

As the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., said in the letter from the Birmingham jail, and we should heed this as we consider someday the ideal of restoring the sanctity of human life, "A just law is man-made code that squares with the moral law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law."

Martin Luther King was right. Abortion is wrong, and it is my deepest and fondest hope that through peaceful means, as Dr. King led America through debate, through engagement, through compassion, that we will lead our Nation back to where the man-made code will again square with the moral law of God and we will someday restore the sanctity of human life.

QUESTIONS FOR THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION

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

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on the topic of my special order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, I come tonight to address this House along with my colleagues in the Congressional Black Caucus, and I guess one thing, as I heard our previous speaker talking about Martin Luther King, I could not help but think about a quote that King stated many years ago when he said that when you talk about peace, it is not just the absence of conflict but it is the presence of justice.

And tonight the Congressional Black Caucus, as we did last week and we will continue to do over and over again, come forward in the spirit of justice, justice with regard to the American people, who have a right to know what is going on in their country and with the tax dollars that they work so hard to give to our national Treasury. I think they want justice so that they can fully understand why it is that just a few months ago the President came asking for close to \$80 billion and this Congress gave it to him for Iraq. I think they will consider justice to simply be that they now have answers to the questions with regard to the present \$87 billion, questions answered which will help them understand what is going on and why it is that their tax dollars are being spent.

Those same citizens, like the Congressional Black Caucus, are very clear with regard to support of our troops. We support our troops with everything we have got. As I often say, we support our troops 1 million percent, but the fact is that, if justice is to prevail and

if peace is to really come to this world, we also need to know and the American citizens need to know whether those troops, while we applaud them over and over again, whether they are receiving justice when they ask the question and send the letters to their congressmen and to their representatives and to their Senators asking what do we have to do to get the things that we need to address this war that we are in?

So I want to make it very clear that there is not the slightest bit of reluctance to support our troops. We do. But now we must begin to answer some questions, and we presented these questions to the President before, and we will present them over and over again.

Recently, we in the Congressional Black Caucus released the principles that will guide our evaluation of the administration's \$87 billion supplemental funding request regarding the United States' involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan. This latest \$87 billion request, I should note, is in addition to the \$80 billion that Congress appropriated just last spring.

In the Congressional Black Caucus statement of principles, we declared the following: The administration should provide to the Congress the full details of the information relied upon by the President in his decision to go to war. We asked for a detailed accounting from the administration as to all funds expended to date, including details about all contracts for works in or related to Iraq. We asserted that the President should provide full details about how the efforts will be paid for, including a full accounting of how and to what extent Iraqi resources could be used to reduce the United States' costs. We indicated that the President should provide the Congress with a detailed plan showing how the proposed new funding will be spent, distinguishing between what will be used for the protection and maintenance of our troops and what will be used for the rebuilding of Iraq.

We went on to say, and we declare that the President should provide full details about the future obligations of the United States and about how responsibility and authority for these obligations will be shared with the United Nations and other nations around the world. And we asked that the President set forth the criteria he will expect to be met before bringing our troops home.

Mr. Speaker, next week this House will vote on the administration's \$87 billion request. Personally and on behalf of my colleagues within the Congressional Black Caucus, I once again pledge our unwavering support for our troops. We must provide our brave young men and women with all the resources they need to complete their mission and return home as soon as possible.

I suggest, however, that our evaluation of the administration's supplemental funding request requires further consideration of what precisely

the mission of our troops in Iraq will be from this point forward. That question is central to the last four CBC principles that I just mentioned, and it is central to the concerns of the 26 million Black Americans the Congressional Black Caucus members represent.

I must note that we are being asked to appropriate this \$87 billion, more than twice the amount of the entire Homeland Security Department's fiscal year 2004 budget. I must also acknowledge that we have not yet provided the Federal funding needed by our States and local governments to assure the security of our people right here at home.

I believe that there is substantial support in this House for a continuing and significant United States role in the rebuilding of Iraq and the transition of Iraq to a democratic peaceful society. Once again, however, we are faced with a critical issue of national policy. Must the United States substantially go it alone in financing the reconstruction of Iraq? Or, in the alternative, will the administration be able to obtain substantial United Nations involvement and financial participation?

The answers to these questions will be central to our evaluation of the administration's \$87 billion request and especially the \$20 billion plus requested for rebuilding Iraq.

As I speak, Mr. Speaker, the administration's proposed resolution seeking U.N. support is in trouble within the United Nations Security Council. The critical question appears to be this: Who will control the reconstruction of Iraq, the United Nations or the United States? We also rapidly are approaching the International Donors Conference in Madrid which is scheduled for October 27. The administration is maintaining the position that we, not the U.N., must remain in control of the Iraq process. This is the current situation. We in the Congress are being asked to approve another \$87 billion in American funds at a time when we are filled with uncertainty.

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The questions that the Congressional Black Caucus have posed have not yet been answered. We are uncertain about the role of the UN; we are uncertain about what other nations will come forward to help pay the costs and how much they are prepared to contribute.

What we can reasonably conclude is this: Unless the United States is prepared to share power and control regarding the future of Iraq with the United Nations, we cannot reasonably anticipate that other major nations will be willing to share any substantial portion of the costs. In addition, thus far we have seen very little reference in the administration's proposals with respect to the appropriate use of Iraq's own resources to help rebuild the Middle Eastern Nation.

I should also note that according to an examination the Marshall Plan

analogy, a report prepared by the minority staff of the Committee on Appropriations, the \$20-plus billion we are being asked to appropriate far exceeds Iraq's need for humanitarian assistance.

Iraq has the second largest oil reserves in the world, with 112 billion barrels of proven oil reserves and another probable 220 billion barrels. At the current world market rate, the value of the proven Iraqi reserves would amount to \$2.8 trillion, together with another \$5.5 trillion in probable oil reserves. However, the administration's supplemental request does not seem to contain any plans to utilize this resource to cover the costs for building Iraq, as President Bush suggested that we would do before we began this war.

Even those of us who are inclined to support U.S. assistance in rebuilding Iraq must question the size of this request in the context of our national priorities.

Mr. Speaker, I must also conclude that serious questions about our motives would be raised abroad if we maintained unilateral control over the reconstruction process while using Iraqi oil resources to pay part of the cost.

Recall the core issue that we face, however: Who will control the process, us, or the U.N.? Would not UN control of the rebuilding process make the use of Iraqi resources far more acceptable, both in Iraq and abroad? Would not UN participation reduce the cost to the American people? Would not power sharing with the UN allow us to bring our troops home faster? Would not the truly international process give far greater legitimacy to the process and results of an Iraqi reconstruction?

These, I submit, are serious questions that must be answered to our satisfaction before we can justifiably appropriate more than \$20 billion in additional American funds.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from the great State of California (Ms. LEE).

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, first let me just say I rise tonight with my Congressional Black Caucus colleagues, led by our very strong, wise and courageous chairman, the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CUMMINGS). I just want to say thank you to the gentleman from once again ensuring that the Congressional Black Caucus has the opportunity to put President Bush on notice of our concerns with his \$87 billion appropriation request to fund the ongoing war in Iraq.

Now, the gentleman from Maryland referenced the Statement of Principles which the Congressional Black Caucus actually put together and released several weeks ago. I would like to reference, Mr. Speaker, the Statement of Principles which we actually submitted in October of 2002 to put this in a bit more of a historical perspective.

In October of 2002, the Congressional Black Caucus issued the following

statement: "We oppose a unilateral first-strike action by the United States without a clearly demonstrated and imminent threat of attack on the United States. Only Congress has the authority to declare war. Every conceivable diplomatic option must be exhausted.

"A unilateral first strike would undermine the moral authority of the United States, destabilize the Middle East region and undermine the ability of our Nation to address unmet domestic priorities.

"Further, any post-strike plan for maintaining stability in the region would be costly and would require a long-term commitment."

That was in October of 2002.

Mr. Speaker, this money follows an initial \$78 billion special appropriation which I believe was passed in April and, of course, a defense budget that already tops \$368 to \$370 billion. Those climbing numbers are not only daunting in themselves, but they also represent what is this second installment for the Iraq invasion, a process that may be endless.

I reached this conclusion because this proposal provides no answers to the questions that it begs, which our chairman just laid out, no answers to the questions with regard to a timetable for Iraqi independence and an exit strategy for American troops. None of the answers to these questions have been provided. Before appropriating another taxpayer dollar, I believe we must have an answer to each and every one of these questions.

Mr. Speaker, some people will come to the floor and say that we must support this Presidential request without question because we have to support our troops. Well, Mr. Speaker, we all support our troops. As the daughter of a career military officer, this is very important to me, and I want to see them safe at home as soon as possible.

In the meantime, I want them to have the health benefits that they deserve, the bulletproof vests that they need, and the basic supplies, the toiletries, the basics that they need that really have been denied to them. I want to know that our wounded receive proper treatment and proper respect.

Our veterans deserve more than what they are getting. Disabled veterans deserve full retirement benefits and their families deserve full survivor benefits. They have made the ultimate sacrifice and need to be strengthened in terms of survivor benefits. How can we possibly do anything less?

I do not know where this first \$78 billion went, but I support our troops, and I think that we need to understand that this \$78 billion hopefully should have gone, we believe, to have supported our troops. I am not sure what happened to that money.

So in supporting our troops, I think I can say very clearly that I do not support the quagmire they are now trapped in. This \$87 billion does not come with a plan to get our troops out

of Iraq or to create a real transition to UN authority and then Iraqi independence. Instead, it supports and extends the guerilla war, without an accounting of how we got here or how we will get out.

The American people have a right to know the answers to these questions before they are asked to spend one more penny on this war. Accountability and transparency are among the fundamental principles that we are trying to really impart as it relates to our policy to Iraq.

How high will these bills go? Some experts tell us it could go as high as \$400 billion, or even higher. Accountability also demands that we know who is making money off of the war. Billions of dollars are going to Halliburton and to Bechtel and other corporations, many of them, of course, with ties to this administration.

Now, I am very pleased that Dr. Martin Luther King's vision, his perspective and his fight for peace and justice, has been part of our debate, and I want to just mention another perspective and lesson that Dr. King provided to us in the sixties. He warned us, and this was a quote that Dr. King provided and gave us in terms of instruction, he said, "In the wasteland of war, the expenditure of resources knows no restraints."

Dr. King knew that war could be a bottomless pit into which this great Nation could pour all of its resources, all of its young people, and really never come out any safer nor any stronger.

So we need a map, and we need a timetable to really get us out of this bottomless pit, and we need a clear transition strategy, so that we can achieve these goals. We need a timetable, so that we have an understanding of when we will get out.

Let me just say we need to also leave an Iraq that is stable and secure in terms of a transition, but we need to leave. The Iraqi people deserve to run their own country. The international community will be a major part of that transition.

We have deep obligations, unmet needs here at home, which our Congressional Black Caucus Statement of Principles laid out. We have schools that need to be reconstructed. We have health care needs. Here we have a country with 44 million people uninsured. We have health care needs that must be expanded here at home. We have housing that needs to be built.

We also have other obligations internationally, with 42 million people in the world with HIV and AIDS. The administration has not even come up with the full \$3 billion to fight a disease that killed 3 million people last year. We have been fighting very hard for that this year, and still cannot get that extra \$1 billion.

According to the National Priorities Project in my home State of California, taxpayers will be asked to contribute over \$11 billion to fund this supplemental appropriation. That

money could pay for \$2 billion in school construction, over 7,500 new affordable housing units, almost \$2 billion in infrastructure projects, and fund over 30,000 new firefighters and first responders. It would provide health care coverage for over 1 million people, and, in the process, create over 150,000 additional new jobs. So there are real costs to our own country with regard to this very failed and misguided foreign policy.

Finally, let me say in conclusion, yes, we must support our troops, and let us support our troops by forging a transition strategy that will get them home. Let us not blindly sign another blank check, another installment on the President's foreign policy doctrine, and this is what it really is, his foreign policy doctrine of preemption. Over 300 Americans have died in Iraq, over 1,200 have been wounded, and we do not have any real idea of how many Iraqis have died because the Pentagon refuses to try to even count them. So let us find our way out of this quagmire and out of this wasteland of war.

I want to thank the chairman again for his leadership and for this special order. Again, we are here tonight to wake up America.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentlewoman for her statement. As you were talking, I could not help but think about the call that I got the other day from one of my constituents who has now been laid off from a factory that closed.

She saw the same national news story that I saw where several Iraqi teachers were being paid, and we all welcome education and everything, but what they said in the newscast and what she was so upset about is the newscaster said they are now being paid six times what they were earning before the war. She said it just hurt her so badly to see those dollars being paid out, and yet she was about to be homeless.

So there is just something that I think the Caucus has consistently emphasized. Along with being very supportive of our troops, we have also used the word "balance" over and over again. We must approach our family issues with balance, our lives with balance, the things we do with balance. Clearly, I think the gentlewoman will agree with me, what seems to be happening here is clearly out of balance.

One of the things we want the American people to keep in mind is that we are not talking about just this \$87 billion. We are also talking about close to \$80 billion that we just gave in the spring, and one of the big questions that we put forth is when is the next request going to come and how much will that be for?

Ms. LEE. That is right. As I said earlier, I believe that it is very important that our troops are supported. This initial \$78 billion should have gone to support our troops, with all of the necessary equipment and protective vests and everything that they need. We do not know where that \$78 billion went.

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We do not know where we are going with this. This is just the second installment, and all of the estimates have been \$400 billion-plus, 5 years-plus. We have got to say no to this, I would say to the gentleman, I believe. I think that it is about time that we ask the hard questions; and if we do not receive the answers, we must try to figure out a way to ensure that America understands what the stakes are and what the risks are.

Finally, with regard to education, yes, I can understand why this young lady was very upset. We cannot even fund and have not funded Leave No Child Behind. We promised the American people that we would create some parity in our school system and a quality education for young people, and that was probably rhetoric only. The reality is not there. So this \$87 billion, part of this certainly could go to ensure that our young people have the best possible public education that we can provide.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, the gentlewoman also spoke about the principles of the Congressional Black Caucus, and there were two sets of principles as the gentlewoman referenced. We had one set of principles that came prior to the war, and then we had another set of principles that we agreed upon with regard to this \$87 billion in future spending. The man who really helped us pull all of that together, who has just spent a phenomenal amount of effort in trying to make sure that we put forth principles that made sense, that were common sense, that we believe the entire Nation should be asking, was our colleague, the gentleman from the great State of North Carolina (Mr. WATT), and I yield to him.

Mr. WATT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman, the gentleman from Maryland (Chairman CUMMINGS), for yielding and for organizing this Special Order this evening to talk about the Congressional Black Caucus's position on the war and to make some common-sense points about what that position should be and what the Congress's position should be.

Based on what my colleagues have already said, it is quite apparent that the Congressional Black Caucus has standing to be here for at least two reasons. Number one, we have standing because only 34 out of 38 of our Members voted against the original war resolution, against a backdrop where we had set out five clear principles that we would be measuring the President's original request to delegate authority to him to go to war against. And almost as if we had some crystal ball at that time, the fifth of the five principles stated as follows: it said, any post-strike plan for maintaining stability in the region would be costly and would require a long-term commitment. It was as if we were forecasting, even back in October of 2002, the exact circumstance in which we find ourselves today.

We did not have any crystal ball; what we had was common sense that told us if the President went this course alone without a worldwide, international coalition, we were likely to be there by ourselves, paying for the war and the postwar responsibilities by ourselves; that we would destabilize what was already an unstable situation in the Middle East even further, which has turned out to be the case.

Our own common sense in our communities says, hey, you simply do not fight somebody unless you have exhausted every possible, conceivable effort, short of fighting somebody. I mean, that is just a commonsense rule of the street where many of us have had to exist. You just simply do not go and fight somebody, and you do not go and make a unilateral attack against somebody without a demonstrated, imminent threat that somebody is getting ready to slap you or your mama. I mean, that is basically commonsense principles that we outlined in October of 2002.

So we have standing to be here, not because we came to say we told you so, but because we applied to our own voting pattern in the original war resolution the principles that we thought were commonsense principles that should govern our country. Unfortunately, this administration failed to apply those principles; and, as a result, we are here today.

Now, I want to zero in on several of the new eight principles that we established a couple of weeks ago to evaluate the President's \$87 billion additional request. First of all, we reaffirmed our commitment to the original principles that we had adopted back in October of 2002. We were not starting from scratch; we were working in a context where if we knew that if the President had followed those original principles, we would not be here today. But the second principle is quite interesting, because despite the fact that the President had not followed our principles, our second new principle was to say that despite the President's failure to follow our original statement of principles in his decisions leading to the war, we expressed our full resolve to support and protect our troops and their families. So as both of my colleagues who have spoken to this point have indicated, there should be no question about our commitment to the troops.

But before we give a President who has already demonstrated that he is inept and demonstrated that he is unwilling to follow commonsense principles for an additional \$87 billion, we think some other things ought to happen.

First of all, we think this administration should provide an accounting of all funds expended to date that were previously approved by the Congress, including details about all contracts for work in or related to Iraq. In my community, I do not know about my colleagues, but in my community,

there are substantial questions being raised about how Halliburton can end up with a contract in excess of \$1 billion in Iraq, and now people are asking, well, why can the Iraqi people not do some of this work? If we are trying to help them, why is it that we are being so paternalistic that only the United States can do the work; we will not even hire any of them to do the work on the ground? We are hiring U.S. companies, giving none of our small businesses, our minority businesses the opportunity to participate in those work opportunities?

Our next principle was the President should provide sufficient details about how the proposed funding will be spent to enable Congress and its committees to evaluate separately funding proposed for the protection and maintenance of our troops, which all of us agree is a high moral imperative. Despite the fact that the President did this unilaterally, our troops did not make that decision. We have got to protect them. But we want a separate accounting of the money that is going to be spent on the proposed rebuilding of Iraq.

Now, why do we want a separate accounting? Common sense again. We have neighborhoods in our own country that have inadequate plumbing, inadequate electricity. We had our own blackout. And if we are going to provide assistance to Iraq, we ought to be focusing on providing assistance in the same kind of settings in our own communities that we are providing in Iraq. We ought to make sure that we are not giving Iraq more than Iraq had before we even ever bombed there. At least show us what it is that we destroyed by bombing them; maybe we have some moral obligation to rebuild that part of Iraq. But for the life of me, I cannot figure out why we would think Iraq would be a higher priority to fund basic infrastructure than other countries with substantially less per capita incomes.

There are many countries throughout this world that have a lot less per capita income than Iraq, and there are a lot of countries that I would get to helping and providing assistance to before I would get down to Iraq, trying to provide this assistance solely against a backdrop where we have gone in and bombed that country.

We think the President should provide an accounting of Iraqi resources which we were told in advance the country was going to apply to rebuilding Iraq. Iraq has probably got more oil under the ground than most of the assets that we have here in our country. Why can they not use their own assets to help pay for the cost of rebuilding? I mean, that is just common sense. We try to tell people not to be paternalistic. I mean, you have to want to help yourself before we want to give you anything. That is what we have said to the American people. That is what we have said to people on welfare right here in our country. You got to get up

and work yourself and use your own resources, so why can we not apply the same principles to Iraq that we apply here at home?

These are just commonsense principles, Mr. Speaker; and it is just impossible for us to go back into our communities and say that we should be doing this, providing another blank check to this President, without a full accounting for the \$79 billion that has already been spent and without any accounting for how he is going to pay for the additional \$87 billion.

Now, we have been saying, all of us in the Congressional Black Caucus have been saying for months that if this is a priority, then we ought to pay for it as a Nation and not pass the debt along to our children. Every dime of this \$87 billion is going straight to the deficit and coming straight from borrowed money. The effect of that is to pass that obligation along to our children, rather than paying for it ourselves.

Now, who ought to be paying for it? I think who ought to be paying for it is the people that we gave the tax break to this year who are making over \$150,000 to \$200,000 a year. If they think this is a priority, if the country thinks this is a priority, then let us pay for it as a priority. So we think the tax cuts should be rolled back, especially at the highest levels, and maybe even at the middle-income levels, to have all of us share in the sacrifice, if we think this is a national priority. Those are the kinds of questions that we have asked this President to focus on and to provide attention to and to give us information about as a condition for asking us to support an additional \$87 billion.

Mr. Speaker, I will say to my colleagues that this Congressional Black Caucus has applied commonsense principles, the principles that we grew up in our communities understanding and abiding by; the principles that we have heard applied in our own country in communities by the people who make decisions.

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You have got to be responsible yourself before we are going to be responsible for you. And we think that is a good, good criteria to measure this request against. And unless we get answers and responses to these principles, these eight principles that we have set out to evaluate this request against, I think you are going to see the Congressional Black Caucus vote in as unified a fashion against the \$87 billion request as we were against the original war resolution. And that is where we should be out of responsibility to our constituents, and our Nation, and our children, and the future of this country.

I thank the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CUMMINGS) for convening this Special Order and for yielding time to me. I could go further, but I know there are other people who want to talk about this. And there are some other important principles that I need to touch on, but I am sure my col-

leagues are going to hit them before this Special Order is over.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I want to thank the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. WATT) for his statement. I am glad that you have over and over again reminded all of us that these are just basic, logical, practical questions that people would ask in any serious matter.

But I just wanted to emphasize one thing that you talked about when you talked about how there were countries that were a lot worse off that are not getting this kind of assistance. And I just reiterate something I said a little bit earlier. Iraq has the second largest oil reserves in the world, with 112 billion barrels of proven oil reserves and another probable 220 billion barrels.

In the current world rate, the value of proven Iraqi reserves would be about \$2.8 trillion together with another \$5.5 trillion in probable oil reserves.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to my colleague, the gentlewoman from Michigan (Ms. KILPATRICK), who has been at the forefront of our outreach as a caucus and has pulled us together on this issue.

Ms. KILPATRICK. Mr. Chairman of our Congressional Black Caucus, thank you for continuing to be the beacon as we speak out and remain the conscience of the Congress and the conscience of our country. This is a serious time for the world, a serious time for American people. As our people struggle to raise their families, to feed them, to house them, to clothe them, to send their children to institutions of higher education, at a time when unemployment is the highest it has been in several years, many people who have worked all of their lives find themselves unemployed in this country.

So we as Members of the Congressional Black Caucus come to the American people tonight to ask you to fax, to e-mail, to call and to write your Congressperson, your U.S. Senator, and, yes, President Bush. It has already been shown that over the last 2 weeks the American people get this. Over 60 percent do not want us to spend \$87 billion in Iraq. Many of them want their own children, their own families, their own communities to be able to participate in the American Dream.

And over the last 2 years, with over 3 million jobs lost across this country, the people of America are crying out. And we, the Members of the Congressional Black Caucus, come to you, America, and ask you to speak up, to fax, to e-mail, to call, and to write the President, your United States Senator, and your Congressperson and let us know how you feel.

I am an appropriator. I sit on the Committee on Appropriations and I am honored to serve there, one of two people from the State of Michigan. Last May this Congress gave, as has been mentioned, \$79 billion to the President, asking no accountability. And you know what, American people? We have not gotten it, and that was our mistake. When we let that money go in

May, we should have asked for accountability. And the principles that the Congressional Black Caucus adopted then and that we present to you tonight, ask for a full accounting of the \$79 billion.

The families of many of the people who are active in Iraq and Afghanistan today have come to us and other Members of this body to say that their sons and daughters do not have the training that they need in such a situation, do not have the protective body armor they need to protect themselves, and equipment; and they do not have what is needed to fight such a war as this that the President declared was over a few months ago. The war is not over. We are in a new phase of it.

And the \$79 billion then, which was not spent for training and armor and keeping the equipment up to date, the equipment is falling apart. They have been fighting in the desert. The PXes where the soldiers get their water, their personal items are almost empty. We have got to put the money back in for that. The President asked for \$87 billion more just on September 7.

I am happy to say that this Congress, both the House and the Senate, want to take a look at what he is asking us to do. You see, the \$87 billion on September 7, and the \$79 billion in May, is \$166 billion. There are 13 appropriations bills. This \$166 billion is larger than seven of those bills combined. We have had over 40 hearings on those bills. So we must not rush to do this.

We must first protect our troops, give the soldiers what they need, make sure we do what is right. And as an appropriator and as members of the Congressional Black Caucus, we are committed to doing that. \$166 billion over 6 months' time and we have soldiers who do not have the protection they need to protect their lives? Many of our vehicles are out of operable order.

Where has the money gone? That is what this Member wants to know. Where has the money gone? How much money is really needed right now? I support giving the government what they need, giving our troops what they need. But we have not been given the documentation. Where is that documentation? Where has the money gone? Why can we not get that information? And as we come to you tonight, America, we want you to ask those same questions.

Appropriations, I sit on the Foreign Operations subcommittee, so I am talking to you about what I know, what we get, the little we can sift through and find. On the Foreign Operations subcommittee we have had two hearings on the reconstruction money. As the President proposed it, he asked for \$20.3 billion. That is what the two hearings were held on. Today it went into the Committee on Appropriations. Tomorrow morning I understand the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG) of the Committee on Appropriations has reduced that by \$2 billion. And his mark before us tomorrow morning will be for \$18 billion.

Is it needed now? Must we do it all now? Can we fund until January so that we can get the information that this caucus has requested in our principles? I believe that we have to demand that. And I believe that you, America, have to demand that. Why would we build Iraq better than Iraq was before we entered it, before we unilaterally struck them? Why? Why would we build their roads and bridges and clean water and schools and hospitals and justice system when our very same things are crumbling? Why? Why will we give them a Cadillac at a time when our people are unemployed and we need to help our citizens when we could give them a Ford?

Most American people want to help them, but they do not want to do it at the expense of our own country. That is what we have to talk about. That is why we need the information. We do not have to rush for this one.

Tomorrow morning in the Committee on Appropriations, and I will be there, one of many Members discussing this supplemental bill that is before us, why can we not bifurcate it? Why can we not get the details that the troops need, the armies need, the vehicles, the weaponry they need and funds for the next 3 months until the first of the year? That would give us time to study this.

Why can we not look at the reconstruction money that is being asked for and perhaps fund it for the next 3 months so that we can look into the American people's money and at the same time fund those things that families need? We as Members of the Congressional Black Caucus are demanding that. As has been said already, we believe that we must help the Army, Navy, Marines, Coast Guard, and give them what they need to fight this battle.

I am one who voted against a unilateral strike. We have always been a country of defending ourselves. We have never unilaterally struck another nation. And there was no imminent threat then. And now the President has told us what we already knew, there was no imminent threat, that we could have addressed this better. We could have worked with the United Nations, 183 nations of the world, and had partners in this effort. Yes, Saddam Hussein was a bad man. Yes, we are happy that he is gone.

Iraq is not a poor country. Iraq has the second largest oil reserves in the world. The value of those oil reserves are over \$2 trillion. Why, then, do we take our meager dollars at a time when American citizens are suffering and families are out of work and our hospitals are closing and our schools are crumbling? And what about our blackouts? We had a blackout, America; do not forget that. Your State may have been one of them. Mine certainly was. We have got to put our electric grids back up. We have got to see that our power companies invest back into the power system. I contend we can do both.

We have got to go back to the United Nations and try to get a coalition. The Madrid Conference is coming up in a couple of weeks. There we will find out what countries will come to the table and be allies with us. We were told in appropriation that 61 small countries, 61 can only come up with \$1 billion. And they want one country to come up with \$87 billion of your money? I do not think that is necessary.

And I think, America, the Congressional Black Caucus urges you to write, fax, call and e-mail your Congressperson, your U.S. Senator, and, yes, our President Bush, to let us know how you feel.

If we would freeze the highest 1 percent of Americans, the millionaires, if we would freeze the tax cut that has been given to them over the next 6 years, we could recoup \$80 billion. This is a time of giving. It is a time that we all must put in.

Terrorism we must rid in the world. And it is going to take a collective, international effort to do that. We have got to do it at the same time that we keep our families strong, that we keep our men and women working and their families keeping their children together and protecting our seniors, who today have to choose between eating and getting their medicines, paying their rent and getting their medicines. Why are we not talking about that?

Mr. President, this is not right. And we as Members of the Congressional Black Caucus, you have our principles. Look at them. Talk to us. It is our community too. It is our country too. And if we are going to sustain ourselves as the world leaders that we are, if God is going to protect us as we carry out the business of the country, I think we need more time.

There is no need to push an \$87 billion supplemental through in this short period of time. So I thank the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CUMMINGS) for the leadership that he has provided. Thank you to my brothers and sisters in the Congressional Black Caucus who remain the conscience of the Congress. We come as 39 Members representing over 26 million people. Many of our districts are not majority African Americans. Some are; some are not. We represent Arab Americans, Latino Americans, European Americans, Native Americans. We have the microcosm in our districts of America.

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And what we are here tonight to say to the American people, you have to act. You have to speak now or forever hold your peace. This is serious times for America, for our children, for our families and as we live, and as members of the caucus who stood here and took the oaths, we pledge that we will do our support, we pledge that we will uphold this Constitution, and we pledge that we will represent to the very best of our ability.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentlewoman. I so often,

Mr. Speaker, after these special orders, we get calls and people say, Why do you keep standing? Will you win? Do you think you can win? As much as we like to win, I take the words of former Congressman Bill Gray, he said, Even if we do not win this battle, we will set the trend, and we will be the conscience no matter what.

Mr. Speaker, how much time is remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MURPHY). The gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CUMMINGS) has approximately 6 minutes remaining.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MEEK).

Mr. MEEK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the members that are here on the floor tonight of the Congressional Black Caucus. And I must say that we speak fact, and really it is not emotions, it is fact. And I am glad that many of the American people have responded in the way that they have thus far.

Sixty percent of Americans do not stand with this administration and many of the Members on the other side of the aisle, as it relates to this \$87 billion appropriations. I can tell you that every day I wake up and I walk into this great Capitol of ours, this democracy that we worked on for some 200-plus years, and I am just appreciative of being a Member of this body.

Also, I am very glad that not only that the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI) but others have allowed me to serve on the Committee on Armed Services and the Select Committee on Homeland Security. I have two young children. I could be home with them, a lovely wife, things of that nature, but I think it is important that we take the time out, even though we worked all day to be here to share with the American people the truth. And I think what is important, if the record has been set in any other area, the education, transportation, environment, that this administration and Members of the other side of the aisle have set as it relates to misinformation, not good information, failure, when we were told that we would be successful, I think we need to take that to a very strong point.

I have to go back to Desert Storm some 10 years ago and our investment in that particular effort. The cost of it was \$61 billion, \$61 billion. We are looking at a supplemental now that is \$87 billion. And that is not \$61 billion that we paid because our only share of that was 12 percent which was \$7.4 billion by the President's father, President Bush, that had a coalition, a real coalition. And many of the Arab states or the Arab league was there because Saddam Hussein needed to be dealt with and those individuals in Iraq needed to be dealt with.

We just gave \$79 billion, you heard my colleague on the Committee on Appropriations, that has yet to be accounted for. Also, now we are talking

about \$87 billion, which has now moved us Americans up to \$166 billion.

Now, these are not small numbers. They are going to have an effect on our economy. We talk about shock and awe in Iraq and that was pretty good for about 4 or 5 months. And I must say that I commend our troops and our men and women. I am not talking about the individuals in uniforms. I am talking about the individuals that are wearing shirts and ties, that are running around here on cellular phones, that are holding press conferences, the Defense Secretary, the President of the United States and even Members of this Congress that stand up and talk about how they support the troops and how dare you question me, I, Secretary, President, Vice President, on our efforts against the war on terrorism.

I must say that I would be ashamed to hold a press conference knowing that seven American soldiers, not coalition forces, seven American men and women are injured daily in Iraq. I am not talking about the numbers, over 177 troops have died since the President landed on the aircraft carrier.

Let us talk dollars and cents for a moment. Let us talk about appropriations. I am not on the committee but I am privy to the information. The education budget for this year, just for 2003, \$59.7 billion; transportation, \$1.5 billion; homeland security, \$35.8 billion, and we are here with no questions asked. Do not ask me any questions or you are unpatriotic for an \$87 billion appropriations to continue the effort in Iraq.

I intend to vote against this appropriation. It is not the fact that I disagree with the President or I disagree with the majority here in this House. I am voting against it because I care about Leave No Child Behind. I care about having roads and bridges. I care about our environment. I care about that teacher that is probably home right now checking papers of a classroom that he or she may have of 50 kids in the classroom.

We are talking about when the terrorists win, the terrorists, as far as I am concerned, they are sitting there saying, this is a wonderful thing. I have America bent over borrowing money to prove me wrong. For those who say we need to fight the war on terrorism in Iraq, so we do not have to fight the war here, I do not think there are terrorists sitting around saying, well, as long as they are in Iraq, we will focus on Iraq. We are not going to focus on the United States of America.

I have mayors right now in Florida that are trying to figure out how they are going to balance their budget because they do not have the money to do it because they had to get new security for the water plant, they had to put a police officer, not on the street preventing crime or fighting crime, but protecting something. In this country, we move the yellow, green, yellow, what have you, but we are not willing

to give them the necessary funds to function.

I want to share this, and then I will take my seat. How are we going to pay for this amount that we have now? That question has not been answered. We are going to borrow the money. It is going to cost us \$28 million a week in interest. I think that is very, very important.

Mr. Speaker, I just want to say in closing that American people need to pay very close attention, continue to ask your Members of Congress what they are doing and the questions that they are asking.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman and the members of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Mrs. CHRISTENSEN. Mr. Speaker, I want to begin by thanking you Chairman CUMMINGS and the rest of my CBC colleagues for providing leadership on this important issue to the American people.

Let me say at the outset that my fellow CBC members and I stand behind the courageous men and women in the military and are deeply grateful for their patriotism, courage and the sacrifices they are making.

Whether it is the courageous Sergeant Shoshanna Johnson or the several of my constituents that are laying their lives on the line for the country they love, they are all owed our gratitude and support.

I agree with you and my colleagues Mr. Chairman—as well as a significant number of my constituents who have sent me more e-mails opposing the President's request to spend an additional \$87 billion on Iraq than on any other issue—that the administration should provide an accounting of all funds expended to date that were previously appropriated by the Congress, including details about all contracts for work in or related to Iraq.

We can't give the president a blank check particularly since there has been no real accountability for the already provided \$63 billion for Iraq. And especially with frequent reports of equipment failure, and our men and women not getting the level of protection they should.

It is true that we have a responsibility to rebuild the infrastructure in Iraq, with emphasis on "re," but we must also remember that we have many unmet needs here at home.

We need to make investments in health care and my colleagues on the other minority caucuses and I are working on a comprehensive bill to address the causes of health disparities in our communities which will require at least the same \$900 million proposed for health in Iraq, to make the kind of investment in prevention, and control and treatment of the chronic diseases and to close the gaps that are driving up the cost of health care. And we need to include a comprehensive prescription program and mental health party.

In my own area, my constituents are severely challenged when it comes to access to health care because we have a large low income population and a Medicaid program which places a cap on payments to us and requires us to adhere to a local match which treats as though we were one of the wealthiest areas of the country.

In announcing our statement of principles, we in the Congressional Black Caucus, are

also very concerned about reports which suggest that the reconstruction of Iraq is being done in a cost efficient manner through the utilization of local Iraqis in the rebuilding process, for example, which is apparently being rejected in favor of very expensive projects that only certain companies can do. It is important that the American people have the assurance that we are not, through this process, just making friends of the Administration wealthy or more wealthy, which appears to be the current goal.

If the President truly needs this money, then there should be no problem or barrier to his giving the Congress and the American people an accounting of how previously appropriated funds for Iraq were spent, a plan for future spending and an exit strategy. And the administration should be willing to pay for it out of the high end of the tax cut.

It is irresponsible for the President and his supporters to continue to call for and threaten to increase tax cuts after getting us into this war and rebuilding effort on flimsy evidence and with so many needs here at home going unaddressed.

This Body gave a blank check before without adequate information. We cannot and must not do it again.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. KIND (at the request of Ms. PELOSI) for October 7 and 8 on account of official business.

Ms. KAPTUR (at the request of Ms. PELOSI) for today on account of personal reasons.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. BROWN of Ohio) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material):

Mr. EMANUEL, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. DEFAZIO, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. NORTON, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. FILNER, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. MEEK of Florida, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. HOLT, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. HINCHEY, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. CARSON of Indiana, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. MCDERMOTT, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. WATERS, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. CONYERS, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. PALLONE, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. CRANE) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material):

Mr. ENGLISH, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. BOEHLERT, for 5 minutes, October 15.

Mr. MARIO DIAZ-BALART of Florida, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. BEREUTER, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. GUTKNECHT, for 5 minutes, today and October 15.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Mr. TRANDAHL, Clerk of the House, reported and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 2152. An act to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to extend for an additional 5 years the special immigrant religious worker program.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 9 o'clock and 22 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Friday, October 10, 2003, at 10 a.m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 8 of rule XII, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

4693. A letter from the Director, Office of Surface Mining, Department of the Interior, transmitting the Department's final rule — Ohio Regulatory Program [OH-249-FOR] received September 29, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

4694. A letter from the Director, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, transmitting the Department's final rule — Endangered and Threatened Wildlife and Plants; Removing Eriastrum hooveri (Hoover's woolly-star) from the Federal List of Endangered and Threatened Species (RIN: 1018-AG41) received October 2, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

4695. A letter from the Deputy Director, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, transmitting the Department's final rule — Endangered and Threatened Wildlife and Plants; Delisting of the Berberis (=Mahonia) sonnei (Truckee barberry) (RIN: 1018-AH47) received October 2, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

4696. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks, Fish and Wildlife Service/NWRS, Department of the Interior, transmitting the Department's final rule — 2003-2004 Refuge-Specific Hunting and Sport Fishing Regulations (RIN: 1018-AI63) received October 2, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

4697. A letter from the Deputy Director, Office of Surface Mining, Department of the Interior, transmitting the Department's final rule — Pennsylvania Regulatory Program [PA-144-FOR] received October 3, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

4698. A letter from the Acting Assisting Secretary of Fish and Wildlife and Parks, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, transmitting the Department's final rule — Migratory Bird Permits; Regulations for Double-Crested Cormorant Management (RIN: 1018-AI39) received October 6, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

4699. A letter from the Assistant General Counsel for Regulatory Law, Office of Envi-

ronment, Safety, and Health, Department of Energy, transmitting the Department's final rule — Compliance With Floodplain and Wetland Environmental Review Requirements (RIN: 1901-AA94) received September 8, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

4700. A letter from the Acting Director, Office of Sustainable Fisheries, NMFS, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, transmitting the Administration's final rule — Fisheries of the Caribbean, Gulf of Mexico, and South Atlantic; Coastal Migratory Pelagic Resources of the Gulf of Mexico and South Atlantic; Closure [Docket No. 001005281-0369-02; I.D. 092303A] received October 3, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

4701. A letter from the Acting Director, Office of Sustainable Fisheries, NMFS, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, transmitting the Administration's final rule — Fisheries of the Economic Exclusive Zone Off Alaska; Groundfish Fisheries by Vessels using Hook-and-Line Gear in the Gulf of Alaska [Docket No. 021122286-3036-02; I.D. 092403G] received October 3, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

4702. A letter from the Acting Director, Office of Sustainable Fisheries, NMFS, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, transmitting the Administration's final rule — Fisheries of the Exclusive Economic Zone off Alaska; Atka Mackerel in the Central Aleutian District [Docket No. 021212307-3037-02; I.D. 092403F] received October 3, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

4703. A letter from the Acting Director, Office of Sustainable Fisheries, NMFS, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, transmitting the Administration's final rule — Fisheries of the Exclusive Economic Zone off Alaska; Pacific Cod by Vessels Using Trawl Gear in Bering Sea and Aleutian Islands Management Area [Docket No. 021212307-3037-02; I.D. 092403D] received October 3, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

4704. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, Coast Guard, Department of Homeland Security, transmitting the Department's final rule — Safety Zone; Lake Michigan, Chicago, IL [CGD09-03-261] (RIN: 1625-AA00) received October 1, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

4705. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, Coast Guard, Department of Homeland Security, transmitting the Department's final rule — Security Zones; San Francisco Bay, California [COTP San Francisco Bay 03-002] (RIN: 1625-AA00) received October 3, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

4706. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, Coast Guard, Department of Homeland Security, transmitting the Department's final rule — Special Local Regulations for Marine Events; Choptank River, Cambridge, MD [CGD05-03-124] (RIN: 1625-AA08) received October 3, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

4707. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, Coast Guard, Department of Homeland Security, transmitting the Department's final rule — Drawbridge Operation Regulations; St. Johns River, mile 24.7 at Jacksonville, Duval County, Florida [CGD07-03-131] (RIN: 1625-AA09) received October 3, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.