

ever preemptive war by the United States of America against Iraq.

I believe that the burden the administration has to prove that the United States should break from all precedents in more than 200 years of history, should break from all precedents set lawfully under the United Nations conventions since the end of World War II and actually launch a preemptive war, is an extraordinary burden. They have to prove a very real, credible threat by the Saddam Hussein regime.

Now Saddam Hussein is a despicable individual. He has murdered tens of thousands, and all effective opposition. He has murdered people ethnically, religiously. He has used weapons of mass destruction. He has an absolutely horrible record, and obviously we would not trust this gentleman one inch.

But the question in this case becomes what is different today than a year ago or 2 years ago in terms of Saddam Hussein. It seems, when asked honestly and privately, the generals and admirals at the Pentagon feel containment is working, that he did not pose a credible and immediate threat to the United States of America or its allies in that region.

So the question becomes then if he is credibly threatened with a preemptive war, would he become more of a threat? Then there is the issue of our allies. Would any allies support the United States in this endeavor? Then there are the questions from 10 years ago, the same questions that President Bush's father had to confront, and Colin Powell as chairman of the joint chiefs, which is what if they went to Baghdad and took out Hussein, what then? They were confronted with a long and problematic occupation of Iraq and further destabilization in the region. And even with all the allies, including Arab nations at the time, they felt it was not worth the risk of doing that.

□ 1330

Well, the same question needs to be asked today. In fact, I witnessed on "Face the Nation," where one Republican Senator said, "Well, we don't need any allies. We will just go and do this. We will take them out." And then he said, "We will rule Iraq."

I do not know who he has been talking to or what he is thinking, but the United States being involved intimately in that region and trying to rule a country, a very large country, in an extraordinarily volatile area, is a recipe for disaster. So they need not only a credible plan for what if and how and why; but they need to explain that, both to Congress, some of it can be confidentially, but, for the most part, these should be things that could be laid out.

Prime Minister Chretien said yesterday that the President had nothing new to say. It was just the same rhetorical sort of "we have got to remove him sooner or later," the same thing we have been hearing from Ms. Rice and other advisers to the President.

So I have sent a letter to the President, signed by 17 other Members of Congress, which lays out a series of about 20 questions that I believe are critical that this administration address before they would undertake to ask even for authorization for a preemptive war, the first ever in our history; and I am hopeful that the administration will in good faith answer those questions. Most of them are questions that could be answered in public, could be given to the American people, and could, if they answer them I believe convincingly, as they have not thus far, lead to some sort of authorization from the United States Congress.

But we cannot just sort of have this shadow boxing and discussion in private. This is an extraordinary issue, a constitutional issue, an issue that breaks with all precedent of this country; something that needs to be fully, freely, and fairly debated before the American people before we commit our sons and daughters to lengthy involvement in a war against Iraq and a subsequent occupation and rebuilding of that country. We are not doing such a great job of stabilizing and rebuilding Afghanistan. One has to question what we would do with a much larger nation in a much more volatile region of the world.

A YOUNG MARINE RESTORED MY FAITH

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

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, the "Orange Register" in California every week recognizes a writer who eloquently expresses a viewpoint or engenders a debate on a topic of public interest. It is known as the Golden Pen Award.

The title of this letter to the editor of the "Orange Register," written by Ann Baker, a real estate agent of Huntington Beach, California, is "A Young Marine Restores My Faith."

"It was our normal Thursday morning business meeting at our real estate office. No big deal. Before the meeting, we hung around the bagel table, as usual, with our coffee. He stood aside, looking a little shy and awkward and very young, a new face in the room full of extroverted salespeople. An average looking guy, maybe 5 foot 8 inches. A clean-cut, sweet-faced kid. I went over to chat with him. Maybe he was a new salesman?

"He said he was just back from Kabul, Afghanistan. A Marine. Our office (and a local school) had been supportive by sending letters to him and other troops, which he had posted at the American Embassy door in Kabul. He stood guard there for 4 months and was shot at daily.

"He had come to our office to thank us for the support, for all the letters

during those scary times. I couldn't believe my ears," she said. "He wanted to thank us? We should be thanking him. But how? How can I ever show him my appreciation?

"At the end of the sales meeting he stepped quietly forward, no incredible hulk. As a matter of fact, he looked all the world 15 years old to me.

"This young Marine, this clean-faced boy, had no qualms stepping up to the plate and dodging bullets so that I may enjoy the freedom to live my peaceful life in the land of the free. No matter the risk. Suddenly the most stressful concerns of my life seemed as nothing. My complacency flew right out the window with his every word. Somewhere, somehow, he had taken the words honor, courage and commitment into his very soul and laid his life on the line daily for me and us. A man of principle. He wants to do it. Relishes it. And he came to thank us? For a few letters. I fought back the tears as he spoke so briefly and softly.

"He walked forward to our manager and placed a properly folded American flag in his hands. It had flown over the Embassy in Kabul. He said thanks again. You could hear a pin drop. As I looked around, I saw red faces everywhere fighting back the tears.

"In a heartbeat, my disillusionment with young people today quickly vanished. In ordinary homes, in ordinary towns, kids like him are growing up proud to be an American and willing to die for it. Wow. We will frame the flag and put it in the lobby. He only came to my office once, for just a few minutes, but I realize I rubbed shoulders with greatness in the flesh and in the twinkling of an eye my life is forever changed. His name is Michael Mendez, a corporal in the United States Marine Corps. We are a great Nation. We know because the makings of it walked into my office that day."

That is by Ann Baker of Huntington, California. I think that properly summarizes our Nation's respect for the men and women in uniform. We take for granted the sacrifices they and their families make to serve this country. We assume freedom comes without price at times; and September 11, which we rapidly approach, taught us a lesson, that America's freedom depends on the strong and vigilant men and women who fight our battles for our freedoms and fight for the integrity of this Nation.

Parents who allow their children to enter harm's way for the flag that flies behind me do so knowing for the freedom of a Nation men and women must offer themselves in sacrifice. Ann Baker's letter touched me as well because it signified from an average citizen that she recognized that day that that young man, Michael, who came to her office, changed her life; but it was also shaping the lives of future American leaders.

We pray for the safety of our troops here and abroad; but we also thank those special individuals who have

character, who stand up for the flag and the Nation and fight the good fight for all Americans.

STATUS REPORT ON CURRENT SPENDING LEVELS OF ON-BUDGET SPENDING AND REVENUES FOR FY 2003 AND THE 5-YEAR PERIOD FY 2003 THROUGH FY 2007

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

Mr. NUSSLE. Mr. Speaker, I am transmitting a status report on the current levels of on-budget spending and revenues for fiscal year 2003 and for the five-year period of fiscal years 2003 through 2007. This report is necessary to facilitate the application of sections 302 and 311 of the Congressional Budget Act and section 301 of House Concurrent Resolution 353, which is currently in effect as a concurrent resolution on the budget in the House. This status report is current through September 6, 2002.

The term “current level” refers to the amounts of spending and revenues estimated for each fiscal year based on laws enacted or awaiting the President’s signature.

The first table in the report compares the current levels of total budget authority, outlays, and revenues with the aggregate levels set forth by H. Con. Res. 353. This comparison is needed to enforce section 311(a) of the Budget Act, which creates a point of order against measures that would breach the budget resolution’s aggregate levels. The table does not show budget authority and outlays for years after fiscal year 2003 because appropriations for those years have not yet been considered.

The second table compares the current levels of budget authority and outlays for discretionary action by each authorizing committee with the “section 302(a)” allocations made

under H. Con. Res. 353 for fiscal year 2003 and fiscal years 2003 through 2007. “Discretionary action” refers to legislation enacted after the adoption of the budget resolution. A separate allocation for the Medicare program, as established under section 231(d) of the budget resolution, is shown for fiscal year 2003 and fiscal years 2003 through 2012. This comparison is needed to enforce section 302(f) of the Budget Act, which creates a point of order against measures that would breach the section 302(a) discretionary action allocation of new budget authority for the committee that reported the measure. It is also needed to implement section 311(b), which exempts committees that comply with their allocations from the point of order under section 311(a).

The third table compares the current levels of discretionary appropriations for fiscal year 2003 with the “section 302(b)” suballocations of discretionary budget authority and outlays among Appropriations subcommittees. The comparison is also needed to enforce section 302(f) of the Budget Act because the point of order under that section equally applies to measures that would breach the applicable section 302(b) suballocation.

The fourth table gives the current level for 2004 of accounts identified for advance appropriations under section 301 of H. Con. Res. 353 printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on May 22, 2002. This list is needed to enforce section 301 of the budget resolution, which creates a point of order against appropriation bills that contain advance appropriations that are: (i) not identified in the statement of managers or (ii) would cause the aggregate amount of such appropriations to exceed the level specified in the resolution.

REPORT TO THE SPEAKER FROM THE COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET—STATUS OF THE FISCAL YEAR 2003 CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET ADOPTED IN H. CON. RES. 353

[Reflecting action completed as of September 6, 2002—on-budget amounts, in millions of dollars]

	Fiscal year 2003	Fiscal year 2003–2007
Appropriate Level:		
Budget Authority	1,784,073	(1)
Outlays	1,765,225	(1)
Revenues	1,531,893	8,671,656
Current Level:		
Budget Authority	1,045,600	(1)
Outlays	1,313,395	(1)
Revenues	1,535,638	8,695,897
Current Level over (+)/ under (-) Appropriate Level:		
Budget Authority	–738,473	(1)
Outlays	–451,830	(1)
Revenues	3,745	24,241

¹ Not applicable because annual appropriations Acts for fiscal years 2004 through 2007 will not be considered until future sessions of Congress.

BUDGET AUTHORITY

Enactment of measures providing new budget authority for FY 2003 in excess of \$738,473,000,000 (if not already included in the current level estimate) would cause FY 2003 budget authority to exceed the appropriate level set by H. Con. Res. 353.

OUTLAYS

Enactment of measures providing new outlays for FY 2003 in excess of \$451,830,000,000 (if not already included in the current level estimate) would cause FY 2003 outlays to exceed the appropriate level set by H. Con. Res. 353.

REVENUES

Enactment of measures that would result in revenue reduction for FY 2003 in excess of \$3,745,000,000 (if not already included in the current level estimate) would cause revenues to fall below the appropriate level set by H. Con. Res. 353.

Enactment of measures providing in revenue reduction for the period FY 2003 through 2007 in excess of \$24,241,000,000 (if not already included in the current level estimate) would cause revenues to fall below the appropriate levels set by H. Con. Res. 353.

DIRECT SPENDING LEGISLATION—COMPARISON OF CURRENT LEVEL WITH AUTHORIZING COMMITTEE 302(a) ALLOCATIONS FOR DISCRETIONARY ACTION, REFLECTING ACTION COMPLETED AS OF SEPTEMBER 6, 2002

[Fiscal years, in millions of dollars]

House Committee	2003		2003–2007 total		2003–2012 total	
	BA	Outlays	BA	Outlays	BA	Outlays
Agriculture:						
Allocation	7,825	7,271	37,017	34,479	(2)	(2)
Current Level ¹	8,532	8,406	49,206	47,592	(2)	(2)
Difference	707	1,135	12,189	13,113	(2)	(2)
Armed Services:						
Allocation	516	516	5,804	5,804	(2)	(2)
Current Level	0	0	0	0	(2)	(2)
Difference	–516	–516	–5,804	–5,804	(2)	(2)
Education and the Workforce:						
Allocation	0	0	0	0	(2)	(2)
Current Level	0	0	0	0	(2)	(2)
Difference	0	0	0	0	(2)	(2)
Energy and Commerce:						
Allocation	95	59	2,709	2,649	(2)	(2)
Current Level	776	776	–795	–795	(2)	(2)
Difference	681	717	–3,504	–3,444	(2)	(2)
Financial Services:						
Allocation	0	0	0	0	(2)	(2)
Current Level	40	36	404	395	(2)	(2)
Difference	40	36	404	395	(2)	(2)
Government Reform:						
Allocation	0	0	0	0	(2)	(2)
Current Level	0	0	0	0	(2)	(2)
Difference	0	0	0	0	(2)	(2)
House Administration:						
Allocation	0	0	0	0	(2)	(2)
Current Level	0	0	0	0	(2)	(2)
Difference	0	0	0	0	(2)	(2)
International Relations:						
Allocation	0	0	0	0	(2)	(2)
Current Level	0	0	0	0	(2)	(2)
Difference	0	0	0	0	(2)	(2)
Judiciary:						
Allocation	0	0	0	0	(2)	(2)
Current Level	0	0	0	0	(2)	(2)
Difference	0	0	0	0	(2)	(2)
Resources:						
Allocation	0	0	700	700	(2)	(2)
Current Level	0	0	0	0	(2)	(2)