

The truth affirmed—again—that there was no national security interest served by invading Iraq.

The President diverted the nation from Afghanistan and the hunt for bin Laden.

And, the President diluted our resources by continuing to commit manpower and money to the wrong place, at the wrong time, without a national security priority. Instead of leading America back to the front line of the war on terror, the President continues to push America deeper into a civil war in Iraq.

The fifth anniversary of 9/11 could have been marked by the President leading the nation in quiet, personal reflection. Instead, the President used a prime time television address to try to shore up his own faltering support among the American people.

The Administration's singular focus today is to sustain a fiction about Iraq and al-Qaeda. They are trapped inside their own rhetoric and keep talking as if that will produce a different outcome.

On Sunday the Vice President gave us fear. On Monday, the President gave us fiction. On Tuesday, the Republican Majority Leader gave us inflammatory rhetoric worthy of a nation without Democracy as its form of government.

Terrified at the prospect of losing power, Republicans will say anything to make people afraid.

In a meeting with reporters, the majority leader wondered aloud whether Americans who disagree with the President might be giving aid and comfort to the enemy, might be guilty of treason.

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that we are a nation of laws, not men, even in a time of war, and that the President must follow the law like everyone else. Instead of affirmation, we got accusations last night from a Republican leader.

The President, Vice President and Speaker of the House—all Republicans—were silent in response.

We are going to need a lot of jail cells to house the millions of Americans, including the Supreme Court, who believe America is a nation of laws worth defending and upholding.

The majority of the American people want their government to remain Of the People, By the People and For the People.

Republicans have a different vision. They govern by accusation in order to obtain acquiescence.

Since Sunday, Republicans have moved from fear, to fiction, from inflammatory rhetoric to closed debate.

House Republican leaders are not interested in having America stand united.

That's why they passed a resolution that has to do with clinging to power, not 9/11.

The resolution will not make America safer, but it was passed in the hope of making Republicans safer.

The Republican resolution was about November 7, not September 11 and Republicans sacrificed patriotism for political ambition.

Trapped by their own rhetoric, and led by a President who has lost the trust of the American people, Republicans have retreated to their last stand—Making you afraid.

Every time they rise, remember this: Republicans have propped up this President by spending more on the Iraq War than on domestic security. Many Republicans in this House know the truth. They just can't speak it, for fear of being outed by their own Party Leadership.

Republicans will only say what the President wants you to hear. And it is not the truth. The American people are getting that somewhere else. Republicans gave us fear and fiction around the fifth anniversary of 9/11. Just imagine what they have in store for us in the weeks ahead.

Fear has never made America safer. But that's all the Republicans have to offer. And that's simply not enough to protect and defend America in the 21st century.

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

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. ZOE LOFGREN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Ms. ZOE LOFGREN of California addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

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

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. ESHOO) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Ms. ESHOO addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

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

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

IRAQ WATCH

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 2005, the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. LARSON) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I once again thank distinguished members who will be joining me here on the floor to continue a process that was begun by Mr. DELAHUNT, Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Mr. KUCINICH, and Mr. INSLEE called The Iraq Watch.

This was formed in the spirit of understanding, as I think the Nation has come to understand, that within this Beltway and within this Nation and specifically here in Congress, that we have one-party rule. The Republican Party controls the administration and

all of its agencies, it controls the House of Representatives and the United States Senate, and in the process, has stifled opportunity for oversight and review and a thorough discussion on the pressing issue of Iraq that concerns the entire American republic. I commend my colleagues for having initiated The Iraq Watch.

This evening, as in others, we start with an acknowledgement that, fortunately, because of the efforts of so many who have served in our military, we in Congress on both sides of this aisle have come to understand and differentiate between the war and the warriors, those brave men and women who serve our country on a daily basis and who are in harm's way in Iraq, in Afghanistan, and around this globe on our behalf. We come here because we desire an opportunity to speak truth to power.

Earlier this evening, one of our esteemed colleagues from the other side rose and said, "What are the Democrats for?" We are for an administration that will level with the American people, starting first and foremost with leveling with our troops, especially the families of our troops; specifically, the Reservists and National Guardsmen who have been deployed, redeployed, deployed, and redeployed again in Afghanistan and Iraq with no certainty given to them. And we are for an administration that is worthy of the sacrifice that has been put forward by the men and women of our armed services.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt said, "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself." And in this very solemn week where we pause to reflect on our brave heroes of 9/11, those innocent people who perished in the towers in New York, at the Pentagon, and in the fields of Pennsylvania, and those brave and valiant first responders who rallied to the call in New York, here at the Pentagon and in Pennsylvania, we are for the vigilance of the survivors, and victims of 9/11 who called and prevailed upon this body to pass all the 9/11 recommendations.

We are for passing all the 9/11 recommendations, more than half of which have not been enacted by this Congress 5 years after September 11. We are for accountability, as Mr. SCHIFF pointed out in his comments, because we understand that in a one-party town where there is no oversight and review and no one willing on the other side of the aisle to speak truth to power, that it falls on the shoulders of the Democrats to speak out on behalf of the American public, to speak truth where there has been little.

Graham Allison pointed out that the occupation in Iraq has placed us in a situation where we have diverted essential resources from the fight against al Qaeda, allowed the Taliban to regroup in Afghanistan, fostered neglect of the Iranian nuclear threat, undermined alliances critical to preventing terrorism, devastated America's standing with every country in Europe, and

destroyed it in the Muslim world. We are for a new direction for this country and for America's preeminent position on this globe where we have such enormous responsibility.

We ought to start that new direction and send a very clear signal to the world, to Iraq, and to the men and women of our military that it is time for accountability. And we can start that, as Jack Murtha indicated earlier, with a call for Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld to step down, for, as Mr. SCHIFF pointed out and the Vice President said clearly this past Sunday, if they had to do it all over again, they would do it exactly the same way. And the President, in a moment of candor, said in fact, the hardest thing that he has found has been linking terror with the war in Iraq.

□ 1845

At this time I would like to recognize the gentlewoman from California, Representative LEE, who has stood in this well so many times and prevailed upon this body to come to grips with this war in Iraq.

Representative LEE.

Ms. LEE. Let me thank the gentleman for yielding and also for your leadership and for that very powerful statement. And I want to thank you for reminding the country that this is one-party rule, and that there are no checks and balances, and that, unfortunately, there is no accountability.

I appreciate the opportunity to participate with you tonight, and again thank you very much for calling this special order and for Iraq Watch.

This week has been the fifth anniversary of the tragic terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and we should be commemorating the lives of those who died. We should be coming together as a Nation to grieve and to remember the men, women, and children who lost their lives that day. We should be honoring the courage and the heroism of our first responders and those who put themselves in harm's way to help others.

But, instead, as we have seen, Republicans are politicizing this solemn anniversary by shamelessly attempting to hide the administration's failure to make our Nation safer, and, quite frankly, failing to hold accountable those who perpetrated the attacks, and that is Osama bin Laden.

Bin Laden is still at large. He is alive and well. The Taliban is resurgent in Afghanistan. Why? Because the Bush administration pulled troops out of Afghanistan to send them to Iraq. But Iraq had nothing to do with 9/11. The President, as you said earlier, has admitted this.

Now, the members of the Out of Iraq Caucus have been saying that even before we went into this illegal, immoral, and unnecessary war. There were no weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, and we knew this. During the debate on the authorization to use force, if you remember, I offered an amendment

that merely said let the United Nations complete its inspections process. Now, had that amendment passed, lives would have been saved, Iraq would not be what it is today, and that is a terrorist training ground, and America would not have lost its standing in the world.

Congresswoman MAXINE WATERS, Congresswoman WOOLSEY, Congressman HINCHEY, and many others participated in the Downing Street memo hearings, where it was revealed and exposed and demonstrated factually that the administration concocted the intelligence and used what they had to cherry-pick and fix the facts as they saw it to justify this war and invasion. Hundreds of thousands of people around our country signed petitions. We delivered those petitions to the White House saying this war should end; that there were no weapons of mass destruction; that this was wrong and that we should get out.

And last Friday, the bipartisan Senate Intelligence Committee report refuted one of the administration's key justifications for going to war in Iraq; the claim that Saddam Hussein and al Qaeda had ties in planning 9/11. There was no connection between them and, again, the Senate Intelligence Committee, bipartisan committee, said that.

The war in Iraq is a war of choice by this administration. And what has resulted? This war and the continuing occupation has created a terrorist training ground in the heart of the Middle East. It has really created and fueled more anti-American sentiment and has been a powerful recruiting tool for terrorists. It has emboldened Iran and North Korea. It has diverted our focus and resources from pursuing Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda. It has cost us the lives of 2,700 brave men and women, with over 20,000 wounded, and Iraqi civilians dead. We have committed over \$400 billion to this war and this occupation has now fueled a civil war. It has left our military overstretched and unable to respond to crises in other areas.

I tell you, the bottom line is our Nation now is less safe due to this unnecessary war in Iraq. The 9/11 Commission has given the Bush administration and this Republican Congress D's and F's in terms of how we have moved forward in keeping our Nation safe and implementing these recommendations.

There can be no "stay the course" in a no-win occupation. There can be no "stay the course" as long as our troops remain the target of the insurgency. We must go in a new direction. We have to bring our troops home and end this occupation. And when they come home, we must make sure that they all come home and ensure there be no permanent military bases in Iraq.

Eighty-four percent of America's top national security experts have said that America is not winning this war on terror. So it is time that we stop misleading the American people by trying to convince them that the hor-

rific events of 9/11 were somehow connected to the war in Iraq and to Saddam Hussein. They are not. It is time to bring our troops home.

It is time to support Congresswoman WOOLSEY's H.R. 5875 and revoke the War Powers Act, or the war powers authorization that this House and the Senate gave to the President.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. I thank the gentlewoman from California for once again providing us with very clear insight into the ramifications of the administration's failed policy. As our colleague from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) points out, there are two distinct wars that are going on. There is the war on terror, more appropriately it should be called the war against al Qaeda, where, as the gentlewoman points out, America has diverted its resources away from Afghanistan and the chief target, the person responsible for bringing down the World Trade Center towers and the bombing at the Pentagon and the failed attempt to hit this Capitol with the downed plane in Pennsylvania.

I commend the gentlewoman for her remarks and thank her for joining us this evening.

Ms. LEE. Let me just thank you again for your calling this special hour and for allowing all of us to participate, and also for reminding us that as we promote democracy abroad, especially in Iraq, we are shutting it down here in America.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. I thank the gentlewoman from California, and I would like to recognize at this time the gentleman from New York (Mr. HINCHEY).

Mr. HINCHEY. I want to thank my good friend and colleague for setting aside this hour and giving us an opportunity to focus attention on the circumstances in Iraq and the consequences of our response to the attack of September 11, 2001.

This week we marked 5 years, and today 5 years and 3 days, since that attack of September 11, 2001, against the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and Flight Number 93 that, as a result of the heroism of the people on board, crashed into a field in Pennsylvania rather than into this Capitol building on that particular day.

There is no question that people who were responsible for that attack were brutal, devastating, and without conscience. However, the main danger that has been focused on our country came about not as a result of the attack but more as a result of the response of our government to that attack.

We have seen, for example, that shortly after our invasion of Afghanistan to upset the Taliban, which were housing the al Qaeda network, after we had taken the Taliban out of power in Afghanistan and chased the al Qaeda network out of Kabul and Kandahar, how this administration stopped the pursuit of the main perpetrators of that attack, the al Qaeda network and their principal leader, Osama bin Laden. It was a conscious decision

made by this administration not to go after Osama bin Laden and, therefore, not to capture him.

Now, obviously, one has to ask the question: Why? The only sensible answer to that question is this: The administration did not want to capture Osama bin Laden, the brains, the main perpetrator behind that attack. Because if he had been captured, then the argument of the administration that there was a connection between the attack of September 11 and Iraq, and the need to invade Iraq, that argument would essentially have evaporated. If Osama bin Laden had been captured, there would have been no logical rationale for invading Iraq.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. If the gentleman will yield, because the question has been put forward on this floor on more than one occasion, and the query is: How is it that this great country of ours could go from having virtually the entire world supporting us, because of exactly what happened in your great New York City? In Paris, they said, "Today We Are All Americans." We join with Americans in the fight against al Qaeda in Afghanistan. And we went from having the entire world with us to virtually having the world opposed to us, devastating our standing around the world and ruining it with the Muslim world.

Mr. HINCHEY. Your point, of course, is a very good one. And what caused that, caused the people of the world, who had been united with us after the attack of September 11, 2001, but became disunited from us, became questioning of our attitudes and actions, all of that came about as a result of the falsification of information by this administration to the Congress of the United States and the people of the United States alleging that there was a connection between Iraq and Saddam Hussein to the attack of September 11, 2001, and subsequently alleging that Saddam Hussein had so-called weapons of mass destruction, chemical and biological weapons, and a nuclear weapons program, when all of the major intelligence given to the administration said that there was no evidence of so-called weapons of mass destruction.

And it was clear that there was no connection between Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden. If anything, the two were enemies, not united in any way. They are antagonists, and certainly, then, no connection between al Qaeda and Iraq. And the world saw the falsification of that information and they began to back away from us. And eventually so many people and so many countries around the world turned their backs on the United States because of the falsification of information by this administration and the perils that they saw our country engaged in in the Middle East, and to some extent here at home.

So we have a responsibility. And I think that that responsibility falls mainly on the Democratic Party. Because, as you pointed out in your re-

marks just a few minutes ago, we have here, in effect, a rubber stamp Congress, a monolithic government here in Washington, a Congress that has abandoned its responsibilities under the Constitution to ensure that the administration is behaving in a lawful way; to be certain that the administration is adhering to the provisions of our law and the provisions of our constitution.

In fact, we see clearly that this administration is violating the law and violating the Constitution, but the Republican majority in this House has done absolutely nothing about it. So the opportunity that you present here tonight by reserving this hour is an important one, and there are other people who will come and speak about this issue also in very important ways.

Everything we do has got to be focused on the illegality of these actions and the way in which they are to be corrected so that we can begin to re-ensure the security of the United States and begin to reestablish our position in the world of admiration and respect from other people around the world. We have a big job to do and we must engage ourselves in that job very pointedly and aggressively, and I thank you for reserving this time.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. I thank the gentleman from New York for his insightful comments. And, again, we all share with you and all New Yorkers, as well as people from the Pentagon and in the fields of Pennsylvania, Flight 93, a great sorrow at the loss of so many valiant Americans. And I want to commend you for your willingness to come to this floor and speak truth to power.

Someone who has done so on more than 170 occasions, from the same spot on this floor, is Lynn Woolsey. She has risen and called out and has spoken out against the war in Iraq, and so at this time I yield to the gentlewoman from California.

□ 1900

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank Mr. LARSON and Iraq Watch for what you have been doing to bring attention to the follies of what is going on in Iraq.

I will stay here and talk back and forth, but we have folks here who have been so important, MAXINE WATERS and DONALD PAYNE and I saw BILL DELAHUNT, who are all part of this, and we want everybody to have their say.

What I want to emphasize is that the people of this country, the people of this world know that this was a mistake. Our very own constituents are ahead of the Members of Congress that they have elected to serve them because they know we should leave Iraq. They tell us that.

What they don't know, however, is how to make it happen. Guess what, that is not their job. It is our job. It is our job to say, Mr. President, commander in chief, stop this war. Put together a plan and bring our troops home. You see, that is our job. It is

very clear to me when you lead, people will follow.

Just under 2 years ago I believe I was the first person to request of the President that he bring our troops home. My request had just under 20 signatures on a letter to him.

Then we had a hearing, informal hearing with Senator Max Cleland and generals and an Iraqi citizen. It was bipartisan and the room was full. We had a little bit of press, not much, but it was a good hearing. It was about why we are there and why we shouldn't be there.

Following that we had an amendment of mine that came to the House floor. Some folks asked me not to call for a vote on it because they thought it would be embarrassing to all of us. But 128 Members of this House, a bipartisan effort actually, voted to tell the President to put together a plan to bring our troops home and bring that plan to the appropriate committees in the House of Representatives.

Since then we have written a letter to the President that over 50 Members signed saying, Mr. President, bring our troops home. Do this in a multinational way with multilateral involvement. Work with the Iraqis on reconstruction in a nonmilitaristic stance, and work with them for reconciliation.

Then I introduced legislation that I talked about earlier tonight to repeal the President's Iraq war powers because that is one way to tell him enough is enough. This is not a war, this is an occupation.

We are going to have another hearing on September 26. This is the third forum, and it is on the cost, the human cost, the cost to our treasury and the cost to our reputation. I hope many Members will attend it. You see, that is what the people of this country are looking for and these are the people down on the floor with you that to the best of our ability are trying to provide, and that is leadership, leadership to catch up with them, the public, so we will indeed do the right thing and stop the death and destruction that is going on that we are causing because of our very presence over there.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. I thank the gentlewoman for her vigilance in this matter and in coming to the floor. To her point, as Thomas Friedman has pointed out, in Iraq with regard to the occupation and the United States' once-lofty goal that was envisioned in terms of creating democracy in Iraq, categorized us as no longer midwifing a democracy, but in essence baby-sitting an insurrection and a civil war.

So even people that were slow to come around to your point of view and the point of view held by many others have now been joined by no less than eight generals, as Mr. DELAHUNT points out time and time again on this floor.

But also if you go back to the very beginnings and the lead-up to this war, who were the most outspoken critics leading up to this war? In fact, it was

not MAXINE WATERS or BARBARA LEE or even LYNN WOOLSEY, it was Scowcroft, Eagleburger, and Baker because they understood as internationalists the problem that would be created in Iraq if we diverted resources from Afghanistan and didn't pursue the goal of capturing and bringing to justice Osama bin Laden, but instead got involved in a war of choice that was misguided and misdirected by an administration that was blind on two fronts. Blind to the sacrifice that would take place on behalf of our brave men and women, and also to the policies that they were pursuing and the ramifications of those policies both abroad and here at home.

Someone who understands that and has been an advocate of human rights for his entire career here in the United States Congress, someone who has traveled all over this globe and addressed the issue of human rights is the Congressman from New Jersey, DONALD PAYNE, and at this time I recognize him for his remarks.

Mr. PAYNE. Let me thank the gentleman from Connecticut for taking this special order and let me acknowledge your great leadership as a leader in the Democratic Caucus. Let me also commend BARBARA LEE and LYNN WOOLSEY for their leadership as co-chairs of the Progressive Caucus where they have continually talked about progressive issues in this country and, in particular, the question of Iraq; and to commend Congresswoman WOOLSEY for her record of maybe 100 days consecutively speaking out against the war, day in and day out.

Five years ago, on September 11, we had a tremendous amount of sympathy around the world. Everyone was with us. People throughout the world said this was a dastardly act. Seven hundred persons from my State perished. Flight 93 that left Newark Airport, including Ms. Wanda Green, a delightful African American woman, a flight attendant who traded with a friend who asked her if she could take her duty because of a conflict and she would switch and take Ms. Green's original duty which was not on 9/11. Ms. Green passed away on that infamous Flight 93. I met with her two children at the church in Linden where she lived. They are college-age students. Ms. Green was a divorcee and was the one taking care of the family.

So this is very personal with all of us. From my house as I moved out to the corner and looked over, the World Trade Centers were both visible, the twin towers were very visible. I could see them very clearly. So it is very personal to us, all Americans, but especially to those of us who were so constantly involved in that area.

When the President decided, though, to make Saddam Hussein a person that he felt should be dealt with and connected him to 9/11, it was actually criminal. Osama bin Laden, as we know, was in Afghanistan. We had a limited number of troops there. But just think of what position we would

have been in today if our troops were sent to Afghanistan in the numbers that we have sent to Iraq. By this time I am sure Osama bin Laden would be behind bars or not alive at all.

We could still have Iraq contained with the no-fly zone because they could not come in or go out. We had Predators watching. We knew where Saddam Hussein had lunch every day. It was bombed one day, but he left a few minutes early. They were going nowhere in Iraq.

Osama bin Laden, in fact, talked as badly about Saddam Hussein as he did about the United States' leaders. But what did we do? Hans Blitz and the inspectors were given full range of the country. And when that announcement was made by the Government of Iraq, President Bush said, Get out in 48 hours.

Why would you do that? They knew that they didn't have weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. The bluff was over. So Saddam Hussein decided to let them go anywhere because I don't have them. And, therefore, they will see that the bluff is over. No, the President ordered the strikes.

I will conclude because there are other Members here and I could go on and on and on. However, I was the one who controlled the 2-day debate where we debated giving the President the authority to having an attack on Iraq, a preemptive strike. I was convinced we should not choose war, we should choose diplomacy. Just think, Afghanistan would have been settled and we could have contained Saddam Hussein, but it was decided that we should go to war. Mission accomplished.

We are losing lives every day. It was wrong. We need to come up with a sane plan to conclude this civil war that is in Iraq and move on to making our country a safer place.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. I thank the gentleman from New Jersey, and I am reminded in the poignancy of his story, having traveled to the Middle East several times with Jack Murtha, of a discussion we were having with our ambassador to Saudi Arabia who, when I inquired of him that it seemed like there was a gathering storm in Saudi Arabia with more than 35 percent unemployment and median income amongst the people there dropping from \$28,000 to under \$7,000, he said to me: "Congressman, gathering storm?" He said, "You're from New England?"

I said, "That's right."

He said, "I assume you've either read the book or you saw the movie. What we have here is not a gathering storm, what we have here is a perfect storm; and if we attack this toothless tiger, whereas you point out we had no-fly zones over the north and south, we will unwittingly accomplish what Osama bin Laden failed to do. We will create a united Islamic jihad against the United States."

Someone who understands that more keenly than most is the gentlewoman from California who chairs the Out of

Iraq Caucus and has been equally vigilant in her efforts and leadership on that front.

I now recognize MAXINE WATERS.

Ms. WATERS. Thank you very much. I would like to thank the gentleman from Connecticut not only for his leadership in the caucus, but for his leadership on Iraq Watch. The work that you have been doing and that which you do tonight, bringing us here to the floor, to continue this discussion, to continue this debate and to focus on what is wrong with the leadership at the White House is extremely important work; and I thank you for it.

I am also pleased that we had so many Members come tonight. I am pleased that the members of the Out of Iraq Caucus, who have been for over a year and a half trying to make this a real priority in this Congress, I thank you all for this evening.

Let me just remind the Nation of these facts: As of today 2,671 soldiers are dead, American soldiers killed in Iraq; 20,113 injured in Iraq. The total cost of the war, more than \$318 billion. And it will cost approximately \$370 billion by the end of the year. The cost of the war per month at that rate is \$8.4 billion per month. The cost per week, \$1.9 billion. And every day we are spending \$275 million a day.

□ 1915

Now this war has been raging for more than 3 years. We know now, and even the President cannot even pretend that he does not know that Iraq and Saddam Hussein had nothing to do with the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The Iraq war has taken resources away from the finding and punishing of those responsible for the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

For example, the administration pulled Arabic speaking Special Forces teams who were hunting Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan and redeployed them to Iraq. Because resources have been diverted from Afghanistan, and the administration has been distracted by the Iraq war, Osama bin Laden is still free, and the Taliban has regrouped in Afghanistan.

Violence in Afghanistan is going on every day, and much of it certainly is attributed to the Taliban. This year more than 2,300 people have been killed in Afghanistan, including 151 who have been killed in suicide bombings; 276 U.S. servicemembers have been killed in Afghanistan, and nearly 1,000 more have been injured.

Let's talk about, for a minute, the growth of the poppy seed, the main ingredient of heroin is also growing. The U.N.'s Office on Drugs and Crimes say opium cultivation rose 59 percent this year to produce a record 6,100 tons of opium, more than 90 percent of the total world supply. The U.N. estimates that the revenue from this year's harvest will exceed \$3 billion.

In wrapping up, let me just say that last night on CNN they tracked from Afghanistan the heroin that went by way of Nigeria into the United States,

into Chicago and into my hometown of St. Louis, Missouri. They tracked it. At one time we thought that heroin was simply going into Europe. It wasn't coming into the United States.

But now we know it is, and to add insult to injury, Mr. Musharraf, the President of Pakistan, who is supposed to be our friend, who we are giving monetary support to, has wrapped his arms around the Taliban and created a contract and an agreement with them that if you don't attack us we won't bother you.

We are depending on Mr. Musharraf, knowing that not only has he entered into this contract, but he knows what's going on on that border between Pakistan and Afghanistan where they protect Osama bin Laden, where they protect al Qaeda, and now they are protecting the Taliban.

What are we in for here? The President of the United States has misled this country. We are in trouble, and he has placed this country at great risk. We are at greater risk now than before 9/11. It is time for the leadership of the Congress of the United States on both sides of the aisle to say enough is enough. I commend you for helping to develop us so we can get to the point where we can proudly all join hands together on both sides of the aisle and stop this misdirection of this President and this administration.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. I thank the gentlewoman, and I thank her also for factually pointing out what is happening, especially with regard to the heroin trade, and again how that only furthers and fosters the efforts of al Qaeda all around the globe.

Before I call on the gentleman from New York, MAJOR OWENS, who has served with distinction in this great body of ours and who represents the great City of New York, I want to point out that our next two speakers, both Mr. DELAHUNT from Massachusetts and Mr. INSLEE from Washington, are the founders of the Out of Iraq Caucus.

Mr. DELAHUNT, especially, having heard specifically, going back to his district, people often ask what led you to come to this floor and speak out against the war in Iraq? Well, it took place in small towns and communities where people were yearning for the truth and wanted to hear voices that because a majority rule here in a one-party Congress were notable to break through.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I thank my friend from Connecticut, and, just to set the record straight, it was others, of course, that founded the Out of Iraq Caucus. But Mr. INSLEE and I, many, many years ago, it appears, now, or at least it feels this way, came here with our colleagues, TED STRICKLAND from Ohio and NEIL ABERCROMBIE from Hawaii, and spoke about these issues.

I was just chatting with JAY INSLEE, and we were reflecting on where we were and what we have done, what we have accomplished. I think it can really be summed up by these posters,

these photos to my right. To my far left is the President on the aircraft carrier, and behind him that banner is "Mission Accomplished."

I would suggest this, that this administration, along with the Republican majority in this House, have achieved something that defies the imagination that no one would believe. It is truly remarkable.

I think that is best summed up when you examine the photo to my near left. For those who are unaware, this gentleman that I am pointing to now is the current Prime Minister of Iraq. His name is Maliki. In fact, he spoke in this very Chamber, to the American people, and to Members of Congress. He was given that honor. He came here just recently. He visited with that President. Less than a month later, where is the Prime Minister of Iraq? He is in Tehran.

One only has to recollect the words of President Bush, right here again in this Chamber, when he described Iran as one of the original members of the axis of evil club.

I would put forth that nothing, nothing that I am aware of, has changed in terms of the administration's position vis-a-vis Iran. Here we find the Prime Minister, reflect on that a moment, the Prime Minister of Iraq is clasping hands with the President of Iran.

What is particularly interesting is the agreements that have been reached between Iran and Iraq. These were two nations that fought an 8-year war. But what we have accomplished is to enhance the influence of Iran in the Middle East.

Take a look.

Mr. INSLEE. Well, you pointed out something that I just realized. President Bush, when he ran for office back in 2000, said he would be the great uniter. Many of us have been disappointed, in fact, that he has divided the country like no President in modern history. When we were united after September 11 with us and the whole world, he has now divided the country.

But I think finally he has united two ununitable, intractable foes, one, an axis of evil, Iran, who we are trying to defeat, in some way to prevent them from having nuclear weapons. He has united Iraq and made Iran a more fundamentalist Islamic government, a more powerful entity on the world stage, more powerful, as he describes them, axis of evil, and the President finally fulfilled his destiny of being the great uniter.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Exactly. The President of the United States has achieved a remarkable, an absolutely remarkable, accomplishment.

Mr. INSLEE. After this conference of Tehran between the axis of evil and the new government the President has created in Iraq, one of the leaders described the other leader as their, quote, good friend. I don't know if it was the President of Iran, the axis of evil describing the new government created by George Bush in Iraq or vice versa. Do you know which one it was?

Mr. DELAHUNT. I don't think it was "friend." It was not "friend," but it was even more intimate. I can't find the quote right now, even though this is a story that came out today where the Prime Minister of Iraq, after his meeting with President Ahmadinejad, he then goes and meets with the Supreme Iranian leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, and the terms that they use are brothers, brothers.

Now, I wonder, is this an effort to unify?

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. Is this the same Prime Minister that also has said that he will grant amnesty to those involved in the insurrection that are killing and mutilating American soldiers?

Mr. DELAHUNT. Again, I think he rethought that statement, because of the reaction, actually, from Democrats in this House. Because we were not going to tolerate it.

But, I will tell you, he is shaking hands with the President of Iran who described the Holocaust as a hoax. In other words, our ally, I am not quite sure we should describe them as an ally now, but the gentleman that is the Prime Minister of Iraq is shaking hands with the Holocaust denier, the President of Iran.

By the way, it wasn't just a handshake, because you know what else was done? Agreements were signed. Agreements were signed, border agreements and bilateral military cooperation agreements were signed.

Mr. INSLEE. I want to point out something, why this is such a diabolical development that the President has given to the world and the United States, and that is it is very simple. We have folks in harm's way today, we have lost 2,600 of our finest men and women in Iraq, and it is very clear that we are not going to get those people out unless the leadership of Iraq and the Shiite factions finally reach an agreement regarding oil revenues with the Sunnis and the Kurds in Iraq. This picture is a picture of the friendship of the Shiite-led fundamentalist Iranian government essentially signing up with the Shiite-led faction of the government in Iraq, and this President has refused to drop the hammer on the government of Iraq to tell them that they have to make a deal about oil revenues right now and refusing to continue to keep our troops there in harm's way unless they do.

Because it is clear that unless this President makes very clear to the Shiites and the Sunnis and the Kurds that if they don't reach an agreement about oil revenue, which they are arguing about today, and have been arguing about for 3 years, we could be there for 500 years and not solve the problem. This President has simply allowed them to shake hands and not put pressure on them, not drop the hammer on them. That is what he has got to do, and he hasn't done it.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Do you know what is happening in Iraq, according to military personnel? They are telling us, in

reports that appear in the media, that it is unraveling in Iraq. But the Prime Minister has time to go to Iran, and, actually now, Iran is giving the Prime Minister some advice.

□ 1930

What he is suggesting is, everything will be good, the region will be stabilized. Let's just get the Americans out. That is his answer.

After hundreds of billions of dollars and the loss of more than 2,600 American personnel, this is where we are at: Mission accomplished, Mr. President. Right. Mission accomplished by finally doing what you said you would do. But you missed the wrong country. It isn't this country that you are uniting. You are dividing this country and uniting Iran and Iraq in a situation that portends danger for American national security. That is what is happening, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. INSLEE. I think when we talk about the wrong country, it has been the wrong country in two different ways. First, the President has united Iran, part of the "axis of evil," with Iraq, rather than uniting America. He got the countries wrong in that regard.

But, more importantly, he got the countries wrong about which country is a nuclear threat to the United States of America. He invaded Iraq, when the nuclear threat to the United States of America is Iran. As a result of Mr. Bush's war, he has made the nuclear threat to the United States of America, Iran, more powerful by uniting it with Iraq, making Iran a more powerful figure in the Mideast by taking our eye off the ball, reducing our ability to build an international consensus to impose sanctions against Iran, because he invaded the wrong country.

Do you know what? I was so astounded that the Vice President of the United States made a statement last weekend that made me think there is some hallucinogen in the water that people are drinking in this administration when he said, and this is a paraphrase, it is not an exact quote, even if we knew that the weapons were in Iran, not in Iraq, that there was no relationship between Saddam Hussein and the attack on 9/11, that we were going to lose 2,600 troops dead and 15,000 injured, the destruction of our international coalition, even if I knew that all the things we told Americans were misstatements, were falsehoods, even with all of those falsehoods, I would have done just the same thing again.

That attitude, as long as that attitude prevails in this country, as long as we don't have a Congress to ride herd on those people in the White House, including the Vice President, our people are going to be in a dark, dark hole in Iraq. That is why we need a new Congress and a new government, to get a policy in Iraq, to get our people home.

Mr. DELAHUNT. With the end game being the forging of an alliance between Iran and Iraq, what we have done

is, the policies of this administration, without a single question being posed by this majority, we have created a hegemony in the Middle East, and that is the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Don't think that this photo is the last time we will see these gentlemen together. The current prime minister during the Saddam Hussein years spent considerable time in Tehran and in Syria. I am not even blaming him.

Where is the administration? Where is the House International Relations Committee, which I serve on with my friend and colleague from California, DIANE WATSON? Why isn't there hearing after hearing after hearing asking these questions?

Mr. INSLEE. It is not us asking where Congress has been challenging these failures by the administration, it is our constituents. I went for a walk last weekend, and I ran across an old friend whose son is serving in Iraq today, and he has just been moved to Baghdad because we have stripped our forces from Al Anbar Province where they are needed to put them in Baghdad, because we have never had enough troops there to get the job done, the President has never been willing to do it. The mother of their child is also serving in Iraq, so they are essentially raising this 1-year-old.

He asked me this question: Why isn't anyone in Congress insisting that the President get serious about telling the Iraqi Shiites to strike a deal about oil with the Sunnis so they can finally form a real government and our troops can come home? Why isn't there anybody in Congress asking that question?

I said, Hal, I am happy to ask that question. He said, go do it. Be vocal about this. Make sure the administration gets their feet held to the fire, for my son and everybody else serving in Iraq.

So we are doing this tonight. But, frankly, we need a new majority in this House to do it with hearings. That is what we really need.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, as Mr. DELAHUNT so eloquently pointed out, and has time and again, the Iraq Watch, which you four Members initiated along with Mr. ABERCROMBIE and Mr. KUCINICH, has done a great job for the Nation.

People often ask, why do you come down and speak in what is an empty Chamber? And my response is, out of love of country. It is for love of country that you get to ask the unwelcome questions to this administration. But in a one-party town where the administration controls every agency and both Houses of Congress, we can't penetrate through, except for all of those meetings that are taking place in town halls and at forums and now on the blogs, that people all across this country get it.

Someone who has gotten it throughout his entire career and someone who has served his Nation out of love of country and a great city is MAJOR OWENS. I would like to recognize him at this time.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, I just want to associate myself with the remarks that I have heard made by my colleagues, and I particularly think that the point relating to the oil needs to be stressed more.

The American people are way out there ahead of us. We must run to catch up with them and provide greater leadership. We must focus in more on the problem of oil.

What is the problem with the negotiations on oil? Why can't we take a position that the distribution of oil should be guaranteed on a per capita basis of oil throughout Iraq, so the Iraqi citizens get the oil on the basis of where they live?

Also, understand, I don't know why we are so surprised, but there are two major religions in conflict there, Sunni and Shiite. They have always been in conflict. We have handed over that region to the Shiites, and it is inevitable that Iran will dominate that region. It is inevitable now that Iran will become a dominant force in the whole Middle East. We have done that. We blundered.

We should still take JOHN MURTHA's advice and get out, redeploy to the friendly nations, whatever we have to do, but we should not be stuck with more lives lost and more of our taxpayer money down the drain.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. I thank the gentleman from New York.

For the final word, our former senator and ambassador and now great Congresswoman from the City of Los Angeles, DIANE WATSON.

Ms. WATSON. Very quickly, I want to thank you, Mr. LARSON, for having us come to herald the fact that we are indulging in an unwinnable battle, because the war against terrorism is a war against an ideology, and the only way you are going to change an ideology is to change people's hearts and minds. You will never do that at the end of a barrel.

Thank you so much for gathering us.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. I thank the gentlewoman from California, and my distinguished colleagues from Massachusetts and Washington State.

THE REPUBLICAN VISION FOR THE NEXT CENTURY

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MCHENRY). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 2005, the gentleman from Kansas (Mr. TIAHRT) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. TIAHRT. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to be here tonight. We have some good discussions planned.

I am joined by the gentleman from California, Mr. DOOLITTLE. We want to take this opportunity to show some of the contrasts that are going on as far as the debates are concerned here on the floor of the House and across the Nation.

We have had some great opportunities for us to get together as Republicans and talk about our plans for the