

ensure that public safety no longer receive interference, and that all of their relocation costs are covered in full with no possibility for a funding shortfall.

The second trap that I previously spoke of involves public safety's need for additional spectrum. While Congress and the FCC could spend their time finding and allocating public safety new spectrum, I believe it would be more prudent to eliminate the digital divide and give public safety the 24 MHz of spectrum they've been allocated in the Balanced Budget Act of 1997. The Balanced Budget Act allocates an additional 24MHz of spectrum to public safety when broadcasters operating on their current analog spectrum transition to digital spectrum.

While many broadcasters have prepared for the transition, others have chosen to bet against congressional action and become spectrum squatters, holding hostage the very spectrum that public safety needs to protect this country. It is time for the broadcasters to vacate their analog spectrum, and I believe that under the leadership of Chairman BARTON and my colleagues at the Energy and Commerce Committee, we will be able to offer members the opportunity to vote on legislation that will eliminate the digital divide and get public safety the spectrum that they need to make our communities a safer place to live.

In closing I would like to recognize the public safety officials in our country for that work tirelessly to ensure that our families are safe and able to enjoy the freedoms that this country provides. While our troops abroad are working to ensure we don't see terrorism and war in our streets, it's our public safety officers that prevent and respond to events at home.

Mr. SOUDER. Madam Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SOUDER. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the subject of my special order today.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. MILLER of Michigan). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

IRAQ

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 2003, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. McCOTTER) is recognized until midnight.

Mr. McCOTTER. Madam Speaker, I would like today to give not a novel, certainly not a unique overview of what I think some of the things we need to do to help win the battle of Iraq constitute. Again many of these things are being done, but I just want to try to put it forward as a comprehensive exposition of what we need to do to win. I think that there are three key areas involved in this struggle along all fronts upon which we have to continue to press: democracy, the economy and, of course, the military.

In terms of diplomacy, I believe everyone understands that the key now is

the holding of free elections on time in Iraq. The U.N. has agreed with this, and while their support is welcome, it remains tenuous. We should encourage all member states of the U.N. to rise to the challenge of democracy in Iraq and provide the necessary personnel to defend the monitors and help these elections go forward. For as we know, what is going to happen is that the terrorist counterattack on democracy in Iraq will escalate. They will do everything they can to derail these elections. Yet that violence and terror in and of itself should not be enough to deter us and certainly should not deter the Iraqi people.

And as for the naysayers who claim that absent a perfect election in Iraq, it cannot be deemed a representative success, I would just like to ask those detractors to ask themselves why we demand more from the Iraqi people in a civil war than we demanded from ourselves in our own American civil war; because all one needs to do is to look at the map of 1864 to see that the States in rebellion did not participate in Abraham Lincoln's reelection. Yet I highly doubt that anyone today can say that it was not a representative election nor an election that was worthy of the American people.

In terms of the economy, one of the things that we face in Iraq clearly is the passive-aggressive resistance of the Iraqi people. After years of oppression, after years of being terrorized and after seeing so many international promises fall away, it is very difficult for them to stand up and fight on their own without the assurance that the United States and our coalition partners will be behind them. But it is also important to remember that while we provide them the possibility of a transformational change from tyranny to democracy, we must always remember that in any representative political system there is also a transactional element; for it is one thing to profess ideals to an oppressed people who have been newly liberated, it is another thing to provide concrete, tangible benefits to the populace to show them the investment in their future.

I think that one of the things that we have to do in Iraq is build on the town council model. We have to take a bottom-up approach, a grassroots approach to reconstruction in Iraq. We have to have and invest full decision-making authority into town councils, tribal leaders, religious leaders, and other community organizations that have been set up, let them determine what infrastructure projects in their area must be worked upon, let them figure out the processes by which they will come to these determinations and let them have control of the money to implement these decisions. These are very formative, basic steps along the road to a transition to democracy and to building lasting institutions upon which the Iraqi people can build.

I also think that in conjunction with the grassroots approach to the local

control of the decision-making and the implementation of those decisions is that we should adopt an Iraqi oil fund similar to the one that we have in the State of Alaska. The Iraqi oil fund would take portions of the proceeds from the sale of Iraq's oil, place it in a fund and distribute it per capita to the people of Iraq.

The benefits of such a model, which we have seen in Alaska, will be also readily apparent in Iraq. It will provide a direct economic benefit to the people of Iraq, showing them the stake in their future. It will provide an immediate jump-start to the Iraqi economy and get them up to the average per capita spending that is expected to start any semblance of a stable economy. I think we should also use it as spur to register adults to vote in the upcoming elections, for if one is not a registered voter, one cannot receive the benefits of the Iraqi oil fund.

I think that this will also prove to help uproot terrorists because no terrorist will be eligible to receive the per capita annual appropriation from the Iraqi oil fund. This will also, in turn, I believe help the Iraqi people further their efforts to defend their oil infrastructure and further their efforts to uproot the terrorists who would disturb it because the money would be being taken out of their mouths. It would be taken out of their children's mouths. In short, it would be an intolerable situation for them to allow to continue.

□ 2310

I think that we would also see a quelling of some of the sectionalism. I think we would begin to see that oil, rather than a divisive force amongst the regions of Iraq, could then be used as a means of unifying them and perhaps give them a greater semblance of an Iraqi national identity.

As we have seen throughout the history of Iraq, oil has often been used as the dictator's tool for fueling his oppression of his people. If this oil fund is written into the Iraqi constitution, not only will it hasten the adoption of an Iraqi constitution, it will safeguard against one individual being able to rise up and usurp control of the oil funds because truly the oil will belong to the people, and I believe the people will jealously guard this right under their new constitution.

I think it will also do one other thing: It will make the people less susceptible to any attempts by the terrorists or any future dictator to prey upon their impoverishment by offering them blandishments or other remunerative items in return for their loyalty to a new regime or to a new movement.

I think from the United States' point of view it will do something very important: It will belie the perception amongst much of the Middle Eastern population and amongst some of Western Europe and amongst some of our own population that the United States is there to take the oil, for we are not. The oil belongs to the Iraqi people.

What more tangible, palpable way could that be proven than by having this put into their constitution?

I also believe it has another tangential benefit: that the United States, by being willing to help the Iraqi people establish an oil fund, the oil fund will stand in stark contrast to the Oil for Food scandal that was operated by the U.N. which was perpetrated on the people of Iraq and in which many corrupt politicians in both the U.N. and in Iraq benefited at the expense of the poor Iraqi people.

I think that finally under the economy, we have to look at debt forgiveness. It is one thing for world powers or other members of the world community to claim that a free and stable Iraq is not their problem to the point where they will send troops to help win this battle, but it is another thing to say that they will not forgive the debts they incurred dealing with Saddam Hussein to help further the goal of Iraqi prosperity on the road to democracy. If we think about it, every country that has sold weapons to Saddam Hussein and has outstanding debt on the basis of those weapons is asking the newly liberated Iraqi people to pay the debt for the guns and the weapons that Saddam Hussein used to kill and torture them into submission. I think that is an inhuman request of any government, and I think that unless the world powers that sold these weapons are prepared to forgive these debts, I think it is morally justified by the Iraqi people to repudiate any debts incurred by Saddam Hussein's regime for the acquisition of weapons, be they conventional, be they weapons of mass destruction, or be they dual-use technologies or any instrument of oppression that he applied to his people.

Militarily I think that we have to hone our military and our intelligence to a fine precision. I think we have to prioritize the three threats that we face in Iraq at the present time. They are, one, I think the foreign terrorists clearly, followed by the Baathists and the Sunnis, many of them who are operating with the foreign terrorists, and of course the radical Shiia Iraqis who have come back from the shelter of Iran. I think that these are prioritized by order of importance for the long term.

The foreign terrorists are there to drive the Americans out. I think that over time, the Baathist remnants that currently have a marriage of convenience with them, should the Americans be thrown out, the Baathists and the Sunnis will then immediately turn upon them, which will lead to a blood bath in the short run and could further incite a civil war. We have to start with the foreign terrorists and the Baathists in a simultaneous effort to eradicate them from the terror that they are perpetrating on their country.

Third, we must then face the threat from the radical Shiia movement personified by the radical cleric Moqta al-Sadr. And it is important to remember

that at the outset of the Iran-Iraq War, in Saddam Hussein's mind he was fighting a defensive war, for after the Khameni regime attained power through the Iran revolution, they immediately began destabilizing the secular Baath regime and targeting members of the Baath government for assassination and terrorizing them to undermine the Sunni-Baathist secular party and replace it with the Shiia revolutionary government modeled upon Iran.

These people were then forced from the country by Saddam Hussein, where they were sheltered in Iran for decades. They have been returning, and as they return, let there be no doubt that the incidents we see in Najaf and in other areas of the south have been perpetrated in many ways by these people who have come back to continue the quest to establish an Iranian mullah model upon the people in Iraq.

The tactics that we see from all three, predominantly the terrorists and the Sunnis, of course, are very similar to those that were perpetrated by the Colombian cartel drug lord, Pablo Escobar, for, in short, he utilized a private army to terrorize and destabilize the Government of Colombia, and he used largesse to the population to in many cases buy their loyalty or at least their silence and submission. As for the largesse that is handed out, if we can refer back to the economic model that I laid out, I think that will be very helpful in preventing that type of temptation by the Iraqi people.

In terms of his private army and in terms of the efforts to destabilize the Iraqi government, they are very similar to what the Colombian drug lord did. He is targeting the police. He is targeting the army. He is targeting the government, especially law enforcement within the government, including the judiciary and ministers. He is targeting infrastructure. He is doing that to continue to disrupt the supply of oil and continue the impoverishment and the suffering of the Iraqi people. And, of course, they are targeting civilians to generally terrorize the country.

Finally, just as Escobar did, these are designed and geared as much towards inflicting casualties and wanton destruction as they are to influencing the media coverage of their action, and thus having a multiplying effect of their mass murder by bringing it to millions of homes across the globe.

What we have to do to stop this is to understand these tactics and to ourselves adapt to the targeting of these institutions and these individuals and guard against them. We must also make sure that we rely upon the fledgling Iraqi army security forces and citizenry in order to root out their infrastructure and destabilize them in the very same manner that they are trying to destabilize the people of Iraq. We have to address their organization, root and branch. We can do that. I believe we have started to, and I believe we will continue to.

We must also make sure that our coalition partners expediently and decisively strike back in troubled areas, whether or not the Iraqi national guard and security services are prepared, for in the final analysis, we cannot leave a Fallujah to be a hotbed of terrorism. We cannot leave Najaf and the holy shrines in Shiia Islam in the hands of a radical renegade cleric.

It is my belief that the people of Iraq have had enough of this and that what they really need to see is a decisive stand to reestablish order in that country. And if we are not prepared to do that, every day we wait, there is an erosion of confidence in the Iraqi government and in the coalition, and another day's worth of despair that brings Iraqi people closer to a newly implemented dictatorship of terror.

We must also make sure that we, the Nation that brought the world mass communication, fully engage in the battle of ideas and, yes, to use what is often thought a pejorative word, the battle of propaganda. We must get our message out to the Iraqi people. We must get our message out to the Arab world, and we must get our message out to the entire world. It is very critical that the people of Iraq see, through their newly bought satellite dishes, which were outlawed by Saddam Hussein, what freedom is doing and what the suffering and sacrifice of their own fellow Iraqis, notably the police and the military, who have been targeted for death, are doing to win that freedom.

I think we must also press as quickly as we can here in the domestic front to come up with new technologies to combat the tactics, especially the roadside bombs, that are attacking our troops in the field.

I think, finally, we must also make sure that we continue to empower American troops on the ground with the freedom to make combat decisions.

□ 2320

We must allow them to make these combat decisions free of political constraints in order to ensure that they come home to their loved ones with their mission accomplished.

Madam Speaker, in the end, through military, economic and diplomatic means, we must press forward, because our enemy is not only the terrorists, our enemy is time; for while this is a battle of resolve, it is also a battle of reason, and the longer Iraq appears to be irrational and unreasonable and incapable of governance, the time ticks on our keeping our resolve.

At the present time, let us remember that our task is far greater than that of the terrorists. The terrorists have the task of destabilizing a country. We and our coalition partners have the task of stabilizing it. The latter task is far harder. It will call upon our every ounce of commitment; it will call upon as well our every ounce of intelligence to come up with a rational plan to win this battle and to secure Iraq in the community of nations.

To anyone, I would welcome their comments. Anyone who has any suggestions, I would welcome them, because, in the end, this is an exposition of what I hope to be a rough outline of a coherent plan. Not having possession of the absolute truth more than anyone else, I would like to know what other people think, because at this time in our nation's history we are not Republicans, we are not Democrats, we are not ideologues, we are all Americans. So let us see what we can come up with, and, as we always have, we will win.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

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

Mr. BARRETT of South Carolina (at the request of Mr. DELAY) for today on account of attending the visitation for Staff Sergeant Tony B. Olaes, USA, who was killed September 20, 2004, in Shkin, Afghanistan.

Mr. BOEHLERT (at the request of Mr. DELAY) for today and the balance of the week on account of heart surgery.

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. RYAN of Ohio) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. EMANUEL, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. PALLONE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. CONYERS, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. HINCHEY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. DICKS, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. STUPAK, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. WOOLSEY, for 5 minutes, today.

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

Mr. DELAHUNT, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. STRICKLAND, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. INSLEE, for 5 minutes, today.

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

Mr. OSBORNE, for 5 minutes, September 29.

Mr. COLE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. NORWOOD, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. MARIO DIAZ-BALART of Florida, for 5 minutes, September 29.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan, for 5 minutes, today.

BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Jeff Trandahl, Clerk of the House, reports that on September 24, 2004, he presented to the President of the

United States, for his approval, the following bills.

H.R. 265. To provide for an adjustment of the boundaries of Mount Rainier National Park, and for other purposes.

H.R. 1521. To provide for additional lands to be included within the boundary of the Johnstown Flood National Memorial in the State of Pennsylvania, and for other purposes.

H.R. 1616. To authorize the exchange of certain lands within the Martin Luther King, Junior, National Historic Site for lands owned by the City of Atlanta, Georgia, and for other purposes.

H.R. 1648. To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain water distribution systems of the Cachuma Project, California, to the Carpinteria Valley Water District and the Montecito Water District.

H.R. 1658. To amend the Railroad Right-of-Way Conveyance Validation Act to validate additional conveyances of certain lands in the State of California that form part of the right-of-way granted by the United States to facilitate the construction of the transcontinental railway, and for other purposes.

H.R. 1732. To amend the Reclamation Wastewater and Groundwater Study and Facilities Act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to participate in the Williamson County, Texas, Water Recycling and Reuse Project, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2696. To establish Institutes to demonstrate and promote the use of adaptive ecosystem management to reduce the risk of wildfires, and restore the health of fire-adapted forest and woodland ecosystems of the interior West.

H.R. 3209. To amend the Reclamation Project Authorization Act of 1972 to clarify the acreage for which the North Loup division is authorized to provide irrigation water under the Missouri River Basin project.

H.R. 3249. To extend the term of the Forest Counties Payments Committee.

H.R. 3768. To expand the Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve, Florida.

ADJOURNMENT

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

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 11 o'clock and 21 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, September 29, 2004, 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:

9786. A letter from the Chairman, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, transmitting a report of a violation of the Antideficiency Act, pursuant to 31 U.S.C. 1517(b); to the Committee on Appropriations.

9787. A letter from the Deputy Chief, Programs and Legislative Division, Office of the Legislative Liaison, Department of the Air Force, Department of Defense, transmitting in accordance with the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) Circular No. A-76, "Performance of Commercial Activities," a cost comparison to reduce the cost of the Base Operating Support function at March Air Reserve Base (ARB), California; to the Committee on Armed Services.

9788. A letter from the Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Manpower and Personnel), Department of Defense, transmitting noti-

cation of a decision to implement performance by the Most Efficient Organization (MEO) for the Pacific Northwest Facilities Management in Silverdale, WA (initiative number NC20000653); to the Committee on Armed Services.

9789. A letter from the Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Reserve Affairs (Materiel and Facilities), Department of Defense, transmitting the annual National Guard and Reserve Equipment Report (NGRER) for fiscal year (FY) 2005, pursuant to 10 U.S.C. 10541; to the Committee on Armed Services.

9790. A letter from the Assistant Attorney General for Legislative Affairs, Department of Justice, transmitting a report entitled "Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) Annual Report 2002," pursuant to 42 U.S.C. 5617 and 42 U.S.C. 5601; to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

9791. A letter from the Secretary, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting the Annual Report on the Developmental Disabilities Programs for Fiscal Years 2001 and 2002, pursuant to 42 U.S.C. 15005 Public Law 106-402, section 105; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

9792. A letter from the Director, International Cooperation, Department of Defense, transmitting a copy of Transmittal No. 08-04 to inform of an intent to sign a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the United States and Australia for Cooperative Development, Production, and Support of the Combat Control System (CCS) ANBYG-1 Tactical Subsystem, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2767(f); to the Committee on International Relations.

9793. A letter from the Director, International Cooperation, Department of Defense, transmitting a copy of Transmittal No. 07-04 which informs of an intent to sign a Project Agreement between the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom for Plague Vaccine Acquisition, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2767(f); to the Committee on International Relations.

9794. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting certification of a proposed license for the export of defense articles or defense services sold commercially under a contract to Norway (Transmittal No. DDTC 071-04), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(c); to the Committee on International Relations.

9795. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting certification of a proposed license for the export of defense articles or defense services sold commercially under a contract to Israel (Transmittal No. DDTC 062-04), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(c); to the Committee on International Relations.

9796. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting certification of a proposed license for the export of defense articles or defense services sold commercially under a contract to Kazakhstan (Transmittal No. DDTC 064-04), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(c); to the Committee on International Relations.

9797. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting certification of a proposed license for the export of defense articles or defense services sold commercially under a contract to the United Kingdom (Transmittal No. DDTC 060-04), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(c); to the Committee on International Relations.

9798. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting certification of a proposed license for the export of defense articles or defense services sold commercially under a