

my life I would have the opportunity to serve with PHIL CRANE. There are big shadows in the Illinois delegation, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HASTERT), and PHIL CRANE.

Mom was living when I was elected to Congress in 1992, and I think that one of reasons she was so excited when I was elected is the fact that she would have the opportunity to meet PHIL CRANE and talk to him on a regular basis.

I first met PHIL when I was given the distinction of being awarded the Freedom Foundation Award. The Freedom Foundation is out of Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. The note that came with that was I could have somebody present this to me. I said, oh, my goodness gracious. I called PHIL, and I said, Would you do me the honor of giving me this award? It was as if I needed an excuse to get in to talk to him.

I drove over to I believe it was Arlington Heights. I have got this picture. We were thinner, younger and had darker hair back then; and I keep that. It is on the refrigerator held by magnets that say "Manzullo for Congress, 1992," in a place of great prominence.

I came here in 1992, actually, January of 1993, and he would ask me a simple question, Now, can you tell me the constitutional basis for that bill?

We do not talk about that anymore. We get tied up in so many issues. People do not talk about the underpinnings of liberty. Members do not get together and have discussions about what the Founders would do.

The sense of history of this place often becomes chewed up by the exogenous of the issues. And yet to this man from the 8th district of Illinois who defied logic in getting elected to Congress, I guess I share that same with him, no one ever thought I would be here. He has always understood how important history is. It makes us who we are. I read when PHIL's dad wrote those articles in the newspaper for years. I always read those articles, always heard of PHIL CRANE.

I was the chairman of Young Americans for Freedom at American University here in Washington, D.C., and he was making noise then as a professor before he was elected to Congress. Then throughout law school and before I was elected to Congress and after, of course, he would always associate the sea change in America, the thinking of this country with getting back to roots of free enterprise to somebody called PHIL CRANE, eternally a professor, always the pedagogue, to me a personal mentor.

The manufacturers in this country who struggle have PHIL CRANE to thank for setting the template that lowers the taxes of everybody who manufactures in this country so that we can keep jobs here and be more competitive.

The other side of the coin that says free trade is fair trade, PHIL always be-

lieved in that, too. In fact, he would say things such as, "Corporations do not pay taxes. They collect them."

It took me a while to understand what he was talking about, but what he was saying is it is the consumer that is going to pay the tax in the increased price of the product that the corporations would be collecting from them. No one has ever said that except PHIL CRANE, because he has always understood that the ultimate power in this republic is in the heart of the people who live here. It is the people who started the revolution in 1776. It is the people to whom government must be accountable, that every individual has worth, deep worth, self-worth, value.

I recall another time when I was running in the primary in 1992, I went to see PHIL at a town meeting in Nunda Township in McHenry County. He very adroitly had scheduled that just as the bingo game ended for the senior citizens at that township, and as PHIL came in the door everybody stood up. I said, wow, do they respect this man.

For about 20 minutes, without notes, he talked about the issues of the day, how they impacted the people he represented. The people would nod in agreement, and some of them got up and asked a question, and he would always be very responsive. If the person disagreed with what he had to say, PHIL would smile and with this huge heart, embracing the fact that everybody is important and everybody has great worth, he would say, I welcome the fact that you disagree with me. Now, let me give you an explanation of why that is.

Where do you find people like this? How many institutions are left in America? How many walking history books are left? How many authors on their feet, mentoring Members of Congress and ask questions such as, do you think government should be this big? Why have we gotten here? Is there really a constitutional basis for what you are trying to do?

Sitting in the CRANE role, the role of significance, he would ponder this place and his 35 years of distinct service and look around at all these young people and place himself in that position and have a sense of envy on his face that if he could exchange bodies and take with him that great mind, how magnificent he would be and even more respected by his colleagues.

You do not find people like that. They are just not there any more. Who are the people that remember the greatness of America? Who are the people that take the time to share the basis of the Constitution? Who talks about liberty anymore? Who talks about freedom?

PHIL's legacy is that his insistence on constitutional government, on the principles of freedom, on the integrity of the individual, the wholesomeness of life, of the honesty of one's word, of a principled devotion to this Chamber. Where do you find people like PHIL CRANE?

PHIL will officially be gone when this Congress ends, but his shadow, his influence, his love for me as a person who overcame insurmountable odds to get elected to Congress, who is this guy from Egan, Illinois, population 42, who never held office before?

□ 2115

He had never held office before and he could always relate to him because he had never held office before, and no one ever gave him a chance of being elected to Congress. He is my brother, he is my friend, he is my teacher, he is my mentor.

His words will always ring in my ears, and though I will not see his face every day, his spirit is impressed upon this place, and I am a better man because of him.

Thank you, Phil. God bless you and thank you for your service to America.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to take this opportunity to pay tribute to my friend and colleague PHIL CRANE. During his 35 years in Congress, PHIL has been one of the House's most consistent defenders of low taxes, free-markets, limited government, and individual liberty. I count myself among the numerous elected officials and activists in the free-market movement who have been inspired by his example.

As a conservative professor, author, and activist, PHIL was already a nationally known conservative leader before he ran for Congress. Two of his books, "The Democrat's Dilemma" and "The Sum of Good Government" stand out as conservative classics that educated and motivated many conservative activists. Among the attributes that have made PHIL a hero to the free-market movement is his understanding of sound economics. PHIL is one of the few members of Congress who is well versed in the teachings of great free-market teachers such as Ludwig von Mises. This country would be much better off if more representatives understood economics as well as PHIL CRANE.

When PHIL CRANE came to Congress in the late sixties, there were only a handful of members supporting free-markets. This was a time when a "conservative" President imposed wage and price controls and "conservative" Representatives and Senators called for balancing the budget with tax increases rather than spending cuts. Thanks in large part to PHIL's effort, the political and intellectual climate of the Nation became more receptive to free-market ideas. PHIL's work with groups such as the American Conservative Union, the Free Congress Foundation, and the Republican Study Committee, which he founded, played a major role in growing the movement for individual liberty. PHIL's service as an advisor to Young Americans for Freedom and as a director of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, Hillsdale College, and the Ashbrook Center helped inspire new generations of young people to become active in the movement for liberty.

When I came to Congress in the seventies to fight to limit the size and scope of the Federal Government, I was pleased to find a kindred spirit in the gentleman from Illinois. I had the privilege of working with PHIL on several efforts to cut taxes, reduce regulations, and return the Government to its constitutional

size. I also had the privilege of working with PHIL when we were two of only four members to endorse Ronald Reagan's 1976 primary challenge to President Gerald Ford.

As the number of representatives committed to free-markets and low taxes increased, PHIL's status as a congressional leader and accomplished legislator grew. Thanks in large part to PHIL's leadership; Congress has provided tax relief to American families and businesses during each of the last 4 years.

As his distinguished congressional career draws to a close, I hope all who value free-markets, individual liberty, and limited government will join me in thanking PHIL CRANE for his work on behalf of freedom.

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to our colleague PHIL CRANE, who will be leaving this hallowed institution after nearly 35 years of service to his constituents in Illinois and the citizens of the United States. I honor him as a patriot, a public servant, and a friend.

The longest-serving Republican in the House of Representatives, PHIL CRANE championed conservative ideals before it was popular to do so, and he continues to be a leader to which many Members turn for guidance. As a former college professor and published author, he always brings thoughtful opinions and ideas to the table. Supporters of free trade certainly owe him a debt of gratitude. The institutional knowledge and prosperity for policy he exhibits demonstrate that he is truly a legislator.

PHIL also is a devoted husband to Arlene, a father and grandfather. My wife Evelyn and I have had the privilege of entertaining the Cranes in my Florida congressional district on a couple of occasions. Both of us will miss PHIL and Arlene as this chapter of their lives draws to a close.

Mr. Speaker, it is fitting that we take time today to honor our friend and colleague. May God bless you, PHIL, as you and Arlene pursue new dreams and challenges throughout the coming years.

IRAQ WATCH

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BEAUPREZ). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 2003, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. HOEFFEL) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. HOEFFEL. Mr. Speaker, we are here to have another week of the Iraq Watch.

Before I start, I want to add my words of congratulations to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. CRANE) for his outstanding career and what we just witnessed on the floor, a very warm and rare moment of emotion and friendship between two colleagues. I wish we had more of those moments here, but I want to salute the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. CRANE) for his years of service and his dedication to this House.

A year and a half ago, Mr. Speaker, a number of us started what we call Iraq Watch. We began to come to this floor once a week to talk about Iraq, to talk about the problems that we saw with our policy there, to ask questions and to suggest changes in our national policy. Now, a year and a half later, like

the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. CRANE), I will be leaving this House, and yet the questions regarding our policy in Iraq remain.

Things have changed in Iraq over the last year and a half, but some of the fundamental problems that were apparent at the beginning of our involvement remain today and plague us today and challenge our best national interest today.

A number of us involved in Iraq Watch, some like me who voted for the military power that the President sought in October of 2002 and some in Iraq Watch who opposed the President's request for military power, all of us were alarmed in the spring of 2003 when the fighting actually began in Iraq, that the President had used what we thought was such an arrogant approach to this challenge, to the diplomacy, to the need to move forward with as many allies as possible to confront what was surely a murderous tyrant, Saddam Hussein.

We saw an arrogant approach. We saw a go-it-alone foreign policy, what many of us thought was a cowboy diplomacy, where we pushed aside our allies, where we told our international institutions, such as the United Nations and NATO and others, that we did not need their help, that we were happy to go alone into the challenge that faced us in Iraq. A lot of us were raising questions about that a year and a half ago.

Unfortunately, that approach has not changed. The President talks about having the coalition of the willing supporting us in Iraq, but it is not the kind of strong international coalition that we truly need to share the burdens and share the costs and share the sacrifices that we have faced in Iraq and not the kind of strong international coalition that his father put together in the early 1990s for the Persian Gulf War.

What the President is now doing since his reelection this November is making changes in his Cabinet and promoting loyal members of his staff to higher positions and to Cabinet positions in a way that, in my judgment, will limit the options brought to the President for his consideration; that he will begin to hear just what he wants to hear from his Cabinet and top officials; that the advice they give him will be the advice they know he already provides to himself; and that he has, instead of turning in a second term to an independent and vigorous Cabinet of obviously loyal Republicans, which is the President's due, instead of building that kind of working relationship, he has decided to build an echo chamber, to create a foreign policy advice and support system in the State Department and in the CIA and in the National Security Adviser that will tell him what he wants to hear.

Well, what he ought to hear, Mr. Speaker, with due respect to the President and with due respect to his victory and the tough decisions he has to

make every day, what he ought to hear is that he still needs international support in Iraq. He still needs to internationalize the challenges, the financial challenges, the security challenges, the military challenges in Iraq, and he still needs to Iraq-tize Iraq. We still need to train up the Iraqis so that they can fight for their own future, so they can provide their own security, so that they can be the tip of the spear.

Currently, we are using American forces, brave American forces, courageously led, and brave troops to battle the insurgency in Iraq, door to door, in Fallujah and other urban settings, and our troops are behaving magnificently, performing magnificently.

But it is my view, and I think shared by my colleagues here in Iraq Watch, that we are doing ourselves more harm than good with the reality that it is American troops fighting the insurgency, instead of Iraqi troops, Arab troops, multinational troops with American support; that the fact that we are having to fight door to door, facing the true horrors of urban warfare. That we are doing this virtually alone, without international help, without very much help from the Iraqis, is generating such ill-will in the Muslim world that while Iraq is better off with Saddam Hussein out of power and Iraq has some hope of moving toward a tolerant and pluralistic society with some version of self-government, hopefully a flourishing democracy sooner rather than later, while Iraq is better off, the way we have gone about this has actually done more harm than good to America; that we have created more terrorists than we have killed; that we have created more ill-will than goodwill in the Muslim world; and that the arrogant and go-it-alone policies that we have pursued, the cowboy diplomacy that we pursue to this day, has set back the relations between this country and the Muslim world, while at the same time we do offer clearly hope to the Iraqi people that they can have a flourishing country, free from the abuses of the tyrant and murderer Saddam Hussein.

There is a lot more I would like to say tonight, but I am joined by two of the stalwarts of Iraq Watch, the gentleman from Washington (Mr. INSLEE) and the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. STRICKLAND) who have been here week after week for a year and a half. So let me turn to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. INSLEE) as he was the first on the floor, and I am happy to yield to him.

Mr. INSLEE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. HOEFFEL) but not just for this evening.

The Iraq Watch, which has been trying to bring a responsible voice to Iraq policy now for many months, was the brain child of the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. HOEFFEL), and he really did lead this effort, and we are very appreciative of him, and I know his constituents are, too.