

all, we all must recognize that over 400 Americans have been killed in Iraq and those numbers are rising. One, two, and now 16 and 17 lives at a time. We do not even know how many Iraqis have died because the Pentagon classifies that information as irrelevant. When we asked Ambassador Bremer at an International Relations Committee hearing how many Iraqis had been killed, he said he did not know because that was not really relevant to reconstruction efforts.

What we are witnessing are the results of a failed and failing foreign policy as a result of the fact that the Bush administration launched a preemptive war that was neither justified nor necessary.

□ 2130

To persuade many Members of Congress and the public to support this war, the administration apparently manipulated intelligence information and spun a distorted web of deception, and this will not be forgotten. Congress should not be talking about adjournment until we have answered these incredibly important questions about how we got into this mess.

That is why I have introduced House Resolution 410, which states that Congress should not adjourn until we have started an investigation into these questions as called for by the Waxman and the Tauscher resolutions. These questions are absolutely relevant. The American people deserve the answers. The methods by which we got into this war, the poor intelligence, and the unwillingness to work with the United Nations have shaped the current quagmire that we face; and, again, this is not going away.

Furthermore, in its rush to war, the administration completely failed to properly plan for its aftermath. This shortsightedness has cost American, as well as Iraqi, lives and created chaos and insecurity in Iraq. Unilateralism, we have found out, and some of us have known for many years, is not leadership; and unilateralism will not succeed in Iraq, as we are seeing. What we need is an effective transition strategy, effective transition strategy, so that we do not leave a worse disaster in its wake. That strategy must include a clear vision of how and when United States troops will come home and a real plan, a real plan, for Iraqi political and economic success. To achieve such success, we need to abandon what the New York Times has recently called "the miserable United States monopoly in Baghdad."

Although United States unilateralism has gravely damaged our relations with much of the world, we must continue to at least try to internationalize the transition to Iraqi independence. The United Nations should have real political and economic authority in this effort at peacekeeping and rebuilding. The Pentagon is really not the right agency to foster the creation of this new government; the

United Nations is. And, yes, some of us have suggested to the President that Donald Rumsfeld be asked to leave because we believe that he has led this effort in the wrong direction and has not planned adequately for the protection of our young people. So once again we hope that this resolution will come up before we leave.

As a candidate, George Bush, remember, dismissed the concept of nation-building; but as Commander in Chief, he has really mangled it. So we should really let the United Nations fulfill its mission by leading the effort to forge peace, security, and democracy in Iraq.

What should the United States role in Iraq be during this transition? For starters, we should at least recognize that we need to win friends and allies and not make new enemies. Also, I have said before and I will say it again, I believe that our Nation should absolutely pay for the damage that it has caused through its bombing, through its killing; but repairing bombing damage does not mean handing billions of dollars to Bechtel and Halliburton with regard to the no-bid contracts which they are receiving. Iraq's long-term economic development really should be in its own hands just as its sovereignty should be.

Again, as I have said earlier, we are really in a quagmire right now, one of poor planning and poor policy. And it is costing hundreds of American lives and hundreds of billions of dollars. Where in the world will we find the resources for our senior citizens and our children? How are we going to fund Leave No Child Behind, the \$9 billion that we need to put into public education? How are we going to fund affordable housing? Where will we find the resources to ensure our public transportation system and all of those quality-of-life issues that Americans so deserve? Not to mention our veterans. Where do we find the resources to provide their benefits which they so deserve?

So we must find a way out of this. And of course that means, again, for starters that the Iraqi people and their representatives must have a greater role and a real role in shaping their own state, and that means that the United States must shift authority to the U.N., and that means we must adopt new tactics that will enhance U.S. security and Iraqi safety by encouraging peace and hope rather than war and fear.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE WAR IN IRAQ

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

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Mr. Speaker, we are beginning to see comparisons being made between the U.S. situation in Iraq and the situation we were in in Vietnam. Some are valid; some are not.

One comparison is completely valid and could apply to any conflict. Soldiers get hurt and maimed and die. As a young doctor, I served as a medical officer in the Navy from 1968 to 1970. I worked in California with troops evacuated from Vietnam, and I see those faces when I go up to Walter Reed today.

The issues that we discuss on the floor, who was pushy with the CIA, who knew more than he said, who knew less than he claimed, are important; but they are not important because we want to play some kind of political game of "gotcha." They are important because they are key links in the chain of events that led to more than 130,000 Americans being deployed in Iraq, that led to more than 400 dying, and led to wards filled with boys on Georgia Avenue who do not have arms and legs anymore.

More Americans have died in Iraq in the past 8 months than died in the first 3 years in Vietnam. Regardless of whether this war makes or breaks the Bush Presidency, they are dead.

I did not support the President's decision to go to war. I believe that whatever threat the Hussein regime posed was being effectively contained. I believed and still believe that the presence of large numbers of U.N. inspectors roaming around Iraq was doing a

credible job of making sure that Hussein's desires and ambitions did not materialize into weapons and delivery systems.

Containment, however, has a bad name in this administration. But I am old enough to remember President Reagan using it to bring down the Soviet Union. But containment was abandoned on March 19; and it is not over, that war they started.

While it is important for us to continue questioning how we got into the war and learn what lessons we can, our urgent task now is to figure out how to get out. We need to know whether there are 5,000 guerillas fighting us, as General Abizaid says, or 50,000, as the CIA apparently believes.

This is no small matter. Our Defense Secretary has created his own in-house Office of Special Intelligence to rival the CIA. We do not know which agency is closer to the truth. Lawrence of Arabia in World War I did awfully well with just 3,000 Arab irregulars. They tied down nearly 70 times that many Turkish troops. With a ratio like that, 5,000 guerrillas could tie down 350,000 of our troops. If 50,000 is the right number, we are looking at 3½ million of our own troops. And remember the Turks did not beat Lawrence, just as the Russians did not defeat the Afghan mujahedeen and Carthage did not rout Rome.

Our troops are identified as crusaders, invaders, occupiers, the superpower. American troops are magnets for centuries of resentment and targets for those who within Iraq are happy for the opportunity to stir those resentments up.

We need to know whether there is a plan to get out in a reasonable way or not. I do not believe we should walk away and leave the Iraqis in chaos. However much I deplore the way we went in, I do not want to have to deplore the way we get out. It is tempting to do what Senator Aiken from Vermont suggested in Vietnam, declare victory and get out; but it would be wrong. What would be right is to level with the American people, level with our allies, level with the U.N., and make a sustainable plan to leave Iraq; and I pray to leave Iraq better off than when we found it.

So far, the President has only said we were going to have an election after we had a constitution. Now we are going to have an election before the constitution and we are going to be out of there on June 1. It looks like it is all tied to the timing of the election in 2004. That is unfair to the people that we are serving in Iraq who have lost arms, who have lost legs, who have been severely injured. The President should be honest with us and honest with the U.N. and strike a workable deal. It can be done, but it requires the President of the United States to get off this attitude of "bring them on." That was foolishness from the start, and now we have people coming in from all over the Middle East to be involved in taking on our troops, and each day we lose more. There is no excuse.

But the President goes out to fund-raisers. He goes to Great Britain. He says he will meet with the bereaved over in Great Britain. But he does not go to public ceremonies honoring our dead in this country. Why is that? Is he afraid? Why does he not go forward and stand next to the mothers and the fathers as they lower their loved ones into the ground?

This President has never been straight with us about this war, and he is going to have to be, or we are going to wind up exactly as we did in Vietnam, running from the top of the embassy or some other way that we leave the country in disgrace. We should not allow that to happen to our troops.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair would remind Members not to make personal references to the President such as accusing him of lying.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IRAQ

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

Ms. WATERS. Mr. Speaker, I am here this evening because I came to defy the President of the United States of America. I came to talk about what is happening in Iraq.

I came to do that, understanding that this President does not want this

kind of discussion. I recognize that the President does not want us to continue to remind him of this disaster in Iraq. This is a President who has tried to intimidate the news media and told them to stop writing about the bad things that were going on in Iraq, and he told them to write about good things that are happening in Iraq. But thank God that the news media of this country has continued to report on what is really going on in Iraq. Oh, yes, they have talked about some of the children returning to school, and they have talked about the book bags. But the American people want to know about what is happening with our soldiers. The American people are terribly upset about the loss of the lives of our soldiers.

So I am here in defiance of the orders and the attempts to keep us from talking about what is going on. The President's unilateral invasion of Iraq and his administration's subsequent mismanagement of the Iraq conflict have left our Nation in a quagmire. According to the Pentagon's own figures, 422 American servicemen and -women have been killed in Iraq since the beginning of the war and 2,041 have been wounded. No less than 284 Americans have been killed since the President announced the end of the major combat operations on May 1, and the casualties continue to climb.

I believe that this administration is in denial. Yes, the President posted that sign "Mission Accomplished." However, the war really did begin after the sign was posted, and our soldiers have been picked off one by one.

Mr. Speaker, attacks on U.S. helicopters have killed nearly 40 soldiers this month alone, and the attacks continue every day. This past Monday, two more soldiers were killed in two separate attacks near the town of Balad, 45 miles northwest of Baghdad.

□ 2145

One soldier died and two more were wounded when Iraqi insurgents engaged their patrol with small arms fire. The other soldier was killed when a convoy was struck by a roadside bomb. Every day, more American soldiers are killed in Iraq with no exit strategy and no end in sight.

Mr. Speaker, I remember when our soldiers rolled into Baghdad. I remember the way the President bragged about Operation Shock and Awe. I remember how they said to the American people, we have all of the equipment and supplies and the military might that we need. We are going to shock and awe. And this kind of sloganeering that I thought was unbecoming of this administration was the order of the day.

Now, this administration is doing it again. The administration's most recent response to the mounting American casualties has been a new bombing campaign. This campaign is known as