

They apply to our commanders in Iraq. They apply to General Myers, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Those tests apply to the Secretary of Defense and they apply to the President of the United States. What did they know, when did they know it, and what did they do about it?

What has occurred here is wrong. It is morally wrong. It has done enormous damage to our country, damage that will last for a very long time. Those who are responsible should be held to account and we should make certain that nothing like this ever happens again. This is not America. These are not American values. This is not how America acts towards others.

The behavior shown in these photos and on these tapes are not the best of America. They are the worst of America, and we can do so much better. We are so much better.

I was also asked yesterday if I believe America should now leave Iraq immediately. Yesterday I had lunch with the young people working in my office for the spring semester, interns from all across my State. I asked them the question, What do you think we should do? Even those who felt passionately that America had made a mistake in going to war in Iraq believe that we simply cannot leave now; that we have an obligation to improve things; that we have an obligation to stabilize things; that we have an obligation to prevent the bloodbath that would certainly follow an immediate exodus by our country.

I voted against authorizing this war in Iraq because I did not believe it was in the national security interest of the United States. I believed we should not open a second front before we had finished business with al-Qaida and Osama bin Laden. I believed Iraq would be a distraction. I believed it would take us away from a successful prosecution of the real war on terrorism. As much as I feel strongly that that was correct, I also think it would be a mistake for the United States to exit precipitously from Iraq. The fact is, we are now responsible for what occurs there. We have an obligation to try to make this work.

I do not believe that means the United States has an obligation to make a country in the image of America.

I ask unanimous consent for an additional 5 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CONRAD. But I do believe we have a responsibility to bring stability and to give the Iraqi people a chance to make judgments about their own future. That, fundamentally, is what democracy is all about. It is not about America picking the leaders for Iraq. I must say, last week I was taken aback to read Mr. Bremer and others talking about how we are going to pick Iraq's new leaders. Think about that. How we are going to decide who Iraq's leaders

are going to be? That is not democracy. That is not the role of America. Our job is not to pick Iraq's leaders. How arrogant is that, to say we can go into a country and designate the leaders and think that those people would have any credibility among their own people?

If you want to set up a group for failure, have them chosen by the United States. And for us to tell the Iraqi people, these are your leaders, what does that have to do with democracy? Those are not the values of America. We would not permit for one moment another person to choose our leaders. What business do we think we have choosing theirs? I think the obligation we have is to help Iraq pick their own leaders and have a society where there is sufficient security for them to make those decisions and for them to be able to rebuild an economy that has been shattered by decades of despotic rule by Saddam Hussein, and now by this war.

This is an important moment in history for our country. We are being tested, and we need to apply the best of American values and the high standards of morality that have made this country great. We need to send a signal to the rest of the world about what we really stand for. We need to show all those across the globe that America is fully committed to the fundamental values of democracy and freedom and for the ability of people to choose their own leaders free from fear and intimidation and terror. That is a test that we have faced many times in our history, and it is a test that we have passed with flying colors.

At the same time, we should remind the world of the proudest moments in American history when, over and over, this country stood up against terrorism and fascism and communism and helped the rest of the world be free. That is in the finest traditions of America. Those are the values we embrace. That is the example we offer the world. Anything less detracts from America's greatness.

I hope in the days ahead that this body and the other body and the President of the United States will reflect on a new direction for our country in Iraq and in the war on terror. We are faced with a grave threat. I believe the strategy that has been pursued is one that, instead of reducing the threat to our Nation, has actually increased it because when one humiliates, that creates anger, and anger breeds terrorism and strengthens those who wish to bring America down.

So this is a turning point. We have an opportunity to choose which direction we take. So many times in our past we have been faced with these choices, and always America has responded with its best. I am confident that we will do the same now.

I yield the floor.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### CUBA

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, yesterday President Bush announced he is going to devote more money, more resources, and more personnel to enforcing restrictions on travel to the country of Cuba.

Let me describe the absurdity of what is happening with respect to the use of resources by this administration in dealing with the country of Cuba. First let me say that Fidel Castro is a dictator. No one here has time for Fidel Castro. That includes myself. The Cuban people deserve to be free. But it is interesting to me that at a time when we are confronted with the threat of terrorism in this country, we see the administration obsessed with Cuba, using resources that ought to be used in order to combat terrorism being used instead to enforce a ban against U.S. citizens from traveling in Cuba. It is an outrage. This administration ought to be embarrassed about it.

Let me describe what I mean. There is an agency called OFAC—the Office of Foreign Asset Control—in the Treasury Department. Their job is to track terrorists and to track the money that goes to finance terrorism. That is their job, and they have people working full time to try to pull the cover off this web of money that moves back and forth to finance terrorists.

What are they doing at OFAC these days? I have a report from the Department of the Treasury. That report is in response to questions from myself and from other Members of Congress. It says that OFAC has two people investigating Osama bin Laden's wealth—that is, tracking money Osama bin Laden would use to further his efforts to commit acts of terrorism against this country and the rest of the world. Two people.

Do you know how many people they have tracking Americans who travel to Cuba? There are twenty-one people tracking Americans who travel to Cuba. Track them down, see if you can slap a big fine on them. They have 21 people working on that, and they have 2 people working on trying to find Osama bin Laden's money and shut down the ways he finances his acts of terrorism. It is unbelievable. They ought to be profoundly embarrassed down at the administration and the Treasury Department.

Let me give some examples. This is a picture of a woman named Joni Scott. Joan Scott is someone who came to visit me. Joni Scott went to Cuba 4 years ago to distribute free Bibles to the Cuban people. Guess what. In recent months these 21 sleuths down at

the Treasury Department who are supposed to be tracking money going to terrorists, tracked down this poor woman who was distributing free Bibles in Cuba and slapped her with a big fine. Shame on her for distributing free Bibles to the Cuban people. Has it come to the point where some American who travels to Cuba to distribute free Bibles is somehow considered someone acting outside the interests of our country? Someone who undermines this country's interest? Someone who is worse than a terrorist? Is that what they are saying in the administration? They tracked her down and they slapped a big fine on Joni Scott.

But she is not the only one. This is Joan Slote. They fined Joan Slote 10,000 bucks. She is a bicyclist in her midseventies. She rides in the Senior Olympics; she rides bicycles all over the world. What a wonderful woman. I have met her. She went with a Canadian bicycle group to Cuba just to bicycle in Cuba. They tracked her down and fined her \$10,000, and then they tried to attach her Social Security checks while the dispute was going on. When they finally settled for something less than \$10,000 and she sent them a check and they did not realize she had sent the check and paid the bill, so they then tried to attach her Social Security payments. Tracking a little old lady riding bicycles? That is what they are doing down at the Treasury Department because riding a bicycle in Cuba somehow undermines American interests. Are they nuts? Are they just crazy? I don't understand this at all.

If it is not Joni Scott or Joan Slote, what about these folks who participate in the international event for disabled athletes. We stopped them from going. They lost a lot of money because they had tickets purchased to go to the international games in Havana, but those ferocious folks down at Treasury who are supposed to be tracking assets that support terrorism, they stopped these disabled athletes from going to Cuba. That would have undermined American interests, I guess.

Or the man from the State of Washington whose father died and was cremated. He previously had been a minister at a church in Cuba. His last wish was to have his ashes buried on the church grounds where he ministered, so his son dutifully complied. His son took his father's ashes to Cuba to bury them on the church grounds. Guess what. He got a fine from the U.S. Government because we have folks down at the Treasury Department tracking these people.

Now, the Bush administration obviously is concerned about votes in Florida. This is not about sound public policy; it is about politics in Florida. They have actually trained 500 people in the Office of Homeland Security to try to track people getting on and off flights to and from Cuba so if an American tourist went to Cuba to travel, they could find them and slap them with a fine.

They trained 500 people who are supposed to be doing work in the Office of Homeland Security. Let me show you what they did with this big, enhanced inspection with all these folks at the airports. They are going to grab them. They are going to nail them. We have not nailed Osama bin Laden. He is living in a cave someplace. He is probably not quaking in his cave, knowing there are only two people looking after his finances in the Department of Treasury and there are 21 of them chasing little old ladies who ride bikes in Cuba.

But let me show you what they found with this big, enhanced inspection at the airports. At a time we are dealing with terrorism, we have this big crackdown on American tourists. This chart shows what OFAC found. Boy, we nabbed them. Cuban cigars—officers of the Office of Homeland Security worked overtime to find Cuban cigars coming in on the person of an American tourist who went to Cuba. That is going to safeguard our country, if we just get rid of those Cuban cigars.

Then, of the 45,400 travelers who were inspected, 215 were suspected of attempting to vacation in Cuba. I don't know, I never heard of that charge: suspected of taking a vacation.

Homeland Security inspectors found 283 alcohol and tobacco violations. Well, were those major seizures? No. The Homeland Security spokeswoman says no. Each violation included a small amount of rum or cigars that were found on people who had been in Cuba.

There were 42 narcotics seizures. Oh, man, that ratchets up the importance—42 narcotics seizures. Is it heroin or crack? No. No, it is not that. It involves prescription drugs people had on their person. They were taking medications for high cholesterol or perhaps a runny nose. So they nabbed them.

And then one hazardous material violation was discovered. Oh, man, that sounds ominous. These Homeland Security investigators found somebody coming back from Cuba, coming into this country, an American citizen who had the temerity to vacation in Cuba who came back with a hazardous material on them. So they had a hazardous material violation. Now, that sounds like terrorism. But no, apparently the hazardous material was a carbon dioxide canister used to put fizz in seltzer water.

Presumably discoveries like these make it OK that we have 500 people tracking American tourists traveling in Cuba and two people tracking Osama bin Laden's finances.

We have 21 people down at OFAC going over their books. They wear their suspenders and green eyeshades, wearing their knuckles white, so they can track down a little old lady riding a bicycle, or so they can track down a wonderful young woman distributing free Bibles in Cuba. Shame on these people. Shame on these people who decide that trying to track American

citizens who are on vacation is a more important and a more urgent priority than tracking Osama bin Laden's financial network.

Now, I am a Norwegian Lutheran, and I don't use that language very easily. But I tell you what, I get angry when I see what is happening.

My colleague from Montana is in the Chamber. He was one of those who got this report. I asked the question of Secretary Snow: How many people are you using down at the Department of Treasury to track American tourists who travel to Cuba? Well, he did not know.

I said: Give me the answer. They apparently did the same thing in the Finance Committee. They got the answer. Twenty-one people are tracking American tourists going to Cuba, and two people are tracking Osama bin Laden's finances. What on Earth are they thinking of? Is there not one person down there with one ounce of common sense? I do not understand it at all.

Here is a chart: There are 100 times more enforcement cases on Cuba than there are on terror issues.

And I mention Joni Scott. Let me just finish by again mentioning Joni Scott. Joni Scott is with a religious group. This wonderful young woman, a good-hearted woman, who cares deeply about her faith in God and wants to share it with others, she went, 4 years ago, to Cuba to distribute free Bibles. It was an enriching experience, she said. And was she surprised, not too long ago, to get something in the mail from the U.S. Treasury Department because they have these sleuths down here, not working on things that matter, not working on tracking Osama bin Laden and other terrorist networks, no; they are working on this young woman who is distributing free Bibles. I do not understand it.

I say this, that when we have an opportunity, this year, to affect the financing of the Department of Treasury, I—and I hope others who will join me—will say to them that is not the way you are going to use the taxpayers' money. You have an obligation not to be soft on terrorism. You have an obligation not to be soft-headed. You have an obligation to use the funding we are providing to track terrorists, to crack the network of financing that Osama bin Laden and others use to commit acts of murder against American people, and against Spanish, and other people around the world, where people have been victimized by these acts of terror.

So always, it seems to me, it is a case of choosing, making choices. What do you want to use the money for? What is more important? What is more urgent? What should we be doing? The administration's choice yesterday to put even more people into tracking down American tourists to Cuba is unbelievable. It is unbelievable to see an administration make such, not only an embarrassing choice, but a choice that is fundamentally so soft on terrorism, so soft

on combating terrorism, and so hard-headed in trying to track American tourists down and slap them with a fine.

This notion of trying to slap Fidel Castro around by injuring the rights of the American people ought to stop. It does not hurt Fidel Castro that we have told the American people you cannot travel in Cuba. You can travel in Communist China. You can travel in Communist Vietnam. But you cannot travel in Communist Cuba. If we spend all this money on TV and Radio Marti in order to put voices in Cuba over television and radio, to give them another voice other than Fidel Castro, what sense does it make to say to the American people that traveling to Cuba so that Cubans hear other voices is somehow not worthy, but putting up an expensive radio and television station so the Cubans hear other voices is worthy?

The Europeans, the Canadians, and others, have used much more common sense than we have on this issue. And the President, rather than making things better, is making it much worse. I have no trust for Fidel Castro. I want him removed. I think the Cuban people ought to be free to choose their own government. But neither do I have any sympathy for a public policy that is so devoid of common sense, and it is getting worse every day, and was made worse yesterday by this President's announcement.

#### POLICIES ON OUR INDIAN RESERVATIONS

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, my colleague is here to speak, but I do want to make another comment about the health care policies on our Indian reservations, an important concern.

I want to first say that we have to, in my judgment, deal with these issues in a manner that we have not previously done. On our Indian reservations in this country, in most cases, we have conditions that reflect Third World countries. We have four Indian reservations in my State of North Dakota.

American Indians today have a life expectancy that is 6 years less than all the rest of the American people. Their rate of alcoholism is seven times the rate of the rest of the American people. Their rate of tuberculosis is over seven times the rate of the rest of the American people. Their rate of diabetes is four times the rate of the rest of the American people. For accidents, there are nearly triple the fatalities on reservations. For suicides, the rate is twice that of the rest of the American people. For homicides, the rate is more than double the rest of the American people.

The fact is, we have a very serious problem on these Indian reservations. There is, in my judgment, despair and little hope. A young girl named Tamara Demaris, some years ago, was put in a foster home by a social worker who was handling 150 cases. She did not

have time to investigate the home. At that home, there was a drunken party, and little Tamara was beaten severely. Her hair was pulled out at the roots. Her nose was broken. Her arm was broken. That little girl will probably never get over the scars of that terrible beating.

That situation has changed. There is no longer one social worker with 150 cases. We now inspect and investigate where a three year-old child will be placed. But that is the kind of circumstance that happened because the resources did not exist. We were supposed to protect that child and we did not. I am talking about our society—yes, our society.

I will give you another example. The child in this picture died a few weeks ago. This young child's name is Avis. Avis missed 90 days of school this school year. She stayed in bed for many days curled up in a ball. She desperately needed help. All of her actions cried out for help. Avis, by all accounts, was a young girl who loved to ride horses, loved animals, and loved her family. But several weeks ago, Avis died. On that reservation, they had one psychologist, one social worker, and no automobile to take anybody to seek treatment. So when you talk to the relatives and the people whose lives intersected with this young girl named Avis, you understand the tragedy of her situation. Avis needed help and didn't get it. At a critical time in the life of this young 14-year-old girl, she didn't get the help she needed.

The Indian Health Service budget for this year recommends cutting back on mental health services provided on these reservations. There is not enough as it is. It is painfully thin in terms of the amount of resources.

The federal government has direct responsibility for the health care of several groups of people in this country, including Federal prisoners and American Indians. We protect American Indians, and we have a trust responsibility for their health care. With respect to Federal prisoners, it is our obligation. We spend almost twice as much money per person on health care for Federal prisoners as we do for American Indians. The result is that wonderful young people such as Avis lose their lives. It should not happen.

I wish to mention one other thing and then I will conclude. While there is great despair about these issues—and we must confront them this year—there are some areas of hope.

The one area of hope, in my judgment, is tribal colleges on reservations. The stepladder up and out to opportunity is education.

I want to read something I have read before on the floor, because last year we made enormous progress in increasing the funding for tribal colleges around the country. I want to read from a letter from a woman I know named Loretta.

She says this:

I grew up poor and considered backward by non-Indians. My home was a two-room log

house in a place called the "bush" on North Dakota's Turtle Mountain Indian Reservation. I stuttered. I was painfully shy. My clothes were hand-me-downs. I was like thousands of other Indian kids growing up on reservations across America.

When I went to elementary school I felt so alone and different. I couldn't speak up for myself. My teachers had no appreciation for Indian culture. I'll never forget that it was the lighter-skinned children who were treated better. They were usually from families that were better off than mine. My teachers called me savage. Even as a young child I wondered . . . What does it take to be noticed and looked upon the way these other children are?

By the time I reached 7th grade I realized that if my life was going to change for the better, I was going to have to do it. Nobody else could do it for me. That's when the dream began. I thought of ways to change things for the better—not only for myself but for my people. I dreamed of growing up to be a teacher in a school where every child was treated as sacred and viewed positively, even if they were poor and dirty. I didn't want any child to be made to feel like I did. But I didn't know how hard it would be to reach the realization of my dream. I almost didn't make it.

By the time I was 17 I had dropped out of school, moved to California, and had a child. I thought my life was over. But when I moved back to the reservation I made a discovery that literally put my life back together. My sisters were attending Turtle Mountain College, which had just been started on my reservation. I thought that was something I could do, too, so I enrolled. In those days, we didn't even have a campus. There was no building. Some classes met at a local alcohol rehabilitation center in an old hospital building that had been condemned. But to me, it didn't matter. I was just amazed I could go to college. It was life-changing.

My college friends and professors were like family. For the first time in my life I learned about the language, history and culture of my people in a formal education setting. I felt honor and pride begin to well up inside me. This was so unlike my prior school experience where I was told my language and culture were shameful and that Indians weren't equal to others. Attending a tribal college caused me to reach into my inner self to become what I was meant to be—to fight for my rights and not remain a victim of circumstance or of anybody. In fact, I loved college so much that I couldn't stop! I had a dream to fulfill . . . or perhaps some would call it an obsession. This pushed me on to complete my studies at Turtle Mountain College and to ultimately earn a Doctorate in Education Administration from the University of North Dakota.

I've worked in education ever since, from Head Start teacher's aide to college professor. Now I'm realizing my dream of helping Indian children succeed. I am the Office of Indian Education Programs' superintendent working with nine schools, three reservations, and I oversee two educational contracts with two tribal colleges. My life would not have turned out this way were it not for the tribal college on my reservation.

My situation is not unique and others feel this way as well. Since 1974, when Turtle Mountain College was chartered by the Turtle Mountain tribe, around 300 students have gone on to earn higher degrees. We now have educators, attorneys, doctors and others who have returned to the reservation. They—I should say, we—are giving back to the community. Instead of asking people to have pity on us because of what happened in our past, we are taking our future into our own