

many legitimate grievances against the Indian government, terrorism is never acceptable. Nevertheless, the Deccan Chronicle, an Indian newspaper, reported something very interesting about the recent attack. It reported that the Indian government knew about the attack in advance and did nothing. Thirteen people, including the terrorists, lost their lives as a result of the attack.

Mr. Speaker, India has a history of supporting terrorism and making it look like the work of others in order to condemn people who oppose the actions of the Indian government and to justify their own attacks on these targets. According to *Soft Target*, published in 1989 by two Canadian journalists, the Indian government blew up its own airliner in 1985, killing 329 innocent people, including some Americans, to create the impression of "Sikh terrorism" and enhance its repression of the Sikhs. In November 1994, the *Hitavada* newspaper reported that the Indian government paid Surendra Nath, who was then the governor of Punjab, the equivalent of \$1.5 billion to generate and support terrorist activity in Kashmir and Punjab, Khalistan.

While I appreciate recent words of support from the Indian Government regarding America's war against terrorism, it is important that we do not forget some recent actions by the very same government. For example, in May 1999, the *Indian Express* reported that the Indian Defense Minister convened a meeting with the Ambassadors from Cuba, Communist China, Russia, Serbia, Libya, and Iraq—the latter two known terrorist nations and potential targets in the ongoing effort to eradicate terror—to set up a security alliance "to stop the U.S."

It is also important to re-examine India's own human rights record in a number of areas. It has been reported that India represses its Christian minority. Specifically, it has been reported that nuns have been raped, priests have been murdered, and a missionary and his two sons were burned to death. The media reports that numerous churches have been burned. A few years ago, police gunfire closed a Christian religious festival. In addition, the pro-Fascist RSS, the parent organization of the ruling party, published a booklet detailing how to bring false criminal complaints against Christians and other minorities. Press reports indicate that Prime Minister Vajpayee promised a New York audience that he would "always be" remain a member this organization.

Since 1984, certain human rights organizations have reported that the Indian government has murdered over 250,000 Sikhs. Since 1947, over 200,000 Christians have been killed, and since 1988, over 75,000 Kashmiri Muslims have been killed. In addition, tens of thousands of other minorities, such as Dalit "untouchables," Tamils, Assamese, Manipuris, and others have been killed.

A May report issued by the Movement Against State Repression cited the Indian government's admission that 52,268 Sikh political prisoners are rotting in Indian jails without charge or trial. It further claims that many have been in illegal custody since 1984. Tens of thousands of other minorities are also being held as political prisoners in the country that proudly proclaims itself "the world's largest democracy."

Also in May, Indian troops set fire to Gurdwara (a Sikh temple) and some Sikh homes in a village in Kashmir. Two independent investigations have shown that the Indian government carried out the massacre of 35 Sikhs in Chithisinghpura. These incidents are just the tip of the iceberg of Indian terror against its minorities and its neighbors.

Again, while I am grateful for recent words of support from the Indian Government regarding America's war against terrorists, the U.S. Government and the American public should not forget about these recent acts of repression. Democracies are not supposed to behave this way. If we are going to fight terrorism, then we must be consistent. There are actions we can take that will help influence India to end its reign of terror in South Asia. We must end our aid to India until they demonstrate a better regard on human rights. The hard-earned dollars of the American people should not be going to support countries that practice terrorism. We should also show our support for freedom rather than terrorism by supporting a free and fair plebiscite on the question of independence in Khalistan, Kashmir, Nagalim, and all the nations of South Asia that seek freedom from repressive occupation. Let us strike a blow for freedom, not terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to place the Deccan Chronicle article into the RECORD.

[From the Deccan Chronicle, Dec. 14, 2001]

DELHI KNEW BUT ADVANI SLEPT

NEW DELHI, Dec. 13. Union Home Minister L K Advani had full intelligence information of a terrorist attack on Parliament.

Despite this, no measures were taken to tighten security in and around the Parliament House with the five terrorists driving in past two security parameters manner by the Delhi police and the CRPF, unchallenged.

In his first reaction to the terrorist attack, Advani claimed, "There has been no breach of security." He said there was "no intelligence lapse". He said on television that there could be no protection against fidayeen attacks maintaining that they even "had the temerity to attack Pentagon." The Home Minister said it was not possible to provide fool-proof security cover in a democracy "where everything was open." The Union Home Ministry has been flooded with intelligence information about a possible attack on Parliament by terrorists. The other two targets were identified as Rashtrapati Bhavan and the Prime Minister's residence.

Intelligence reports have also suggested the use of women suicide squads. These have also spoken of terrorists using State vehicles to launch the attack, similar to the modus operandi of the terrorist groups in Kashmir for over a decade now.

Despite this, the security agencies were not alerted. The terrorists used a white ambassador car with a red light, the symbol of government officialdom.

They were dressed Black Cat commandos, and were detected only after they got out of the car and displayed their weapons in full public view. Advani, who had been full of praise for the Delhi police, did not explain how the two security rings manned by the police outside Parliament were penetrated with such ease.

In fact defence minister George Fernandes stepped out of line by admitting before the cameras that the government had full information about a possible terrorist attack on Parliament.

He said, "We had intelligence information of this, we knew that the fidayeen could attack Parliament." Even so, the home minister claimed there had been no intelligence lapse while briefing reporters after the meeting of the Cabinet committee on security.

Najma Heptullah, who was in her room in Parliament when it was attacked, said, "The Home Minister knew of the Al Qaeda threat, he should have increased the security in Parliament."

She said she had herself asked for measures to be taken to beef up Parliament security. "There are all these people roaming around all over the building" but nothing had been done.

Interestingly Advani himself spoke of a threat to Parliament at a Border Security Force function a few days ago. Officials point out that despite the security threat little was done to take stock of the entire situation and work out a comprehensive strategy to deal with it.

"It was all in the realm of talk, we have always known that the terrorists have been using and would use the cover of the government-like vehicles and uniforms to penetrate our security layers, but obviously we were unable to get this across to our people," a senior official said.

"THE MOMENT" BY BEN STROK

HON. BOB BARR

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 19, 2001

Mr. BARR of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, a 20 year-old student at Hunter College in Manhattan, Ben Strok wrote this poem reflecting on the September 11th terrorist attacks. It was recently read at one of my town hall meetings in Holly Springs, Georgia, by my constituent, Becky Babcock. As we enter this holiday season, let us remember how invaluable life is and make the most of each and every moment.

THE MOMENT
(By Ben Strok)

The smoke rises,
and the ashes fall
on someone you know.
Someone you have not recently told
how dear they are to you.
Your last chance,
may have been a minute ago.
Your last chance,
might be one minute from now.
One precious minute,
one precious moment.
What does that moment mean to you?
I'll tell you what it means to me.
That moment,
this moment,
right now,
is all that matters.
What good is the moment
if it is not lived for?
What is life,
if it is not being relished
for all that it is?
It is not life,
it is a wasted moment
you will never recapture.
It is an emotion,
you will never again
have the opportunity to express.
It is a person
you will never again

be able to see,
and hold,
and tell them
how much you love them.
It is time,
made up of endless moments,
the only differentiating factor being
how you lived
from one to the next.

IMMIGRANTS AND THE NATIONAL INSECURITY

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 19, 2001

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to bring the Congress's attention to a recent article in the *Carib News* entitled "Immigrants and the National Insecurity" by Dr. Basil Wilson. His opinion editorial cogently details our Nation's current struggle with ensuring our personal security while continuing to uphold the founding principles of this country. The article highlights some of our past reactions to times of strife and their dramatic impact on our immigrant community. Most notably, the passage of the 1996 Anti-Terrorist Act and the 1996 Immigration and Responsibilities Act, spurred in part by the World Trade Center attack in 1993 and the Oklahoma City federal building bombing in 1995, have conveyed the anti-immigrant sentiment in the United States and have sought to reduce the rights and benefits available to immigrants.

Since 1996, many of us have worked to undo the damage done to this community. But our overreaction to September 11th's attack stand to prevent us from advancing our efforts. As Americans we pride ourselves in our historical knowledge in looking at the past and learning from our successes and failures. Immediately following the attacks we strove to respond in an unconventional manner, both here and abroad. Yet, just four months later, we sit by and allow the Attorney General to indefinitely detain aliens, the use of military tribunals to try those suspected of terrorism, and interviews by law enforcement agencies based on ethnic and religious identities. The echoes of Japanese internment camps and McCarthyism are ringing in the halls of Congress and I know I am not the only one who hears them.

Dr. Wilson cautions, "in a global society, there is a danger that America will project to the world that it only values the life of its own citizens. The constitution and life will be preserved for Americans but different standards will be used to measure those who are not citizens of Rome."

More critically than the projection to the world, we will tell our fellow countrymen and teach our children that the immigrant life should be valued less than the citizen's life that the immigrants who have been the building blocks of our pluralistic society generation after generation should stay at the bottom. Dr. Wilson warns that this treatment is a "slippery slope that can readily lead to the dehumanization of others." More than "can lead", it does lead, perpetuating an environment of inequality.

If we sacrifice the constitutional liberties that we are asking our armed services to defend,

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

then I ask what are we fighting for? Each time we give up one of our precious freedoms, we open the door to surrender more.

It does not matter if we give up these rights for our citizens versus our immigrants because one day these immigrants will be citizens. They will not forget that from the inception they were told they were less than the people their children will attend school with.

Our enemy is not the immigrant. Do we honestly believe that if we harshly punish the immigrant community we are now secure, that we are now safe?

By condoning a society that devalues the immigrants' contributions and vital role in our community, we degrade ourselves and our history and we condone the inequity that is present in the United States and in the world. If there is one history lesson we should all remember it is our treatment of the most vulnerable of our citizens that defines our national character. We are only as strong as our weakest link and if we truly want a country where all are equal and prosper, we must empower each part of it to succeed.

IMMIGRANTS AND THE NATIONAL INSECURITY

[*Carib News*, Week Ending Dec. 11, 2001]

(By Dr. Basil Wilson)

The planning and executing of the bombing of the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., and the implosion of the twin towers led us to believe that the United States was confronted with a formidable foe. The henchmen of Osama bin Laden had demonstrated their zealotry in 1993 in the initial attempt to take down the symbol of world capitalism. They struck again in Saudi Arabia, in Yemen, in Tanzania and Kenya before the devastating blow on the mainland of the United States.

Al Qaeda had managed to pull together jihad warriors from Muslim countries in Bosnia, Algeria, Egypt and Pakistan. This fierce band of warriors with the capacity to kill civilians along with the Taliban in Afghanistan have manifested to the world an incapacity to fight against the United States military. The Al Qaeda and Taliban warriors have shown an inability to wage modern warfare.

That prompts the question, what is left of the Al Qaeda international network? As bin Laden forces disintegrate in Afghanistan, does Al Qaeda remain a formidable terrorist network capable of threatening American national security? The extra-constitutional measures that Attorney General Ashcroft claims that is necessary to save American lives is based on the assumption that the remnants of bin Laden are still capable of additional savagery.

The 1993 attack on the World Trade Center and the destruction of the Federal building in Oklahoma in 1995, prompted the Clinton Administration and Congress to pass the 1996 Anti-Terrorist Act. That Act and the Immigration and Responsibilities Act reduced measurably the rights of permanent residents and foreigners living in the United States. Even the Acts passed since September 11, 2001 respects the constitutional rights of citizens but run roughshod over those who are domiciled in the United States and are not citizens. The Patriot Act is similar to the Walter/McCarran Act passed in 1952. Then the fear was communist organizations and the law allowed the Immigration and Naturalization Service to bar those who sought to enter the United States who were members of communist or organizations sympathetic to communism.

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With the Patriot Act, the attempt is to interdict or deport non-citizens who are members of a terrorist organization or who seek to raise or to give funds to any terrorist organization. The Attorney General does not need to bring the defendants to trial and the non-citizen can be immediately deported.

The Attorney General has now assumed powers to indefinitely detain aliens. This amounts to a suspension of habeas corpus and the Attorney General now has the power to supersede the rights of INS judges to release a detainee providing that detainee is suspected to be linked to terrorist activity. No evidence has to be presented in court. Such powers exercised by the state are troubling to constitutional scholars. The rationale given is national security but there are no checks or balances to ensure that the rights of the defendants are duly protected.

Officials at the Justice Department are insisting that the investigation must cast an extensive net. Thus far the Attorney General has indicated after prodding from Congress that 93 persons have been charged with minor visa or criminal violations unconnected to events of September 11, 2001. The files of 11 have been sealed and 22 Middle Eastern men who were engaged in obtaining licenses to transport hazardous materials across state lines, all but one, have been released. Approximately 548 are in custody, mostly comprised of Middle Eastern males.

To extend the dragnet, the Justice Department is asking state and city policy to cooperate with them to interview 5,000 Middle Eastern men between the ages of 18 and 33 who entered the United States from January 2000. They are not necessarily suspected of any crime but the Justice Department wants to conduct voluntary interviews with the expectation it might produce leads to determine the state of the Al Qaeda network in the United States.

This amounts to a vulgar form of racial profiling. Racial profiling as it was aimed at African Americans on the New Jersey Turnpike or the unconstitutional search and seizures conducted in Black and Latino neighborhoods in New York City are examples of the might of state power being used against the powerless to maximize domestic security. Events of September 11, 2001 necessitate additional vigilance on the part of law enforcement but it is dangerous to pass legislation oblivious to the rights of non-citizens since such legislation jeopardizes the rights of all American citizens.

President Bush announced on November 13, in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces that the government would reserve the right of trying foreigners during the course of the war in military tribunals. Military tribunals were used during the American Civil War and in World War II. Military tribunals do not require the preponderance of evidence necessary for conviction in a civilian court or in military courts used for court martial cases. Conviction in the Military Tribunal would not require the same rules of evidence and a two-thirds vote of the commissioners could lead to a conviction even in the case of a death penalty.

As the New York Times editorial on Sunday, December 2, 2001 stated, it is very difficult to criticize a President when the nation is at war but the editorial board felt compelled to speak out against the extensive extra-judicial powers assumed by the Bush administration. A conservative columnist like William Safire, who writes for the New York Times has condemned the Military Tribunals as kangaroo courts. Safire is mindful of the spectacle of a bin Laden trial and the