

come to full fruition through the ongoing dialogue and cooperation of religious and political leaders. The Ambassadors for Peace are working tirelessly to bring about international cooperation and are to be commended for their leadership in this great effort. I again commend them for their efforts because they understand that peace is not necessarily found in covenants, treaties and charters, as was once echoed by President John F. Kennedy, but is indeed found in the hearts of men and women. And as they work throughout the Nation and throughout the world to spread the message of peace, we look forward to seeing them here on Tuesday, June 24, and share with them as they give awards to those who do the work in the field.

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

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

#### COMMEMORATING JUNETEENTH

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

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join with the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE), my fellow Houstonian and colleague, to commemorate Juneteenth, a very important day in the State of Texas; for on this day June 19 in 1865, General Gordon Granger rode into Galveston, Texas, and announced the freedom of the last American slaves, nearly 2½ years after Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

Today, Juneteenth remains the oldest known celebration of slavery's demise. It commemorates freedom while emphasizing scholarship and achievement. Juneteenth honors the 400 years of suffering African Americans endured under slavery and celebrates the legacy of perseverance that has become the hallmark of the African American community's struggle for equality. Martin Luther King, Jr. once said, "Freedom is never free"; and A. Phillip Randolph, an African American labor leader, was fond of saying "freedom is never given. It is won."

We should all recognize the power and the ironic truth of those statements, and we should pause to remember the enormous price paid by all Americans in our country's quest to define what the word "freedom" truly means.

As a symbol of freedom and of enormous burdens overcome, Juneteenth should almost be as important to my fellow Americans as July 4.

□ 1645

Because it was only after that day in 1865 on the heels of the most dev-

astating conflict in our country's history in the aftermath of a civil war that pitted brother against brother, neighbor against neighbor, and threatened to tear the very fabric of our Union apart forever, it was only after that day in 1865 when General Granger rode into Galveston, Texas, and the last Americans were finally released from the chains of bondage that had held them for generations, it was only on that day that the America we all know and love today was finally born. It was not until June 19, 1865, that America truly became the land of the free and the home of the brave.

As a Texan, I am proud to say that my State is one of only two that observes June tenth as a State holiday. It is my sincere hope that in its future, we will all celebrate this important holiday together.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. FRANKS of Arizona). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. JONES) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. JONES of North Carolina 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 gentlewoman from Connecticut (Ms. DELAURO) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Ms. DELAURO 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 gentlewoman from Guam (Ms. BORDALLO) is recognized for 5 minutes.

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

#### PUBLICATION OF THE RULES OF THE COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS, 108TH CONGRESS

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

Mr. MANZULLO. Mr. Speaker, enclosed are Committee on Small Business Rules for the 108th Congress for submission to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in accordance with clause 2(a)(2) of rule XI.

#### RULES AND PROCEDURES OF THE COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, 108TH CONGRESS

##### 1. GENERAL PROVISIONS

The Rules of the House of Representatives, and in particular the committee rules enumerated in rule XI, are the rules of the Committee on Small Business to the extent applicable and by this reference are incorporated. Each subcommittee on the Committee on Small Business (hereinafter referred to as the "committee") is a part of the committee and is subject to the authority and direction of the committee, and to its rules to the extent applicable.

##### 2. REFERRAL OF BILLS BY CHAIRMAN

Unless retained for consideration by the full committee, all legislation and other matters referred to the committee shall be referred by the Chairman to the subcommittee of appropriate jurisdiction within 2 weeks. Where the subject matter of the referral involves the jurisdiction of more than one subcommittee or does not fall within any previously assigned jurisdictions, the Chairman shall refer the matter, as he may deem advisable.

##### 3. DATE OF MEETING

The regular meeting date of the committee shall be the second Thursday of every month when the House is in session. A regular meeting of the committee may be dispensed with if, in the judgment of the Chairman, there is no need for the meeting. Additional meetings may be called by the Chairman as he may deem necessary or at the request of a majority of the members of the committee in accordance with clause 2(c) of rule XI of the House.

At least 3 days notice of such an additional meeting shall be given unless the Chairman determines that there is good cause to call the meeting on less notice.

The determination of the business to be considered at each meeting shall be made by the Chairman subject to clause 2(c) of rule XI of the House.

A regularly scheduled meeting need not be held if there is no business to be considered or, upon at least 3 days notice, it may be set for a different date.

##### 4. ANNOUNCEMENT OF HEARINGS

Unless the Chairman, with the concurrence of the ranking minority member, or the committee by majority vote, determines that there is good cause to begin a hearing at an earlier date, public announcement shall be made of the date, place and subject matter of any hearing to be conducted by the committee at least 1 week before the commencement of that hearing.

After announcement of a hearing, the committee shall make available as soon as practicable to all Members of the Committee a tentative witness list and to the extent practicable a memorandum explaining the subject matter of the hearing (including relevant legislative reports and other necessary material). In addition, the Chairman shall make available as soon as practicable to the Members of the Committee any official reports from departments and agencies on the subject matter as they are received.

##### MEETINGS AND HEARINGS OPEN TO THE PUBLIC

###### (A) Meetings

Each meeting of the committee or its subcommittees for the transaction of business, including the markup of legislation, shall be open to the public, including to radio, television and still photography coverage, except as provided by clause 4 of rule XI of the House, except when the committee or subcommittee, in open session and with a majority present, determines by record vote that all or part of the remainder of the meeting on that day shall be closed to the public because disclosure of matters to be considered would endanger national security, would compromise sensitive law enforcement information, or would tend to defame, degrade or incriminate any person or otherwise would violate any law or rule of the House: *Provided, however*, that no person other than members of the committee, and such congressional staff and such executive branch representatives as they may authorize, shall be present in any business meeting or markup session which has been closed to the public.

###### (B) Hearings

Each hearing conducted by the committee or its subcommittees shall be open to the

public, including radio, television and still photography coverage, except when the committee or subcommittee, in open session and with a majority present, determines by record vote that all or part of the remainder of the hearing on that day shall be closed to the public because disclosure of testimony, evidence or other matters to be considered would endanger the national security, would compromise sensitive law enforcement information, or would violate any law or rule of the House; *Provided, however*, that the committee or subcommittee may be the same procedure vote to close one subsequent day of hearings. Notwithstanding the requirements of the preceding sentence, a majority of those present, there being in attendance the requisite number required under the rules of the committee to be present for the purpose of taking testimony, (i) may vote to close the hearing for the sole purpose of discussing whether testimony or evidence to be received would endanger the national security, would compromise sensitive law enforcement information, or violate clause 2(k)(5) of rule XI of the House; or (ii) may vote to close the hearing, as provided in clause 2(k)(5) of rule XI of the House.

No member of the House may be excluded from non-participatory attendance at any hearing of the committee or any subcommittee, unless the House of Representatives shall by majority vote authorize the committee or subcommittee, for purposes of a particular series of hearings on a particular article of legislation or on a particular subject of investigation, to close its hearing to members by the same procedures designated for closing hearings to the public.

#### 6. WITNESSES

##### (A) Statement of Witnesses

Each witness who is to appear before the committee or subcommittee shall file with the committee at least two business days before the day of his or her appearance, 100 copies of his or her written statement of proposed testimony. At least one copy of the statement of each witness shall be furnished directly to the ranking minority member. In addition, all witnesses shall be required to submit with their testimony a résumé or other statement describing their education, employment, professional affiliations and other background information pertinent to their testimony unless waived by the Chairman.

Each witness shall also submit to the committee a copy of his or her final prepared statement in an electronic format no later than the day of the hearing unless waived by the Chairman.

The committee will provide public access to its printed materials, including the proposed testimony of witnesses, in electronic form.

##### (B) Interrogation of Witnesses

Whenever any hearing is conducted by the committee or any subcommittee upon any measure or matter, the minority party members on the committee shall be entitled, upon request to the Chairman by a majority of those minority members, to call one witness selected by the minority to testify with respect to that measure or matter. The witness requested by the minority shall furnish at least one copy of his or her statement and any supplementary materials directly to the Chairman within two business days before the day of his or her appearance unless waived by the Chairman.

Except when the committee adopts a motion pursuant to subdivisions (B) and (C) of clause 2(j)(2) of rule XI of the rules of the House, committee members may question witnesses only when they have been recognized by the Chairman for that purpose, and

only for a 5-minute period until all members present have had an opportunity to question a witness. The 5-minute period for questioning a witness by any one member can be extended only with the unanimous consent of all members present. The Chairman, followed by the ranking minority member and all other members alternating between the majority and minority, shall initiate the questioning of witnesses in both the full and subcommittee hearings.

In recognizing members to question witnesses, the Chairman may take into consideration the ratio of majority and minority members present in such a manner as not to disadvantage the Members of either party. The Chairman, in consultation with the ranking minority member, may decrease the 5-minute time period in order to accommodate the needs of all the Members present and the schedule of the witnesses.

#### 7. SUBPOENAS

A subpoena may be authorized and issued by the Chairman of the committee in the conduct of any investigation or series of investigations or activities to require the attendance and testimony of such witness and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memoranda, papers and documents, as he deems necessary. The ranking minority member shall be promptly notified of the issuance of such a subpoena.

Such a subpoena may be authorized and issued by the chairman of a subcommittee with the approval of a majority of the members of the subcommittee and the approval of the Chairman of the committee.

#### 8. QUORUM

No measure or recommendation shall be reported unless a majority of the committee was actually present. For purposes of taking testimony or receiving evidence, two members shall constitute a quorum. For all other purposes, one-third of the members (or 12 Members) shall constitute a quorum.

#### 9. AMENDMENTS DURING MARK-UP

Any amendment offered to any pending legislation before the committee must be made available in written form when requested by any member of the committee. If such amendment is not available in written form when requested, the Chairman shall allow an appropriate period for the provision thereof.

#### 10. PROXIES

No vote by any member of the committee or any of its subcommittees with respect to any measure or matter may be cast by proxy.

#### 11. POSTPONEMENT OF PROCEEDINGS

The Chairman in consultation with the Ranking Minority Member may postpone further proceedings when a record vote is ordered on the question of approving any measure or matter or adopting an amendment. The Chairman may resume proceedings on a postponed request at any time. In exercising postponement authority, the Chairman shall take all reasonable steps necessary to notify members on the resumption of proceedings on any postponed recorded vote. When proceedings resume on a postponed question, notwithstanding any intervening order for the previous question, an underlying proposition shall remain subject to further debate or amendment to the same extent as when the question was postponed.

#### 12. NUMBER AND JURISDICTION OF SUBCOMMITTEES

There will be four subcommittees as follows:

Workforce, Empowerment and Government Programs (seven Republicans and six Democrats)

Regulatory Reform and Oversight (seven Republicans and six Democrats)

Rural Enterprises, Agriculture and Technology (six Republicans and five Democrats)  
Tax, Finance and Exports (eight Republicans and seven Democrats)

During the 108th Congress, the Chairman and ranking minority members shall be ex officio members of all subcommittees, without vote, and the full committee shall have the authority to conduct oversight of all areas of the committee's jurisdiction.

In addition to conducting oversight in the area of their respective jurisdiction, each subcommittee shall have the following jurisdiction:

#### WORKFORCE, EMPOWERMENT AND GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS

Oversight and investigative authority over problems faced by small businesses in attracting and retaining a high quality workforce, including but not limited to wages and benefits such as health care.

Promotion of business growth and opportunities in economically depressed areas.

Oversight and investigative authority over regulations and other government policies that impact small businesses located in high risk communities.

Opportunities for minority, women, veteran and disabled-owned small businesses, including the SBA's 8(a) program.

General oversight of programs targeted toward urban relief.

Small Business Act, Small Business Investment Act, and related legislation.

Federal Government programs that are designed to assist small business generally.

Participation of small business in Federal procurement and Government contracts.

#### REGULATORY REFORM AND OVERSIGHT

Oversight and investigative authority over the regulatory and paperwork policies of all Federal departments and agencies.

Regulatory Flexibility Act.

Paperwork Reduction Act.

Competition policy generally.

Oversight and investigative authority generally, including novel issues of special concern to small business.

#### RURAL ENTERPRISES, AGRICULTURE AND TECHNOLOGY

Promotion of business growth and opportunities in rural areas.

Oversight and investigative authority over agricultural issues that impact small businesses.

General oversight of programs targeted toward farm relief.

Oversight and investigative authority for small business technology issues.

#### TAX, FINANCE AND EXPORTS

Tax policy and its impact on small business.

Access to capital and finance issues generally.

Export opportunities and oversight over Federal trade policy and promotion programs.

#### 13. COMMITTEE STAFF

##### (a) Majority Staff

The employees of the committee, except those assigned to the minority as provided below, shall be appointed and assigned, and may be removed by the Chairman. The Chairman shall fix their remuneration, and they shall be under the general supervision and direction of the Chairman.

##### (B) Minority Staff

The employees of the committee assigned to the minority shall be appointed and assigned, and their remuneration determined, as the ranking minority member of the committee shall determine.

##### (C) Subcommittee Staff

The Chairman and ranking minority member of the full committee shall endeavor to

ensure that sufficient staff is made available to each subcommittee to carry out its responsibilities under the rules of the committee.

#### 14. POWERS AND DUTIES OF SUBCOMMITTEES

Each subcommittee is authorized to meet, hold hearings, receive evidence, and report to the full committee on all matters referred to it. Subcommittee chairman shall set meeting and hearing dates after consultation with the Chairman of the full committee. Meetings and hearings of subcommittees shall not be scheduled to occur simultaneously with meetings or hearings of the full committee.

#### 15. SUBCOMMITTEE REPORTS

##### (A) Investigative Hearings

The report of any subcommittee on a matter which was the topic of a study or investigation shall include a statement concerning the subject of the study or investigation, the findings and conclusions, and recommendations for corrective action, if any, together with such other material as the subcommittee deems appropriate.

Such proposed reports shall first be approved by a majority of the subcommittee members. After such approval has been secured, the proposed report shall be sent to each member of the full committee for his or her supplemental, minority, or additional views.

Any such views shall be in writing and signed by the member and filed with the clerk of the full committee within 5 calendar days (excluding Saturdays, Sundays, and legal holidays) from the date of the transmittal of the proposed report to the members. Transmittal of the proposed report to members shall be by hand delivery to the members' offices.

After the expiration of such 5 calendar days, the report may be filed as a House report.

##### (B) End of Congress

Each subcommittee shall submit to the full committee, not later than November 15 of each even-numbered year, a report on the activities of the subcommittee during the Congress.

#### 16. RECORDS

The committee shall keep a complete record of all actions, which shall include a record of the votes on any question on which a record vote is demanded. The result of each subcommittee record vote, together with a description of the matter voted upon, shall promptly be made available to the full committee. A record of such votes shall be made available for inspection by the public at reasonable times in the offices of the committee.

The committee shall keep a complete record of all committee and subcommittee activity which, in the case of any meeting or hearing transcript, shall include a substantially verbatim account of remarks actually made during the proceedings, subject only to technical, grammatical, and typographical corrections authorized by the person making the remarks involved.

The records of the committee at the National Archives and Records Administration shall be made available in accordance with rule VII of the Rules of the House. The Chairman of the full committee shall notify the ranking minority member of the full committee of any decision, pursuant to clause 3(b)(3) or clause 4(b) of rule VII of the House, to withhold a record otherwise available, and the matter shall be presented to the committee for a determination of the written request of any member of the committee.

#### 17. ACCESS TO CLASSIFIED OR SENSITIVE INFORMATION

Access to classified or sensitive information supplied to the committee and attendance at closed sessions of the committee or its subcommittees shall be limited to members and necessary committee staff and stenographic reporters who have appropriate security clearance when the Chairman determines that such access or attendance is essential to the functioning of the committee.

The procedures to be followed in granting access to those hearings, records, data, charts, and files of the committee which involve classified information or information deemed to be sensitive shall be as follows:

(a) Only Members of the House of Representatives and specifically designated committee staff of the Committee on Small Business may have access to such information.

(b) Members who desire to read materials that are in the possession of the committee should notify the clerk of the committee.

(c) The clerk will maintain an accurate access log, which identifies the circumstances surrounding access to the information, without revealing the material examined.

(d) If the material desired to be reviewed is material which the committee or subcommittee deems to be sensitive enough to require special handling, before receiving access to such information, individuals will be required to sign an access information sheet acknowledging such access and that the individual has read and understands the procedures under which access is being granted.

(e) Material provided for review under this rule shall not be removed from a specified room within the committee offices.

(f) Individuals reviewing materials under this rule shall make certain that the materials are returned to the proper custodian.

(g) No reproductions or recordings may be made of any portion of such materials.

(h) The contents of such information shall not be divulged to any person in any way, form, shape, or manner, and shall not be discussed with any person who has not received the information in an authorized manner.

(i) When not being examined in the manner described herein, such information will be kept in secure safes or locked file cabinets in the committee offices.

(j) These procedures only address access to information the committee or a subcommittee deems to be sensitive enough to require special treatment.

(k) If a member of the House of Representatives believes that certain sensitive information should not be restricted as to dissemination or use, the member may petition the committee or subcommittee to so rule. With respect to information and materials provided to the committee by the executive branch, the classification of information and materials as determined by the executive branch shall prevail unless affirmatively changed by the committee or the subcommittee involved, after consultation with the appropriate executive agencies.

(l) Other materials in the possession of the committee are to be handled in accordance with the normal practices and traditions of the committee.

#### 18. OTHER PROCEDURES

The Chairman of the full committee may establish such other procedures and take such actions as may be necessary to carry out the foregoing rules or to facilitate the effective operation of the committee.

The committee may not be committed to any expense whatever without the prior approval of the Chairman of the full committee.

#### 19. AMENDMENTS TO COMMITTEE RULES

The rules of the committee may be modified, amended or repealed by a majority of

the members, at a meeting specifically called for such purpose, but only if written notice of the proposed change has been provided to each such member at least 3 days before the time of the meeting.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS, RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING,  
WASHINGTON, DC.

TO: Members, Committee on Small Business  
FR: Donald A. Manzullo, Chairman

RE: Policy Regarding the Postponement of Record Votes Pursuant to Rule 11 of the Rules of the Committee on Small Business for the 108th Congress.

DT: February 26, 2003

As you are aware, the Committee plans to adopt a rule authorizing the Chair to postpone record votes on approving a measure or matter, or agreeing to an amendment. The purpose of this memorandum is to formally announce the Chair's policy regarding the application of this rule.

##### In General

The Chairman has consulted with the ranking minority member in the formulation of this policy and will continue to consult with her regarding its application.

As will be announced at the Committee's organizational meeting, the purpose of this rule is to improve the efficiency of the Committee's meetings, and will not be used to advantage or disadvantage any member seeking to offer an amendment. In order to ensure that the Chair can effectively administer the rule and provide for orderly markups, it is essential that Members inform the Chair of their intention to offer a particular amendment as soon as possible. The Chair cannot protect Members if he does not know of their amendment.

Members are further advised that the Chair intends for this rule to be used sparingly, in cases where the Committee faces a long markup on a series of bills or amendments. It does not substitute for the active attendance and participation of Members in committee meetings.

##### In Particular

1. In the application of the rule, the Chair will consult regularly with the ranking minority member regarding the postponement of votes, including the decision on whether to postpone a particular vote and on when proceedings will resume.

2. Continuing the historical precedent of the Committee, the Chair expects that bills subject to mark-up will be considered as read and open to amendment at any point and will make every reasonable effort not to prejudice Members from offering amendments.

3. The Chair will make every reasonable effort to group the consideration of amendments and the resumption of proceedings on postponed votes on the same calendar day so as to permit the offering of all known amendments.

4. When proceedings resume on postponed record votes, the first vote in any series (or in the case of a single postponed vote, that vote), will remain open for 15 minutes, or until all members of the Committee or subcommittee are recorded. Subsequent votes in a series will not be held open.

5. The Chair will make every reasonable effort to notify members regarding the resumption of proceedings on postponed record votes, both prior to and at the time that proceedings resume on any postponed record vote, which includes notification through electronic means.

6. Members are strongly encouraged to attend all committee meetings. However, if members cannot attend the Committee

meeting, they are advised to monitor the proceedings through the Committee's audio webcast and to have staff present at the meeting.

The Chair believes that this policy will result in the fair application of the rule, the protection of Members' rights to offer amendments, and an improvement in the efficiency of Committee meetings.

If any member has a question regarding the application of this policy, they may either contact the Chair, or the Committee's Policy Director, Mr. Phil Eskeland, at extension 5-5821.

#### ALL POLITICS ARE INEXTRICABLY INTERWOVEN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 2003, the gentleman from New York (Mr. OWENS) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, most of us returning to our districts have had an inordinate amount of inquiries and complaints, I am sure, from constituents about local developments and problems. Local hardships are the first things on the minds of my constituents, and I am sure many of my colleagues have experienced the same problem.

People are concerned about the budget cuts at the city and State level, they are concerned about layoffs of people, they are concerned about the fact that there are property tax increases as a result of trying to make up for shortfalls in the budget of a State or of a city. So local hardships are on folks' minds.

I try to get them to understand that, okay, let us talk about it. You have your city councilman, you have your State officials. I certainly am concerned about the local hardships also. But I think it is important for them to understand that it is all interwoven. All politics inextricably are interwoven, and what is happening down here in Washington has an impact on what is happening at the local level, and the sooner we understand that, the better.

What we do in Washington generates a lot of local hardships and suffering. National and international blunders create pain and suffering in our neighborhoods. That is where the troops come from. That is where the soldiers who are on the frontline come from. They come out of our neighborhoods, and those blunders and things that we do, like the war in Iraq, which I consider a blunder, and the fact that the combat was successful has not made me a believer that that war was necessary. It is a blunder. Every life that was lost was lost unnecessarily, in my opinion. It will suck vitally-needed resources from the war against terrorism. We are in for a much more serious situation developing in Iraq, which I will talk about later.

The poor will bear the burden of the war in Iraq. They will bear the burden. They have already borne the burden of

the combat. A study by the New York Times showed that the people who are the soldiers in our military forces now are folks from the neighborhood. Members of working families make up more than 90 percent of the forces.

We are proud of them. When there is a war that is really necessary, we are proud of the fact that they are there to fight the war. We do not want their lives to be lost unnecessarily. We do not want them to find themselves sitting in Iraq for the next 5 years. We do not want the terrible conditions to be foisted upon those who happen to be there, and there is no rotation out because we do not have troops to replace them with.

There are a number of problems which place the burden of the war on Iraq on the backs of the poor. Those are my constituents, and those of many of my colleagues. We want them to understand we are concerned and are working to relieve those burdens here in Washington.

There is a scenario shaping up for bloody guerilla warfare in Iraq. I am not a military expert, I am not on the committee, but I think there is some sophomoric knowledge, some examples of immediate history, not too far in the past, Vietnam, Chechnya, the Russian occupation of Afghanistan, the suicide bombers in Israel. There are a number of items there which should lead us to understand that we are in for serious trouble as things are developing in Iraq, and, if we do not do something quickly in Iraq more decisively, we are going to have many more unnecessary lives lost, we are going to have to spend a tremendous amount of resources. Dollars that ought to be going to make up these budget gaps in the cities and the States, those dollars will be going to fight a guerilla war in Iraq.

There is a way out of this. I was not for the war, but I certainly would like to see a successful occupation. We are there now, and we should pull out all stops and make certain we bring justice to the ordinary people of Iraq. That is the way to avoid guerrilla warfare.

Guerrilla warfare will never succeed unless it has a base in the population which is going to help hide it and nurture it and make it difficult for an occupying force to deal with. We did not have guerilla warfare to any great extent in Germany after the Second World War. We did not have it to a great extent in Japan. Yes, there was some guerilla warfare, and it is not talked about much, some holdouts, et cetera, but their efforts were quickly undercut by the way the population of Germany and Japan was treated by the occupying forces.

The same thing is true here, and we are in the process of failing in our slowness in responding to the needs of the general population in Iraq.

There is a formula for success, and I would like to see that formula carried out, because I do not want more of my constituents stuck in Iraq as an occu-

pying power. It destroys their mental capacity after being there under such tremendous strain for a long time. The weather is 140 degrees. All kinds of things are taking place that impact on a human being, and I do not want a situation where we are stuck there with the poorest of the poor in the Armed Services having to carry out unnecessary duties.

Let us go now into a situation which will correct the situation properly and lead us to a point where we can declare success in Iraq and leave.

The Marshall Plan model is there, the Marshall Plan model we used in Europe. Why was it possible to overcome all the difficulties in Europe? Why did the Soviet Union, who at that time was given an opportunity to participate in the Marshall Plan, why did they refuse? It was because they knew that the general population would benefit in a way which would undercut their communist schemes and their own schemes for world domination, and they did not want the population to be satisfied in any way, a part of a partnership for progress and a partnership which took care of meeting the needs of ordinary people.

So the Marshall Plan model to spend money, to use our resources, our technical know-how, to improve the state of the lives of the people there, is very much necessary. We could rebuild the infrastructure of Iraq in one year. It may cost a great deal, but it will cost far less to go in to rebuild the infrastructure of the water systems and the electricity systems than it will cost us if the population becomes alienated and supportive of guerilla warfare. We have what it takes to do it.

I will come back and talk about the formula for success in the occupation of Iraq in greater detail.

There is a formula for success to relieve the suffering and the hardships in our States and our cities also, but it is all interwoven with the kinds of resources we put into places like Iraq. We do not have the money. We voted to appropriate \$79 billion for the war in Iraq and related matters, and there is no money to deal with the problem of economic recession here at home. So we have to stop the blunders internationally in order to be able to deal with our problems closer to home.

All politics are inextricably interwoven. We must understand that clearly ourselves, and we should also make sure that our constituents understand.

In New York, I hear repeatedly complaints about, Congressman, why do you not do something about the fact that we just got an 18 percent property tax increase, an 18 percent property tax increase? On top of that, there is a ticket blitz. The cops are being encouraged to write tickets for everything. You drop a gum wrapper on the sidewalk, a candy wrapper, and they rush to write a ticket because they need the money. The citizens become the victims of the government to raise revenue.