

the start or not, here is where we are today, and we have got to finish what we started and make the necessary investments. We cannot afford not to, and freedom comes with a huge price. For some brave Americans it is the loss of life, it is their limbs, it is going into harm's way on our behalf. For taxpayers, it is investments. We thank everyone for these investments; but the cost of freedom is high, very high today, but we cannot afford not to do it or invest it. We must finish what we started, and we must preserve our country with some preemptive action on the other end of the world. And I see it that way. I see Saddam Hussein as a threat, and terrorism is looking for a place to take root; and we cannot let it take root. We took decisive action, and now we have got to win the peace. And it is expensive, but we do not have any choice but to do this. And I hope everybody comes together to make this necessary investment.

We are all Americans, and we are at the waterfront. Democrats and Republicans, we are all patriots and we are standing with our country. Make one's case. At end of the day, support this necessary investment.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. FILNER).

Mr. FILNER. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Chairman, I represent San Diego, California, a place from which thousands and thousands of our troops have been sent to the war in Iraq. My constituents' families are personally involved in this effort every day, and I say to them that those who are going to vote against this blank check for the President are thinking about their brave sons and daughters. It is we who are thinking about their safety.

This administration, with \$79 billion that we gave them, cannot equip our troops with the body armor they need to survive. We have killed dozens of soldiers. We have maimed dozens of them because they did not have that body armor. What kind of an administration would do that and then say they support the troops? We have no accountability for what they did before. We have no accountability for this \$87 billion that they are asking us to give them now. This is not what a legislative branch's duty is. A legislative branch is to exert co-equal control, co-equal influence with the executive branch; and the only way we can do that is through the purse strings.

The gentleman before me said we have to keep going with what we are doing. Even if it is wrong, even if we have thrown in so much money, even if we have no plan to get out, let us keep going. I heard those arguments with Vietnam, and we were in a quagmire then. We are in an "Iraqmire" now. And we need to turn those troops' responsibilities over to an international body. We need to make sure that our troops come home alive. We are going

to have the accountability that this body deserves only if we vote "no" on this matter. And I say to my friends, to my families in San Diego, it is time to turn this matter over to the United Nations. It is time that we internationalize this force. It is time that we bring our troops home; and we can spend that \$87 billion on education, on health, on our veterans here at home. Vote "no" on the supplemental.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 15 seconds.

I announce to the gentleman who just spoke that the United Nations has now voted unanimously to agree to the resolution offered by the United States of America on the issue of Iraq.

Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL).

(Mr. PAUL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Chairman, I thank the chairman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Chairman, this \$87 billion is a little bit steep for my wallet, and it is a little bit steep for probably the wallets of most Americans. So I will be voting against it.

But I understand this is called a supplemental. It is interesting that it is a supplemental because we have not passed a budget; so I have to suggest maybe we ought to call this a preemptive budget rather than a supplemental. But it is the largest, and to have it before the regular budget is pretty astounding that we are going to spend this type of money.

But I want to take this minute I have to quote from a book, "A World Transformed," and this was written about 5 years ago talking about Iraq. And I think this is a very serious quote and something worth listening to:

"Trying to eliminate Saddam Hussein . . . would have incurred incalculable human and political costs. Apprehending him was probably impossible . . . We would have been forced to occupy Baghdad and, in effect, rule Iraq . . . There was no available 'exit strategy' we could see, violating another of our principles. Furthermore, we had been self-consciously trying to set a pattern for handling aggression in the post-Cold War world. Going in and occupying Iraq, thus unilaterally exceeding the United Nations' mandate, would have destroyed the precedent of international response to aggression that we hoped to establish. Had we gone the invasion route, the United States could conceivably be an occupying power in a bitterly hostile land."

That was written 5 years ago, very perceptive. It was written by President Bush, Sr. So I think we are here now in a very hostile land with a very difficult situation.

I was a strong opponent of the war for two reasons: one, I sincerely believed our national security was not threatened, and I also was convinced that it had no relationship to 9-11; and I think those two concerns have been

proven to be correct. Many who had voted against the war now suggest that they might vote for this appropriation because they feel it is necessary to vote to support the troops. I think that is a red herring argument because if we take a poll, and there have been some recent polls of the troops in Iraq, we find out that probably all of them would love to come home next week. So I do not see how a vote against this appropriation can be construed. As a matter of fact, that is challenging the motivation of those of us who will oppose the legislation, that we do not support the troops. So I am in support of voting against this appropriation.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DEUTSCH).

Mr. DEUTSCH. Mr. Chairman, one of the things that all of us know is one and one equals two, and I think a very good question for all of us to ask is why are the two parts of this supplemental one part? Why are the military and the reconstruction parts of this bill together?

Let me give the Members the answer, which is not very complicated: one and one plus two, is that if they were separate, the supplemental part dealing with reconstruction would fail. Every Member knows that. Why would it fail? Because my Republican colleagues would vote against it and it would fail. So they have leveraged to put the two things together and said if we vote against the bill, we are against the troops. That is not why this bill is in one bill. The reason it is in one bill is because if the two things were separate, the reconstruction effort would fail.

Let me tell the Members why it would fail. Because it is crazy. Because it is crazy. Because it is indefensible from policy grounds to have American taxpayers, literally American taxpayers, pay for the reconstruction of a country, 27 million people, that has trillions, trillions of dollars in oil reserves, the second largest oil reserves in the world. At the same time, this country, Iraq, is part of OPEC today, will be part of OPEC when the middle class, lower class people in America take their hard-earned tax dollars and their hard-earned wages taxed by the monopoly power of OPEC, which is exactly what Iraq is going to do, some of that monopoly tax, hundreds of billions of dollars of taxes that we are paying as Americans, see some of that money going to terrorists. Some of that money is going to terrorists; and the terrorists, in fact, are trying to kill us. Vote down the whole amendment, and let us send it back as separate bills.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Delaware (Mr. CASTLE).

Mr. CASTLE. Mr. Chairman, I thank the chairman for yielding me this time.

I do rise in support of the emergency spending measure that we have before