

be implemented, including a deduction tax for companies and individuals who build in the affected region, and accelerated depreciation should be available for capital and equipment and software investments as well.

These ideas can be used to quickly help reconstruct the area in New Orleans and in Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi. It is a way that we can get people back on their feet again.

In summary, I just want to go over the things that I think we need to do in Congress to not only help the South get back on its feet again but also to help America stay number one into the future, that is, that we need to address the issues in health care. We need to limit the growth in regulations of bureaucratic red tape. We need to effectively focus our education system on the future economy.

We need to develop new energy sources and increase the supply of energy, as well as the conservation of the energy and alternate energy sources. We need to look at research and development through innovation and investment. We have fair trade policies. We have to improve our tax system so that we can have some tax relief and simplification, and we need to end lawsuit abuse and have litigation management for America.

With these individual ideas, I think we will be able to grow a stronger America and retain our number one status well into the future so that our children and grandchildren will have the same opportunities that we have had to build a strong country and make our dreams come true.

THE TREMENDOUS CHALLENGES THAT FACE OUR COUNTRY

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Miss McMORRIS). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 2005, the gentlewoman from Georgia (Ms. MCKINNEY) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Ms. MCKINNEY. Madam Speaker, I have got a lot of papers and a lot of posters. One hour will in no way accommodate all that needs to be said tonight about the tremendous challenges that face our country today, including how we conduct ourselves in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina.

While my remarks tonight in no way should be construed as encompassing all of my thoughts on the very important issues that I discuss tonight, just mark this down as a start.

First, let me say that I am especially proud of the way that the people of my district and of this country have wrapped their arms around the victims of Hurricane Katrina. At this time, we have a healthy contingent of expert Georgians in the traumatized gulf States, and we have received thousands of Katrina's victims into our cities, churches, and homes.

I have come to this floor on many occasions. People around the world have commented on how shocked they are to

see such poverty in America. While cities and localities pass anti-panhandling measures that criminalize begging tourists and visitors in downtown areas asking for help, Hurricane Katrina washed away America's veneer of populist opportunity, a country that has overcome its racist, slave-holding past, a country ready for world dominion because it has learned how to uplift the human spirit at home.

Katrina, in images as stark and undeniable as could be, has laid bare the Republican lie that its policies promote growth and prosperity for all Americans and leave no child behind, while Katrina put into our living rooms and the world's living rooms the cruel hoax that has been played on America and those who love America by the ruthless sybaritic power player elites who are as responsible for the conditions endured by too many Americans as they are for the embarrassing and breathtaking incompetencies we all witnessed just before Labor Day.

Almost 30,000 New Orleans households live on less than \$10,000 per year. More babies and young kids are going hungry in our country. Eleven percent of our families experienced hunger in 2003. One million more Americans are living in poverty today than there were 1 year ago. Income distribution has become obscenely skewed toward the rich during the Bush years. In Manhattan, the poor make two cents for each dollar that the rich make. This places Manhattan on par with Namibia for income disparity.

Interestingly, in the financial capital of the world, New York City, the Bronx is the poorest urban county in the country, and New York State is being depleted of its middle class.

America is being depleted of its middle class. Over 50 percent of America's income goes to the top 20 percent of households. With even more tax cuts for the wealthy on the horizon, coupled with real budget cuts for the programs that are forced to take care of more and more Americans, the situation can only be expected to get worse, sadly.

Incomes for 95 percent of American households are flat or falling. Only the top 5 percent are experiencing the growth that we hear the Republicans talk about.

Now, I have got tons of documentation to offer for all of the statistics that we cite, but let me take a moment and reiterate where we are for all the people who are listening tonight.

□ 1815

Let me recall for just a moment the America they might not know but that more of us are coming all too well to know.

I will start with this poster, which depicts a black man hanging from a tree. The caption says "The body of Robert McNair is seen here as residents and schoolchildren in the Georgetown community saw it between about 7 a.m. and 9 a.m. last Thursday." This was on the front page of the Jackson,

Mississippi, Advocate the week of October 23 to 29 when I was in Mississippi for a speaking engagement. This was what I saw.

Sadly, it is what the children in the neighborhood saw, a black man hanging from a tree. A lynching. That is 2003. I am not talking about 1903. This is 2003. Sadly, in 2005, we have two lynchings being investigated in the State of Georgia, my home State, and both of them are supposed to have been suicides. In this story it was reported that this poor Mr. Robert McNair committed suicide, hanging from a tree.

When I come to the floor and do these monthly talks, some way or other we get around to the state of black America because it is important for us to understand that there are many Americans, and some of those Americans we do not see and we do not know. But we need to know how all Americans live so that we can make sure that no American is left behind.

On some indices, even today, it is true that the racial disparities are worse today than they were at the time of the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. People would say it is not true, but, alas, it is true. And, of course, the statistics document that sad truth. United for a Fair Economy gives us these statistics in its State of the Dream report on imprisonment. To close the racial gap, it will take 190 years just so that black people are imprisoned for the same crime at the same rate as white people are imprisoned.

What about poverty? We saw a lot of that. Overall poverty, the racial disparity, 150 years to close the gap. Why does that have to be? At the slow rate that the black-white poverty gap has been narrowing since 1968, it would take 150 years to close the gap.

What about child poverty? Two hundred ten years to close the gap. Almost one-third of black children live in poverty. The child poverty gap would take 210 years to disappear, not reaching parity until 2212.

I would like to thank the National Council for La Raza that provided us with these statistics, the proportion of children without health insurance in the United States, home ownership rates. Look and you can see the proportion of children without health insurance in the United States. Look at the Hispanic figures. Look at that. Twenty-five percent of young Latino children do not have health insurance in this country.

What about home ownership rates, because we hear a lot of talk about the growth economy, and the Republicans and the President talk about promoting home ownership, home ownership, the first tier toward building wealth, okay? Well, if you are lucky enough to be able to own a home, sadly black and Hispanic home ownership rates are low. How low? To close the home ownership gap, the disparity between white home ownership and black home ownership, the first tier toward

wealth building, it will take 1,664 years to close the home ownership gap.

This is something that so many Americans take for granted. Yet so many Americans still have a dream for home ownership.

Now, what about income? It will take 581 years for us to close the per capita income gap. Since 1968, we have only been able to close the gap 2 cents. Black people make 55 cents for every dollar. That was in 1968. In 2001, it was 57 cents. Two cents, so 581 years to close the gap.

When some people start talking about how we want to build, rebuild, and provide for folks, that is what this Congress is supposed to do. We should build lives, we should build communities, build neighborhoods, and protect our people.

When it comes to the economic conditions that are prevailing for so many Americans, it is almost a joke. Here is a cartoon from the Washington Post. This is the sybaritic power player who is pulling the strings behind the scene, calling the shots, dictating politics and policy; and he is saying, "It is not trickle down economics. We got the plumbing fixed." Here is the poor little fella down here, little panhandler trying to wait to get some of the stuff that is trickling down, and it is not trickling down any more.

Poverty is up. Median income down. That is the result of the policies of the Bush administration since 2001.

What about all these tax cuts? New Orleans has got a lot of attention now because of what has happened, and we hear and we will hear some of our colleagues on the other side of the aisle suggesting that we need to do more tax cuts. Well, the faces of the people that came into our living rooms from Hurricane Katrina got this much from George Bush's tax cuts. But if you happened to make over \$200,000 a year, you got this much from George Bush's tax cuts.

It is so clear that the administration wants to serve some of the people all of the time and fool the rest of us all of the time. The tax cuts, we should not hear another word uttered about the need for more of the kind of tax cuts that the Bush administration has given us thus far. This insensitive policy-making that ends up hurting real people leads to a kind of callousness within our society that we do not recognize sometimes, that we do not notice sometimes.

It is easy to pass an anti-panhandling ordinance in the city of Atlanta because we do not feel the pain of the people who do not eat at night. So it is also easy to demonize people. It is easy to demonize people that you do not know.

This made it around the Internet until Agence France-Presse pulled their photo off. But how is it that we can have a media in this country displaying one young man wading through that putrid water and the American press, the Associated Press, says that

he is "looting." Then you have two people who are obviously not black and they are "finding." This young man, according to the Associated Press, walks through chest-deep floodwater after "looting" a grocery store. Two residents wade through chest-deep water after "finding" bread and soda.

This is the America of those statistics. This is the America that all Americans need to know and see. This is the America that too many of us have borne the brunt of generation after generation after generation after generation.

And then, they called them "refugees." Some bright light in the media came up with that one to further dehumanize poor black people in New Orleans. I had some New Orleans residents in my congressional office in Georgia who said that they had never, ever thought that they would be called refugees in their own country. Other insensitive language just shows how totally out of touch the leadership of this country is with the American people.

□ 1830

While the city was still flooding, Speaker HASTERT suggested that New Orleans should not be rebuilt.

As the mostly black people were herded into what looked like concentration camps, Barbara Bush suggested that they were really better off now than they were before. Well, maybe she has got something there, because it took losing an entire city for the "compassionate conservatives" in Washington, D.C., to finally get some compassion in the laws they pass, in the policies they enact, in what they do around here.

And you can imagine my surprise to hear the very people who chose not to adequately fund education, health care, affordable housing, now saying we have got to have Pell grants, Section 8 vouchers, schooling for children. It is what some of us have been saying all along.

Now, you can just about bet your bottom dollar that the Karl Rove spin machine is working overtime to white-wash the Bush administration preparations for the response to Katrina. Let us remember as we go through this that the State and local responders were victims too. That is why it is critical that the feds act. But they did not act, notwithstanding anything that comes out of the spin machine.

Kathleen Blanco, the governor of Louisiana said, "We wanted soldiers, helicopters, food and water. They wanted to negotiate an organizational chart." This is from the New York Times. "Far from deferring to State or local officials, FEMA asserted its authority and made things worse," according to Mr. Broussard, and I will talk about him a little bit later, who complained on Meet the Press.

Mayor Nagin said, "The root of the breakdown was the failure of the Federal Government to deliver relief supplies and personnel quickly. They kept

promising and saying things would happen. I was getting excited and telling people that. They kept making promises and promises."

MSNBC informs us that FEMA Director Michael Brown waited 5 hours after the storm's landfall to get agency assistance, to get agency aid from the Department of Homeland Security.

Now, another thing that we need to know about, there are so many things that our government does in our name with our tax dollars, on our behalf supposedly, that we do not know about. The Bush administration has opened up these biodefense labs all over the country. In about 20, 25 universities around the country we have got biodefense labs studying I do not know what.

I can remember the Tuskegee Study. I remember MK-Ultra as an African American. I remember Paul Robeson. But Tulane University is under water, and Tulane University houses one of these biodefense labs. We need to know what the heck was in that lab, what was going on in that biodefense lab.

Some of the headlines. Notwithstanding what you may hear from the other side of the aisle or coming out of the White House about how everyone has to share the blame, these are some of the headlines.

"FEMA won't accept Amtrak's help in evacuations."

"FEMA turns away experienced firefighters."

"FEMA turns back Wal-Mart supply trucks."

"FEMA prevents Coast Guard from delivering diesel fuel."

"Homeland Security won't let Red Cross deliver food."

"FEMA bars morticians from entering New Orleans."

"FEMA blocks 500-boat citizen flotilla from delivering aid."

"FEMA fails to utilize Navy ship with 600-bed hospital on board."

"FEMA to Chicago: Send just one truck."

"FEMA turns away generators."

"FEMA first responders urged not to respond."

Those are just a few of the headlines. I have got all of the documentation, of course.

There is also a story about three U.S. Customs Blackhawk helicopter crews that are absolutely livid because they had been directed not to provide full-time support for the hurricane relief effort in the Gulf.

"Navy ship nearby underused." This is from the Chicago Tribune. A craft with food, water, doctors. All it needed was the orders. It never got the orders.

"Federal agency slow to accept business help." This is from the Financial Times. "Federal agency slow to accept business help. From Wal-Mart's satellite-based communications system to FedEx's aircraft, U.S. business has in some cases managed to provide a swifter response to the initial impacts of Hurricane Katrina than the Federal and State authorities."

This is from the Salt Lake City Tribune: "Frustrated fire crews to hand out

fliers for FEMA. Many of the firefighters assembled from Utah and throughout the United States by FEMA thought they were going to be deployed as emergency workers. Instead, they have learned they are going to be community relations officers for FEMA, shuffling throughout the gulf coast region to disseminate fliers and a phone number, 1-800-621-FEMA," which does not work most of the time.

Now, I know that American children can do better in geography, but you would think that at least our emergency management people would get their geography right. CNN.com says, Well, they were supposed to go to Charleston. My colleague from Charleston, we were in a meeting on Tuesday night, and he said they had the shelter all set up with supplies, cots, blankets and everything, and nobody came. Now we find out that this is why they did not come. They were supposed to be in Charleston, South Carolina. Guess where FEMA took them? Charleston, West Virginia. What incompetence. Right city, wrong State. CNN.com.

I cannot even imagine. No one should imagine. It is ridiculous. But they are going to tell you everything is all right.

The New York Times tells us, "Navy pilots who rescued victims are reprimanded." What? "Two Navy helicopter pilots and their crews returned from New Orleans on August 30 expecting to be greeted as lifesavers after ferrying more than 100 victims to safety. Instead, they were reprimanded."

Well, we are working on this, since I serve on the Committee on Armed Services. But the sad thing about it is, when we had our briefing on Tuesday evening, the Secretary of Defense, Secretary of Homeland Security, Secretary of Labor, Secretary of Treasury, Secretary of HUD were all there at the briefing, except that Defense kept going in and out, Homeland Security kept going in and out, could not stay long enough to brief the Members of Congress or to hear from the Members of Congress who are directly impacted by their failure, their incompetence.

Malik Rahin is a former Black Panther Party member. In a very compelling radio interview he said, "You want more morality from the poor than from the rich." But he rejected the idea that New Orleans was a city divided by race. He said, "Whites took their boats and went into black neighborhoods. But it was the feds who forced people to leave their possessions. Once they got rescued, they had to leave their possessions. They could only take one bag."

He says, "Over 70 percent of the people who were rescued were rescued by individuals." Then he went on to say something very interesting. He said, "\$90 million of HOPE VI construction, but the people who needed it the most in New Orleans got no training, no community service."

Louisiana has the highest dropout rate in the country. He said, "Juvenile justice is a disgrace." He said, "The

only equal opportunity employer here is drugs."

We heard a lot about shooting. He says, "White vigilante groups with shotguns and rifles rode around saying they were going to shoot the looters." They were unchecked. There could have been a riot. He says, "There was about to be a race riot."

He said, "Many whites took their own personal boats into the black community. Too many acts of heroism, sharing ice, sharing water."

Then he mentions Jefferson Parish had to secede from the United States of America. So I want to mention the Jefferson Parish president.

But before that I am going to mention what Mayor Nagin in a wonderfully compelling interview with WWL said when he had the opportunity to speak directly with President Bush. He said, "I told him we had an incredible crisis here and that his flying over in Air Force One does not do it justice, and that I have been all around this city, and I am very frustrated because we are not able to marshal resources and we are outmanned in just about every respect."

But in perhaps the most compelling of all of the interviews that we have seen, and these are all available on the Internet, is Aaron Broussard, president of Jefferson Parish, on Meet the Press. He said, "Sir, they were told, like me, every single day the cavalry is coming on the Federal level, the cavalry is coming, the cavalry is coming, the cavalry is coming. I have just begun to hear the hooves of the cavalry. The cavalry is still not out here yet, but I have begun to hear the hooves, and we are almost a week out."

Then he gives three quick examples, one of the Wal-Mart delivery trucks, three trucks of water. FEMA turned them back. They had 1,000 gallons of diesel fuel on a Coast Guard vessel. It was docked in Jefferson Parish. The Coast Guard said, "Come and get the fuel right away. When we got there with our trucks, they got the word. FEMA says, 'Don't give the fuel.' Yesterday, yesterday FEMA comes in and cuts all our communication lines." Why is FEMA cutting communications?

"The guy who runs the building I am in, Emergency Management," this is Aaron Broussard on Meet the Press, "he is responsible for everything. His mother was trapped in St. Bernard Nursing Home, and every day she called him and said, 'Are you coming, son? Is somebody coming?' He said, 'Yeah, mama, somebody is coming to get you.' 'Somebody is coming to get you on Tuesday.' 'Somebody is coming to get you on Wednesday.' 'Somebody is coming to get you on Thursday.' 'Somebody is coming to get you on Friday.' And she drowned Friday night."

□ 1845

And she drowned Friday night. "Nobody is coming to get us. Nobody is coming to get us. The Secretary has

promised. Everybody has promised. They have had press conferences. I'm sick of the press conferences. For God's sake, just shut up and send us somebody." Aaron Broussard.

Want the facts? The FEMA chief waited 5 hours after Katrina made landfall on August 29. Five hours.

It is clear also that the administration would like to avoid a blame game. They want to do everything to not discuss the failures. What is Michael Brown's reaction to all of this? Michael Brown, FEMA director, says in a CNN interview: "Considering the dire circumstances that we have in New Orleans, virtually a city that has been destroyed, things are going relatively well." That is our FEMA director, Michael Brown. How out of touch could this man have been?

Those 9/11 activists know how critical it is to construct a timeline, because the timeline tells us who did what and when they did it. The timeline will tell us the truth. The timeline cuts through the spin. So, of course, I made a point to get in touch with the folks who were collecting the timelines, and there are a lot of timelines available on the Internet. Think Progress has a timeline, and WWL also has a timeline.

All the while this was going on, the news media reported that the Iraq war costs now exceed Vietnam's. But I think it is pretty clear that the Iraq war is costing us more than money. Let us just look at where some of those assets were. Mississippi has 40 percent of its National Guard forces in Iraq. Louisiana has 35 percent of its National Guard forces in Iraq. Florida has 26 percent. Alabama has 23 percent of its National Guard forces in Iraq.

On June 8, 2004, in the New Orleans Times-Picayune, Walter Maestri, who is emergency management chief for Jefferson Parish, said, "It appears that the money has been moved in the President's budget to handle homeland security and the war in Iraq. And I suppose that's the price we pay. Nobody locally is happy that the levees can't be finished, and we're doing everything we can to make the case that this is a security issue for us." Security, we are going to discuss that in a minute.

On April 24, 2004, the Times-Picayune said: "Less money is available to the Army Corps of Engineers to build levees and water projects in the Mississippi River Valley this year and next year." Nobody can say they did not know, were not warned, whatever it is that the spin machine might come up with.

National Geographic Magazine, October 2004, came up with an article that reported on a simulation, I will not call it a game, but a simulation of what would happen should a hurricane hit New Orleans: "As the whirling maelstrom approached the coast, more than a million people evacuated to higher ground. Some 200,000 remained, however. The carless, the homeless, the aged, the infirm, and those die-hard

New Orleanians who look for any excuse to throw a party.” It goes on to describe just exactly what happened during Hurricane Katrina, but that was in October 2004.

The Louisiana National Guard also knew that they were paying a price that was perhaps too high. On August 1 the Louisiana National Guard complained that they were taking critical equipment to Iraq that should have remained in Louisiana. But when the Bush administration does not like what one says, they just fire them. So there was a former Member of Congress that I had the pleasure to serve with, Mike Parker from Mississippi, who was with the Army Corps of Engineers. He complained that they were cutting the Army Corps of Engineers budget too much, and so he was forced out.

Now it turns out that Michael Brown was forced out too. He was forced out from the job he had before he became the FEMA assistant director and then director. Let me see if I can read this correctly. Michael Brown’s previous employment was with the International Arabian Horse Association, and he was fired from that job too. They said that he was asked to resign. And so, of course, eminently qualified to serve in the Bush administration; he gets one of the most important jobs in the country with the lives of the American people in his hands.

We know that this is what they do, hurting people whom they disagree with, because there is the case of another Army Corps of Engineers employee by the name of Bunнатine Greenhouse, who complained about the no-bid sweetheart deal private contracts going to Halliburton. Well, she was forced out of her job too because, even though Vice President DICK CHENEY still gets his deferred compensation checks from Halliburton Corporation, I guess the Bush administration is not finished with Halliburton, because they have been hired to do the storm cleanup. Is there no other corporation in America? Why is it that it always has to be Halliburton?

Well, the Times-Picayune calls for the firing of Michael Brown; and I have signed my name to many letters that are floating around here calling for his firing, his resignation, Chertoff’s as well; and in a minute somebody on this House floor is going to mention impeachment.

But as if making sure that Halliburton got what they needed to get, I checked the FEMA Web site, and on the FEMA Web site it says: “Help the victims of Hurricane Katrina.” First on the list is American Red Cross. We remember that during 9/11, there were many complaints from the victims of 9/11, and I remember seeing one report of the symphony orchestra getting some of the 9/11 contributions. But there is Operation Blessing. Operation Blessing was founded by Pat Robertson. That is the same Pat Robertson who called for the assassination of a duly elected president, Hugo Chavez, of Venezuela.

How can FEMA recommend that someone who calls for the murder of somebody else get hard-earned money from the American people? It is on the FEMA Web site, and it is outrageous.

But there is more. Sadly, there is more. I agree with the Tom Hartman article: “You Can’t Govern if You Don’t Believe in Government.” What we have witnessed here in utter stark relief is the culmination of all of that Republican ideology against government, against the people, against helping people who are in need. Ronald Reagan was elected President by saying: “The nine most terrifying words in the English language are, ‘I’m from the government and I’m here to help.’” Newt Gingrich in 1995 told us what he thought about government. He was speaking about Medicare. He said: “Now, we don’t want to get rid of it in round one because we don’t think that’s politically smart and we do not think that’s the right way to go through a transition. But we believe it is going to wither on the vine because we think people are going to voluntarily leave it.” Wither on the vine.

Grover Norquist in 2001 said this, and I think this encapsulates it all: “I don’t want to abolish government. I simply want to reduce it to the size where I can drag it into the bathroom and drown it in the bathtub.”

That is how these people feel about government. So I am not surprised that the Army Corps of Engineers budget is cut to the extent it is cut. I am not surprised.

Here, Bush’s agenda is to cut government services to the bone and make people rely on the private sector for the things they need. So he sliced \$71 million from the budget of the New Orleans Corps of Engineers, a 44 percent reduction. In addition, the President cut \$30 million in flood control. And then Bush took to the airwaves on “Good Morning America” on September 1 and said, “I don’t think anyone anticipated that breach of the levees.”

□ 1900

“I don’t think anyone anticipated that breach of the levees.”

Now, in stark contrast to the way the Department of Homeland Security mobilized to secure the people of the Gulf States, within 48 hours of the notification of the death of Chief Justice Rehnquist, Bush nominated Roberts to serve as Chief Justice. They are real fast at doing some things.

Now, at some point, we have to talk about values and priorities and how it has become that our values and our priorities are so twisted and mangled now. We are focusing on other things, and some of those things are important. I am not going to say that everything is not so important that has become a priority. We had a resolution today that six people voted against to give Bush another blank check in the war on terrorism. I was one of the six.

No more blank checks, Mr. President, not for war, not for war.

I went to the Committee on Homeland Security’s Web site, and I just thought I would look and see which subcommittee has jurisdiction for natural disasters. Well, I could not believe it. I did not see any mention at all of natural disasters. So I went to one of our interns, whose eyes are a whole lot younger than mine, and I said, Would you please scour the entire website, because I have put in a search and it did not come up in a search; scour the entire website, and I want you to highlight the number of times you see the mention of the two words, “natural disaster.”

It is not mentioned. It is not mentioned. On the entire Committee on Homeland Security Web site “natural disaster” is not mentioned.

Now, a young man had a script before him, and he was supposed to read the script, but he took the opportunity to deviate from the script and speak his mind. His name is Kanye West. He has been on the cover of all these national magazines talking about how he is the most brilliant new hip-hop, rap artist, Kanye West. And now, he is being vilified because he dared to take a detour from what some people wanted him to say and say what he wanted to say, which is, quite frankly, the origins of hip-hop anyway, young people who have something to say and have found the means to say it.

Kanye West said, “I hate the way they portray us in the media. You see a black family; it says they are ‘looting.’ You see a white family; it says they are ‘looking for food.’ And, you know, it has been 5 days, because most of the people are black, and even for me to complain about it, I would be a hypocrite, because I have tried to turn away from the TV because it is too hard to watch. I have even been shopping before even giving a donation.

“So now I am calling my business manager right now to see what is the biggest amount I can give,” notice he said he is calling his business manager; I want you to pay attention to that. “And, just imagine if I was down there and those are my people down there. So anybody out there that wants to do anything that we can help with the way America is set up to help the poor, the black people, the less well off, as slow as possible.”

Now, NBC censored that. NBC has decided that they can determine what we hear from the smartest young man in hip-hop.

He also said, “George Bush doesn’t care about black people.” NBC censored it. They deleted his remarks. And MSNBC President Rick Kaplan, who produced the telethon at Rockefeller Plaza in New York, had the cameras cut to actor Chris Tucker who was on a different part of the stage and who appeared to be looking off at something else in the camera. So it was the MSNBC president, who was also the producer, who said, Well, you know, maybe the American people do not need to hear the smartest young man in hip-hop’s ideas about George Bush.

Thank goodness, I can come to the floor of the House and speak my piece. And as long as C-SPAN cameras are running, well, it will not be cut off, but I understand there is even an effort to try and limit C-SPAN's access to American households.

But I have to tell my colleagues something. As I saw the African Americans, mostly African American families ripped apart, I could only think about slavery, families ripped apart, herded into what looked like concentration camps. So I was reminded of a Miami Herald article written on July 5, the day after Freedom Day, 1987.

The title of the article was "Reagan Aides and the Secret Government," and here is a quote from that article: "A copy of the memo was obtained by the Herald. The scenario outlined in the Brinkerhoff memo resembles somewhat a paper Giufreda had written in 1970 at the Army War College in Carlyle, Pennsylvania, in which he advocated martial law in case of a national uprising by black militants." In which he advocated martial law in case of a national uprising by black militants. The paper also advocated the roundup and transfer of two "assembly centers or relocation camps of at least 21 million American Negroes."

Now, I did not write that; the U.S. Government wrote that. They were going to round up 21 million Negroes because they were afraid of freeing black people. A story of neglect? I am not surprised about any story of neglect of the people that comes from this body with this set of priorities, that passes these kinds of budgets on the backs of the American people, these kinds of tax cuts on the backs of the American people.

I want to commend my sister Congresswoman, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LEE), who has said that it is time for us to get serious about poverty in this country. It is time for us to get serious. I am a proud cosponsor of legislation with the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LEE).

I will just conclude by saying that on the United States State Department Web site is "How to identify misinformation." Does the story fit the pattern of a conspiracy theory?

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KING of Iowa). The Chair must remind the gentlewoman from Georgia that it is out of order in debate to ascribe unworthy motives to the President.

U.S. AGGRESSIVE INTERVENTIONISM POLICY IS MISGUIDED

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 2005, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, many reasons have been given for why we fight and our youth must die in Iraq. The

reasons now given for why we must continue this war bear no resemblance to the reasons given to gain the support of the American people and the United States Congress prior to our invasion in March of 2003.

Before the war, we were told we faced an imminent threat to our national security from Saddam Hussein. This rationale, now proven grossly mistaken, has been changed. Now we are told we must honor the fallen by completing the mission. To do otherwise would demean the sacrifice of those who have died or been wounded.

Any lack of support for completing the mission is said by the promoters of the war to be unpatriotic, un-American, and detrimental to the troops. They insist the only way one can support the troops is to never waver on the policy of nation-building, no matter how ill-founded that policy may be. The obvious flaw in this argument is that the mission of which they so reverently speak has changed constantly from the very beginning.

Though most people think this war started in March of 2003, the seeds were sown many years before. The actual military conflict involving U.S. troops against Iraq began in January of 1991. The prelude to this actually goes back over 100 years when the value of Middle East oil was recognized by the industrialized West. Our use of troops to eject Saddam Hussein from Kuwait was the beginning of the current conflict with the Muslim fundamentalists who have been, for the last decade, determined to force the removal of American troops from all Muslim countries, especially the entire Arabian peninsula, which they consider holy. Though the strategic and historic reasons for our involvement in the Middle East are complex, the immediate reasons given in 2002 and 2003 for our invasion of Iraq were precise. The only problem is, they were not based on facts.

The desire by American policymakers to engineer regime change in Iraq had been smoldering since the first Persian Gulf conflict in 1991. This reflected a dramatic shift in our policy since, in the 1980s, we maintained a friendly alliance with Saddam Hussein as we assisted him in his war against our arch nemesis, the Iranian Ayatollah.

Most Americans ignore that we provided assistance to this ruthless dictator with biological and chemical weapon technologies. We heard no complaints in the 1980s about his treatment of the Kurds and the Shiites or the ruthless war he waged against Iran. Our policy toward Iraq played a major role in convincing Saddam Hussein he had free reign in the Middle East, and the results demonstrate the serious shortcomings of our foreign policy of interventionism that we have followed now for over 100 years.

In 1998, Congress capitulated to the desires of the previous administration and overwhelmingly passed the Iraq Liberation Act, which stated quite

clearly that our policy was to get rid of Saddam Hussein. This act made it official, quote: "The policy of the United States is to support efforts to remove the regime headed by Saddam Hussein." This resolution has been cited on numerous occasions by neoconservatives as justification for the preemptive and deliberate invasion of Iraq.

When the resolution was debated, I saw it as a significant step toward a war that would bear no good fruit. No legitimate national security concerns were cited for this dramatic and serious shift in policy.

Shortly after the new administration took office in January 2001, this goal of eliminating Saddam Hussein quickly morphed into a policy of remaking the entire Middle East, starting with regime change in Iraq. This aggressive interventionist policy surprised some people, since the victorious 2000 campaign indicated we should pursue a foreign policy of humility, no nation-building, reduce deployment of troops overseas, and a rejection of the notion that we serve as the world's policeman.

□ 1915

The 9/11 disaster proved a catalyst to push for invading Iraq and restructuring the entire Middle East. Though the plan had existed for years, it quickly was recognized that the fear engendered by the 9/11 attacks could be used to mobilize the American people and Congress to support this war.

Nevertheless, supposedly legitimate reasons had to be given for the already planned preemptive war; and as we now know, the intelligence had to be fixed to the policy.

Immediately after 9/11, the American people were led to believe that Saddam Hussein somehow was responsible for the attacks. The fact that Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden were enemies, not friends, was kept from the public by a compliant media and the lazy Congress. Even today many Americans still are convinced of an alliance between the two.

The truth is Saddam Hussein never permitted al Qaeda into Iraq out of fear that his secular government would be challenged. And yet, today, we find that al Qaeda is now very much present in Iraq and causing chaos there.

The administration repeatedly pumped out alarming propaganda that Saddam Hussein was a threat to us with his weapons of mass destruction, meaning nuclear, biological and chemical. Since we helped Saddam Hussein obtain biological and chemical weapons in the 1980s, we assumed that he had maintained a large supply, which, of course, turned out not to be true. The people being frightened by 9/11 easily accepted these fear-mongering charges.

Behind the scenes many were quite aware that Israel's influence on our foreign policy played a role. She had argued for years along with the neoconservatives for an Iraq regime change. This support was nicely coordinated with the Christian-Zionist enthusiasm for the war.