

Vallina, the Brickell Homeowners Association, John "Footy" Cross, Steve Safron, Davrye Gibson-Smith and the Miami Heat basketball team, Norman Lipoff, Johnathan Mayer, and Debra Berger, just a few shining examples of what altruism and selflessness are all about.

For example, Marilyn Adamo, working through Protect America's Children, should be commended for her work on passage of the Jennifer Act, a law protecting children against crimes and abductions.

Marilyn Adamo will soon begin a national campaign to ensure that the critical importance of the Jennifer Act is extended to every jurisdiction nationwide. The Jennifer Act authorizes the police and prosecutors to apprehend and to convict child stalkers and sexual predators before the child's physical safety is irreversibly placed in harm's way.

The law makes any credible threat or intentional stalking of children under 16 years of age a third degree felony.

I am happy to recognize these selfless efforts just as I am pleased to also recognize humanitarian efforts by individuals like Monsignor Emilio Vallina, the first recipient of the Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh Humanitarian Award.

This award, established by the Mercy Hospital Foundation, recognizes an individual displaying a deep commitment to our community and whose devotion has shown great acts of love, compassion and honor.

I want to thank Monsignor Vallina for the positive impact he has had on the lives of so many people. I am glad to know he is being honored for his devotion to the needy and that he has made such positive impacts on the lives of so many in South Florida.

Individuals sharing the values of self-sacrifice like the Monsignor, I am also happy to say, sometimes also join forces to work together toward similar goals.

A great example is the Brickell Homeowners Association made up of residents along downtown Miami's Brickell Avenue corridor and those on Brickell Key. This coalition of over 30 condominium associations has helped build a community and mobilize support for critical quality-of-life matters. The BHA has tackled issues affecting our area and has worked closely with professionals and elected officials to find solutions that enhance the residential character of their neighborhood.

The BHA President Tory Jacobs, Vice President Veena Panjabi, Treasurer Norman Mininberg, Secretary Mac Seligman, and Chairperson Herbert Bailey do a great job of leading efforts to help 16,000 residents from the Miami River to the Rickenbacker Causeway and are shining examples of volunteerism and activism.

In today's world these two virtues are increasingly important and one man who steps forward every year in embodying them is John "Footy"

Cross. Footy, along with Steve Safron, head Here's Help, a local drug rehab center fighting drug abuse in our community.

Every year, Footy and Steve Safron together with Y-100 radio station have the Bubbles and Bones event, a festival drawing over 50,000 people each time. The event features a competition with South Florida restaurants, national entertainment, an amusement area, and a celebrity auction, with the proceeds benefiting Here's Help.

I have mentioned just a few common individuals exemplifying an uncommon charitable character. However, when organizations like the Miami Heat basketball team, that have already had national recognition come together to help our community, it is indeed noteworthy. The Miami Heat moved forward to do something constructive about low test scores and performance ratings in some of our Miami-Dade County Public Schools.

The Miami Heat sponsors the HEAT Academy, an after-school enrichment program offering tutoring in reading and math to students in our community attending low-performance schools in mostly minority-populated areas.

As a former educator, I take my hat off to the Miami Heat and Davrye Gibson-Smith of the HEAT Academy for their efforts in assisting all children and their families in pursuit of a quality education and a positive environment.

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But I could not conclude my statement without also congratulating Project Interchange, an institution devoted to educating American policymakers and opinion leaders about Israel through firsthand experience. Norman Lipoff of Coconut Grove and Jonathan Mayer of Miami Beach along with Deborah Berger, founder of Project Interchange, are celebrating its 20th year. This year Ms. Berger will be honored for her outstanding career dedicated to educating leaders of all races through intensive seminars by advocating acceptance and respect.

Together with Ms. Berger, Mr. Lipoff and Mr. Mayer have been instrumental in sending nearly 3,000 leaders to the Interchange's crash course seminar that for the past 20 years has encouraged and maintained pluralism and tolerance in the United States. It is a pleasure today for me to commend these individuals. They are shining examples of what makes this country great.

QUESTIONS RAISED OUT OF LOVE FOR NATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ROGERS of Michigan). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Washington (Mr. McDERMOTT) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. McDERMOTT. Mr. Speaker, there is a saying that we must be care-

ful what we ask for because we might get it. Today we have given the President what he asked for; and if he gets the same from the Senate, I think it is important as we leave to remind him of the weight of the power that we have given him, that is, to commit this country to war.

As I listened to the debate today, I thought of a story I read in the notes of the Bishops Retreat at Blackstone, Virginia, on October 1. The priest, Christopher Morris, tells this story. He told about a general who lived in his parish, and he said, "Nearly half of my congregation was made up of military families; so any opposition to the war in Vietnam seemed to be attacking those who had to fight it. When a series of Sunday evening sessions addressing this issue were announced, some of the service people in the congregation protested. We had arranged for members of the American field service to come and make the case against the war and a representative from the Pentagon to come and give the government's case for the war. But some felt this was unpatriotic and undermining our troops who were being sent into combat."

The general and his wife attended our church, she being more active than he. He was the comptroller of the Army stationed at nearby Fort Monroe. I called and asked if I could go and see him and was invited to their house late one evening. The three of us sat together in the living room. He was a general who was loyal to the defense of his country and its government's policy. Somewhat to my surprise, he said to me, "Everyone knows there is a division of opinion in this country and the church should not avoid the issue. If you're going to present the sides fairly, I think you should go ahead."

Two years later when I had left Hampton and been appointed to do graduate study at Union Seminary, a call came to New York asking me if I would come down to Arlington Cemetery for the burial of the general's 18-year-old son. On behalf of a grateful Nation, the chaplain said, presenting the flag to his wife. "Don't speak to me of a grateful Nation," she replied. "This is not a grateful Nation. It is a confused Nation. My son loved nature and liked to climb mountains, and now he is dead in a war he never believed in and neither did I." I have never seen more agony in a person's face than I saw in the face of the general.

I hope the President will understand that we are divided here. We were not all on one side. And those of us who voted against are as patriotic as those who voted for. The questions we raise are because we love our country, and I think that as we enter this period it is very important not to brand one side or the other as unpatriotic.

Mr. Speaker, I add to the RECORD an article entitled "Am I anti-American?" by Arundhati Roy in the Guardian, September 27, 2002. She lays out the case for why we have the strength and the ability to raise questions about our

democracy. It is important and it should not be considered un-American for anyone to raise these issues.

[From the Guardian, Sept. 27, 2002]

AM I ANTI-AMERICAN?

(By Arundhati Roy)

Recently, those who have criticized the actions of the US government myself included have been called "anti-American". Anti-Americanism is in the process of being consecrated into an ideology. The term is usually used by the American establishment to discredit and, not falsely—but shall we say inaccurately—define its critics. Once someone is branded anti-American, the chances are that he or she will be judged before they're heard and the argument will be lost in the welter of bruised national pride. What does the term mean? That you're anti-jazz?

Or that you're opposed to free speech? That you don't delight in Toni Morrison or John Updike?

That you have a quarrel with giant sequoias? Does it mean you don't admire the hundreds of thousands of American citizens who marched against nuclear weapons, or the thousands of war resisters who forced their government to withdraw from Vietnam? Does it mean that you hate all Americans?

This sly conflation of America's music, literature, the breathtaking physical beauty of the land, the ordinary pleasures of ordinary people with criticism of the US government's foreign policy is a deliberate and extremely effective strategy. It's like a retreating army taking cover in a heavily populated city, hoping that the prospect of hitting civilian targets will deter enemy fire.

There are many Americans who would be mortified to be associated with their government's policies, the most scholarly, scathing, incisive, hilarious critiques of the hypocrisy and the contradictions in US government policy come from American citizens. (Similarly, in India, not hundreds, but millions of us would be ashamed and offended, if we were in any way implicated with the present Indian government's fascist policies.)

To call someone anti-American, indeed, to be anti-American, is not just racist, it's a failure of the imagination. An inability to see the world in terms other than those that the establishment has set out for you: If you don't love us, you hate us. If you're not good, you're evil. If you're not with us, you're with the terrorists.

Last year, like many others, I too made the mistake of scoffing at this post-September 11 rhetoric, dismissing it as foolish and arrogant. I've realized that it's not. It's actually a canny recruitment drive for a misconceived, dangerous war. Every day I'm taken aback at how many people believe that opposing the war in Afghanistan amounts to supporting terrorism. Now that the initial aim of the war—capturing Osama bin Laden seems to have run into bad weather, the goalposts have been moved. It's being made out that the whole point of the war was to topple the Taliban regime and liberate Afghan women from their burqas. We're being asked to believe that the US marines are actually on a feminist mission. (If so, will their next stop be America's military ally, Saudi Arabia?) Think of it this way: in India there are some pretty reprehensible social practices, against "untouchables", against Christians and Muslims, against women. Should they be bombed?

Uppermost on everybody's mind, of course, particularly here in America, is the horror of what has come to be known as 9/11. Nearly 3,000 civilians lost their lives in that lethal terrorist strike. The grief is still deep. The

rage still sharp. The tears have not dried. And a strange, deadly war is raging around the world. Yet, each person who has lost a loved one surely knows that no war, no act of revenge, will blunt the edges of their pain or bring their own loved ones back. War cannot avenge those who have died.

War is only a brutal desecration of their memory.

To fuel yet another war—this time against Iraq—by manipulating people's grief, by packaging it for TV specials sponsored by corporations selling detergent or running shoes, is to cheapen and devalue grief, to drain it of meaning. We are seeing a pillaging of even the most private human feelings for political purpose. It is a terrible, violent thing for a state to do to its people.

The US government says that Saddam Hussein is a war criminal, a cruel military despot who has committed genocide against his own people. That's a fairly accurate description of the man. In 1988, he razed hundreds of villages in northern Iraq and killed thousands of Kurds. Today, we know that that same year the US government provided him with \$500m in subsidies to buy American farm products. The next year, after he had successfully completed his genocidal campaign, the US government doubled its subsidy to \$1bn. It also provided him with high-quality germ seed for anthrax, as well as helicopters and dual-use material that could be used to manufacture chemical and biological weapons. It turns out that while Saddam was carrying out his worst atrocities, the US and UK governments were his close allies. So what changed?

In August 1990, Saddam invaded Kuwait. His sin was not so much that he had committed an act of war, but that he acted independently, without orders from his masters. This display of independence was enough to upset the power equation in the Gulf, so it was decided that Saddam be exterminated, like a pet that has outlived its owner's affection.

A decade of bombing has not managed to dislodge him. Now, almost 12 years on, Bush Jr is ratcheting up the rhetoric once again. He's proposing an all-out war whose goal is nothing short of a regime change. Andrew H Card Jr, the White House chief-of-staff, described how the administration was stepping up its war plans for autumn: "From a marketing point of view," he said, "you don't introduce new products in August." This time the catchphrase for Washington's "new product" is not the plight of people in Kuwait but the assertion that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction. Forget "the feckless moralizing of the 'peace' lobbies," wrote Richard Perle, chairman of the Defense Policy Board. The US will "act alone if necessary" and use a "pre-emptive strike" if it determines it is in US interests.

Weapons inspectors have conflicting reports about the status of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, and many have said clearly that its arsenal has been dismantled and that it does not have the capacity to build one. What if Iraq does have a nuclear weapon? does that justify a pre-emptive US strike? The US has the largest arsenal of nuclear weapons in the world. It's the only country in the world to have actually used them on civilian populations. If the US is justified in launching a pre-emptive attack on Iraq, why, any nuclear power is justified in carrying out a pre-emptive attack on any other. India could attack Pakistan, or the other way around.

Recently, the US played an important part in forcing India and Pakistan back from the brink of war. Is it so hard for it to take its own advice? Who is guilty of feckless moralizing? Of preaching peace while it wages war? The U.S., which Bush has called "the most

peaceful nation on earth", has been at war with one country or another every year for the last 50 years.

Wars are never fought for altruistic reasons. They're usually fought for hegemony, for business. And then, of course, there's the business of war. In his book on globalization, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, Tom Friedman says: "The hidden hand of the market will never work without a hidden fist. McDonald's cannot flourish without McDonnell Douglas. And the hidden fist that keeps the world safe for Silicon Valley's technologies to flourish is called the U.S. Army, Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps." Perhaps this was written in a moment of vulnerability, but it's certainly the most succinct, accurate description of the project of corporate globalization that I have read.

After September 11 and the war against terror, the hidden hand and fist have had their cover blown—and we have a clear view now of America's other weapon—the free market—bearing down on the developing world, with a clenched, unsmiling smile. The Task That Never Ends is America's perfect war, the perfect vehicle for the endless expansion of American imperialism.

In Urdu, the word for profit is *faida*. *Al-qaida* means the word, the word of God, the law. So, in India, some of us call the War Against Terror, *Al-qaida* vs *Al-fayda*—The Word vs The Profit (no pun intended). For the moment it looks as though *Al-fayda* will carry the day. But then you never know . . .

In the past 10 years, the world's total income has increased by an average of 2.5% a year. And yet the numbers of the poor in the world has increased by 100 million. Of the top 100 biggest economies, 51 are corporations, not countries. The top 1% of the world has the same combined income as the bottom 57%, and the disparity is growing. Now, under the spreading canopy of the war against terror, this process is being hustled along. The men in suits are in an unseemly hurry. While bombs rain down contracts are being signed, patents registered, oil pipelines laid, natural resources plundered, water privatized and democracies undermined.

But as the disparity between the rich and poor grows, the hidden fist of the free market has its work cut out. Multinational corporations on the prowl for "sweetheart deal" that yield enormous profits cannot push them through in developing countries without the active connivance of state machinery—the police, the courts, sometimes even the army. Today, corporate globalization needs an international confederation of loyal, corrupt, preferably authoritarian governments in poorer countries, to push through unpopular reforms and quell the mutinies. It needs a press that pretends to be free. It needs courts that pretend to dispense justice. It needs nuclear bombs, standing armies, sterner immigration laws, and watchful coastal patrols to make sure that its only money, goods, patents and services that are globalized—not the free movement of people, not a respect for human rights, not international treaties on racial discrimination or chemical and nuclear weapons, or greenhouse gas emissions, climate change, or, God forbid, justice. It's as though even a gesture towards international accountability would wreck the whole enterprise.

Close to one year after the war against terror was officially flagged off in the ruins of Afghanistan, in country after country freedoms are being curtailed in the name of protecting freedom, civil liberties are being suspended in the name of protecting democracy. All kinds of dissent is being defined as "terrorism". Donald Rumsfeld said that his mission in the war against terror was to persuade the world that Americans must be allowed to continue their way of life. When the

maddened king stamps his foot, slaves tremble in their quarters. So, it's hard for me to say this, but the American way of life is simply not sustainable. Because it doesn't acknowledge that there is a world beyond America.

Fortunately, power has a shelf life. When the time comes, maybe this mighty empire will, like others before it, overreach itself and implode from within. It looks as though structural cracks have already appeared. As the war against terror casts its net wider and wider, America's corporate heart is hemorrhaging. A world run by a handful of greedy bankers and CEOs whom nobody elected can't possibly last.

Soviet-style communism failed, not because it was intrinsically evil but because it was flawed. It allowed too few people to usurp too much power: 21st-century market-capitalism, American-style, will fail for the same reasons.

[From The New York Times, Oct. 10, 2002]

CONGRESS MUST RESIST THE RUSH TO WAR

(By Robert C. Byrd)

WASHINGTON.—A sudden appetite for war with Iraq seems to have consumed the Bush administration and Congress. The debate that began in the Senate last week is centered not on the fundamental and monumental questions of whether and why the United States should go to war with Iraq, but rather on the mechanics of how best to wordsmith the president's use-of-force resolution in order to give him virtually unchecked authority to commit the nation's military to an unprovoked attack on a sovereign nation.

How have we gotten to this low point in the history of Congress? Are we too feeble to resist the demands of a president who is determined to bend the collective will of Congress to his will—a president who is changing the conventional understanding of the term "self-defense"? And why are we allowing the executive to rush our decision-making right before an election? Congress, under pressure from the executive branch, should not hand away its Constitutional powers. We should not hamstring future Congresses by casting such a shortsighted vote. We owe our country a due deliberation.

I have listened closely to the president. I have questioned the members of his war cabinet. I have searched for that single piece of evidence that would convince me that the president must have in his hands, before the month is out, open-ended Congressional authorization to deliver an unprovoked attack on Iraq. I remain unconvinced. The president's case for an unprovoked attack is circumstantial at best. Saddam Hussein is a threat, but the threat is not so great that we must be stamped to provide such authority to this president just weeks before an election.

Why are we being hounded into action on a resolution that turns over to President Bush the Congress's Constitutional power to declare war? This resolution would authorize the president to use military forces of this nation wherever, whenever and however he determines, and for as long as he determines, if he can somehow make a connection to Iraq. It is a blank check for the president to take whatever action he feels "is necessary and appropriate in order to defend the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq." This broad resolution underwrites, promotes and endorses the unprecedented Bush doctrine of preventive war and pre-emptive strikes—detailed in a recent publication, "National Security Strategy of the United States"—against any nation that the president, and the president alone, determines to be a threat.

We are at the gravest of moments. Members of Congress must not simply walk away from their Constitutional responsibilities. We are the directly elected representatives of the American people, and the American people expect us to carry out our duty, not simply hand it off to this or any other president. To do so would be to fail the people we represent and to fall woefully short of our sworn oath to support and defend the Constitution.

We may not always be able to avoid war, particularly if it is thrust upon us, but Congress must not attempt to give away the authority to determine when war is to be declared. We must not allow any president to unleash the dogs of war at his own discretion and for an unlimited period of time.

Yet that is what we are being asked to do. The judgment of history will not be kind to us if we take this step.

Members of Congress should take time out and go home to listen to their constituents. We must not yield to this absurd pressure to act now, 27 days before an election that will determine the entire membership of the House of Representatives and that of a third of the Senate. Congress should take the time to hear from the American people, to answer their remaining questions and to put the frenzy of ballot-box politics behind us before we vote. We should hear them well, because while it is Congress that casts the vote, it is the American people who will pay for a war with the lives of their sons and daughters.

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

(Mr. HOSTETTLER addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON) is recognized for 5 minutes.

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

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 addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

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

(Mr. FILNER addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

REVISIONS TO THE 302(a) ALLOCATIONS AND BUDGETARY AGGREGATES ESTABLISHED BY THE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR 2003

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 submit for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD revisions to the 302(a) allocations to the Committee on Appropriations established by H. Con. Res. 353, the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for fiscal year 2003. My authority to make these adjustments is derived from sections 201, 204 and 231(c) of the budget resolution.

As reported to the House, H.R. 5559, the Department of Transportation and Related Agencies Appropriations Bill for fiscal year 2003, establishes an obligation limitation for programs, projects, and activities within the highway category (as defined by section 251(c)(7)(A) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985). Section 204 of H. Con. Res. 353 provides for an increase in the outlay allocation to the Committee on Appropriations if: (1) the funds are distributed according to the formula contained in section 1102 of the Transportation Equity Act for the 21st Century, (2) the obligation limitation established by the legislation for such programs exceeds \$23,864,000,000, and (3) the accompanying increase in outlays does not exceed \$1,180,000,000.

I have reviewed the provisions of H.R. 5559, and have determined that those conditions have been met. Accordingly, I am increasing the fiscal year 2003 outlay allocation to the House Committee on Appropriations by \$1,180,000,000.

In addition, the conference report on H.R. 5010, the bill making appropriations for the Department of Defense for fiscal year 2003, provides new budget authority for operations of the Department of Defense to prosecute the war on terrorism. Section 201 of H. Con. Res. 353 provides for an increase in the allocations and other levels in the budget resolution for amounts provided for this purpose, subject to an overall limitation of \$10,000,000,000 in new budget authority and outlays flowing therefrom.

The conference report on the Defense appropriations bill provides additional funds to prosecute the war on terrorism. Accordingly, I am increasing the fiscal year 2003 budget authority allocation to the House Committee on Appropriations by \$1,000,000,000, and the outlay allocation by \$743,000,000, which I estimate to be the outlays flowing from those appropriations.

The resulting 302(a) allocation for fiscal year 2003 to the House Committee on Appropriations is \$749,096,000,000 in new budget authority and \$785,191,000,000, in outlays.

CONGRATULATING INDIA ON SUCCESSFUL DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR

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

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity on the House floor to congratulate India and its election commission on the successful conclusion of free, fair, and transparent elections in Jammu and Kashmir for an 87-member state assembly.

The challenges experienced by candidates, political workers, and voters were extreme in this election. Targeted violence by terrorists was used as a