

There was no objection.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 3289,
EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL
APPROPRIATIONS ACT FOR DE-
FENSE AND FOR THE RECON-
STRUCTION OF IRAQ AND AF-
GHANISTAN, 2004

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 424, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 3289) making emergency supplemental appropriations for defense and for the reconstruction of Iraq and Afghanistan for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2004, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 424, the conference report is considered as having been read.

(For conference report and statement, see prior proceedings of the House of today.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG) and the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG).

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this is the conference report on the supplemental to pay for our military forces, equipment, their salaries, and their medical care. A speaker who just left the well a few minutes ago said that nobody knows where the money is going, and I want to tell my colleagues that we do know where it is going. It is going to take me a little bit more time than I had anticipated using, but let me tell my colleagues this: \$65 billion of this money goes to the American troops, the American forces in Afghanistan and in Iraq. I will take the time to provide details of that funding:

Military personnel expenses: \$17,800,000; The operation and maintenance for our services involved in Iraq and Afghanistan, \$39,231,000; for procurement for the Army, for missiles, and WTCV for the Army, other procurement Army, aircraft procurement

Army and Navy, other procurement Navy, procurement for the Marine Corps, Air Force procurement defense-wide \$5,534,000. These pages that I will provide for the record are full of details on spending in this bill. And for someone to stand here and say no one knows where the money is going, is just not accurate. I really do not mind the political comments that are made here, but do not distort the facts.

We know where this money is going. Do we know where every penny is going? No. And for some of the programs that my colleagues support, we do not know where all that money is going, either. But we do the best we can. We know this money is going for our troops. In fact, all of this money is going for our troops.

Why did I say that? Because clearly \$20 billion is for construction and recovery in Afghanistan and Iraq. But our troops are there. And this House overwhelmingly voted to send them there, and so did the other body. And so they are there. And they are not coming home until they have created a secure Afghanistan and a secure Iraq.

Now, another speaker said, it is not working. The heck it is not. You talk to anybody who has gone from this Congress to Iraq and they will tell you that it is working. Is it working overnight? No. Of course not. It took 30 years for Saddam Hussein to destroy the lifestyle of people in Iraq. And our President decided to fix that. He was tired of Iraq threatening his neighbors. He was tired of Iraq supporting terrorists. And we voted to support him. Our troops are going to come home after we have been able to help the Iraqis create their own government and create their own security forces, so that they can have some quality of life in Iraq.

So this money is going for our troops, and \$65 billion of it is going directly to our troops.

There are other things in this bill. We had a good conference with the Senate. It took us a couple of days after pre-working this conference for a couple of weeks, and we have done some good things in this bill.

Remember the outrage that we all expressed when we found out that soldiers, wounded in battle, in a military hospital, were charged \$8.10 a day for

the food that they consumed while in the hospital? This bill fixed that. We had fixed it temporarily in an appropriations bill. This bill fixes it permanently. And it not only fixes it permanently, but it makes it retroactive, so anybody who was billed for their food while recovering from battle wounds will get their money back if they paid those charges. This bill does that.

We provide additional benefits for our National Guardsmen and our Reservists who are serving in our Nation's military in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Mr. Speaker, it has been said that there is no exit strategy, and that there is no plan. The fact is, there is an exit strategy, and that is to stabilize Iraq and Afghanistan so that our troops can exit and exit safely, and so that the people of Iraq can have a quality of life. They did not have a quality of life prior to the United States liberating that nation from the tentacles of Saddam Hussein, who had destroyed millions of his own people in one way or another, who had gone to war with his neighbor in Iran, who has invaded Kuwait, and who threatened Saudi Arabia. This was a bad guy.

I had the opportunity at the request of the Administration to attend the donors conference in Madrid last week, and I listened to speakers from many countries saying how bad Saddam Hussein was and how important it was to liberate the people of Iraq. They did not give the United States any credit for having made this happen, but at least they acknowledged that it had to happen, and that the United States, led by the President of the United States, George Bush, had the courage and the gumption to do something about it. I think we will find in the long range that this is going to be beneficial to the world. And this House obviously believed that, because we voted overwhelmingly to send those forces to Afghanistan and to Iraq.

Mr. Speaker, there are a lot of other things that I want to bring to the discussion this evening; but at this point I am going to reserve the balance of my time, and then we will have our exchanges and then have a final vote here very shortly.

FY 2004 EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR DEFENSE AND FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN (H.R. 3289)
(Amounts in thousands)

	FY 2004 Request	House	Senate	Conference	Conference vs. Request
TITLE I - NATIONAL SECURITY					
CHAPTER 1					
DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE					
Military Personnel					
Military Personnel, Army (emergency).....	12,858,870	12,188,870	12,858,870	12,858,870	---
Military Personnel, Navy (emergency).....	816,100	816,100	816,100	816,100	---
Military Personnel, Marine Corps (emergency).....	753,190	753,190	753,190	753,190	---
Military Personnel, Air Force (emergency).....	3,384,700	3,384,700	3,384,700	3,384,700	---
Total, Military Personnel.....	17,812,860	17,142,860	17,812,860	17,812,860	---
Operation and Maintenance					
Operation and Maintenance, Army (emergency).....	24,190,464	24,257,664	---	23,997,064	-193,400
(Contingent emergency appropriations).....	---	---	24,946,464	---	---
Operation and Maintenance, Navy (emergency).....	2,106,258	1,934,058	1,976,258	1,956,258	-150,000
(Transfer out) (emergency).....	(-80,000)	(-80,000)	(-80,000)	(-80,000)	---
Coast Guard Operations (by transfer) (emergency).....	(80,000)	(80,000)	(80,000)	(-80,000)	(-160,000)
Operation and Maintenance, Marine Corps (emergency).....	1,198,981	1,198,981	1,198,981	1,198,981	---
Operation and Maintenance, Air Force (emergency).....	5,948,368	5,598,368	5,516,368	5,416,368	-532,000
Operation and Maintenance, Defense-Wide (emergency).....	4,618,452	4,485,452	4,218,452	4,355,452	-263,000
Operation and Maintenance, Marine Corps Reserve (emergency).....	16,000	16,000	16,000	16,000	---
Operation and Maintenance, Air Force Reserve (emergency).....	53,000	53,000	53,000	53,000	---
Operation and Maintenance, Air National Guard (emergency).....	214,000	214,000	214,000	214,000	---
Overseas Humanitarian, Disaster, and Civic Aid (emergency).....	35,500	35,500	35,500	35,500	---
Iraq Freedom Fund (emergency).....	1,988,600	2,086,600	1,988,600	1,988,600	---
(Transfer out) (emergency).....	---	---	(-4,000)	---	---
Inspector General (by transfer) (emergency).....	---	---	(-4,000)	---	---
Total, Operation and Maintenance.....	40,369,623	39,879,623	40,163,623	39,231,223	-1,138,400
Procurement					
Missile Procurement, Army (emergency).....	6,200	---	6,200	---	-6,200
Procurement of Weapons and Tracked Combat Vehicles, Army (emergency).....	46,000	101,600	---	101,600	+55,600
(Contingent emergency appropriations).....	---	---	104,000	---	---
Other Procurement, Army (emergency).....	930,687	1,250,287	---	1,143,687	+213,000
(Contingent emergency appropriations).....	---	---	1,078,687	---	---
Aircraft Procurement, Navy (emergency).....	128,600	158,600	128,600	158,600	+30,000
Other Procurement, Navy (emergency).....	76,357	76,357	76,357	76,357	---
Procurement, Marine Corps (emergency).....	123,397	123,397	123,397	123,397	---
Aircraft Procurement, Air Force (emergency).....	40,972	53,972	40,972	53,972	+13,000
Missile Procurement, Air Force (emergency).....	20,450	20,450	20,450	20,450	---
Other Procurement, Air Force (emergency).....	3,441,006	3,418,006	3,441,006	3,438,006	-3,000
Procurement, Defense-Wide (emergency).....	435,635	418,635	435,635	418,635	-17,000
Total, Procurement.....	5,249,304	5,621,304	5,455,304	5,534,704	+285,400
Research, Development, Test and Evaluation					
Research, Development, Test and Evaluation, Navy (emergency).....	34,000	34,000	34,000	34,000	---
Research, Development, Test and Evaluation, Air Force (emergency).....	39,070	39,070	39,070	39,070	---
Research, Development, Test and Evaluation, Defense-Wide (emergency).....	265,817	195,817	265,817	260,817	-5,000
Total, Research, Development, Test and Evaluation.....	338,887	268,887	338,887	333,887	-5,000

FY 2004 EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR DEFENSE AND FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN (H.R. 3289)
(Amounts in thousands)

	FY 2004 Request	House	Senate	Conference	Conference vs. Request
Revolving and Management Funds					
Defense Working Capital Funds (emergency).....	600,000	600,000	600,000	600,000	---
National Defense Sealift Fund (emergency).....	24,000	24,000	24,000	24,000	---
Total, Revolving and Management Funds.....	624,000	624,000	624,000	624,000	---
Other Department of Defense Programs					
Defense Health Program (emergency).....	658,380	658,380	658,380	658,380	---
Drug Interdiction and Counter-Drug Activities, Defense (emergency).....	73,000	73,000	73,000	73,000	---
Total, Other Department of Defense Programs.....	731,380	731,380	731,380	731,380	---
Related Agencies					
Intelligence Community Management Account (emergency).....	21,500	21,500	21,500	21,500	---
Transfer to Department of Energy.....	(3,000)	(3,000)	(3,000)	(3,000)	---
Transfer to Department of Justice.....	(15,500)	(15,500)	(15,500)	(15,500)	---
GENERAL PROVISIONS					
Transfer Authority (sec. 1101) (emergency).....	(5,000,000)	(3,000,000)	(5,000,000)	(3,000,000)	(-2,000,000)
Storm Damage (sec. 1109) (emergency).....	---	413,300	---	313,000	+313,000
Munitions security and destruction (sec. 1121) (emergency).....	---	---	---	100,000	+100,000
Total, Chapter 1.....	65,147,554	64,702,854	65,147,554	64,702,554	-445,000
Emergency appropriations.....	(65,147,554)	(64,702,854)	(39,018,403)	(64,702,554)	(-445,000)
Contingent emergency appropriations.....	---	---	(26,129,151)	---	---
CHAPTER 2					
DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY					
United States Coast Guard					
Operating expenses (emergency).....	---	23,183	---	23,183	+23,183
Emergency Preparedness and Response					
Disaster Relief (emergency).....	---	---	---	500,000	+500,000
Total, Chapter 2.....	---	23,183	---	523,183	+523,183
CHAPTER 3					
MILITARY CONSTRUCTION					
Military construction, Army (emergency).....	119,900	185,100	119,900	162,100	+42,200
Military construction, Navy (emergency).....	---	45,530	---	45,530	+45,530
Military construction, Air Force (emergency).....	292,550	292,550	292,550	292,550	---
Family housing operations and maintenance, Army (emergency).....	---	8,151	---	11,420	+11,420
Family housing operation and maintenance, Navy and Marine Corps (emergency).....	---	6,280	---	6,280	+6,280
Family housing operation and maintenance, Air Force (emergency).....	---	6,981	---	6,981	+6,981
Total, Chapter 3.....	412,450	544,592	412,450	524,861	+112,411
Total, TITLE I.....	65,560,004	65,270,629	65,560,004	65,750,598	+190,594
Emergency appropriations.....	(65,560,004)	(65,270,629)	(39,430,853)	(65,750,598)	(+190,594)
Contingent emergency appropriations.....	---	---	(26,129,151)	---	---
TITLE II - IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN RECONSTRUCTION					
AND INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE					
CHAPTER 1					
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE					
General Legal Activities (emergency).....	---	15,000	---	15,000	+15,000

FY 2004 EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR DEFENSE AND FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN (H.R. 3289)
(Amounts in thousands)

	FY 2004 Request	House	Senate	Conference	Conference vs. Request
DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND RELATED AGENCY					
Administration of Foreign Affairs					
Diplomatic and Consular programs (emergency).....	40,500	156,300	35,800	156,300	+115,800
Reappropriation.....	35,800	---	---	---	-35,800
Rescission (emergency).....	---	-35,800	-35,800	-35,800	-35,800
Embassy Security, Construction and Maintenance (emergency).....	60,500	43,900	---	43,900	-16,600
Emergencies in the Diplomatic and Consular service (emergency).....	50,000	50,000	---	115,500	+65,500
(Contingent emergency appropriations).....	---	---	90,500	---	---
Total, Administration of Foreign Affairs.....	186,800	214,400	90,500	279,900	+93,100
International Organizations					
Contributions for International Peacekeeping Activities (emergency).....	---	245,000	---	245,000	+245,000
RELATED AGENCY					
Broadcasting Board of Governors					
International Broadcasting Operations (emergency).....	---	40,000	---	40,000	+40,000
Total, Chapter 1.....	186,800	514,400	90,500	579,900	+393,100
Emergency appropriations.....	(186,800)	(550,200)	(35,800)	(615,700)	(+428,900)
Contingent emergency appropriations.....	---	---	(90,500)	---	---
Emergency rescissions.....	---	(-35,800)	(-35,800)	(-35,800)	(-35,800)
CHAPTER 2					
BILATERAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE					
FUNDS APPROPRIATED TO THE PRESIDENT					
United States Agency for International Development					
Operating expenses of the United States Agency for International Development (emergency).....	40,000	40,000	40,000	40,000	---
(Transfer out) (emergency).....	---	---	(-4,000)	(-1,900)	(-1,900)
U.S AID Office of Inspector General (by transfer) (emergency).....	---	---	(4,000)	(1,900)	(+1,900)
Capital Investment Fund					
Capital Investment Fund (contingent emergency appropriations).....	---	---	60,500	16,600	+16,600
OTHER BILATERAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE					
FUNDS APPROPRIATED TO THE PRESIDENT					
Iraq relief and reconstruction fund (emergency).....	20,304,000	18,649,000	18,449,000	18,649,000	-1,655,000
(Transfer out) (emergency).....	---	---	(100,000)	(210,000)	(+210,000)
Operating Expenses of the Coalition Provisional Authority (emergency).....	---	858,000	---	983,000	+983,000
Economic support fund (emergency).....	422,000	872,000	422,000	872,000	+450,000
(by transfer) (emergency).....	---	---	---	(100,000)	(+100,000)
International disaster and famine assistance (emergency).....	---	100,000	---	110,000	+110,000
(by transfer) (emergency).....	---	---	---	(110,000)	(+110,000)
United States Emergency Fund for Complex Foreign Crises (emergency).....	100,000	---	100,000	---	-100,000
(By transfer) (emergency).....	---	---	(100,000)	---	---
DEPARTMENT OF STATE					
International narcotics control and law enforcement (emergency).....	120,000	170,000	120,000	170,000	+50,000
Nonproliferation, antiterrorism, demining and related programs (emergency).....	35,000	35,000	35,000	35,000	---

FY 2004 EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR DEFENSE AND FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN (H.R. 3289)
(Amounts in thousands)

	FY 2004 Request	House	Senate	Conference	Conference vs. Request
MILITARY ASSISTANCE					
FUNDS APPROPRIATED TO THE PRESIDENT					
Foreign Military Financing Program (emergency).....	222,000	297,000	222,000	287,000	+65,000
Peacekeeping operations (emergency).....	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	---
Total, Chapter 2.....	21,293,000	21,071,000	19,498,500	21,212,600	-80,400
Emergency appropriations.....	(21,293,000)	(21,071,000)	(19,438,000)	(21,196,000)	(-97,000)
Contingent emergency appropriations.....	---	---	(60,500)	(16,600)	(+16,600)
(By transfer) (emergency).....	---	---	(104,000)	(211,900)	(+211,900)
Total, TITLE II.....	21,479,800	21,585,400	19,589,000	21,792,500	+312,700
Emergency appropriations.....	(21,479,800)	(21,621,200)	(19,473,800)	(21,811,700)	(+331,900)
Contingent emergency appropriations.....	---	---	(151,000)	(16,600)	(+16,600)
Emergency rescissions.....	---	(-35,800)	(-35,800)	(-35,800)	(-35,800)
(By transfer) (emergency).....	---	---	(104,000)	(211,900)	(+211,900)
TITLE III					
CHAPTER 1					
DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS					
Veteran Health Administration					
Medical care (emergency).....	---	---	1,300,000	---	---
GRAND TOTAL (net).....	87,039,804	86,856,029	86,449,004	87,543,098	+503,294
Emergency appropriations.....	(87,039,804)	(86,891,829)	(80,204,653)	(87,562,298)	(+522,494)
Contingent emergency appropriations.....	---	---	(26,280,151)	(16,600)	(+16,600)
Emergency rescissions.....	---	(-35,800)	(-35,800)	(-35,800)	(-35,800)
Transfer authority (emergency).....	(5,000,000)	(3,000,000)	(5,000,000)	(3,000,000)	(-2,000,000)
(Transfer out) (emergency).....	(-77,000)	(-77,000)	(15,000)	(131,100)	(+208,100)
(By transfer) (emergency).....	(95,500)	(95,500)	(203,500)	(147,400)	(+51,900)

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MURTHA), the ranking Democrat on the Subcommittee on Defense.

Mr. MURTHA. Mr. Speaker, the first trip I took to Kuwait, it was right before the war started and the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI) had asked me to accompany her, because for her first foreign trip she wanted to go, even though she was not for the war resolution, she wanted to make sure that the troops understood she supported them wholeheartedly. The next trip I went on was to Iraq, and I found a number of shortages which a lot of people have talked about. But the shortages were not because the Committee on Appropriations did not put the money in; the shortages were because the bureaucrats back here saved the money for some other purpose. They did not want to spend this money. In the meantime, we had troops without inserts for their battle gear, we had troops without jammers, we had Bradleys without tracks, a lot of different problems. We called back from there, and we got the Defense Department moving. And this supplemental has every one of the shortages, the money for every one of the shortages in this bill.

I am pleased to say that we have the companies working 24 hours a day to make sure that the troops have the type of equipment they need to protect their lives. I am hopeful that the President shifts some of these intelligence people, because what I have always learned is intelligence is probably the most important element in fighting a war; shifts the intelligence people from trying to find these weapons of mass destruction to trying to protect our troops.

I get a lot of complaints from the Reserves. I hear all kinds of optimistic talk about this war. But let me say this. The Iraqis supposedly were for us when we went in. I see polls that say 60 percent of the people are for what we are doing.

Well, when they fire our PGs into our troops and they take their legs off; we went out to the hospital, a number of us have been out there, the chairman has been out there, his wife has been out there over and over again, and we see them with their legs blown off and their arms blown off, and then they disappear after they have been firing these weapons into the crowd, that means the Iraqis are not with us. I do not care what the polls show; they are not with us. Now, they may be with us in heart, but they are afraid to talk about it and when they are afraid to talk about it, we have to win the hearts and minds of the people. That is what this reconstruction money is all about.

We took care of the money for the troops, but if you do not get the electricity back, if you do not get the water running right, if you do not get the people who are unemployed; there

is 60 percent unemployment, I just got a briefing yesterday and they told me there is still 60 percent unemployment. If we have 60 percent unemployment in this country, we are not going to be able to solve the problem.

So we have to get the Iraqis back to work, and the reconstruction money is as important as anything that we can do in order to help solve this problem. I said when I came back, we have to get Iraqis out in the field and we have to get the international community involved in this, and we have to energize Iraq. If we do not do that, we are going to lose this war.

I believe the key to winning this war is to win the hearts and minds of the people, and we have to overcome the X factor of the enemy. If we do not overcome the X factor of the enemy, we will lose this war. I think it is on the edge now. I am not as optimistic as a lot of people are. I know an awful lot of people who were optimistic initially are much more realistic than they used to be. But I tell my colleagues one thing, if we were to let this legislation not pass, we sure would not win this war.

So I would urge the Members of this House to vote for this \$65 billion for the troops and the \$20 billion for the reconstruction effort in order to get our troops back home as quickly as we can.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the very distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. LEWIS), the chairman of our Subcommittee on Defense of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I very much appreciate the gentleman yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I must say, at the beginning of my remarks I want the House to know that I deeply appreciate the comments of my colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MURTHA), who is my partner on this subcommittee; and I also want to say to the House that I am rising this evening with no small amount of serious concern about the problems that are facing my constituents in my own district where literally the whole district is on fire. It is an incredible time.

But a few weeks ago, I had the opportunity to take perhaps the largest delegation that has traveled to Iraq since we have been involved there, a group of Members numbering some 17 of us, a fabulous cross-section of the House: Democrats and Republicans, liberals, conservatives, Members who had voted against the war, Members who supported the war. But we saw many things in a relatively short trip, but one thing was absolutely certain. We all became convinced that Saddam Hussein absolutely is one of the most outrageous tyrants of modern time, rivaling Hitler's Germany, certainly rivaling that which the Russian leadership was all about.

While we were there, we visited circumstances that reflect the worst of

what this tyrant has done to his people, a people who have had no opportunity for freedom in their lifetime, a people who have been oppressed if they dared oppose him, and people who were killed in the tens and tens of thousands. Visiting the killing fields was an amazing experience where in one location, tens of thousands had been killed on that spot, and similar locations across the country. This person did not hesitate to wipe out huge portions of his own population, ranging between 500,000 and maybe 1.5 million people.

In turn, that delegation was amazed to see what had been done to the children of Iraq, suggesting that he was even willing to see that children were fed formula that was mixed with sewage water, caring nothing about the future of those children and those families.

So America is there to make a commitment to the future of these people in hopes that they really will experience freedom.

□ 2245

General Petraeus, who was one of the key commanders that we dealt with, said that the money that was most important to his success was that money that was going to reconstruction. That, the General told us, the security of his troops was very much connected to the sense that America was about creating new opportunities there and laying the foundation for freedom. And, indeed, he felt it deeply, that was the way to make sure that our people, our troops come home as soon as possible.

Let me just make one more point. That is there is no doubt that if we are successful in our efforts in Iraq, we are about to play a role in creating a model in the Middle East that could change the future of that entire region.

There is absolutely no question that this success could take us down a pathway that could lead to a new kind of peaceful opportunity, a new roadway in the entire region. I truly believe that we have a chance at this moment to make a difference about the entire future of the Middle East. And it is a Democrat and Republican effort. The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MURTHA) has been fundamental in helping me be successful in the military side of this, but both of us recognize just how important the reconstruction effort is as well.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI), the distinguished minority leader.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY), the distinguished ranking member on the Committee on Appropriations, for yielding and for his leadership. I appreciate the Obey alternative that was not able to be offered but that he put forth. And I will speak to that in just a moment.

I rise in opposition to the supplemental. And, in doing so, I want to acknowledge the extraordinary commitment of our distinguished chairman to

our troops. For him it is a family matter. His wife has been, as all have said over and over, an angel to the young men and women that have come back from combat and are at the Bethesda Naval Medical Center and the Walter Reed Hospital. And all of us who have visited them salute their courage, their patriotism, the sacrifice they are willing to make for our country. I had the privilege of doing that on a number of occasions with the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MURTHA), as well as visiting the troops in Kuwait.

Mr. Speaker, it is not a question as to whether we support the troops. Of course, we all do. So I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your extraordinary commitment there, and, as well, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY.) In fact, in the Obey substitute there was \$4.6 billion more for the troops. Unfortunately, the rules prevented us from taking up the alternative simply because it was paid for. Funny rules, but there they are.

I commend the gentleman from California (Mr. LEWIS) for working with the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MURTHA), where we finally were able to get some of the equipment that the troops need to protect themselves as they fight this fight in Iraq. They are precious to us. Again, we salute them. But we cannot send them into battle unless they are adequately equipped.

May I offer my condolences and sympathy to the gentleman from California (Mr. LEWIS) for the losses in his district and that of many in our great State of California. I salute the firefighters who also are taking risks for us in our Golden State. Because, quite frankly, one of my dismays with the administration on their proposals are that with the \$63 billion that we gave them last spring and the summer with a practically unanimous vote, it was not even an issue, of course, the money would be sent. When the President asked for the \$87 billion, we later learned that the troops still did not have the kevlar lining in their vests, in their flak jackets, at least 44,000 of them did not. They still did not have jammers to prevent the improvised explosive devices from taking their lives. They still did not have the tracks for the Bradleys. They still did not have the spare parts for nearly half of their equipment.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MURTHA) visited there, raised a ruckus, but still they did not have it in the \$63 billion package in the summer; they still do not have it, this the \$87 billion request from the President. I thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MURTHA) for his extraordinary leadership on behalf of the troops. We salute them here on this floor; he works for them every day. And without his raising the ruckus, they still would not have it in this bill, but he and the gentleman from California (Mr. LEWIS) made that possible. And we are all in their debt, all of us who care about the troops. And I know

that that includes every single person here.

As respectful as I am of our distinguished chairman, I beg to differ on the exit strategy. What he stated is something that we all share: A goal that we will successfully accomplish our mission in restoring stability to Iraq. We all agree that that must be done. That is a goal. It is an exit strategy. The administration did not have one, nor did they have a plan. That is a very sad thing. They did not have a plan for postwar Iraq.

Whatever one's view was going into the war, that is history. That was then. Now, we know we have to accomplish the mission, we have to support our troops, and we have to have them come home safely and hopefully soon.

General Zinni's words just resonate with me. They challenge the conscience of our country. General Zinni, retired Marine Corps General Anthony Zinni said, and I quote, "America's men and women in uniform should never be put on the battlefield without a strategic plan not only for the fighting, our generals will take care of that, but for the aftermath and winning that war. Where are we, the American people, if we accept this level of sacrifice without that level of planning?"

So not only does the administration not have an exit strategy, they do not have a plan. The level of sacrifice has not been met with the level of planning. Because President Bush lacked an adequate plan for postwar Iraq, American soldiers are taking virtually all of the risks and American taxpayers are paying virtually all of the bills.

As I said, Democrats offered an alternative that would have spent an additional \$4.6 billion to protect U.S. forces and converted half of the reconstruction loans to loans through the World Bank, thereby costing U.S. taxpayers less, avoiding an increase in the deficit, and encouraging greater international participation. Unfortunately, House Republicans prevented a vote on that proposal. And last week 84 Republicans joined Democrats in favoring loans showing that this is not a partisan issue.

Threats of a Presidential veto if the loans were included in the final bill ignore, really, bipartisan majorities in both Houses of Congress and the opinion of most Americans.

Last night the conferees turned a deaf ear to the American people and the will of both Houses by stripping the loan provision from the conference report. And so tonight we are being asked to vote on a conference report that hands the President another blank check for postwar Iraq.

This conference report reflects no change in the administration's failing postwar Iraq policy. The \$63 billion for Iraq approved last spring has not been adequately accounted for. We do not have any accountability for the policy and, yet, here we are poised to approve \$87 billion for more.

I certainly agree with what has been said on both sides of the aisle; the gen-

tleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MURTHA) said it most recently when he talked about the need for the reconstruction, and the gentleman from California (Mr. LEWIS) referenced it too. Certainly, we know that reconstruction funds are necessary in Iraq. We know that that is important to the safety and the security of our troops. And I think we are blessed in this body to have the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE) and the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. Lowey) as the Chair and ranking member of the Committee on Appropriations subcommittee that will deal with that. They are internationalists, they understand the importance of that. But I do not think we should have a gold-plated, no-bid-contract kind of a way to approach these.

And that was the beauty of the proposal of the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY). It gave them \$7 billion to use immediately, which was what the World Bank said their absorptive capacity was now, and sends the rest of the money on to the World Bank to be capitalized 4 to 1, \$28 billion for this important reconstruction.

The gentleman from California (Mr. LEWIS) referenced General Petraeus. Anyone who has visited the theater knows what a hero he is, 101st Airborne, great, great, great troops that we are very proud of. General Petraeus pointed out an incident where the U.S. engineers called for \$15 million to turn a cement factory into a state-of-the-art cement factory. Our troops working with the Iraqis, this is one of General Petraeus's projects, our troops working with the Iraqis got it up and running not for \$15 million, but for \$80,000. For \$80,000.

So that is why when we are not having loans but we are having grants, and our grandchildren and children have to pay for all of this without any thought of getting any reduction of our deficit from the gushing oil fields of Iraq, should they ever gush forth, it just does not seem right.

Mr. Speaker, what is really sad about all of this in terms of the cost, when the administration came to the Congress and to the Committee on Appropriations, Secretary Wolfowitz said we are dealing with a country that can really finance its own reconstruction and relatively soon. He said that shortly after we went into full combat with Iraq. Mr. WOLFOWITZ said we are dealing with a country that can really finance its own reconstruction and relatively soon. He miscalculated the cost, that is for sure. Ignoring the advice of our own State Department, indeed the Bush administration's own State Department about what to expect in postwar Iraq, and that is a matter of record, it has been published in the assessment that was made after the war, Center for Army's Lessons Learned at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, we know that we did not really even supply our troops with the intelligence, the actionable intelligence they needed to protect themselves and to accomplish the mission.

So we miscalculated the cost, we misunderstood the risks, we do not have the intelligence. And the administration, again, ignored its own report from the State Department about what some of the challenges would be.

Miscalculation, misrepresentation of the cost, misunderstanding of the challenge. Where is the accountability? We need to get that intelligence for our troops just as surely we need to get the kevlar lining for their flak jackets. They are not going to be protected, unless we have the intelligence that is needed to protect them.

So that is why when this blank check of \$87 billion comes to the floor, it begs some questions about what we really are doing for our troops. Our intentions are all very, very positive. We know that. But the military is telling us they do not have the intelligence to protect the troops. The military is telling us that.

The State Department told the administration what to expect and that was ignored.

So in any event, I think I have made my point about I think there was a better way. Let us do this right. We know this is not the last request we are going to receive. The administration told us the day the President made the request for \$87 billion. They called my chief of staff and said it is going to cost \$50 to \$75 billion more. So this is just an installment, an installment that is going to be paid for by our grandchildren. I think there is a better way to do it. I am sorry we do not have that opportunity tonight. And that is why I will be voting against the supplemental.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 6 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE), the chairman of our Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, I want to begin by commending the work of our chairman and ranking member and all the other subcommittee chairmen that worked so hard to bring this bill together. I think it has been truly a work that has brought about an outstanding piece of legislation.

I am going to describe some of the elements of the legislation in just its bare outline, so people do know what is actually in this bill. The amount as we have already heard is the total amount of the appropriation bill, \$87½ billion. The foreign operations chapter is \$21.21 billion, which is just a bit less than the President had requested.

Let me begin, Mr. Speaker, by saying that I strongly support the objectives President Bush and our leadership seek to achieve with this supplemental request for Iraq and Afghanistan. The supplemental bill supports our men and women in uniform, and it provides the reconstruction resources to stabilize and improve conditions in those countries.

□ 2300

These resources are essential to achieving victory and to enabling our troops to come home. Let me cover a few of those highlights.

First, there is \$18.6 billion for the Iraq relief and reconstruction account. That is \$1.7 billion below the request, but \$200 million more than the Senate-passed bill. It includes \$3.24 billion for security and law enforcement, \$1.32 billion for justice and civil society, \$5.5 billion for the electric sector, almost \$1.9 billion for the oil infrastructure, \$4.3 billion for water resources and sanitation, and \$793 million for health care, among many of the other things that are included in there.

The point is that I think these, Mr. Speaker, are the right types of investments. They comprehensively support both the Iraqi people and the physical infrastructure to modernize that country and put it on the path to economic development, security, and stability. These funds are essential investments in the welfare of our troops.

The conference agreement does not provide funds for trash trucks, for \$50,000-per-bed prisons, or for ZIP code systems and what we regard as other low projects. The House took the lead on these issues, and we were pleased to see the Senate's support for this approach. On the other hand, we have added funding for a few programs where we saw gaps in the strategy. For example, there is \$100 million included for the development of an Iraqi constitution, building democratic institutions and to prepare for holding free and open elections. It is important to note that this conference agreement also makes a number of management improvements, including the submission of financial plans projecting project by project details on this Iraq reconstruction account.

The gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI), the distinguished minority leader, talked about where is the plan. We have a plan and we specifically require a spending plan to be submitted by the administrator and OMB so that we have an opportunity to see that and have that updated every 3 months.

The conferees agreed with the House position to create a new appropriation account entitled "Operating Expenses of the Coalition Provisional Authority" rather than leave this activity buried within the Army's \$24 billion operation maintenance appropriations account. The CPA will have an operating budget of some \$983 million, and we have agreed with the Senate to provide an Inspector General for this organization.

Further, we have included language requiring the Office of Management and Budget to transmit to Congress real financial budget and personnel data on the CPA.

I am pleased we were able to work out an agreement on competition and contracting. The agreement strongly supports full and open competition. We

require Ambassador Bremer and the head of any Federal agency providing contracting service for Iraq reconstruction to jointly certify to Congress if other than full and open competition is being pursued.

Mr. Speaker, this agreement is not about Iraq alone. The conference agreement does provide almost \$1.2 billion for our reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan, and that is \$350 million above the President's request.

The agreement provides an additional \$287 million to support the training, equipping, and operations of the new Afghan Army. Also included is \$60 million to improve economic opportunity and the standard of living of women in Afghanistan. These resources support technical and vocational education and will fight against abuse of women. They support education for young women who have been denied all of these decades the opportunity to even learn to read.

The conference report includes \$181 million to repair and reconstruct roads in Afghanistan and to provide that nation with transportation infrastructure linking its cities as well as its rural areas.

Mr. Speaker, I have sought to briefly provide a few of the highlights of this conference agreement. Any conference means compromise, and there are clearly issues which we would have wanted to come out differently; but on the whole, this conference agreement resembles closely the bill that was overwhelmingly supported here in the House a couple of weeks ago. Let me say that this bill supports our President, our men and women in uniform, and our Nation. This agreement is about American foreign policy objectives, and it is about our leadership in the world.

This conference agreement is about completing the job, not just destroying the tyrannical regime of Saddam Hussein, but also building a stable Iraq at peace with its neighbors in the Middle East. This conference is about remembering that much needs to be done to build a new Afghanistan, one secure and free from the Taliban.

This conference agreement is about continuing the war on terrorism and not giving in to the vicious and cowardly attacks against not only our Armed Forces but against the Iraqi, the Afghan and, yes, the American people. This conference agreement is about maintaining our national security. It is a good conference agreement. I urge its adoption.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, how much time remains on both sides?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GOODLATTE). The gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY) has 23 minutes remaining. The gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG) has 13½ minutes remaining.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY),

the ranking Democrat on the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs.

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, in the last few days we have witnessed another tragic string of attacks in Iraq. Our troops, our allies, and our mission are under constant fire. I feel very strongly that we must pass this package to protect our troops and to provide the funds to stabilize Iraq. For me that is the most efficient way to bring our troops home as soon as possible and bring some normalcy to that region.

There were problems with the initial \$87 billion request, and I do believe that the House with the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG) and the ranking member, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY), in the lead modified it appropriately. The prudent cuts made in the House survived conference which is good, and important additions were made.

Our continued efforts in Afghanistan, formerly the headquarters of al Qaeda, have received the funding needed to make sure that the gains we have made do not slip away. We cannot allow that country to again be a haven to groups that would attack us. We did not forget the victims of the Taliban regime either; \$60 million were included for women's empowerment and participation programs. If anyone doubts the importance of women in the development of stable and prosperous states, let them read the remarkable "Arab Human Development Reports." Written by Arab scholars, the reports name three causes for the underdevelopment in some Arab nations: lack of freedom, lack of knowledge, and lack of women's empowerment. As its 2002 report says, "Society as a whole suffers when half of its productive potential is stifled."

The women of this House and Senate know that and are determined that the United States will aggressively and directly provide for opportunities for the women of Afghanistan and Iraq and to help their countries grow strong; and so \$10 million was similarly set aside for women's programs in Iraq.

We also directed \$90 million in Iraq for education, an essential building block of a free society, and an area for which insufficient funds had been originally requested by the administration. The explanation for me seemed to be that education was a "soft area," soft meaning secondary, I believe popular with international donors. Let us leave it to them to fund education.

I vigorously disagree with this reasoning, and I am very glad that our chairman, the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE), worked with me to get these dollars in this bill.

One need only consider the effect that this soft area has in places like Saudi Arabia and Pakistan where children are sent to madrassas and are taught intolerance and hate and breed the terrorists. Education is not a secondary matter. It is a direct security interest to the United States, and,

again, I want to thank the conferees for endorsing this priority.

Concerns about competitive contracting and obtaining timely and accurate reports from the administration on Iraq were addressed, unfortunately, in my judgment, with broad waivers that weaken them substantially. An Inspector General was created for the CPA, but the other body insisted on the waiver which gives the President the ability to withhold any information in the name of national security. A similar waiver applies to the disclosure of noncompetitive contracting. And I do fear that these waivers will lead to more sole-source contracts awarded behind closed doors. The House must monitor this very closely.

Finally, there was the question of loans versus grants. A constituent asked a very simple question: Why can we not lend money to Iraq? Iraq has such a wealth of oil.

It is a reasonable question; and in my judgment, we should have given them a reasonable and prudent compromise. It is unfortunate that this was not accomplished in conference.

I truly believe that failure in Iraq would create a dangerous vacuum in the heart of the Middle East. It would be a place where hatred of the United States and violence against us would thrive, but the gravity of the situation should not lower our standards for planning and execution; it should raise them. There are lives on the line in Iraq and Afghanistan, and our actions will impact the future of all Americans, especially our children and our grandchildren. We owe them caution, honesty, and realism as we face these next stages in Iraq and Afghanistan.

I strongly support the supplemental. I believe the appropriations for our troops and for reconstruction are equally important and essential to our mission.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON).

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, it is the constitutional job of the Congress of the United States to maintain and support the armed services of our country. I stand here in support of this resolution tonight because of that constitutional duty. And I know there have been many bits of discussion about the pros and cons of the line items in this bill. And I know that there are clouds that hang over the question of intelligence as to our initial decision going into Iraq. And I know there are clouds that hang over the decision-making process as to our going in.

But the American troops are there. It is our duty to support them so that they may be victorious in this very arduous and difficult, unique and never-seen-before challenge that Americans in uniform have had.

I had the opportunity about a month ago to visit with young folks in uniform, actually of all services, in and around Iraq, to look at their faces and know that each one of them whether

they came from small towns or inner cities or some from suburbs of America, that they knew their duty, that they were good soldiers, that they wore the American uniform proudly, and that they had a mission to accomplish.

For us tonight, we have a mission to accomplish and that mission is to support this resolution. We have no other choice.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCOTT).

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, the entire Persian Gulf War 12 years ago cost the United States less than \$8 billion. The total cost of the war was over \$60 billion, but because allies were participating our share was only 12 percent of the cost. Now we have already spent \$79 billion on the present war in Iraq. We are asked to spend \$87 billion more for a total of \$166 billion so far.

□ 2315

To put the \$166 billion in perspective, Mr. Speaker, the total appropriation for this fiscal year for the U.S. Department of Homeland Security and the U.S. Department of Transportation and the U.S. Department of Education and Department of Labor and Department of State was less than \$166 billion. On a per capita basis, \$166 billion is more for each person in Iraq than the total annual government spending in the United States for each of our American citizens for everything other than Social Security and defense.

Although this is a huge expenditure, the administration does not even give lip service to explain how the bill will be paid, no outline of spending cuts or increased taxes. The administration says we cannot lend the money to Iraq because they are too far in debt, and yet the national debt in Iraq is approximately \$4,000 a person. The national debt of the United States, \$20,000 per person.

A vote on this bill represents the only opportunity Congress has to consider the President's policies in Iraq since October of last year, and the President's decision to invade unilaterally without allies has meant that we are paying 100 percent of the costs of the war in cash and in casualties, and a yes vote on this bill will mean that no significant attempt will be made to get international participation.

Mr. Speaker, we have had widespread reports of contracting fraud, and a vote on this bill means that we will get more of the same.

During the campaign, the President frequently insisted that no troops would ever be deployed without an exit strategy, and not only do we not have an exit strategy, we do not even have a good entry strategy. The President has acknowledged that Iraq had nothing to do with 9/11. No weapons of mass destruction have been found. Iraq was never an imminent threat to the

United States, and so we cannot get an exit strategy, if we cannot explain why we are there in the first place. A yes vote on the bill forfeits any congressional opportunity to require a meaningful exit strategy.

Now whatever, there are a lot of reasons to vote no, but if this passage of the bill would make us safer, we might want to vote yes. Unfortunately, even before the war, the CIA concluded that Iraq posed very little threat to the United States at that time, but would pose a threat if we attacked them. This policy, which includes the expenditure of \$166 billion and the loss of many courageous lives, has failed to make us safer.

Mr. Speaker, because this bill represents such a huge expenditure and validates failed policies, I would ask that we defeat the legislation.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the very distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. CUNNINGHAM) who as a Naval fighter pilot became the first Ace in the war in Vietnam.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the young lady from San Francisco said that she is not going to vote for this bill. That did not surprise me a bit. When a person has a 35 percent defense rating, the highest ever in a career, it does not surprise me that this young lady would vote against this bill. The troops know, they know each and every one of us and what we do. I became a Republican, I was a Democrat, because of the folks in this body that turned their backs on us, many of us in Vietnam, some of those Republicans, too.

To say, well, I am not going to vote for a bill that gives me the tools to do my job and survive, all these kids want to do is to be able to complete their mission, do their job and get home safely, and to deny them these funds that will do that, they know, and they know what their mission is every single day.

Mr. Speaker, I think to deny the many, many positive things that are going on, the gentleman from California (Mr. LEWIS) took a whole group, as he said, Republicans, Democrats, conservatives, liberals and others, to Iraq and you know what, even those that were opposed to Iraq when they got there and saw what was going on there, the positive things, the men and the women that were walking down the streets free. Now, there are some bad areas, Tikrit and Baghdad, but if my colleagues go to the south and go to the north, we have got young girls going to school now. They could not do that before.

That is the plan, and these kids that are over there know that. They know it every single day. To deny that is a slap in the face to them, and all they want to do is do their job, and that is why it is important that those people that say, well, we should not be there, we are going to deny this money to these kids, that is wrong, because part of the mission is to build up Iraq so that we

only ask one thing of them, that is, to give us a free and stable democracy, not ours, not Britain's, but their own. And you know what, the folks in Israel appreciate that.

I flew in Israel and I know a stable Iraq, a stable Afghanistan, a stable Saudi Arabia. Do my colleagues know that Saudi Arabia since May, when the al Qaeda bombed them, they found over 20 tons of explosives from Saddam Hussein to al Qaeda? Saudi Arabia's arrested them. They would have not done that before. My colleagues want to know what our plan is? They found SA-7 stingers that were coming to the United States. My colleagues know what our plan is? I would rather fight them there than here and give our kids the tools.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. RODRIGUEZ).

Mr. RODRIGUEZ. Mr. Speaker, once again, we failed to provide for our veterans. If today is like many other days since Operation Iraqi Freedom began, wounded troops will continue to arrive at Walter Reed Army Hospital or other military treatment facilities. About 10 each day have continued to arrive.

The military lists thousands. In fact, a couple of weeks ago it is over 1,500 that have been wounded in action or disabled, nonbattle injuries since the conflict in Iraq began. Thousands more may have come to our veterans hospitals in search of the medical care for conditions that may become evident the days and months after their military service has ended.

This summer, this House broke that promise with our veterans. Our budget resolution promised to add \$1.8 billion for veterans. Yet the appropriations we approved for the VA added nothing. I had an opportunity and I went before the Committee on Rules and you had an opportunity to correct that, and at the same time I mentioned to you that you have provided \$2 million for health care for Iraqis but you could not allow the opportunity for us to provide that \$1.8 billion as an opportunity for our own veterans as they come back.

We have had another chance to add these funds, and we have continued to fail. This supplemental rightly addresses the needs of our troops, but it also allows the military to provide better equipment and supplies, but we have to continue to remember that we also have an obligation to those veterans after they come back and as we just this week on Tuesday, we had a chance to visit Walter Reed, and we saw those veterans, where they have lost some of their limbs.

So I ask and appeal to my colleagues that right now, just to be able to complete and continue to provide the services that we provide now, we need \$1.8 billion for our veterans health care to be able to do that, not to mention the fact that we need additional resources.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. KIRK), who actually

flew extremely important missions over Iraq as part of Northern Watch.

Mr. KIRK. Mr. Speaker, let me read a quote. "Americans are losing the victory. The troops returning home are worried. 'We've lost the peace,' men tell you. Before the landings, liberation meant to be freed of tyranny. Now it stands in the minds of civilians for one thing, looting. Never has American prestige been lower. 'Have you no statesmen in America?' they ask."

This sounds like a report from Iraq. It is not. These words were written 57 years ago about the American occupation of Germany. Appearing in the January 7, 1946, edition of Life magazine, John Dos Passos wrote, "We have swept away Hitlerism but Europeans now feel that the cure has been worse than the disease."

Under subtitles like "U.S. administration a poor third" and "the skeptical French press," Life magazine warned that the U.S. occupation in Europe had failed.

Luckily, President Truman did not listen. He knew the failed peace after World War I doomed a second generation of Americans to fight in Europe's killing fields. Truman did not do popular things. He ordered the U.S. Army to remain in Europe, and despite George Washington's advice against alliances, he signed our first military alliance with NATO. He also launched the most expensive foreign aid program in our history, \$105 billion for the Marshall Plan. He did this to avoid sending a third generation of Americans to fight in Europe, and he succeeded.

We now have fought two wars in Iraq. How many more should we fight? The failed peace of Desert Storm guaranteed a second Iraqi war. We have already now sent two generations of Americans to Iraq. I think we should make sure that we do not send a third. We need to finish this job so that young Americans a decade from now do not have to refight this war.

Despite the current media reports that sound just like the 1946 Life magazine report, we need to follow the example of Harry Truman. We need to do this job right so that our sons and daughters are not condemned to a third Persian Gulf War.

How much would my colleagues pay to avoid a third war in Iraq? Avoiding such a war is worth our effort tonight as we pass this bill to finish the job.

Let me say one note of personal privilege. No one knows more about the defense and foreign policy of our country than the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MURTHA) and the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY) and the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON), and I really want to highlight their leadership and personally thank them for following the maxim, "partisanship should end at the water's edge."

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. WAMP), a member of the committee.

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

Mr. WAMP. Mr. Speaker, we are at the end of a 6-week process, and I am proud of the work that the House has accomplished. We cannot afford to fail in Iraq.

The best and brightest in this House have scrubbed the proposal sent from the White House. We have done our best work, and now it is time to vote. Those who say this is a blank check from the White House are just not telling it like it is. This is a world changing paradigm shift on the other side of the world.

I think back to the bipartisan retreat early this year. I was there. Thomas Friedman came from the New York Times, spoke to a large group and said, maybe we are not going about this right, but we need to do this. He really said this needs to happen, an experiment in the 22 Arab countries to promote democracy and make this investment.

We were all hit with sticker shock. Eighty-seven billion dollars is a huge number. It shocked me but we now realize how important it is. It is going to be incalculable the benefits of this investment.

The big debate came down to loans versus grants. When I looked the President eye to eye, he said we believe we are going to get U.N. support. We did, unanimous, for a U.S.-led peacekeeping force in Iraq. We are making progress. Frankly, I was disappointed with Madrid. I say to the White House tonight, prove us wrong on the loans; work until we get more global support. I believe we need to.

The bottom line is this is an unprecedented situation in the history of the world, and we have got to step up. It is easy to demagogue an \$87 billion request. It is easy to critique it, but tonight we have got to vote. I think it is difficult, difficult to vote no. If my colleagues have to hold their nose and vote yes tonight, do it. I am going to grit my teeth and vote yes tonight and say that we cannot afford to fail in Iraq.

□ 2330

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire of the Chair how much time I have remaining.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GOODLATTE). The gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG) has 5½ minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY) has 11½ minutes remaining.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman needs it, I will be happy to yield him 1½ minutes.

Mr. YOUNG OF Florida. That would be very appreciated.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. LEWIS).

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I neglected earlier to express my deep appreciation to the conferees for

their responding to the challenge in our district that involved some \$500 million that is now going to go through the process here to FEMA to help those people who are presently out of their homes, people who suddenly have no place to live and the like.

And, Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman very much for yielding me this time.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LOFGREN).

Ms. LOFGREN. Mr. Speaker, I just wanted to note that many in the California delegation are distressed that the much-needed \$500 million for relief for the fire funding is tied up with the \$87 billion for Iraq that many of us oppose. Tonight we have introduced a stand-alone bill to provide the same \$500 million in relief for California, and we would urge that that be used as a vehicle instead of this supplemental.

We think it is a problem to have the two mixed. It lends a political component to this that should never be present when we are dealing with victims of an awful tragedy such as this. So I wanted the whole House to know of the feeling of the 33 Democratic members of the California delegation that we ought to have a separate fire relief measure for California.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to read the following words from a very distinguished American statesman written 5 years ago: "Trying to eliminate Saddam would have incurred incalculable human and political costs. We would have been forced to occupy Baghdad and, in effect, rule Iraq. There was no viable exit strategy we could see, violating another of our principles. Furthermore, we had been self-consciously trying to set a pattern for handling aggression in the post-Cold War world. Going in and occupying Iraq, thus unilaterally exceeding the United Nations mandate, would have destroyed the precedent of international response to aggression that we had hoped to achieve. Had we gone the invasion route, the United States could conceivably still be an occupying power in a bitterly hostile land."

The man who said that was George Herbert Walker Bush 5 years ago. Now, his advice was not taken, and we now are facing the question of what to do next.

Frankly, how we voted on going to war in the first place is, in my view, in considering this legislation, irrelevant. The question, to me, is not whether we are going to vote for or against this package tonight. I think in many ways how we cast our individual votes on this package is secondary.

The issue is whether the policy which is now being followed in the war's aftermath is the right policy, whether it is wired together well enough in the details in order to achieve the success that every single Member of this body wants to see the President achieve.

After all, he is our President, regardless of party. And after all, these are our sons and daughters and brothers and sisters and cousins and uncles and aunts wearing our uniform and representing our country in that very difficult circumstance tonight.

But the policy is the issue. If the policy is the right policy, then it probably will not matter whether we appropriate \$20 billion more or less than we are appropriating tonight. We will have a good chance of succeeding. And if the policy is not wired together right, then all the money that we can provide will not produce a happy ending.

I want to explain why under these circumstances I will be voting "no" tonight. As the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI) said earlier, we have previously appropriated well over \$60 billion, and we provided maximum flexibility to the Defense Department in spending that money. Yet with that flexibility we saw the shortages of inserts in the Kevlar vests, we saw the shortage of jammers, we saw the shortage of adequate protection for the unarmored Humvees, all of which have put our troops at risk. We have seen inadequate supplies of drinking water for our troops. And the very general in charge of the operation has told us in our hearings that he still does not know how it happened. And now we are being asked to provide \$87 billion more.

The question is not whether the administration will get this money. They will get this money, and they will get a whole lot more because this is just the downpayment. The question is whether or not in the providing of this money we will use our leverage and use our power of the purse to force the agencies and the administration to think through more clearly how it is that they are going to accomplish the goals which they have stated. That, to me, is the detailed question.

Now, we do not have any idea, and the administration has given us no idea, of what their range of expectation is in terms of cost over the next 5 years. We should have some idea so that we can prepare our own constituents to support this over the long haul. We do not have that information. But we do know, at least I am convinced of the unpleasant truth, and I very much agree with Senator MCCAIN on this, I am convinced that if we are to accomplish this job, we do not have enough troops on the ground in Iraq right now. We either need more troops from our allies, or we need more help from the Iraqi remnants that can be reasonably relied upon; or we are going to need more U.S. troops, or our troops will unnecessarily suffer higher casualties than they would otherwise suffer.

Now, it is not pleasant to tell the American people that we may need more troops rather than less before this is over; but talking to the experts whom I trust, that is what I believe.

We also do know that the agencies involved in running this policy so far have managed to find the single most

expensive way to deliver this aid, because they are following a high-tech strategy that involves deep involvement by these huge multinational corporations, like Bechtel and Halliburton and a dozen others, instead of relying on a more indigenous low-tech approach that can put more Iraqis to work so they have something more productive to do than shoot Americans.

I also think that we do know that at this point the administration has given us not a clue about how or how soon they expect to repair the Army. We have equipment from over five divisions that at this point needs reconstitution; it needs refurbishing. We have been told by the Army that that alone is going to cost above \$17 billion, and the administration has asked for less than \$2 billion.

The American public needs to know the facts, and they need to know the costs; and they do not need to have it revealed to them on the installment plan. It should be provided up front so that we can take the case to our public.

We also have the other problem, that this package does not pay for itself. We borrow it all. And so that means that just the interest payments alone will amount to about \$4 billion more than we would be paying if we paid for this cash on the barrel head. And that is \$4 billion on interest payments that will shove out money that would otherwise be available for education, for health care, and for other needed domestic efforts, including infrastructure.

I will be offering a motion to recommend. It will not allow us, because of the restraint of the rules, to get at the basic problems in the policy; but it will allow us to at least try to improve it around the edges. First, we will try to restore the funding for veterans health care that was taken out of the bill. Because while we have been told that that will be taken care of in the VA HUD bill, we have been given no idea of how. So that has yet to become a reality.

Second, the recommittal motion would ask that we accept the Senate provision which would convert \$10 billion of this reconstruction program to loans, with the proviso that if our allies in fact forgive prior loans to Iraq, then we will forgive this loan as well.

Now, there are those who say Iraq cannot afford that. Let me point out Iraq is a country of 23 million people. They are getting \$20 billion in reconstruction. That is \$872 per capita, 10 times as much as the annual per capita aid under the Marshall Plan to all of Europe.

Mr. Speaker, let me simply ask for an "aye" vote on the recommittal motion.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, it has been said that this bill is a blank check. I wish to provide for the RECORD at this point a table that shows that it is not a blank check, and that it is very specific in the money that it appropriates.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE WAR SUPPLEMENTAL CONFERENCE REPORT

President's Request: \$87 billion.
Conference report: \$87.5 billion.

IRAQ RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION

President's Request: \$20.3 billion.
Conference report: \$18.6 billion.

Category and Description	Supplemental Request	Conference Agreement
Security and law enforcement:		
Police training and technical assistance	950	950
Traffic police	50	-
Border Enforcement	150	150
Facilities Protection Services	67	67
Subtotal, Law enforcement	1,217	1,167
Establishment of the New Iraqi Army (NIA)	2,000	2,000
(NIA Facilities)	(745)	(745)
(NIA Equipment)	(879)	(879)
(NIA Operations and Training)	(375)	(375)
Iraq Civil Defense Corps	76	76
(Operations and Personnel)	(58.4)	(58.4)
(Equipment)	(17.2)	(17.2)
Subtotal, National Security	2,076	2,076
Total, Security and Law Enforcement	3,293	3,293
Justice, Public Safety Infrastructure and Civil Society:		
Witness Protection Program	100	75
Other technical investigative methods	10	10
Penal facilities	400	100
Reconstruction and modernization of detention facilities	109	109
Facilities protection, mine removal, fire service, and public safety facility and equipment repairs	500	400
(Demining)	(61)	(61)
Public safety training and facilities	274	199
National Security Communications Network	150	100
Investigations of crimes against humanity	100	75
Judicial security and facilities	200	150
Democracy building activities	-	100
Total, Justice, Public Safety Infrastructure and Civil Society	1,843	1,318
Electric Sector:		
Generation	2,900	2,810
Transmission	1,550	1,550
Network infrastructure	1,000	1,000
Automated monitoring and control system	150	150
Institutional strengthening	25	-
Security	50	50
Total, Electric Sector	5,675	5,560
Oil Infrastructure:		
Infrastructure	1,200	1,200
Emergency supplies of refined petroleum products	900	690
Total, Oil Infrastructure	2,100	1,890
Water Resources and Sanitation:		
Potable water	2,830	2,830
Water conservation	30	30
Sewerage	697	675
Solid waste management/trash trucks	153	-
Other solid waste management	-	22
Subtotal, Public Works Projects	3,710	3,557
Pumping stations and generators	150	150
Irrigation and drainage systems	130	130
Major irrigation projects	130	130
Dam repair, rehab, and new construction	125	125
Umm Qasr to Basra water pipeline and treatment plant	200	200
Marsh projects	100	-
Basra Channel Flushing	40	40
Subtotal, Water Resources projects	875	775
Total, Water Resources and Sanitation	4,585	4,332

SUMMARY TABLE
(In thousands of dollars)

Category and Description	Supplemental Request	Conference Agreement
Transportation and Telecommunications Projects:		
Airports	165	165
Umm Qasr Port rehab	45	45
Railroad rehab and restoration	303	300
Iraqi Telecom and Postal Corporation (Postal IT / ZIP Codes)	124	100
Iraqi Communications systems (Business practices for Iraqi TV and radio)	(9)	(-)
(Numbering scheme/911 initiative)	109	95
(Numbering scheme/911 initiative)	(10)	(-)
Iraqi Communications operations	(4)	(-)
Undistributed reduction, transportation and telecommunications	89	75
	-	-280
Total, Transportation and Telecommunications Projects	835	500
Roads, Bridges, and Construction:		
Housing construction	100	-
Public buildings construction and repair	130	130
Roads and bridges	240	240
Total, Roads, Bridges, and Construction	470	370
Health care:		
Nationwide hospital and clinic improvements ¹	393	493
Equipment procurement and modernization	300	399
Initiate 700m Basrah hospital project	150	-
Health care partnerships	7	-
Total, Health Care	850	793
Private Sector Development:		
American-Iraqi Enterprise Fund	200	-
Expanded network of Employment Centers	8	8
Training	145	100
Micro-Small-Medium Enterprises	-	45
Total, Private Sector Development	353	153
Education, Refugees, Human Rights, Democracy, and Governance:		
Migration and Refugee Assistance	105	105
Local Information Centers	90	-
Property Claims Tribunal	30	30
Banking system modernizations	30	30
Business training courses	20	-
Human rights	15	15
Education	-	90
Civic programs	10	10
Total, Education, Refugees, Human Rights, and Governance	300	280
Transfer/financing	-	210
Total, Iraq Relief and Reconstruction Fund	20,304	18,649

¹ Includes \$35 million for pediatric facility in Basra.

Operating Expenses of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA)—The mark provides a direct appropriation of \$983 million to the Coalition Provisional Authority for their operating expenses instead of providing these funds in the U.S. Army, Operation and Maintenance accounts as requested.

Foreign Debt—The bill includes a prohibition on the use of any funds in this act to be used to pay Iraq's foreign debts.

Inspector General—The bill provides for the establishment of an Inspector General for the CPA.

AFGHANISTAN RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION

President's Request: \$800 million.

Conference report: \$1.2 billion.

These funds are provided generally for infrastructure improvements, in support of women's programs, security assistance and economic development. The additional funds are intended to show tangible improvement in the security and quality of life of most Afghans by the summer of 2004.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

President's Request: \$65.1 billion.

Conference report: \$64.7 billion.

	Request	House	Senate	Conference
Military Personnel.				
Military Personnel, Army	12,858,870	12,188,870	12,858,870	12,858,870

SUMMARY TABLE—Continued

[In thousands of dollars]

	Request	House	Senate	Conference
Military Personnel, Navy	816,100	816,100	816,100	816,100
Military Personnel, Marine Corps	753,190	753,190	753,190	753,190
Military Personnel, Air Force	3,384,700	3,384,700	3,384,700	3,384,700
Total Military Personnel	17,812,860	17,142,860	17,812,860	17,812,860
Operation and Maintenance:				
O&M, Army	24,190,464	24,257,664	24,946,464	23,997,064
O&M, Navy	2,106,258	1,934,058	1,976,258	1,956,258
O&M, Marine Corps	1,198,981	1,198,981	1,198,981	1,198,981
O&M, Air Force	5,948,368	5,598,368	5,516,368	5,416,368
O&M, Defense-Wide	4,618,452	4,485,452	4,218,452	4,355,452
O&M, Marine Corps Reserve	16,000	16,000	16,000	16,000
O&M, Air Force Reserve	53,000	53,000	53,000	53,000
O&M, Air National Guard	214,000	214,000	214,000	214,000
Overseas Humanitarian, Disaster and Civic Aid	35,000	35,000	35,000	35,000
Iraq Freedom Fund	1,988,600	2,086,000	1,988,600	1,988,600
Total Operation and Maintenance	40,369,623	39,879,623	40,163,623	39,231,223
Procurement:				
Missile Procurement, Army	6,200	6,200	6,200	6,200
Procurement of WTCV, Army	46,000	101,600	104,000	101,600
Other Procurement, Army	930,687	1,250,287	1,078,687	1,143,687
Aircraft Procurement, Navy	128,600	158,600	128,600	158,600
Other Procurement, Navy	76,357	76,357	76,357	76,357
Procurement, Marine Corps	123,397	123,397	123,397	123,397
Aircraft Procurement, Air Force	40,972	53,972	40,972	53,972
Missile Procurement, Air Force	20,450	20,450	20,450	20,450
Other Procurement, Air Force	3,441,006	3,418,006	3,441,006	3,438,006
Procurement, Defense-Wide	435,635	418,635	435,635	418,635
Total Procurement	5,249,304	5,621,304	5,455,304	5,534,704
Research, Development, Test and Evaluation:				
RDT&E, Navy	34,000	34,000	34,000	34,000
RDT&E, Air Force	39,070	39,070	39,070	39,070
RDT&E, Defense-Wide	265,817	195,817	265,817	260,817
Total RDT&E	338,887	268,887	338,887	333,887
Revolving and Management Funds:				
Defense Working Capital Funds	600,000	600,000	600,000	600,000
National Defense Sealift Fund	24,000	24,000	24,000	24,000
Total Revolving & Management Funds	624,000	624,000	624,000	624,000
Other Department of Defense Programs:				
Defense Health Program	658,380	658,380	658,380	658,380
Drug Interdiction & Counter-Drug Activities, Defense	73,000	73,000	73,000	73,000
Total Other	731,380	731,380	731,380	731,380
Related Agencies:				
Intelligence Community Management Account	21,500	21,500	21,500	21,500
General Provisions:				
Storm Damage (Sec. 1109)		413,300		313,000
Munitions Security and Destruction (Sec. 1121)				100,000
Grand Total Chapter 1	65,147,554	64,702,854	65,147,554	64,702,554

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE DEFENSE PORTION OF CONFERENCE REPORT

Force Protection—The conference report increases funds to purchase body armor Special Armor Plate Insert, to clear unexploded ordnance and to increase production of other force protection measures such as armored HMMVV's and electronic jammers.

Tricare and Reservist Health Care Benefits—The conference report allows inactive reservist and their family members to become eligible for TRICARE health care coverage if they are receiving unemployment compensation or not eligible for any other health coverage. It also includes provisions that expands eligibility time periods for reservists and provides Medical and Dental Screening and Care coverage where appropriate.

Meal Allowances—Prohibits service members injured in combat or training from being billed for meals during their hospitalization. Makes this benefit retroactive to 9/11/2001 and provides reimbursement for those who have already paid meal charges.

Hazard Pay and Family Support—The mark includes a proposed provision which authorizes continued payment of per diem for travel for family members of military personnel who are ill or injured as result of active duty service and includes a provision to continue the increased monthly rate of Imminent Danger Pay and Family Separation Allowances through September 30, 2004.

Recovery of Natural Disasters—The conference report includes \$313 million, not requested by the Administration, for recovery and repairs to damage to military facilities caused by Hurricane Isabel. \$525 million is provided for military construction activities

related to the war on terrorism and to make repairs to facilities damaged by recent natural disasters.

COMMERCE JUSTICE STATE PROGRAMS

President's Request: \$187 million.
Conference Report: \$580 million.

The following is a selected lists of items funded under the Commerce-Justice-State title of the bill: \$245 million for peacekeeping activities in Liberia; \$44 million for a secure embassy facility in Kabul, Afghanistan; \$40 million for an Arabic broadcasting services to Iraq through the Broadcasting Board of Governors; \$50 million to provide rewards to individuals for information leading to the capture of Saddam Hussein and Osama Bin Laden.

OTHER ITEMS

FEMA Disaster Assistance—the Bill provides \$500 million for FEMA disaster assistance to be available for recently declared disasters.

Mr. Speaker, it has been said there is no plan. I disagree. There was a plan. The plan is in operation. The first part of the plan was to eliminate Saddam Hussein and his tyrannical regime. That has happened. To defeat Saddam's armies and his military. That has happened. Now, the second part of the plan is to stabilize Iraq so that the people of Iraq can create their own government, and can create their own infrastructure and give people a quality of life. Where we are at risk today is from terrorists. Terrorism is raising its ugly head in Iraq. Our soldiers have been attacked;

the United Nations headquarters has been attacked and the International Red Cross has been attacked.

Now, we did not start this war on terrorism. I think we ought to just for a minute review this. On February 26, 1993, the World Trade Center was bombed in New York. Six lives were lost. On June 25, 1996, Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia was bombed. Nineteen Americans living there were killed. On August 7, 1998, American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were bombed. There were 259 lives lost. On October 12, 2000, the USS *Cole* off the coast of Yemen was bombed and 17 sailors were killed, with many others injured.

These were acts of terrorism. Our response was rather tepid, and the terrorists became bolder and became more aggressive.

And on September 11 of 2001, a hijacked airplane crashed into the World Trade Center, tower number one. The second airplane hijacked crashed into the second tower of the World Trade Center, with nearly 3,000 lives lost or unaccounted for. On September 11, 2001, a hijacked plane crashed into the Pentagon, right across the river, with 189 lives lost. On September 11, 2001, a hijacked plane crashed in rural Pennsylvania, with 44 lives lost.

□ 2345

Mr. Speaker, we did not start this war on terrorism. These are examples of how terrorists started the war on terrorism, and thank God we finally responded because if we did not respond, the terrorists would become more bold and more aggressive and more of a threat. So what we are doing in Iraq, in Afghanistan, what we are doing with this appropriations bill tonight, we are investing in a future where our children and grandchildren and great grandchildren can live free from the fear of terrorists, free from the fear of airplanes flying into our buildings, free from the threat of losing lives and using loved ones to terrorists. It is important that we support the President of the United States as he leads this fight against international terrorism wherever it might be, and this bill is part of that effort, and I ask for a yes vote on this bill.

Ms. BROWN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I am here tonight to say that I cannot believe that this supplemental bill is handing over billions and billions of dollars in reconstruction funding to Iraq through direct grants . . . let me repeat that—Direct Grants! And where do these direct grants come from? Directly from America taxpayers' pockets. That's where. Instead of following the Senate bill and giving Iraq loans to rebuild, we are flat out throwing money at them with no oversight. While here at home the Republican leadership continues with their only legislative agenda item: Tax cuts for their country club friends, and pushing our Treasury further into debt, our citizens are being forced to pay for building a country that was unnecessarily destroyed in the first place, because it has never been proven that there is a link between Iraq and September 11.

And while Congress hands over blank checks to this Administration, the media has given them a free ride. While the Republican-controlled Congress continues to send billions of dollars overseas without accountability, the media continues to cover up the facts. All the while the President continues to lie to the American public about the very reason our troops are over there. Mr. Speaker, our troops are doing their job, it is the Members of this body that are not doing theirs.

The Republicans keep telling us this bill is all about the soldiers, and everyone in this Congress supports our soldiers. But how can a bill for our soldiers not include money for basic protections like body armor, boots, camouflage, rucksacks, armored vehicles, tank tracks, Humvee tires, signal jammers, and chemical suits. We can't even provide these brave men and women with simple necessities like drinking water, showers, tennis shoes, and even toothpaste.

I am still working for accountability from the other side of the aisle. Yes, Mr. Speaker, I wholeheartedly support our troops, and I am still trying to figure out why, after Congress appropriated \$79 billion for Iraq just 6 months ago, we are going to vote on yet another \$87 billion appropriation today. Whatever happened to the first \$79 billion? The American public deserves more from their elected representatives, and they deserve some accountability for this funding.

Mr. FILNER. Mr. Speaker, since the President first proposed his \$87 billion supple-

mental appropriations package last month, I have worried that the President's plan for bringing stability to Iraq lacks fiscal accountability and a clear plan for bringing our troops home, and has relied on U.S. troops taking almost all the risks, and American taxpayers paying virtually all the bills.

I have been angered by the repeated stories of our troops in Iraq not being outfitted with state-of-the-art Kevlar bulletproof vests and armored HMMVVs.

Equally troubling is the lack of parity for important funding at home. This bill sends direct aid to Iraq for infrastructure improvements that dwarf investments in our own country. The bill spends nearly twice as much per capita for border protection and public safety services in Iraq as we spend at home, and 10 times more per capita in Iraq for new hospital facilities than we spend in the United States. In addition, this bill spends 11 times more per capita for sewer and water services than we invest in our own cities, and 350 times more per capita on rehabilitating Iraq's electric power infrastructure than we are spending on fixing similar problems here at home.

During the House's debate on this bill 2 weeks ago, I offered an amendment to add emergency funding for eliminating the "disabled veterans tax," toppling an unfair law that prevents service disabled veterans from receiving their full military retired pay and VA disability compensation. This amendment, ruled out of order by the Republican majority, drew attention to just one of the many infrastructure and social service spending shortfalls at home that are ignored in this emergency appropriations bill.

Two weeks ago, I voted "no" to giving the President a blank check for Iraq while falling behind in investing in our infrastructure and social service needs at home. Today, I will vote "yes" because of the terrible suffering and devastation endured by the citizens of San Diego County as a result of the firestorm still raging today; \$500 million has been added for Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) disaster assistance in California. Earlier this week, I contacted FEMA Director Michael Brown and President Bush, urging them to make a FEMA center operational immediately in San Diego, to help my constituents in processing the necessary paperwork to begin the process of rebuilding their lives. This important funding will allow FEMA to open one-stop clearinghouses for information and assistance in expediting the huge volume of disaster claims that will result from this tragedy.

In addition, this bill increases funds to purchase body armor Special Armor Plate Inserts, and to increase production of armored HMMVVs, which will give our soldiers the protections they should have had all along. I have joined a number of my colleagues in calling for a full congressional hearing to investigate the many reports of American men and women fighting in Iraq without adequate lifesaving body armor—an indication that our preparation for this war was inadequate.

Today, I vote "yes" because our soldiers serving in harm's way deserve the best protection and resources our Nation can provide. And because I know, in a very personal way, the suffering of San Diegans in the current firestorm and because I want to say "thank you" to the thousands of professional firefighters who exhibited so much bravery and courage in recent days.

Mrs. MALONEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise to voice my support for a provision included in this legislation that was offered by myself, Congresswoman BIGGERT, Congressman HYDE, and Congressman LANTOS, which devotes \$60,000,000 to programs that will help Afghan women and girls, and \$5,000,000 to the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission.

This funding will go a long way toward making the lives of Afghan women better by providing critical services and by ensuring that they are not relegated to second-class status.

I would like to thank my colleagues Congressman YOUNG, Congressman KOLBE, Congresswoman BIGGERT, Congressman HYDE, and Congressman LANTOS for their help in securing this funding as well as our counterparts in the other body who care so deeply about this issue.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this legislation and urge its prompt adoption this evening.

I want to commend the chairman of the committee and the chairmen of the Defense and Foreign Operations Subcommittees for their expeditious and effective handling of this emergency supplemental for Iraq and Afghanistan.

To our young soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan: Help is on the way. Difficulties remain, especially in the "Sunni triangle." It continues to be a dangerous place. But we're there to finish the job—terrorists, Saddam loyalists, and common criminals must be pursued and brought to justice.

This bill is more than just dollars and cents—this is direct support for the safety and security of our young troops standing in harm's way and for the reconstruction of Iraq. It's the resources our troops need: Better weapons, reliable intelligence, more ammunition, body armor, vehicles, better pay, and additional equipment to get the job done.

For example, the conference report increases funds to purchase body armor Special Armor Plate Insert, to clear unexploded ordnance and to increase production of other force protection measures such as armored HMMVVs and electronic jammers.

Quality of life for our troops and their families is also important.

The conference report includes a provision which authorizes continued payment of per diem for travel of family members of military personnel who are ill or injured as a result of active duty service and includes a provision to continue the increased monthly rate of Imminent Danger Pay and Family Separation Allowances through September 30, 2004.

In addition, the Conference report requires DOD to notify reservists in writing of their expected mobilization and deployment period—to help reduce the uncertainty many reservists have faced regarding call-up times, departure dates, and overseas deployment periods.

The conference report also provides \$32 million for the Family Advocacy program, and \$10 million for the National Guard Family Readiness Program—programs which provide support services to military families, especially those who have faced losses, or who have a family member deployed.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, the report prohibits service members injured in combat or training from being billed for meals during their hospitalization. Make this benefit retroactive to 9/11/2001 and provides reimbursement for those who have already paid meal charges.

Of course, we mourn the loss of any American soldier and pray for the early recovery of our wounded. We are forever in their debt and reject the mindless notion that their sacrifice is in vain.

Mr. Speaker, the Coalition Provincial Authority, working with our military and civilian officials of 131 nations, especially the United States Agency for International Development has been working hard to improve the quality of life and deliver needed assistance.

This Supplemental for Iraq and Afghanistan will go toward creating conditions on the ground in Iraq that will enable our troops to succeed in their mission—by providing the basic services and humanitarian relief that will make a big difference in stabilizing the country.

Mr. Speaker, the reconstruction package is critical to the military mission. I urge its adoption.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Speaker, I am greatly disappointed that conferees have disregarded the House-approved motion to instruct and eliminated the provision to add \$1.3 billion to veteran's health care. While I understand the need for additional funding may be addressed in VA-HUD appropriations, I am concerned that if we add funds to that bill contingent upon the President's designating them emergency spending the effort will be in vain. The Administration has already told Mr. YOUNG and Mr. OBEY it does not support additional funds for veterans' health care. Let's not break yet another commitment to our veterans by giving them this empty promise in exchange for funding that would have been real.

The cost of not adding significant funds for veterans' health care will be great. VA has been making progress with waiting times, but it is likely to regress under the administration-proposed budget. The Secretary is likely to propose more copayments for our veterans; more overblown "management efficiencies"; more service restrictions; and, even more groups of veterans it will refuse to enroll. If we want to deal with these consequences, continue to support the President's budget as requested. If we don't, we'll add some real appropriated dollars for veterans' health care.

Ms. MCCOLLUM. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H.R. 3289, the Iraq War Supplemental. In my opinion, this massive \$87 billion spending bill is flawed and should be sent back to the White House to be redrafted.

There are three areas that if properly addressed would have made this a bill that would have served the interests of the American people, as well as the people of Iraq.

First, this appropriation is 100 percent financed by deficit spending. The Bush administration has handed out trillions of dollars in tax cuts to the wealthiest Americans and created record setting deficits for middle-class Americans and their children to pay off. In fiscal year 2004 alone, it is projected that almost \$600 billion in deficit spending will occur in 2004 alone. This unprecedented extreme of fiscal irresponsibility must be stopped.

The "emergency" spending bill for Iraq should not be paid for by the next generation of Americans, but paid for today by rolling back the tax cuts on the wealthiest Americans making over \$350,000 per year. Shared sacrifice does not mean that only our troops, their families, and the next generation of tax payers should shoulder the burden of the President's Iraq policy.

Second, the Pentagon's practice of sole-source contracting in Iraq worth billions of dollars for Halliburton and Bechtel with no accountability to Congress or the American people cannot be allowed to continue. I find this noncompetitive contracting to be absolutely unacceptable. Given Vice President CHENEY's on-going financial relationship with Halliburton, this situation is all the more troublesome. The emergency supplemental only perpetuates Halliburton's outrageous war profiteering at taxpayer expense.

Finally, as U.S. troops attempt to rebuild Iraq they are targets of constant guerrilla attacks—now averaging more than 30 attacks a day, euphemistically called "events" by the Pentagon. With \$63 billion appropriated only last April to the Pentagon, our service men and women still have not been provided with adequate necessities to keep themselves safe. Reports indicate our troops are short more than 44,000 Kevlar vests, they lack the jamming technology that prevents remote radio detonated bombings and they do not have adequate access to purified water or sufficient food rations.

As tax dollars are appropriated for our military in Iraq, the needs of our troops must come first, not the neo-conservative political agenda of Secretary Rumsfeld or Deputy Secretary Wolfowitz. The Pentagon was provided more than \$490,000 for each of the 130,000 soldiers in Iraq since April. Yet, today, U.S. troops are still without enough Kevlar vests or clean water—this is outrageous and more money is not the solution. Before billions more are simply handed over to bureaucrats in the Pentagon, Congress needs to ensure the needs of our troops on the frontlines are met and the Pentagon is held accountable.

Over the course of the past 18 months, the Bush administration's policy toward Iraq has been aggressive, obsessive and pre-emptive. The distortions, manipulations, and politicization of national security intelligence related to Iraq allowed this White House to sell the American people a war in which an imminent threat did not exist, but was apparently manufactured. Now our troops are risking their lives in a guerilla war and occupation with no end in sight, while America's most pressing priorities at home are being neglected.

Last year, I opposed the congressional resolution that gave President Bush a blank check to use our military and I have been very critical of the administration's policy actions since then. Nonetheless, as reality presents itself today, all of us—our troops, the American people, the Iraqi people and the international community—have a major stake in a stable, secure, and successful transition of control for United States occupation, to the international community and eventually complete Iraqi sovereignty.

We cannot withdraw our troops and walk away from Iraq, but we must demand a better performance than the failure of this White House to appropriately plan for the reality of the situation in Iraq or in its dealings with the international community. President Bush must do a better job.

This week, I will be traveling in the Middle East and inside Iraq. I hope to see the reality of the situation—the successes and the problems—faced by United States troops, civilians and the people of Iraq. But even before going to Iraq, I know it is time for this administration to tone down its harsh, unproductive rhetoric,

work in a bipartisan fashion with Congress and work more positively with the international community for an accountable and sustainable plan for Iraq. Finally, even though the time has long past, it is never too late for President Bush to be honest with the American people about the extended commitment and sacrifice, both militarily and financial, all Americans will have to make to be successful in Iraq. This is an enormous challenge and the credibility and prestige of the United States is at stake.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GOODLATTE). All time has expired.

Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the conference report.

There was no objection.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT OFFERED BY MR. OBEY

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is the gentleman opposed to the conference report?

Mr. OBEY. Yes, I am, in its present form.

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

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. OBEY moves to recommit the conference report on the bill H.R. 3289 to the committee of conference with instructions to the managers on the part of the House to—

(1) accept section 2319 of the Senate amendment (making \$10,000,000,000 of the amounts provided under the subheading "IRAQ RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION FUND" available to be used as loans), and

(2) accept Title IV of the Senate amendment (providing \$1,300,000,000 for veterans medical care).

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The motion is not debatable.

Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the motion to recommit.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion to recommit.

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

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

Pursuant to clause 9 of rule XX, the Chair will reduce to 5 minutes the minimum time for the electronic vote on the question of adoption of the conference report.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 198, nays 221, not voting 15, as follows:

[Roll No. 600]

YEAS—198

Abercrombie	Baird	Berry
Ackerman	Baldwin	Bishop (GA)
Alexander	Becerra	Bishop (NY)
Allen	Bell	Boswell
Andrews	Berkley	Boucher
Baca	Berman	Boyd

Brady (PA) Israel
 Brown (OH) Jackson (IL)
 Brown, Corrine Jackson-Lee
 Capps (TX)
 Capuano Jefferson
 Cardin John
 Cardoza Johnson, E. B.
 Carson (IN) Jones (NC)
 Carson (OK) Jones (OH)
 Chabot Kanjorski
 Clay Kaptur
 Clyburn Kennedy (RI)
 Conyers Kildee
 Cooper Kilpatrick
 Costello Kind
 Cramer Kleczka
 Crowley Lamson
 Cummings Langevin
 Davis (AL) Lantos
 Davis (CA) Larsen (WA)
 Davis (FL) Larson (CT)
 Davis (IL) Lee
 Davis (TN) Levin
 DeFazio Lewis (GA)
 DeGette Lipinski
 Delahunt Lofgren
 DeLauro Lowey
 Deutsch Lucas (KY)
 Dicks Lynch
 Dingell Sherman
 Doggett Slaughter
 Doyle Smith (WA)
 Edwards Solis
 Emanuel Matheson
 Engel Matsui
 Eshoo McCarthy (MO)
 Etheridge McCarthy (NY)
 Evans McCollum
 Farr McDermott
 Fattah McGovern
 Filner McNulty
 Ford Meehan
 Frank (MA) Meek (FL)
 Frost Meeks (NY)
 Gonzalez Menendez
 Goode Michaud
 Gordon Millender-
 Green (TX) McDonald
 Grijalva Miller, George
 Harman Mollohan
 Hastings (FL) Moore
 Hill Moran (VA)
 Hinchey Nadler
 Hinojosa Napolitano
 Hoeffel Neal (MA)
 Holden Oberstar
 Holt Obey
 Honda Olver
 Hooley (OR) Ortiz
 Hoyer Owens
 Inslee Pallone

NAYS—221

Aderholt Chocola
 Bachus Coble
 Baker Cole
 Ballenger Collins
 Barrett (SC) Cox
 Bartlett (MD) Crane
 Barton (TX) Crenshaw
 Bass Cubin
 Beauprez Culberson
 Bereuter Cunningham
 Biggert Davis, Jo Ann
 Bilirakis Davis, Tom
 Bishop (UT) Deal (GA)
 Blackburn DeLay
 Blunt DeMint
 Boehner Diaz-Balart, L.
 Bonilla Diaz-Balart, M.
 Bonner Dooley (CA)
 Bono Doolittle
 Boozman Dreier
 Brady (TX) Duncan
 Brown (SC) Dunn
 Brown-Waite, Ehlers
 Ginny Emerson
 Burgess Houghton
 Burns Everett
 Burr Feeney
 Burton (IN) Ferguson
 Buyer Flake
 Calvert Foley
 Camp Forbes
 Cannon Fossella
 Cantor Franks (AZ)
 Capito Frelinghuysen
 Carter Gallegly
 Castle Garrett (NJ)

Keller Northup
 Kelly Norwood
 Kennedy (MN) Nunes
 King (IA) Nussle
 King (NY) Osborne
 Kingston Ose
 Kirk Otter
 Kline Oxley
 Knollenberg Pence
 Kolbe Peterson (PA)
 Kucinich Petri
 LaHood Pickering
 Latham Pitts
 LaTourette Platts
 Leach Pombo
 Lewis (CA) Porter
 Lewis (KY) Portman
 Linder Rupp
 LoBiondo Pryce (OH)
 Lucas (OK) Putnam
 Manzullo Quinn
 Marshall Radanovich
 McCreary Ramstad
 McHugh Regula
 McInnis Rehberg
 McKeon Renzi
 Mica Reynolds
 Miller (FL) Rogers (AL)
 Miller (MI) Rogers (KY)
 Miller, Gary Ros-Lehtinen
 Moran (KS) Royce
 Murphy Ryan (WI)
 Murtha Ryun (KS)
 Musgrave Saxton
 Myrick Schrock
 Nethercutt Sensenbrenner
 Neugebauer Sessions
 Ney Shadegg

NOT VOTING—15

Akin Fletcher
 Ballance Gephardt
 Blumenauer Gutierrez
 Boehlert McCotter
 Bradley (NH) Miller (NC)
 Case Pearce

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE
 The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GOODLATTE) (during the vote). Members are advised that there are 2 minutes remaining in this vote.

□ 0006

Messrs. KUCINICH, NUSSLE, and BURTON of Indiana changed their vote from “yea” to “nay.”

Mr. DAVIS of Florida changed his vote from “nay” to “yea.”

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the conference report.

Pursuant to clause 10 of rule XX, the yeas and nays are ordered.

This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 298, nays 121, not voting 15, as follows:

[Roll No. 601]

YEAS—298

Aderholt Biggert
 Alexander Bilirakis
 Allen Bishop (GA)
 Andrews Bishop (NY)
 Baca Bishop (UT)
 Bachus Blackburn
 Baker Blunt
 Boehner Boehner
 Bonilla Bonilla
 Bonner Bonner
 Bono Bono
 Boozman Boozman
 Boyd Boyd
 Brady (TX) Brady (TX)
 Berman Brown (SC)

Brown-Waite, Brown-Waite,
 Ginny
 Burgess
 Burns
 Burr
 Burton (IN)
 Buyer
 Calvert
 Camp
 Cannon
 Cantor
 Capito
 Cardin
 Cardoza
 Carson (IN)
 Carson (OK)

Carter
 Castle
 Chabot
 Chocola
 Coble
 Cole
 Collins
 Cooper
 Cox
 Cramer
 Crane
 Crenshaw
 Cubin
 Culberson
 Cunningham
 Davis (CA)
 Davis (FL)
 Davis (TN)
 Davis, Jo Ann
 Davis, Tom
 Deal (GA)
 DeLay
 DeMint
 Diaz-Balart, L.
 Diaz-Balart, M.
 Dicks
 Dooley (CA)
 Doolittle
 Dreier
 Dunn
 Edwards
 Ehlers
 Emanuel
 Emerson
 Engel
 English
 Etheridge
 Everett
 Feeney
 Ferguson
 Filner
 Flake
 Foley
 Forbes
 Ford
 Fossella
 Franks (AZ)
 Frelinghuysen
 Frost
 Gallegly
 Garrett (NJ)
 Gerlach
 Gibbons
 Gilchrest
 Gillingham
 Goss
 Granger
 Graves
 Green (TX)
 Green (WI)
 Greenwood
 Gutknecht
 Hall
 Harris
 Hart
 Hastings (WA)
 Hayes
 Hayworth
 Hefley
 Hensarling
 Herger
 Hill
 Hinojosa
 Hobson
 Hoekstra
 Holden
 Hooley (OR)
 Hostettler
 Houghton

NAYS—121

Abercrombie
 Ackerman
 Baird
 Baldwin
 Becerra
 Bell
 Berry
 Boswell
 Boucher
 Brady (PA)
 Brown (OH)
 Brown, Corrine
 Capps
 Capuano
 Clay
 Clyburn
 Conyers
 Costello
 Crowley
 Cummings
 Davis (AL)
 Davis (IL)
 DeFazio
 DeGette
 Delahunt
 DeLauro
 Deutsch
 Dingell
 Doggett
 Doyle
 Duncan
 Eshoo
 Evans
 Farr
 Fattah
 Frank (MA)
 Grijalva
 Harman
 Hastings (FL)

Hinchey	McGovern	Sanders
Hoefel	Meehan	Schakowsky
Holt	Meek (FL)	Schiff
Honda	Meeks (NY)	Scott (VA)
Inslie	Menendez	Serrano
Jackson (IL)	Michaud	Sherman
Jackson-Lee	Millender-	Slaughter
(TX)	McDonald	Smith (WA)
Jefferson	Miller, George	Solis
Johnson, E. B.	Moran (VA)	Stark
Jones (OH)	Nadler	Strickland
Kanjorski	Napolitano	Thompson (CA)
Kaptur	Oberstar	Thompson (MS)
Kildee	Obey	Tierney
Kilpatrick	Olver	Towns
Klecza	Otter	Udall (CO)
Kucinich	Owens	Udall (NM)
Larson (CT)	Pallone	Van Hollen
LaTourette	Pastor	Velazquez
Lee	Paul	Waters
Lewis (GA)	Payne	Watson
Lofgren	Pelosi	Watt
Majette	Petri	Waxman
Markey	Rahall	Weiner
Matsui	Rangel	Wexler
McCarthy (MO)	Roybal-Allard	Woolsey
McCollum	Rush	Wu
McDermott	Ryan (OH)	Wynn

NOT VOTING—15

Akin	Fletcher	Sanchez, Linda
Ballance	Gephardt	T.
Blumenauer	Gutierrez	Stupak
Boehler	McCotter	Young (AK)
Bradley (NH)	Miller (NC)	
Case	Pearce	

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). Members are advised that they have 2 minutes remaining to vote.

□ 0012

So the conference report was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

(Mr. HOYER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Texas for the purpose of inquiring about the schedule for the coming week.

Mr. DELAY. I thank the gentleman from Maryland for yielding to me.

Mr. Speaker, the House will convene on Tuesday at 12:30 p.m. for morning hour and 2 p.m. for legislative business. We will consider several measures under suspension of the rules. A final list of those bills will be sent to Members' offices by the end of this week. Any votes called on these measures will be rolled until 6:30 p.m.

On Wednesday and Thursday, the House will convene at 10 a.m. for legislative business. We plan to consider H.R. 1829, the Federal Prison Industries Competition in Contracting Act of 2003, as well as H.R. 2443, the Coast Guard and Maritime Transportation Act of 2003.

□ 0015

We also expect to appoint conferees on several measures and to have additional conference reports ready for the House's consideration.

Finally, I would like to note for all members that we do not plan to have votes next Friday, November 7.

I thank the gentleman for yielding, and will be happy to answer any questions that he may have.

Mr. HOYER. I thank the gentleman for the information. I would note that earlier today, of course, we passed a continuing resolution that will fund the government through November 7, next Friday. We are not going to meet next Friday. It is my presumption, therefore, that the gentleman or the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG), or both of you, contemplate an additional CR.

You have not mentioned anything about the week of November 10 either, Mr. Leader. As you know, November 11 is Veterans' Day.

Assuming, as I assume, that we will not finish our business by the close of business on November 6, and in light of the fact the gentleman announced we will not be here on the seventh, can the gentleman for scheduling purposes give Members an idea of what might be the schedule for the week of November 10, again in light of the fact that November 11 is a day that most Members will want to be home with their veterans and citizens.

I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DELAY. I appreciate the gentleman yielding. As the gentleman knows, the CR we passed earlier today does go through next Friday, and, as we get closer to next Friday, we will sometime next week have to reassess the progress of the various appropriations conferences and determine what length of time a likely additional CR would have to run.

We are going to spend a lot of time this weekend and the first of next week trying to figure out what the future holds. I do not expect us to have votes on Monday, November 10, or on Tuesday, November 11, which is Veterans' Day, as the gentleman has said. But on Wednesday, if we come back Wednesday, we would not have votes before 6:30 p.m.

We do anticipate having votes that week, but I just cannot say how late into the week we would be considering legislation.

I can say that we had hoped to finish the first session of this Congress by the first week of October, but, since that time, with the exception of the supplemental that we just passed, we basically have been waiting for the other body to catch up with us.

I have repeatedly predicted that we will soon reach the end, but, since we have not, and I am very disappointed that it does not look like we will reach the end by November 7, maybe it is best I just stop guessing as to when we are going to end. But we will give Members as much advance notice as we can. For right now, I must say that Members should not make any pre-Thanksgiving plans.

Mr. HOYER. I thank the leader for that observation. I think it is helpful that Members can be confident they can schedule events for the eleventh, Veterans' Day. I think that will be very helpful for Members.

The gentleman did not mention the FSC bill, the Foreign Sales Corporation bill. Can the gentleman tell us when you might expect that bill to be on the floor?

I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DELAY. It is very difficult to say. Unfortunately, as these things happen, a lot of work is coming out of our Committee on Ways and Means. As the gentleman knows, the Committee on Ways and Means is very wrapped up in negotiations on the Medicare bill. They are also heavily involved in the energy conference, and they are just having a tough time getting all of this done. So we would hope we could do that bill some time next week, but we cannot predict that at this particular time, because next week is going to be heavily involved in the energy bill and the Medicare bill.

Mr. HOYER. I thank you, Mr. Leader. That was going to be my question. Does the gentleman expect both the energy conference report and the Medicare conference report, the prescription drug report, to be on the floor next week?

Mr. DELAY. Well, if the gentleman will yield further, we still hope to finish both of these bills before we complete the first session. There have been various discussions between both bodies, even though these discussions have not been formal in nature. At this point, I just cannot give a specific time frame for when these discussions will produce a recommendation for the conferees to consider and when the House would consider these final conference reports.

There are very difficult discussions going on. We had hoped that we could vote on these two bills next week, but just the physical writing of the bill on Medicare would take 8 to 10 days. So that is why I say Members should not make pre-Thanksgiving plans.

Mr. HOYER. Reclaiming my time, I thank the leader for his observations.

The leader and I, as the leader knows, have been having a lot of discussions about these conferences that are being held, somewhere, sometime, with some people.

I do not know whether the leader was informed, but the gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL) took the gentleman literally and found where a meeting at least was going on with the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMAS) and Secretary Thompson, and the gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL) and the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. BERRY), both conferees appointed by the Speaker, went, opened the door, and went through the door with a number of Committee on Ways and Means Members.

I must tell the gentleman with great sadness, the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMAS) was not overwhelmingly happy to see them, which surprised me to no end, after our discussions and my conversation with the gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL), telling him how these conferences were going on