remain to be answered before deciding how best to prevent the regime of Saddam Hussein from developing or deploying offensive weapons against other nations.

In the meantime the U.S. and the international community must continue to put maximum pressure on the Iraqi regime and press for resumption of unconditional international weapons inspections. The President should continue to work through the United Nations Security Council, and the U.S. should exercise restraint and continue to build an international coalition, including Arab nations, dedicated to completing the job in Afghanistan and willing to work jointly for more genuinely representative government in Baghdad.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion let me just say that I am deeply concerned with the policy that the administration has articulated thus far on Iraq. It will take a far more compelling presentation to convince me and many of my constituents that war is the right and only course remaining for the United States to take in Iraq.

SEPTEMBER 5, 2002, LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUSH REGARDING IRAQ

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. JEFF MILLER of Florida). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. DEFAZIO) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, I, too, just returned from a month in my district, and spent a good deal of time traveling the district and talking with my constituents. I have a district that in fact voted in the majority for George Bush, and yet, I found, widely traveling my district, talking to di-

verse groups of constituents, a lot more questions than certainty about the President's position on Iraq. In fact, there is a great deal of misgiving in my district, as I believe there is abroad in the land.

The gentleman who preceded me made an eloquent case on a number of points, and I will not repeat those but I will emphasize a few others.

I am today sending a letter, along with 17 other Members of Congress, to the President. We are pleased that the President has now recognized the constitutional authority of the Congress to declare war and about the fact that he will come to Congress for approval for a war against Iraq.

At this point, I would venture and hope that Congress would not be willing to grant such approval to the President, given the lack of specificity and the many questions that need to be answered.

Among the questions that need to be answered are the following:

What is the threat posed by Saddam Hussein to the United States? UNSCOM said they destroyed 90 to 95 percent of their weapons of mass destruction. Is there convincing evidence of renewed production of chemical and biological weapons? Is there evidence that Iraq has successfully produced a nuclear weapon? Is there evidence Iraq has produced a reliable delivery system for weapons of mass destruction?

Are there new developments that mean Iraq poses an imminent threat to the United States, and therefore requires immediate attention? A year ago, the administration did not seem to think that. What has changed in that intervening time? If not, would a policy of enforcing no-fly zones, vigorous weapons inspections, military sanctions be effective in containing and/or reducing the perceived threat, given the success of such strategies over the last decade?

Is there any convincing evidence that Iraq planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, or harbored such organizations or persons? That would give some authority to act without a specific grant from Congress, but the administration has not made that case.

Is there convincing evidence that Iraq has shared its knowledge of biological, chemical, or nuclear weapons, or the weapons themselves, with other nations or terrorist organizations? How does the threat of Iraq doing so compare with the threat posed by Iran, Pakistan, China, North Korea, or a number of other nations that are known to possess weapons of mass destruction, some of whom are known to be sharing and selling such information?

How does the administration intend to assure Iraq does not become balkanized? This was the problem that was confronted by Colin Powell and the father of President Bush when they decided not to go to Baghdad, as they said at the time.

Will Iraq become balkanized? If it does, what happens with Turkey? What happens with the Kurds wanting their own nation? What happens with the Shi'as in Iran? What happens with the long-term prospects for the governance of Iraq itself?

I witnessed a Republican Senator saying we were going to rule Iraq. The United States of America is going to rule Iraq alone, without allies? Has anybody really thought about what that would mean?

What are the potential disruptions to the United States economy? We have some problems here at home. I have a lot of unemployed people in my district, the highest unemployment rate in the Nation in my State.

What are the potential economic disruptions that might come from a war with Iraq? Would it lead to a disruption of oil supplies? Would it drive up the price of oil dramatically, as it did in the last Gulf War? How much would such a war cost the United States of America and its taxpayers? What are the risks to our troops? What are the risks in terms of a long-term occupation?

We have not yet resolved the situation or stabilized the situation in Afghanistan, which is a country that had no discernible military, no weapons of mass destruction. They did harbor terrorists. It was a rogue regime. But yet, the United States of America, with a substantial number of allies around the world, has yet to bring settled conditions to that country. Yet, we are about to depart for a much larger nation who has not been involved, as far as has been revealed to Congress or the people of the United States, in the attacks upon our country, has not posed a credible threat to the United States or our allies. However, we are off on another adventure.

Is this left-over business from George Bush's father's administration? It seems like a number of the most hawkish people in his administration are people who served in his father's administration, who still regret the fact that they did not pursue the war to an end then, and they want to revisit the issue.

Many questions need to be answered before this Congress should extend authority to the President to wage a war against Iraq, the first preemptive war in the history of the United States of America.

ALZHEIMER'S

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GREEN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to discuss a serious disease or illness that affects a great many in our country. It is Alzheimer's disease.

I have been a longtime advocate for increasing research for treatment and cures for Alzheimer's. I was particularly touched by a recent article in

Time Magazine by Patti Davis, President Ronald Reagan's daughter, discussing her family's battle with Alzheimer's. I include that for the RECORD.

The article referred to is as follows:

[From Time, Aug. 26, 2002]

THE FACES OF ALZHEIMER'S

(By Patti Davis)

WE LEARN ABOUT THE DISEASE BY LOOKING INTO THE EYES OF VICTIMS—AND THEIR FAMILIES

The day after the first anniversary of my sister Maureen Reagan's death, Charlton Heston announced that he had been diagnosed with "symptoms consistent with early stages of Alzheimer's." Sometimes in life, there are odd juxtapositions of events—an interplay of circumstances that makes one pause and wonder what forces are at work. This was one of those times for me. Maureen was so committed to defeating the scourge of Alzheimer's, to getting more funding for research and increasing understanding of the disease that she sometimes delayed her own treatment for the melanoma that eventually killed her.

Maureen would have tirelessly done interviews on Aug. 9; instead, her husband Dennis Revell spoke to the media, as did the actor David Hyde Pierce, who lost both his grandfather and his father to Alzheimer's. My mother released a statement. Maureen's voice had been silenced, but her activism, her determination, were still present.

We learn about diseases through the faces of those who are stricken. Famous faces garner the most attention, obviously. When we think of Alzheimer's, my father's face comes to mind. Or Iris Murdoch's. And now Heston's. When Parkinson's is mentioned, we picture Michael J. Fox or Muhammad Ali.

But there is another way that faces tell the story. You have to lean closer, look carefully into the eyes, study the set of the jaw and the tilt of the head. I recognized more than the famous visage of Heston when I saw his taped announcement. I saw the first shallow waves of a cruel disease lapping at the edges of the person he has always known himself to be. I recognized it because I saw the same look in my father's eyes eight years ago.

In the early stages of Alzheimer's, the eyes have a wariness, a veil of fear. It's as if the person is standing at the edge of a fog-bank, knowing that in time it will engulf him and there is no chance of outrunning it. I used to see my father's eyes simultaneously plead and hold firm. It would happen when a sentence broke off because he couldn't remember how to finish it. Or when he would say, "I have this condition—I keep forgetting things." He was on a high wire, balancing on courage, with the dark waters of fear below, and he was using every bit of his strength to cling to that wire.

Slowly—sometimes over months, sometimes over years—the eyes stop pleading. There is a resignation, an acceptance of distance, strangeness, a life far from home. You know the look when you see it, and the only mercy is that fear seems to have subsided.

The eyes of family members change too. My brother Ron's eyes show the sweet stoicism that men seem born to possess. But looking more intently, I see the bubble of pain beneath the surface. A father's helplessness has to tear at the fibers of a son's heart like a dull blade. My own eyes have too much history in them, I often think. I was the little girl who worshipped her father, and the young women who hurt him the way daughters do when their love is needy and true. Now I look at him in a soft, maternal way, which still feels odd to me, even after all these years. As if the laws of nature have been turned upside down. My mother's eyes

are frequently such deep wells, I have to look away. A 50-year marriage is full of intimate memories that live in the blood of lovers and life partners—memories that are both benediction and punishment. So much life has been shared, and so much has been lost.

I could tell you that I don't fear getting the disease myself because I know how toxic fear is, how paralyzing. But in the next breath I would have to tell you that there are late hours of the night when I lie awake and wonder what fate has in store for me.

At other times, I study photographs of my father from many years ago, or film clips. I don't want to forget how his eyes used to look. Alzheimer's teaches a harsh lesson—that the past is like the rudder of a ship. It keeps you moving through the present, steers you into the future. Without it, without memory, you are unmoored, a wind-tossed boat with no anchor. You learn this by watching someone you love drift away.

I woke last night and listened to the silence. It was a late, deep hour, long after midnight, long before dawn. I thought about how, for someone with Alzheimer's, silence must be like a prison, another corner of the wasteland. There can be nothing soothing or serene about it.

Perhaps the next time members of Congress assemble to decide how much money to set aside for Alzheimer's research, they should be asked to listen to silence differently, as if it were a jail sentence. Maybe then they would look into their hearts and know that if stopping a disease that is stalking so many is not a top priority, we have lost our collective heart as a nation.

During the August recess, I had the opportunity to speak to the Houston Alzheimer's Association's educational symposium in Houston with Dr. Rachel Doody, who has a well-known research program at Baylor College of Medicine in the Texas Medical Center. The number of people at that event, it amazed me. It was the first time I had the opportunity to address that group and see how many people were interested.

The battle that we have affects far too many Americans. More than 4 million Americans, one in ten over 65 and nearly half those over 85, suffer from Alzheimer's disease. With the aging baby boom population, unless a cure is found, 14 million Americans will have Alzheimer's by 2050.

I personally have been touched by Alzheimer's when my mother-in-law was diagnosed with this disease several years ago. I know firsthand the incredible toll Alzheimer's has on not only that person, but also the family. As a family member, I know the heartache of watching a vibrant and active and independent loved one become lost in a world of confusion, isolation, and despair. I know the frustration that there are so few treatments and no cure to this disease.

As a policymaker, I am concerned by the staggering economic burden of this illness. The U.S. society spends at least \$100 billion a year on Alzheimer's. Neither Medicare nor most private health insurance covers the long-term care many patients need. Alzheimer's disease is costing American business \$61 billion a year: \$36.5 billion is the cost to business of caregiving, and the rest is the business share of the cost of health care and long-term care.