

and others that are unnamed, this kind of money.

Mr. RYAN of Ohio. Like you said, what is our benefit? We get to fund our deficit and that is about it. We do not go belly up. But what is our benefit? We do not have more money to invest in education as Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ pointed out. We do not have more money to invest for our veterans. This is money that is going to pay the interest on the money that we are borrowing.

Mr. MEEK of Florida. Mr. RYAN, you go back and you say, well, the majority side says, well, we are doing fine. We want to cut the deficit in half. Do not worry. Let us do it. Trust us.

Well, "trust us" has gotten us to this point and this has to stop, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. RYAN of Ohio. Let me say real quick, trust us, this is the debt limit increases just since 2002. Since President Bush, Republican House, Republican Senate, \$3 trillion in new borrowing from the Republican Congress. This is third party validator. This is fact.

The Truth Squad can come out and check the facts and maybe help us find a positive way to talk about it. June 2, 2002, the Republicans raised the debt limit by \$450 billion. May of 2003, \$984 billion. November of 2004, \$800 billion.

Now, the next increase is going to be for \$781 billion more. \$3 trillion since President Bush and the Republican House and the Republican Senate have been in charge of this operation here. And we just keep going and borrowing and borrowing from the Japanese, the Chinese, the OPEC countries. And at the end it is mortgaging the future of this country.

Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ. When I began the hour I talked about imitation being the sincerest form of flattery so it is interesting to see that they have now engaged in a little dialogue here.

This whole conversation has really been a reflection of the culture of corruption and cronyism and incompetence. Whether it is the debt that foreign countries owe, whether it is the \$8 trillion deficit that we have, whether it is the pitiful and disgusting response to Hurricane Katrina or this port deal that is deeply disturbing and that brought up no national security implications for this President or this administration.

Before we close it out, Mr. RYAN, Mr. MEEK, I do want to urge people to go on the Washingtonpost.com website and see the video that has just been released of President Bush being warned about the dangers of Hurricane Katrina before the hurricane hit and him not asking a single question; him being warned about the levee breaks, warned about the people in the Superdome. There is video. Washingtonpost.com.

We want to thank the Democratic Leader NANCY PELOSI for the oppor-

tunity to be here and to spend time with the American people. I know Mr. RYAN will detail how people can reach us, if they have comments, on our website.

Mr. RYAN of Ohio. I would like to thank Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ. It is good to have you back.

Mr. MEEK, congratulations again for being elected to chair of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation. You are such a young member. Congratulations for getting that reward from your peers.

www.HouseDemocrats.gov/ 30Something. All of the charts that the Members saw tonight can be accessed off this website. The third party validators. This is not KENDRICK MEEK and DEBBIE WASSERMAN SCHULTZ and TIM RYAN making this stuff up. These are facts. And hopefully these facts will lead to us recognizing that we are not doing everything we can and hopefully we can get the country going back in the right direction.

MAKING IN ORDER AT ANY TIME CONSIDERATION OF S. 1777, KATRINA EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE ACT OF 2006

Mr. SOUDER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it be in order at any time to consider in the House Senate bill (S. 1777) to provide relief for the victims of Hurricane Katrina; that the bill be considered as read; that the amendment that I have placed at the desk be considered as adopted; and that the previous question be considered as ordered on the bill, as amended, to final passage without intervening motion except 1 hour debate equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure and one motion to recommend which may not contain instructions.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DENT). The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by Mr. SOUDER.

S. 1777

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Katrina Emergency Assistance Act of 2006".

SEC. 2. EXTENSION OF UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE.

Notwithstanding any other provision of law, in the case of an individual eligible to receive unemployment assistance under section 410(a) of the Robert T. Stafford Disaster Relief and Emergency Assistance Act (42 U.S.C. 5177(a)) as a result of a disaster declaration made for Hurricane Katrina or Hurricane Rita on or after August 29, 2005, the President shall make such assistance available for 39 weeks after the date of the disaster declaration.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

COLOMBIA

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

Mr. SOUDER. Mr. Speaker, I sat here and listened to the last special order. It was the longest extensions of remarks devoted to how to increase taxes in America that I have heard.

It is one thing for the other party to criticize us in spending and then vote against every attempt to control the budget. They can criticize us simultaneously as they did in the last hour for not spending enough in education and then not controlling the budget. There was such inconsistency. We are clearly in the season of partisanship, but the harshness and tone and the misrepresentation has been very uncomfortable. And I hope that as we go through this year we can have reasonable debate over very, very difficult questions on international trade, on how we manage our deficit, on how we manage our tax code, on how we manage our spending without the tremendously aggressive tone of partisanship that is increasingly happening in America.

I want to talk about a subject that will hopefully be relatively bipartisan as we move through. It certainly has been in part. And there is a broader issue that has come up, and that is related to the issue of Colombia.

Colombia, most of us think of, if I ask you what do you think of, probably the first thing you think of historically would be coffee. Colombian coffee. Juan Valdez and Colombian coffee. I know in Indiana and at least me from Indiana and many other people would think Colombia is spelled like the District of Columbia. But it is not. If you think it is not, just listen to the accent when they go "Colombian coffee." It is C-O-L-O-M-B-I-A.

Colombian coffee and Juan Valdez were established images in the United States until about the eighties when the number one thing Americans started to think about with Colombia was cocaine.

□ 2015

Almost all, 90-some percent, of the cocaine that comes in the United States and all around the world comes from Colombia. Almost all of our heroin and a high percentage of heroin around the world comes from Colombia. Now Afghanistan has kind of dominated the world on heroin, but in the United States while Asian heroin and Afghan heroin is coming into the west coast, most of the rest of the country has either Colombian heroin or some variation of Mexican heroin.

So now when many people think of Colombia, if I say, oh, I am going to Colombia, people go, well, do not get shot. They do not think do not drink too much coffee. They think do not get shot, and that is partly because of the book by Tom Clancy and then the movie, "Clear and Present Danger," which talked about kind of the height of the Medellin cartel. Then the book, "Killing Pablo," which then was followed up with a movie about Pablo Escobar running the Medellin cartel, and the visions of Colombia from those movies and books have really driven the definition of Colombia.

What I want to do a little bit tonight to lay this out is to tell you a little bit about the history of Colombia; then how, in fact, the drugs because of the American drug habit and the European drug habit, it is not domestic consumption of cocaine and heroin that drove the problems and the violence in Colombia. It was U.S. and European drug addictions that drove Colombia to the situation where they are today.

Then what we have been doing in Congress, starting under the Clinton administration, moving to the Bush administration, with Plan Colombia and the Andean Initiative and some of the impacts of that, and then finishing up with some of the hope of Colombia, which on Monday President Bush and President Uribe of Colombia signed the Colombian Free Trade Agreement and what that would mean both for us and for Colombia and for the Central American region.

So let me first start with this map; and the number one thing that becomes apparent from the map, which I like a lot in this map, is you can tell that it is a geographically diverse country, that it is the start of the Andean mountains. Venezuela is over to the right. Lake Maracaibo, the number one oil region in all of the Americas and possibly in the world, the richest oil well is over there, the big lake, just south of the mountains. The mountain up at the top, I believe, is around 12 to 14,000 feet. Then you come into these kind of lower Andes where you get down to 14,000 feet here and about 8,000 to 10,000 feet in the middle.

If you continue on down, actually the Andes do not go as much directly through Ecuador, but jump over to Peru and down through Chile. Then you get down to the huge Andes, where they are 23,000 feet, and Machu Picchu is in Peru, and then runs down through Colombia down in this range. The equator obviously moves here, roughly through Ecuador, but this whole area is the basic center of the world where the equator is working through.

So all this side to the east is jungle, and you can see these big rivers down here, Putumayo coming through along the border between Colombia and Ecuador, all feed into the Amazon basin. Brazil is over here to the right, and all

this area drains into the Amazon River, and then the Amazon River comes out and pours out to the north of Brazil.

In this pattern, first off you see Colombia really has basically three parts. It has a coastal region, and it is, I believe, the only country in South America with both a Caribbean side up there and an eastern Pacific side here. So about half of Colombia is a little more on the Pacific and a little, about half, is on the Caribbean. So it is on both oceans, the Atlantic and the Pacific. Then you have the mountainous region, and then you have this huge jungle.

Now, in understanding the history of Colombia, by looking at the map you start to understand and can more understand the economics of Colombia, the democratic traditions of Colombia and the problem that we have with narcotics in Colombia and how we have been addressing the problems. But if you do not understand the geography, you cannot understand the history very well and the economics and the politics.

First off, there are 1,098 municipalities. Many of these municipalities are very, very small. Most of them are in the mountains. Bogota, here is 7 million people in Bogota. Medellin, which is up a little higher in the mountains, is 2 million people. Cali, which is down over here in the mountains closer to the eastern Pacific, is about 2 million people. Cartagena, which is up kind of in between the edge of Panama and the larger mountain to the top, is about 1 million people. Santa Marta, up towards the big mountain, is about half a million people.

What you see is the bulk of the people are actually in the mountains, but there are small municipalities scattered all through the mountains. Then there are some out here in the Amazon; but the Amazon basin, this whole green area over there, is basically uninhabited except for a very small native population. There are no roads to connect it. There are no airstrips other than the occasional coca producer plain, that it is basically undeveloped. There are a few cities, Barraquilla up towards the mountain between Cartagena and Santa Marta is another 2 million in the city; but other than Barraquilla and Cartagena on the coast, that coast is more developed. This coast has no big cities on it, and most of the people are in the mountains.

So most of the democracy, the histories, the traditions in Colombia are in the mountains, not in the Amazon basin or along the coast.

Well, how did that happen and why did it happen? Partly because they have great temperatures. In Bogota now, it is basically 70 to 72 degrees during the day, and it is about 40 to 50 at night. If you go another time of the year, it is in the 70s during the day and

about 40 to 50 at night. In other words, it is fairly stable because Bogota is up at 5,000 to 6,000 feet. So are the other cities. So one thing you had was stable weather.

A second thing which is important to understand, and I should have said this earlier, is that Colombia is the oldest democracy in South America, 200 years. You get this impression sometimes from the news media and other people that all of South and Central America, where all these military dictatorships that do not have a tradition, that Colombia just fights all the time, that they have these revolutions all the time. No, they do not. They have had periods of violence and different things. They had one military general dictatorship for 4 years in the 1950s. That is it. It has been a functioning democracy.

We did not have the most stable government during our Civil War either. Abraham Lincoln held it together the best he could; but we were fighting with each other, and we had a period of civil war, too. In other words, the period of civil war, true, where you had a military governance and a period of civil war was basically the same as the United States.

So Americans who point the finger and say Colombia is a violent country, it is not true. They are an old democracy, an old democracy. Basically, why was Bogota with 7 million people and Medellin with a couple of million people and Cali with a couple of million people, why are they in the mountains? Because to move 100 kilometers, which would be 60 miles, can take you up to 4 hours, 25 kilometers an hour, because you have these roads moving between these cities. Now, if you have a decent road, you can get all the way up to 25 miles an hour. It takes a long time to move between the cities.

So why are they there? Well, because probably more Americans have been to, I think it is safe to say, Hawaii than Colombia. If you go to the Big Island in Hawaii, where are you going to find the coffee? The coffee in Central America, Hawaii, and South America is at elevations between usually 3,000 to 6,000 feet. If you go south of Kahlua-Kona and the famous Kona coffee region in Hawaii, you are going to see the same pattern that you see in Guatemala, in Ecuador, in Colombia and elsewhere, that is, somewhere around mid-afternoon some rain comes in. There is some cloud cover. You are high enough up in the mountains that you get rain and you get steady rain. At the same time, you do not get so much that it drowns your crops. You have the drying out in the elevation, and it gives you a mix.

So you tend to see coffee at 3,000 to 6,000 elevation and with good soil. Colombia's coffee region is in this zone in here where the people are because, for many years, it was Colombian coffee

that was their key ingredient that kept their economy going. Ironically, because coffee plantations are relatively small, as you see if you go to Hawaii and other places, it has not been a business that really thrives on huge conglomerate farms. Because you have that mid-size farm, you see this tradition of more, it is not as much of the middle class as the United States, but unlike other countries, where you see, say, bananas dominate or other products completely dominate like oil, like Venezuela, you do not have just a few rich people controlling 90 percent of the wealth. You have more of a middle class, thanks to the historic part of coffee.

But guess what else you have in those mountains: you have gold in those hills. Interestingly, you also have not too far from Bogota almost all the emerald mines in the world. So interestingly, let me give you a little side point that is lost and is very wrapped up in our immigration debate in the United States.

The number one source of income in pretty much every country, in Central America certainly, and even increasingly in South America, is expatriated income. What does that mean? It means that for all the complaining about the wage rates in the United States that the Mexicans who come in the United States, the Guatemalans, the Salvadorans, the Hondurans, Ecuadorans send somewhere between 25 and 50 percent of their wages back to their home country. It started in the smaller countries that that income became greater than any crop they produced; but even Mexico, until the recent rise in oil prices, the expatriated income going back to Mexico was greater than even their oil revenues because their number one business that they export anymore are immigrants who send part of their income back to their country.

Colombia, when I was there last week from Fort Wayne, Indiana, my hometown, we have regional connections. We are a regional airport, but not a hub airport. So everywhere we go, every week when I go back and forth, I live in Fort Wayne and my family is in Fort Wayne, when I go back and forth, I have to take a plane to Detroit or to Cincinnati or to Cleveland or to Chicago or to somewhere to get to Washington. But I could take a plane to Atlanta. I had about an hour and a half in Atlanta and then a plane straight from Atlanta to Bogota.

Bottom line is, I could go from Fort Wayne, Indiana, to Bogota in about net, from the time I got to the Fort Wayne airport with that layover to Bogota, about 9 hours. To come from Fort Wayne to Washington, DC, takes me four to five, and I had the same number of plane switches. Now, with that type of access into Miami from Cartagena, you are talking like an hour and a half flight. It is just a basic short hop over.

Now that said, we have between 600,000 and 800,000 Colombian immigrants in the United States. They tend to be, based on studies, the highest educated group of immigrants from anywhere we have for a variety of reasons, but the bottom line is that expatriated income to Colombia is about \$3 billion. It is 3 percent of their national income.

Now, what sent me into that discussion was gold and emeralds and jewelry are 5.7 percent of their gross national product. Meaning that in gold and emeralds alone, forget coffee which is a huge percent, that they have more of an internal economy than almost anybody in all of Central and South America.

Now, when you look at that, the mix of what they have in their economy, it is not just about gold and emeralds. I know many people, like me, are fascinated with gold and emeralds, and many people are fascinated with coffee; but few people know that the same areas that were doing the coffee and where the gold and emeralds are, when you look at why is so much of the population in Bogota and Medellin and Cali, you have to look at flowers.

Sixty-seven percent of cut flowers in the United States come from Colombia. The flight connections that I just talked about not only work for people; it goes even faster for freight, because the freight companies can do a direct flight into the different regional places and then distribute it. Think about that. If you buy cut flowers, the four big seasons are, I find this interesting, Mother's Day is the biggest, not Valentine's Day. It says something still for our values in the United States. Mother's Day is number one. Valentine's Day is number two. Then I cannot remember whether Christmas or Thanksgiving.

The four big periods that they basically put the stuff in all these huge kind of, for lack of a better word, greenhouses on steroids, just huge floral operations are located near the different airports because the key thing is how to move these flowers into the United States in basically 24 hours so they can get into the huge chains, the Wal-Marts, the Meyers'es, the Safeways, the Targets, the huge grocery operation wholesalers where most flowers are sold.

□ 2030

We are not talking about what you might get from your local greenhouse; we are talking about the huge operations where flowers are sold. The only real rival is Ecuador on roses. Colombia dominates 67 percent of the American market. Guatemala, I think, has some orchids. So you may find certain specialty flowers in some areas, but Colombia is basically where all our flowers come from. And flowers constitute nearly twice as much as expatriated income.

In other words, now we have got coffee, we have got gold and emeralds and jewelry, and we have flowers. But there is also apparel. Medellin, in particular, is known as an apparel center. So you have another sector of the economy, apparel, that is around 5 percent.

Now, the reason I am raising this is when I get into the drug question, part of the reason we think of, well, these countries, like Afghanistan, I would guess, it is safe to say right now that about 70 to 80 percent of their working economy is related to heroin.

But Colombia isn't dependent on coca; coca is a small percentage. They have businesses in Colombia. They had successful markets in Colombia. America's drug addiction hurt their business. It wasn't that they needed to have a product to sell.

When you go to Bolivia, which had tin, and now President Alva Morales, who came out of the coca growers, because it was very hard to do substitution of other things because coca had been such a critical thing to the Cuchabama area, where President Morales was from, and it was done by a lot of the native peoples. And it is a very difficult question for he and others to handle in a country like Bolivia. But in Colombia they had a different country that was corrupted by America's and Europe's drug habits.

Now, I mentioned apparel, flowers, coffee, gold and jewelry, and others. But guess what their two biggest things are? One is oil. Oil constitutes 26 percent of their exports. There are two big operators and then a smaller EcoPetrol is the Colombian company that is a partner; and basically Colombia owns the ground and the resources. The operating companies are two, B.P. and Occidental.

Occidental is in this range up in there. Now, the question comes, how do you get the oil from there, which is part of this gigantic field that is coming down from Venezuela, to the coast, because you have to go through the mountains? Now, in that challenge, because unlike the traditional things they had, the oil is scattered up there and down here, the second biggest category besides oil is coal. And coal is in this region right here. Neither of those things are in places where they have very many people.

Now, I want to do one other transition, but I want to illustrate that the biggest categories are energy and their biggest country that uses those imports is the United States. Colombia at one point was our eighth largest oil supplier. According to the President's energy plan, it is now emerging again as one of our primary oil countries. They have an estimate of 47 billion barrels in reserves. That is their estimate. That may be slightly high or it may be

slightly low. But in this process of understanding how much oil is there, having a stable Colombia is important to our energy.

The coal mine there is either the second or third biggest in the world, and I will show some pictures of it in a few minutes. And when they get the new mine open, it will be the biggest in the world, and it is low sulfur coal, which means it is safer coal. And where it comes into, the bulk of it, the coal mine in that area is owned by a company that is based out of Alabama, and it is co-owned then with the Colombian Government, and the coal comes into the United States for our energy.

In fact, somewhere near 40 percent of their oil comes to the United States and somewhere near 15 percent or so of their exports are coal to the United States, critical energy sources if we are not going to mine it in the United States. And this is open-pit mining, as opposed to what we are doing mostly in the United States. We are sending miners down below. We have all seen the tragic accidents, and we are battling about mine safety standards in the United States.

But if we don't have coal and we don't do nuclear, and we have pretty well dammed about every river you can dam in the United States. And Canada is pretty much doing the same thing. We have pretty well put windmills about everywhere you can put windmills, and there is now objection and pushback when we do the big windmill farms. We are working with solar.

And there are people worried about oil; they are one of the big oil places where we have enough oil. But if you are going to shut off everything, then your costs are going to go up, because the less supply there is, the higher prices are going to be. And if you regulate it too much, nobody will go down and dig up the reserves in Colombia. So then it won't be so expensive, we just won't have any. We will just get to sit at home maybe and just freeze.

So there has to be an energy supply that helps keep the price down, and it needs to be balanced. And this is relatively clean in a country that is favorable to us.

And before I move into a little more depth with this, I want to share also, in thinking about Colombia, a couple of other points. Pablo Escobar isn't the primary export or famous Colombian, but we don't necessarily think of the people we might know.

Grammy Award winning Colombian rock stars Shakira and Juanes sell out their concerts in the United States and around the world. They are very famous. I am more familiar with Shakira than Juanes, but they are both taking the U.S. market by storm. Fernando Botero is one of the world's most accomplished painters and sculptors. Wherever you go both in Colombia and other countries, you will see these big,

kind of oversized Botero paintings and statues. It is an acquired taste. It is not my taste, but he is very famous.

Gabriel Garcia Marquez is among the world's most widely read novelists and has won basically every writing award you can, and has a home there in Cartagena and is from the countryside. Juan Pablo Montoya has sped to the top of the Formula 1 auto racing circuit. He's a very famous racing driver.

Colombia actress Catalina Sandino Moreno was nominated for an Academy Award for best actress this year in "Maria Full of Grace." So when you watch the Academy Awards, you will see a Colombian as one of the nominees.

I am a big baseball fan, and while Colombia doesn't have as many shortstops as Venezuela, Edgar Renteria, Orlando Cabrera, and other Colombians are in baseball. Even if you set aside all these economic and industrial exports, they also export culture around the world.

The Colombians have stronger universities, they have more educated people, and people who are famously literate and writing many books, not just Marquez, but I wanted to use that as an illustration because we have a warped view in America about what Colombia is that makes it very hard for us to kind of tackle the battles on funding narcotics and what is actually happening in Colombia.

Now, let me talk just for a little here about what happened in the drug wars. To some degree in these areas, the most famous cartel probably in world history is the Medellin cartel. Medellin was the home of Pablo Escobar. Last week, when I was in Colombia, President Uribe, who is originally from the Medellin area, asked me what did I think about Medellin; how did it strike me. And I said, well, my impression of Medellin was that it was a dusty little town and up on the hill Pablo Escobar had this fantastic estate that he had bought with his billions of dollars of American cocaine money, and then bought these exotic animals and started a zoo, and all the people came up to his zoo because they didn't have anything else to do.

Then I flew into the airport that was above the city before we went to the other airport down in the city, and this is just one of their promotional brochures, but this is Medellin. Medellin isn't a dusty little town that Pablo Escobar had a little house above it with a zoo where people would go because there was nowhere else to go. Medellin is a city of 2 million people with all sorts of businesses functioning in it, with huge high-rises, parks all over the city, all sorts of athletic facilities and arts facilities, and with major universities there.

How in the world did Americans who were tracking it not understand what was happening in Medellin? Partly because of the violence.

I believe in my trip to Medellin this week I was the first Member of Congress to get into Medellin since all the coca wars broke out, because it has been so difficult to travel. Our ambassador was able to drive from Bogota to Medellin, and that is the first time an American ambassador has been able to go on that road for, I believe, 20 to 30 years. Things got really bad, and it left us with a really wrong impression about what Colombia is and what is happening in Colombia.

So Pablo Escobar was controlling the Medellin cartel. And Colombia has been probably the most cooperative country in all of Central and South America in working with extraditions, when we go after these big guys. Why? Why would the different presidents work with the United States when in other countries they have not worked as much with us on extraditing, that is, sending their criminals to the U.S. to go through our court systems? Partly because they had an economy. It was our drugs that wrecked their economy.

There has been some reluctance on the part of some of these countries to send their citizens back to the United States because they are worried. For all the talk about wanting to get rid of the drugs in their country, if they get rid of the drugs in their country, what is going to happen to their banks? Who will build the big buildings? Who will open all the stuff if you suck a couple billion dollars out of most economies and they sink? So to some degree, quite frankly, we get lip service.

But in Colombia they actually extradite, if we can prove the case, major drug criminals. So we broke the Medellin cartel.

Then many Americans know of the Cali cartel, which is another of the big cities I pointed to. It is more over in this zone in the mountains. So we had the Cali cartel, and we broke up the Cali cartel.

In the process of breaking up these cartels, there are three violent groups in Colombia that have dogged over the years and challenged democracy. Rather than participate in elections, because they do not have any support, they chose to use violence. One is the FARC. The FARC are probably the best known, the most violent, and the ones most embroiled in the drug trafficking.

I know some dissident groups want to make the FARC to be like their Che Guevara, communist revolutionaries who just want to have land reform, but, no, they are a bunch of drug-pushing drug addicts who want to violently overthrow their government because they won't participate in the democratic process. When they founded the FARC, for some of them it was about land reform, but it is long past that. They are basically thugs.

One young man I met, and I have been to Colombia now 11 times, it could be 10, it could be 12 times, somewhere

in that range, since I was elected to Congress in 1994, but when you go into Colombia and you talk to them—and I went with colleagues who are now, both of them, governors, Governor Blagojevich and Governor Sanford, and we were waiting for Speaker HASTERT to come into the area.

We weren't as important at the time, so because there was a big rainstorm going on, they turned his helicopter around because they didn't think it was safe, but they brought us in by taking a handkerchief and cleaning off the windshield of the helicopter and trying to find the ground, so we were there for a little bit. And they brought in a captured FARC.

He was a young guy, and we asked him a question, and I can't remember if it was Mark or Rod who said, have you ever killed anybody? And he said, well, yes. And this kid is maybe 18 years old.

And we said, why did you kill him? He said, well, he hadn't paid his fees.

What do you mean, he hadn't paid his fees? He said, well, he owed us money and he didn't pay his fees. He said, I warned him.

We said, well, how did you kill him? He said, well, he was eating lunch at a restaurant and I came up behind him and I took the pistol and I shot him in the back of his head. He hadn't paid his fees.

Now, what the FARC does is they provided protection money first. In other words, if you wanted to grow coca for the different cartels, you paid the FARC, say 5, 10 percent, much like the Mafia worked in the United States in a shakedown operation, and then they "protected" you from U.S. forces. But then they decided that wasn't enough margin, so they started killing the people who wouldn't cooperate and grow coca. They didn't want you growing palm heart, they didn't want you growing bananas, they didn't want you growing coffee. Coca is more profitable, so we will shoot you if you don't.

So Colombia has a huge number of displaced persons right now at the Nelson Mandela kind of training center, a housing center outside the edge of Cartagena where I visited several years ago with Congressmen DAVIS and MORAN, and there are tens of thousands of people who have been chased out of these villages because they were being killed by the FARC for not cooperating in coca and they became drug runners.

The second big group are the paramilitaries, or the AUC. Now, what happened there was, many people started hiring guns, kind of Pinkerton detectives gone bad. They started hiring guns to fight the FARC. So what happened is, the FARC would come in to one of these villages in the outer areas and basically shoot you if you didn't grow coca; then the paramilitaries, the AUC, would come in and kill you if you did grow coca. And pretty soon the AUC realized, hey, there is more money

to be made in coca, so they start fighting over the different zones and over who gets to do the shakedowns. And what used to be the paramilitary protection, instead of operating as paramilitary protection, themselves became drug dealers.

However, interestingly, because of their history of being hired for protection, in this period of being hired for protection, the AUC, the paramilitaries, have about 10-to-12 public support where the FARC only has one or two.

□ 2045

Now from some of the leftist groups in the United States you would think the FARC has 10 to 12 percent or 20 or 30 or 40 percent, but they do not. They have minimal percent. But the paramilitaries, because they were trying to protect the villagers, had more but they went bad too.

Now the third group, the ELN tends to work in these mountains and the mountains up towards the top. The ELN basically does not appear to be as heavily involved in coca. Their business is kidnapping people. They kidnap people for ransom, and that is how they fund their group. Of the two, I do not know how you could say kidnapping is less egregious than coca because at least in kidnapping you just kill the individuals with you. They captured some new tribes' missionaries and killed them. We do not know for sure, but we have not heard from them for close to 8 years now. And others, if they do not get the ransom, the historic pattern is they kill them.

You always hope that the FARC has captured some of our U.S. soldiers, so we can hope they are alive. The FARC is a little different than the ELN. The ELN is kidnapping for money. The FARC is in the business of kidnapping for trade. And if you want to read a great book on the Diary of Kidnapping by Gabriel Marquez, it will give you some idea of what they put these different people through.

But the ELN also appears to, at times, be more willing to work with communities and less violent overall. Even though kidnapping is awful, they are not in the business of cocaine, which kills in the United States, illegal drugs kill in the United States 20- to 30,000 people a year of which a big chunk of that is cocaine.

So basically you are not just a kidnapper if you do cocaine; you are a murderer. You are a mass murderer if you are growing fields of cocaine. You can try to coat it over and say, oh, these poor peasants are just trying to make a living. Look, mass murderers. They are killing more people than somebody going into a school and killing six people.

A coca field growing may be killing thousands of people, depending on how it is broken and how it moves through

the city. They are mass murderers in every step of that process. The grower is a mass murderer, the people who process it are mass murderers, the people who transit it are mass murderers, the people who sell it in the street are mass murderers because they are killing people with the cocaine.

It is not this kind of quiet little thing that you are drinking coffee on the side. It is killing people. And in trying to hold that accountable, we have these three different revolutionary groups that have more or less terrorized at the margin. At one point, at the peak of the Medellin cartel, which is what the movie Clear and Present Danger is about, based off the book, which is roughly, my first visit into Colombia, former Ambassador Busby was with us, and he was there during the period of the greatest violence. And I said, is the book Clear and Present Danger accurate? You were the ambassador during that period. And he said, not completely. I died in the book. But it was basically accurate in that somewhere in the vicinity of two-thirds of the judges and a big chunk of the legislative body was killed. Many mayors were killed.

It is one thing to say we have differences between the Republicans and Democrats and we argue on the House floor about how to do it. We argue back in our districts. But basically it is another thing if you are running for office and they are going to murder you.

President Uribe's father was assassinated. Vice President Santos was kidnapped and escaped. There are very few leaders who do not have huge prices on their heads. And particularly in that period it took incredible courage to be a leader in Colombia.

And then it came back up again after the groups. For a variety of reasons, we got control of the Medellin and Cali cartels. It looked like we were stabilizing it and it took off again, which led to the modern Plan Colombia.

The peak problem here in the second kind of wave that came up was, in the year 1999 Colombia, for all those things I was talking about, had a negative growth rate, the only year it has had a negative growth rate, about a 4 to 5 percent GDP that was negative.

How did they get a negative growth rate? Well, one thing is that I talked about the oil fields up here. That pipeline has to go over the mountains, and in that area, Occidental Petroleum, the oil that was headed for Houston and into the United States, had 91 percent of their oil production stopped that year because they basically had, I think it was 200 pipeline attacks that, even at a fast speed, it takes you a while to fix the pipeline, 24, 48, 72 hours, basically meaning nothing got from the oil fields. Nine percent got there.

I earlier said that oil was 40 percent of their exports. You knock out oil, you cannot get any money.

The big coal mine that we visited, if you are there, how do you get it to the ocean? Certainly not by roads. There are no roads in the jungle. At this huge coal mine the people driving the trucks, let me give you an idea of the scale of this coal mine.

In the U.S. roads nothing can be bigger than 40 tons. Their trucks are 140 tons that this particular coal operation is. It just gives a vague idea of the size of this mine; it is just an incredible scale. You can see a truck that is a 140-ton truck there.

I have been in the iron mines in Montana and Arizona and in northern Minnesota, whether it is copper or iron, the open pit mining. You are talking in this little tiny corner is when we talk about the huge mines. And, in fact, much of this area has already been covered up and started to be reclaimed.

Now, this huge mine, these guys who are driving these 140-ton trucks, they did not know how to drive a car. There are no roads there, or to the degree there are roads, it takes you at most, I said, 15 miles an hour. So most of these drivers, they are training the Colombians, the Drummond oil mine, which is, I mean the coal mine people who come out of Alabama, this is a book on what they have done for social balance. Because when you are up—let me show one other picture, and I want to go back to the big map. I want to show this one for a second from Drummond. This is the coal cars.

In Indiana we have a law that you cannot, a train cannot block an intersection for more than 20 minutes. I asked, do you have a 20-minute rule? They said, no, we have a 30-minute rule.

Now, in that map, and I will have it back up in a minute, but basically it has to go from that coal mine all the way out to the Caribbean Sea. They load 90 cars at a time with coal. The 30-minute rule, because they only have one track, that track has to shut down for 30 minutes so the empty cars can come back in to get reloaded. The operation goes 24/7, 365 days a year. In other words, basically it is a permanent block to an intersection. They do not have a 20-minute rule. The 30-minute rule means you switch directions. So basically you would need an overpass. But they do not have any roads anyway. It is a jungle.

Now what happened with Drummond, because if you are out in the middle of nowhere and you are doing constant filling of train cars as far as the eye can see that direction, as far as the eye can see that direction, that are going 24/7, and you do not have anybody who can drive the trucks, and you do not have very many people, what do you have to do? You have to build the infrastructure.

So they have been building schools in the area. They have been building housing in the area. They have been

doing health care in the area. Seven thousand meals a day are served by Drummond coal mine because when you come into this coal mine they have different various places where you can eat. They provide multiple shifts for people to eat. And they provide 7,000 meals a day, which means that is an incredible food operation. It is an incredible health care operation. And what they have chosen to do is invest in the infrastructure and the people.

Now, what is interesting about this investment in people is that part of the challenge that you have, if you are going to change the drug patterns in Colombia, is you have to have some alternatives for the people. So here is roughly where the coal mine was. It goes up by that big mountain up there and it comes, the train track will go somewhat similar to the oil pipeline.

The trains in 1999 were being shot up and intercepted. You could not get anybody to get coal out if you are going to die, so until you could get a little bit of order, they could not ship coal. So they had a negative growth rate, not because Colombia did not have products, but because Americans got so addicted to cocaine, and Europe got so addicted to cocaine, that it brought a violent group of people into their nation that made their railroads not working, that made their oil pipelines not working, not to mention the mining and the textiles.

Now, what they have now, well, in that railroad in the area, when we were there—and like I say, once again, we were some of the first people to be able to move around in the country. So going up there, I said, are the FARC around here and the ELN and so on? And the president of the company says, no, they are not in the immediate area. They are over there.

Now, over there was, ELN was in the north mountains about 10 miles away and the FARC were in two locations in the south mountains between 8 and 12 miles away. To me that was close. My little hometown of Grayville, Indiana, is 15 miles from downtown Fort Wayne, and I think of it as close to Fort Wayne; and when I said, are they close, I was thinking, Grayville to Fort Wayne terms to me is close, and this is half the distance. But at least they are up in the mountains.

Well, why are they up in the mountains? Two reasons. One is the Uribe government has provided protection. For example, there are now police stations in every municipality. All 1,098 in Colombia now have a Colombian national police presence, which they did not have in 1999. On that train track they have police every so many minutes with a cell phone, and they are each supposed to call in; and if they do not call in, the army goes in to find out what has happened at that point of the track.

So when Members of Congress say, why did you vote for money for pipe-

line protection, why did you vote for money for this, it is because we are trying to stabilize the railroad tracks and the pipelines, because if you can do that, the reason the ELN went to the hills is, thousands of these people are working for Drummond coal mine. When they are working for Drummond coal mine and getting health care and getting education and having a job, they do not want a bunch of revolutionaries around. It is not good for their lives. And so they basically fight back.

Now, let me give you a couple of other stories. We spent \$4 billion in Colombia. They spent \$9 billion, and that \$13 billion is what has led to this change in the pipeline. It has led to a change in the ability to move around on the roads. It has led to the change that now they are going to put a second track in on that railroad which will enable us to get more coal into the United States in our southern ports and in our East Coast, low sulfur coal that is environmentally much more favorable to the United States. Because the money that we have invested and the Colombians have invested has stabilized the mountainous zones in the north Colombian zones to a greater degree than it has been for a long time.

Now the economy is growing at a 3 to 5 percent rate, not a negative growth rate like it was in 1999. There is a direct relationship between security and the ability to have economic alternatives.

Let me briefly describe what we did last—well, I said I went to Colombia 10 to 12 times, somewhere in that range; I am guessing 11. But the first time I went to Colombia was not that long after I got elected. We went in and we were the first delegation other than I think Senator SPECTER had been into Cartagena for just a brief period. But we were the first ones to go into the center of the country, into Bogota.

We were allowed to come in for 3 hours. When we landed at the airport we were to duck down, get in a basically tinted window car with machine guns coming out of it, with sharpshooters on all the roofs at the airport all along the route till we got to the embassy. We had so many police going around, anybody who was walking on the sidewalk had to go up to the side of the walls, one person basically kept walking. The police cop went up and pushed them against the wall because they were so afraid we were going to get assassinated.

Ambassador Busby, former Ambassador Busby, who I referred to earlier, who lived and did not die in the book *Clear and Present Danger*, said he had over \$1 million price on his head if they knew he was there. It was a very dangerous place, but we felt we needed to make a statement that we were going to stand with Colombia.

The next time I went back, and the next couple of times we were able to

stay finally overnight, I think, about the third or fourth trip. One of the trips we went in with the former chairman of the International Relations Committee Ben Gilman, a couple of different times as well as with then-Chairman HASTERT that we went into the hospitals because unlike other places in the country and the world, Colombians are dying.

The Colombian national police have lost the equivalent of 30,000 American police officers, given the size and proportion. They are getting shot up all the time. They are not getting shot up because somebody is robbing a bank. They are getting shot up because Americans are using cocaine. Because Americans are using cocaine, they are shooting their police. But they have been willing to fight.

This is partly what we are trying to do in Iraq. What is happening in Colombia is what we are trying to do in Iraq. Colombia has a democracy that we are trying to rescue and keep from going down the tubes, so to speak, and it looks like they are well on their way back.

But we built up their national police. Then we took vetted units in the military that had a horrible human rights track record. It has been a big battle.

We had a ban on U.S. funds going there. We got vetted units. Now they have attorneys that walk around with their different things and they have to graph, if somebody gets killed, which way they were lying so they know they did not use human rights torture.

Sometimes it can be inconvenient when you are fighting terrorists.

But quite frankly, Colombia is doing the best job and the best human rights job of fighting terrorists who do not follow human rights rules, who are more than willing to shoot you in back, are more than willing to use torture. But we have trained vetted units, and whereas in the 1990s, to be kind, the Colombian military defense establishment could not have fought their way out of a paper bag, I have a small town of, say, New Haven in my district of 14,000, I do not think their military could have defeated the New Haven police department.

And their equipment was better than the New Haven police department. They just did not know how to fight. They did not have command and control systems. They ran when they got in a fight with the FARC and it was a disaster.

We trained units who are now winning battles and it is hard to win battles with terrorists. And it is the Colombians who are fighting that we have done the training, and they are even buying equipment. We put 4 billion in, but they put 9 billion in. Even though the drug problem was our problem, not their problem, they have enough of an economy that it is working.

What we are trying to do in Iraq is what is working in Colombia. It has

been an investment that has helped rebuild and establish the country of Colombia, such that the kidnappings are down like 67 percent. You can now move around the country. I started to say then after our first trip we were able then finally to stay after visiting a hospital a couple of times, finally able to stay overnight.

□ 2100

The first time I stayed overnight in Bogota, they took us underneath the hotel just like in the movies and had all these police jumping out; and when we slept in our room, we had multiple police outside each of our doors and on the floor and the perimeter around Colombia. That was a different experience. Finally, they let us go out to eat somewhere other than the hotel. This may have been about the sixth or seventh trip. They let us go out to eat, and when we would go out to eat, we would have to go the wrong way on a one-way street. They would have to seal off the restaurant to make sure that they were not going to assassinate the American Congressmen when we went out to eat. But it was progress. We were going out to eat and we did not have as many police around the hotel, and it showed that there was a gradual progress occurring.

Then we got to go to Cartagena. Then we got to walk around town in Cartagena. Then I went to President Uribe's inauguration; and what I would call a minor setback was as I was sitting with BARNEY FRANK and we heard this big boom, Congressman FRANK said, I have never heard of a one-gun salute. And it was a bomb, mortar shells hitting the side of the presidential palace while we were all inside. We had a cadre of about 20,000 troops around; but these guys, who were getting more and more sophisticated, launched the mortar shells from about 1¼ miles away from the top of a building. As they launched those shells, they were not very accurate and they first were short. Then they hit an apartment building that killed, I think, 40 people and injured 100 or something like that. Then they launched over the palace and they hit the side of the palace where we all were.

But by that time, I think they got 20 or 25 rounds out of 110, but by that time the Colombian Air Force and Army were on their case and they stopped shooting. But that was just about 4½ years ago with the inauguration of President Uribe. So then we continued to make progress.

Now, I mentioned the ambassador could drive. This time we were able to go to Medellin. Nobody has been able to go to Medellin. We were able to go to the coal mine. Nobody has been able to go to the coal mine. We had protection. Yes, we were still in an armored vehicle, but it was a disguised armored

vehicle. There were not any machine guns sticking out of it. Yes, the people around us had protection, but you did not see machine guns. And, yes, one of the police cops had a machine gun, but basically they were providing traffic guidance to try to move us. The meeting with President Uribe and others, they did not have a big army surrounding us like we were going to get killed before. You are cautious. It is still a violent country. But we are cautious in parts of our urban cities.

The plain truth is that we have made progress in Colombia in establishing freedom and democracy and giving alternatives. In Medellin, we visited an AUC demobilization center. I mentioned they were the second biggest group, the paramilitaries. 21,000 have now laid down their arms, and we are investing and with some of the money we are eradicating coca to now get these people jobs and to track them and to match them up like the floral industry that is booming in Medellin. And we there met four of the people who had been displaced people from their villages, and we also met a former armed person who had been very violent with the AUC and who has now been trained and went back to get his college degree. Things are really changing in Colombia, thanks in part to our investment.

We still have problems in coca, and the reason I wanted to show you this map is, guess what has happened. The coca has moved out here. It has moved into the jungle. But it is not terrorizing the people. Colombia now has a growing economy. They are providing us with critical things; and with that growing economy, they have asked the United States Government to buy with their money eight Blackhawk helicopters because we have their economy going again. We have stabilized it. It is still a challenge. I am disappointed we have not gotten rid of the coca as much as we thought we would with Plan Colombia, but we have made progress. We have a friend in the region.

Now, this week President Uribe and President Bush have agreed to the Colombia Free Trade Agreement that at some point will come in front of the Congress. No free trade agreement is easy. This is very critical. It was very important for President Uribe to understand that in this process he could not put out everybody in his country and understand in the United States we could not put out.

So, for example, in sugar he would have liked more free trade in sugar. I would have liked more free trade in sugar. In Fort Wayne, Indiana we have Edie's, the largest ice cream plant in the world. We have Kraft caramels up in Kendallville. Bread uses sugar. In Huntington, Indiana, Good Humor has the second biggest ice cream plant in the world. We use sugar. In the South, in Louisiana and Florida, there is a

sugar lobby that wants to keep our sugar prices high; but ultimately they are very powerful and in agreement our sugar guys got some protection for a while, for a long while, quite frankly. Way too long for me.

But at the same time in Colombia they grow rice. And if they, in fact, took the rice business away from having some protection, over 15 years they will make the adjustments and you can do that. So this trade agreement is a balanced trade agreement, trying to work it through.

One of the interesting things is, to give you another kind of wrinkle on how economics work and how trade agreements work, I never thought I would be having a discussion about chicken hindquarters. Colombians tend to prefer dark meat, and Americans tend to prefer white meat. What happens in a trade agreement to say we are suddenly going to have free trade, guess what our chicken companies are going to do? We are going to dump all dark meat on Colombia under its value and put all the Colombian chicken people out of business, which a very important thing in their small villages are their chicken people. So they had to have some kind of protection for hind parts.

But guess who else wanted to have some kind of balance in handling chicken hind parts? Our corn growers. We ship incredible amounts of corn into Colombia. At lunch one of the days, next to me was the head of Archer Daniels Midland in Colombia. He was a Colombian, had been educated in the United States. And the corn that comes in from the Midwest, huge quantities, and in some areas all our corn is going down to Colombia for the chicken farms. If they do not have any chicken farms, we are not going to sell them any corn, which is, I think, our second biggest export to Colombia. We are not going to sell any corn to Colombia if we kill the chicken market. So when you work these exchanges through, both countries, I believe, in this have a balance between the political realities of Colombia and the political realities of the United States.

But here is the bottom line: free trade agreements like this with Colombia will help fuel the economy that has stabilized there more than anywhere else. With Chavez going crazy up there choking us on oil, we need to know where we are going to get oil and energy. We need to know who is going to be our friends in South America. And we need to work with countries that are there.

We also have a secondary motive here. If they grow coca rather than chickens, if they grow coca rather than getting emeralds and gold out of the mine, if they grow coca instead of selling us coal, if they grow coca instead of textiles, we die and Europe dies. We have an incentive directly with the na-

tion of Colombia to make sure that we can make their economy work, that we can make their government successful, that we can have law and order in Colombia, because what is good for them is goods for us; what is good for us is good for them. That is the way it should work.

And I am very pleased that the Presidents of both countries have signed this agreement, and I hope that whether it is this year or next year, we can move that forward because it is extremely important to Central America, South America, and to the United States.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD (at the request of Ms. PELOSI) for today on account of illness.

Mr. MARIO DIAZ-BALART of Florida (at the request of Mr. BOEHNER) for today on account of family reasons.

Mr. LATOURETTE (at the request of Mr. BOEHNER) for today on account of personal reasons.

Mr. LUCAS (at the request of Mr. BOEHNER) for today on account of family reasons.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

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

Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. EMANUEL, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. DEFazio, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. WOOLSEY, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. KAPTUR, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. PALLONE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. MCDERMOTT, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. WATERS, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. WYNN, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. HONDA, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. INSLEE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. BECERRA, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. MATSUI, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. LEE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. CLEAVER, for 5 minutes, today.

Mrs. CHRISTENSEN, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. CORRINE BROWN of Florida, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. MCKINNEY, for 5 minutes, today.

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

Mr. GINGREY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. RAMSTAD, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. MCCOTTER, for 5 minutes, March 2.

Mr. DUNCAN, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. KELLER, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. GILCHREST, for 5 minutes, today. (The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. GOODE, for 5 minutes, today.

SENATE BILL REFERRED

A bill of the Senate of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 2271. An act to clarify that individuals who receive FISA orders can challenge non-disclosure requirements, that individuals who receive national security letters are not required to disclose the name of their attorney, that libraries are not wire or electronic communication service providers unless they provide specific services, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary; in addition to the Permanent-Select Committee on Intelligence and to the Committee on Financial Institutions for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

ADJOURNMENT

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

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 9 o'clock and 7 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, March 2, 2006, at 10 a.m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 8 of rule XII, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

6347. A letter from the Principal Deputy Associate Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule — Boscalid; Pesticide Tolerance [EPA-HQ-OPP-2005-0145; FRL-7757-9] received February 15, 2006, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

6348. A letter from the Principal Deputy Associate Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule — Pesticide Management and Disposal; Standards for Pesticide Containers and Containment; Notification to the Secretary of Agriculture [EPA-HQ-OPP-2005-0327; FRL-7749-1] (RIN: 2070-AB95) received February 23, 2006, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

6349. A letter from the Secretary of the Air Force, Department of Defense, transmitting notification that the National Polar-orbiting Operational Environmental Satellite System Program Acquisition Unit Cost (PAUC) and Acquisition Procurement Unit Cost (APUC) will exceed the 25 percent certification threshold against its Acquisition Program Baseline, pursuant to 10 U.S.C. 2433(e)(1); to the Committee on Armed Services.

6350. A letter from the Secretary, Department of Defense, transmitting the Department's Report of the 2006 Quadrennial Defense Review; to the Committee on Armed Services.