

war, using as part of the rationale for the war an incident that never happened. The Congress buys the bait hook, line and sinker and passes a resolution giving the President the authority to use "all necessary means" to prosecute the war.

The war is started with an air and ground attack. Initially there is optimism. The President says we are winning. The cocky, self-assured Secretary of Defense says we are winning. As a matter of fact, the Secretary of Defense promises the troops will be home soon.

However, the truth on the ground that the soldiers face in the war is different than the political policy that sent them there. They face increased opposition from a determined enemy. They are surprised by terrorist attacks, suicide bombers, village assassinations, increasing casualties and growing anti-American sentiment. They find themselves bogged down in a guerrilla land war, unable to move forward and unable to disengage because there are no allies in the war to turn the war over to. There is no plan B. There is no exit strategy. Military morale declines. The President's popularity sinks and the American people are increasingly frustrated by the cost of blood and treasure poured into a never-ending war.

Sound familiar? It does to me!

The President was Lyndon Johnson.

Got Ya!

The cocky, self-assured Secretary of Defense was Robert McNamara.

Got ya again!

The Congressional resolution was the Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

You are catching on!

The war was the war that I, John Kerry, Chuck Hagel, John McCain and three and-a-half million other Americans of our generation were caught up in. It was the scene of America's longest war. It was also the locale of the most frustrating outcome of any war this Nation has ever fought.

Unfortunately, the people who drove the engine to get into the war in Iraq never served in Vietnam.

Not the President.

Not the Vice-President.

Not the Secretary of Defense.

Not the Deputy Secretary of Defense.

Too bad. They could have learned some lessons.

First, they could have learned not to underestimate the enemy. The enemy always has one option you cannot control. He always has the option to die. This is especially true if you are dealing with true believers and guerrillas fighting for their version of reality—whether political or religious. They are what Tom Friedman of the New York Times calls the "non-deterables." If those non-deterables are already home in their country, they will be able to wait you out until you go home.

Second, if the enemy adopts a "hit and run" strategy designed to inflict maximum casualties on you, you may win every battle but the battles you fight (as Walter Lippman once said about the Vietnam War), can't win the war.

Third, if you adopt a strategy of not just pre-emptive strike but also pre-emptive war you own the aftermath. You better plan for it. You better have an exit strategy because you cannot stay there indefinitely unless you make it the 51st state. If you do stay an extended period of time, you then become an occupier, not a liberator. That feeds the enemy against you.

Fourth, if you adopt the strategy of pre-emptive war, your intelligence must be not just "damn good," as the President has said it must be "bullet proof," as Secretary Rumsfeld claimed the administration had against Saddam Hussein. Anything short of that saps credibility.

Fifth, if you want to know what is really going on in the war, ask the troops on the ground not the policy makers in Washington. The "ground truth" as the soldiers call it, is always more accurate than the truth expounded through the mouths of those who plan the war and have a political, personal and emotional investment in their policy. They will bend any fact, even intelligence, to their own ends. If the ground truth and the policy truth begin to diverge, "Shock and Awe" will turn into what one officer in Iraq has described as, "Shock and Awe S---!"

Sixth, in a democracy instead of truth being the first casualty in war, it should be the first cause of war. It is the only way the Congress and the American people can cope with getting through it. As credibility is strained, support for the war and support for the troops goes down hill. Continued loss of credibility drains troop morale, the media becomes more suspicious, the public becomes more incredulous and the Congress is reduced to hearings and investigations.

Instead of learning the lessons of Vietnam, where all of the above happened, the President, the Vice-President, the Secretary of Defense and the Deputy Secretary of Defense, have gotten this country into a disaster in the desert. They attacked a country that had not attacked us. They did so on intelligence that was faulty, misrepresented and highly questionable. A key piece of that intelligence was an out-right lie which the White House put into the President's State of the Union speech. These officials have over-extended the American military, including the Guard and the Reserve and expanded the United States Army to the breaking point. A quarter of a million troops are committed to the Iraq war theater, most bogged down in Baghdad. Morale is declining and casualties continue to increase. In addition to the human cost, the funding of the war costs a billion dollars a week adding to the additional burden of an already depressed economy. The President has declared "major combat over" and sent a message to every terrorist, "Bring them on." As a result, he has lost more people in his war than his father did in his and there is no end in sight. Military commanders are left with extended tours of duty for servicemen and women, told long ago they were going home, and keeping American forces on the ground where they have become sitting ducks in a shooting gallery for every terrorist group in the Middle East.

Welcome to Vietnam Mr. President. Sorry you didn't go when you had the chance.

SUPPORT H.R. 3156, EXTENDING UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS

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

Mr. WU. Mr. Speaker, for most of the last 2 years, my home State of Oregon has had the highest unemployment rate in the Nation, and thousands of Oregonians have tried for a year or more to find a job without success.

This coming Saturday, 12,000 unemployed Oregonians will lose all of their unemployment benefits with the expiration of an Oregon unemployment program which provides assistance when Federal unemployment benefits run out. The estimates are that 400 additional Oregonians per week will lose all unemployment benefits starting next week and for every week there-

after. For unemployed Oregonians, it is these benefits that keep their kids in college, prevent the loss of a home, car, or vital health care.

Mr. Speaker, a jobless economic recovery does not help the unemployed. I challenge this Congress to do more to help our jobless Americans. I challenge this Congress to pass H.R. 3156, my bill to extend Federal unemployment benefits by an additional 13 weeks.

PROBLEMS WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND ACT

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

Mr. MATHESON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to bring attention to an issue of utmost importance to my home State of Utah and to the rest of this country.

As we are now in the beginning of a new school year, I am very troubled by news from across our State about the implementation of the No Child Left Behind Act. The concepts and ideas behind this Federal education reform legislation remain just as good as they were 2 years ago when, with bipartisan support, Congress enacted the bill at the urging of President Bush. Despite the bill's good intentions, such as improving student achievement, increasing teacher quality, and providing parents with greater options, the legislation implementation has strayed off course.

How bad is it? Under the strictest interpretation of standards, 78 out of the 83 schools in Utah's Jordan School District will be designated as failing schools. In rural Utah it is questionable whether any junior high or high school will be able to meet all of the criteria. This just does not make sense. I have met with teachers, principals, parents, school board members, and superintendents throughout my State, and I know first hand about the good work that is done every day in our schools. Utah's schools face challenges based on large class sizes and low State funding. Now, due to the imposition of a new series of underfunded Federal requirements, they face the possibility of being labeled as "failures."

There are two basic problems with the implementation of the No Child Left Behind Act. First, the act promised significant Federal funding to assist local schools in meeting new requirements. In fact, a strong commitment to fund the No Child Left Behind Act requirements was critical in garnering overwhelming bipartisan support for the legislation. Unfortunately, when it came time to provide the actual funding, Congress fell short by \$9 billion. At a time when State budgets are already tight, Federal requirements to push schools to do more with less set up our schools to fail.

Second, as with any complex law enacted by Congress, the Federal agency responsible for administration develops

specific regulations. And in this case of No Child Left Behind, the U.S. Department of Education has developed a set of regulations based on an extreme interpretation of the legislation. There are many problems with the way No Child Left Behind regulations have evolved, but let us just take a look at two examples.

Acknowledging that quality teaching is critical to student performance, No Child Left Behind calls for teachers to meet competency and training standards for subjects they teach. This sounds reasonable, but any new Utah secondary teacher is required to have a bachelor's degree in the subject that he or she teaches. In rural schools, teachers often must teach multiple subjects.

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In the case of foreign language teachers, many Utah teachers are former LDS missionaries with foreign language fluency. Even if these teachers have college minors in the language, they would still not be considered qualified to teach the subject. Special education teachers also teach a variety of subjects every day. Is it reasonable to require multiple college degrees? Clearly, greater flexibility is necessary to pursue teacher quality.

Now, the No Child Left Behind Act also recognized that teacher turnover is a problem, and it directs States to ensure that poor and minority children are not taught by inexperienced teachers at higher rates than other students. Again, this sounds reasonable, but the implementation has proven problematic.

In Utah, anyone with less than 3 years of teaching is considered an inexperienced teacher. The Jordan School District has a low percentage of inexperienced teachers across the whole district, and Midvale Elementary School in that district, they just recently aggressively recruited a dozen new teachers with foreign language skills to meet students' needs. But because they are all new teachers, it drives the school's percentage of inexperienced teachers above the district average, so the school is a failure under this requirement. Again, this just does not make sense.

As a Congressman, I often hear about the unintended consequences of legislation. As someone who supported the No Child Left Behind Act, I am gravely concerned that a lack of funding and an inappropriate set of regulations have brought on many unintended consequences that will harm Utah's schools.

The gap between legislative intent and real world implementation must be addressed. That is why I have cosponsored legislation to suspend No Child Left Behind requirements until Congress fulfills its funding commitments.

I have seen the great work that goes on every day in our schools. Our teachers, our principals, the PTA parents, teacher aides and school district staff work hard for our kids. None of them

would ever want to leave any child behind. They know that the best investment we can make is the investment in our children's education. Congress should do everything we can to help them succeed.

THE COST OF IRAQ RECONSTRUCTION

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

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, 140 years or so ago, former President John Quincy Adams came to the House floor and read letters from his constituents about slavery and about the abolitionists because the House actually passed a rule in 1838 saying that Congress could not debate the issue of slavery on the House floor, believe it or not.

Today, we have not really been free; we have not had committee hearings; we have not had floor debate on a lot of the questions about what is happening in Iraq, getting answers from the President and from the administration about the reconstruction, the cost, how the money is being spent; all of that, and I have gotten letters from hundreds of constituents asking for answers to those questions.

But what we have seen, Mr. Speaker, is information from the Bush administration that obfuscates, that deceives, that simply does not tell us.

Deputy Defense Secretary Wolfowitz recently said, "No one that I know of would ever say that this war is cheap."

Well, that is not what the President's people were telling us before the invasion. Budget Director Mitch Daniels said Iraq, back then, before the attack, said Iraq would be "an affordable endeavor that will not require sustained aid."

Now, Jane from Sheffield Lake, Ohio, wrote to me, "We cannot let this enormous deception from the Bush administration continue."

Back several months ago, White House economist Glen Hubbard said the costs of any intervention would be very small.

Edward from Akron in my district wrote, "I believe we were duped by this administration through misleading statements and outright lies."

Larry Lindsey, the President's Chief Economic Adviser, estimated the war in Iraq would cost \$100 billion to \$200 billion, the war and the aftermath and the reconstruction. He was shunned by the administration after saying that. He was later fired because of that.

From Akron Ohio, Susan writes, "Please represent us in Summit County and get to the bottom of these untruths and these lies."

Mr. Speaker, we have seen the President's proposal to spend \$87 billion. That is just this year. That is in addition to the \$65 billion check that Congress and the American people have already written to the President for the

war in Iraq. This \$87 billion details how the President's request allocates \$157 per Iraqi, U.S. taxpayers pay \$157 per Iraqi, for sewage improvements, but in the President's budget there is only \$14 per American for sewage improvement in this country.

The administration, according to the President's request for this \$87 billion, is devoting \$38 per Iraqi for hospitals, but in this country, only \$3.30 per American citizen for hospitals.

The President is seeking almost \$6 billion to rebuild and expand Iraq's electricity generation and distribution system, as millions of Americans are regaining power lost from Hurricane Isabel and as Congress continues, frankly, not very well in this Congress, to deal with the fallout from the August blackout.

The President requests from the \$87 billion, 350 times more money for Iraqis individually; \$255 per Iraqi for electrical power rehabilitation, 71 cents per American for electrical power rehabilitation.

Mr. Speaker, Americans need some answers. How are we going to spend this money? Where has the \$1 billion a week gone now? We need accountability. We need, most importantly, for the President to assure us that our troops will be well-supplied, and that our troops will be safer than they have in the past.

In fact, I received a call just last night from a young man whom I know who was injured in Iraq from my district. He spent 70 days in the hospital. Because of this administration's policy, he owes \$550 back to Bethesda Hospital, back to the government, because the government has charged him, believe it or not, \$8.10 for every day's meal he has eaten in that hospital as an injured soldier in the United States of America, injured in the battlefield in Iraq. Yet, now the administration simply is not telling us how we are going to spend that money, not making the private contractors, many of them friends of the President who are getting literally hundreds of millions of dollars, not disclosing where that money is going, how they are spending it.

I would close, Mr. Speaker, Elizabeth from Akron writes, "The Bush administration's blatant disregard for the ability of the American people to sort through, to discuss and to reach reasonable conclusions on important issues is disturbing. What else aren't they telling us? What other lies are they trying to foist on us? Whether one supported the war or not, the question of the obvious and overwhelming deceptions the administration seems to regard as normal is disturbing."

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

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