DIRECTING THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO TRANSMIT TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DOCUMENTS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE RELATING TO THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS AND DETAINEES IN IRAQ, AFGHANISTAN, AND GUANTANAMO BAY

JULY 22, 2004.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

Mr. Hyde, from the Committee on International Relations, submitted the following

ADVERSE REPORT

together with

DISSENTING VIEWS

[To accompany H. Res. 699]

The Committee on International Relations, to whom was referred the resolution (H. Res. 699) directing the Secretary of State to transmit to the House of Representatives documents in the possession of the Secretary of State relating to the treatment of prisoners and detainees in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Guantanamo Bay, having considered the same, reports adversely thereon without amendment and recommends that the resolution not be agreed to.

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PURPOSE AND SUMMARY

House Resolution 699 directs the Secretary of State to transmit to the House of Representatives not later than 14 days after the date of the adoption of this resolution documents in the possession of the Secretary of State relating to the treatment of prisoners and detainees in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Guantanamo.

BACKGROUND AND NEED FOR THE LEGISLATION

House Resolution 699 is a resolution of inquiry, which pursuant to rule XIII, clause 7, of the Rules of the House of Representatives, directs the Committee to act on the resolution within 14 legislative days, or a privileged motion to discharge the Committee is in order. H. Res. 699 was introduced and referred to the Committee on International Relations on June 25, 2004, and was ordered reported adversely by the Committee on July 15, 2004.

Under the rules and precedents of the House, a resolution of inquiry is the means by which the House requests information from the President of the United States or the head of one of the executive departments. According to *Deschler's Precedents* it is a simple resolution making a direct request or demand of the President or the head of an executive department to furnish the House of Representatives with specific factual information in the possession of

the executive branch.

On June 25, 2004, Mr. Conyers of Michigan introduced H. Res. 699, a resolution of inquiry directing the Secretary of State to transmit to the House of Representatives not later than 14 days after the date of the adoption of this resolution documents in the possession of the Secretary of State relating to the treatment of prisoners and detainees in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Guantanamo.

H. Res. 699 would direct the Secretary of State to transmit to the House of Representatives documents that are largely in the custody of the Department of Defense, not the State Department, making the request primarily a matter falling within the jurisdiction of the

House Armed Services and Intelligence Committees.

The Administration and the Department of Defense have released a great number of the requested documents or have made them available for Members of Congress and senior staff to review. Included among the documents made available to Members and senior staff of the House International Relations Committee by the Department of Defense is the administrative investigation of detainee operations and the 800th Military Police Brigade completed by Major General Taguba, USA, including all classified annexes,

which exceeds 6,000 pages.

The Administration has released numerous sensitive, high-level documents to the Congress, including the February 7, 2003, Presidential memorandum, "Humane Treatment of al-Qaeda and Taliban Detainees," the January 22, 2002, Department of Justice memorandum for the Counsel to the President, "Application of Treaties and Laws to al-Qaeda and Taliban Detainees," the February 1, 2002, Attorney General letter to the President regarding status of Taliban detainees, the February 6, 2002, Information Paper, "Background Information on Taliban Forces," the February 7, 2002, Department of Justice memorandum, "Status of Taliban Forces Under Article 4 of the Third Geneva Convention of 1949," the December 2, 2002, Department of Defense memorandum, "Counter-Resistance Techniques" (includes document created for June 22, 2003, press briefing listing interrogation techniques), the January 15, 2003, Department of Defense memorandum, "Counter-Resistance Techniques," the January 15, 2003, Department of Defense memorandum, "Detainee Interrogations" along with the January 17, 2003, Department of Defense memorandum implementing

the January 15, 2003 memorandum, the April 4, 2003, Department of Defense Working Group Report on "Detainee Interrogations in the Global War on Terrorism: Assessment of Legal, Historical, Policy, and Operational Considerations," the April 16, 2003, Department of Defense memorandum, "Counter-Resistance Techniques in the War on Terrorism," and excerpts from the Army Field Manual, the February 26, 2002, Department of Justice memorandum, "Potential Legal Constraints Applicable to Interrogations of Persons Captured by U.S. Armed Forces in Afghanistan," the August 1, 2002, Department of Justice letter regarding application of the Convention Against Torture and the Rome Statute on the International Criminal Court, among others.

Other relevant documents released or made available to the Congress by the Department of Defense include the Department of Defense interrogation guidelines approved by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld in April 2003, the October 12, 2003, directive of Lieutenant General Ricardo Sanchez entitled "Interrogation and Counter-Resistance Policy," the October 2003 report of Major General Geoffrey Miller regarding intelligence, interrogation operations, and detention operations (provided within the Major General Taguba report), among others. In all, as of July 15, 2004, the Department of Defense has forwarded to Congress 75 documents, comprising thousands of pages, and has declassified several inter-

rogation memorandums.

The Department of Defense has over 140 ongoing criminal investigations of allegations of abuse of detainees in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Guantanamo Bay, including investigations into alleged killings of detainees. The Department of Defense has twice briefed the staff of the Committee on these ongoing investigations and has offered to brief Members of the Committee on a periodic basis. The Committee is mindful of taking no action that would interfere or im-

pede ongoing criminal investigations.

In addition to the ongoing criminal investigations and the 6,000-page Major General Taguba report, there are six ongoing administrative investigations into the detainee situation at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq. These reports include a senior general officer review of military intelligence and contractor interrogation procedures of the 205th Military Intelligence Brigade personnel at Abu Ghraib, an Army Inspector General assessment of doctrine and training of detention operations, a general officer review of detainee operations and facilities in Afghanistan, a review initiated by the Secretary of Defense into interrogation practices to ensure that all appropriate guidance is being followed worldwide, an army reserve command assessment of reserve training focused on military police and intelligence, and an independent, bi-partisan examination of detainees by the "Schlesinger panel."

The Schlesinger panel is bi-partisan and composed of former Secretaries of Defense James Schlesinger and Harold Brown, the former Congresswoman Tillie Fowler, and General Charles Horner, USAF (Retired). The panel is tasked with providing independent, professional advice on the issues the *panel members* consider most pertinent related to the various allegations. The panel has been given extraordinary authority to exercise independent judgment. Department of Defense personnel are directed to collect information for the panel to review and assist the panel as the panel deems ap-

propriate. Panel members may review issues such as force structure, training of regular and reserve personnel, use of contractors, organization, detention policy and procedures, interrogation policy and procedures, the relationship between detention and interrogation, compliance with the Geneva Conventions, relationships with the International Committee of the Red Cross, command relationships, and operational practices. The Secretary of Defense welcomes any information the panel may develop on issues of personal accountability. (See attached memorandum.)

The Secretary of Defense has directed the panel members to examine the pace, breadth, and thoroughness of the existing investigations, and determine whether additional investigations need to be initiated—providing, in effect, an independent, bi-partisan eval-

uation of the adequacy of the investigations.

The Department of Defense has committed to providing Members and senior staff of the Committee access to and senior briefings on all these investigations, including the report by the Schlesinger nanel

The Department of Defense has committed to providing Members and senior staff of the Committee access to and senior briefings on all reports of the International Committee of the Red Cross relat-

ing to detainee issues worldwide.

Over a period of the last 34 legislative days, Department of Defense witnesses, including the Secretary of Defense and the Deputy Secretary of Defense, have testified at 15 hearings, conducted 31 Member briefings, and 25 staff briefings, including briefings to the House International Relations Committee. As of July 15, 2004, senior Department of Defense officials had briefed or met with over 285 Members of Congress regarding the treatment and detention of persons under the control of the Department of Defense. On July 14, 2004, the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence held a full day of hearings on detainees issues with three panels of witnesses.

For all the reasons above, the Committee ordered H. Res. 699 reported adversely.

HEARINGS

The Committee did not hold hearings on H. Res. 699.

COMMITTEE CONSIDERATION

On July 15, 2004, the Committee met in open session and with a quorum being present ordered the resolution of inquiry H. Res. 699 reported adversely to the House without amendment by a record vote of 23 ayes to 19 noes.

VOTE OF THE COMMITTEE

A motion to report H. Res. 699 adversely to the House was

agreed to by a record vote of 23 ayes to 19 noes.

Voting yes: Hyde, Bereuter, Smith (NJ), Burton, Gallegly, Ros-Lehtinen, Ballenger, Rohrabacher, Royce, King, Chabot, Houghton, McHugh, Tancredo, Smith (MI), Pitts, Flake, Davis, Green, Weller, Pence, McCotter, and Harris.

Voting no: Lantos, Berman, Ackerman, Menendez, Sherman, Wexler, Engel, Delahunt, Meeks, Lee, Crowley, Hoeffel,

Blumenauer, Berkley, Napolitano, Schiff, Smith (WA), McCollum, and Chandler.

COMMITTEE OVERSIGHT FINDINGS

The Committee held no oversight activities under clause 2(b)(1) of rule X of the Rules of the House of Representatives.

PERFORMANCE GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

The rule requiring a statement of performance goals and objectives is inapplicable.



SECRETARY OF DEFENSE 1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

MAY 12 2004

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JAMES R. SCHLESINGER, CHAIRMAN THE HONORABLE HAROLD BROWN THE HONORABLE TILLIE K. FOWLER GENERAL CHARLES A. HORNER, USAF (RET.)

SUBJECT: Independent Panel to Review DoD Detention Operations

Various organizations of the Department of Defense have investigated, or will investigate, various aspects of allegations of abuse at DoD Detention Facilities and other matters related to detention operations. Thus far these inquiries include the following:

- --Criminal investigations into individual allegations
- -Army Provost Marshal General assessment of detention and corrections operations in Iraq
- --Joint Task Force Guantanamo assistance visit to Iraq to assess intelligence operations
- --Administrative Investigation under AR 15-6 regarding Abu Ghraib operations
- --Army Inspector General assessment of doctrine and training for detention operations
- Commander, Joint Task Force-7 review of activities of military intelligence personnel at Abu Ghraib
- --Army Reserve Command Inspector General assessment of training of Reserve units regarding military intelligence and military police
- --Naval Inspector General review of detention procedures at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and the Naval Consolidated Brig, Charleston, South Carolina

I have been or will be briefed on the results of these inquiries and the corrective actions taken by responsible officials within the Department.

It would be helpful to me to have your independent, professional advice on the issues that you consider most pertinent related to the various allegations, based on your review of completed and pending investigative reports and other materials and information. I am especially interested in your views on the cause of the problems and what should be done to fix them. Issues such as force structure, training of regular and reserve personnel, use of contractors, organization, detention policy and procedures, interrogation policy and procedures, the relationship between detention and interrogation, compliance with the Geneva Conventions, relationship with the International Committee



of the Red Cross, command relationships, and operational practices may be contributing factors you might wish to review. Issues of personal accountability will be resolved through established military justice and administrative procedures, although any information you may develop will be welcome.

I would like your independent advice orally and in writing, preferably within 45 days after you begin your review. DoD personnel will collect information for your review and assist you as you deem appropriate. You are to have access to all relevant DoD investigations and other DoD information unless prohibited by law. Reviewing all written materials relevant to these issues may be sufficient to allow you to provide your advice. Should you believe it necessary to travel or conduct interviews, the Director of Administration and Management will make appropriate arrangements.

I intend to provide your report to the Committees on Armed Services, the Secretaries of the Military Departments, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Commanders of the Combatant Commands, the Directors of the Defense Agencies, and others as appropriate. If your report contains classified information, please also provide an unclassified version suitable for public release.

By copy of this memorandum, I request the Director of Administration and Management to secure the necessary technical, administrative and legal support for your review from the Department of Defense Components. I appoint you as full-time employees of this Department without pay under 10 U.S.C. §1583. I request all Department of Defense personnel to cooperate fully with your review and to make available all relevant documents and information at your request.

ZURpu

cc: SECRETARIES OF THE MILITARY DEPARTMENTS
CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
UNDER SECRETARIES OF DEFENSE
DIRECTOR, DEFENSE RESEARCH AND ENGINEERING
ASSISTANT SECRETARIES OF DEFENSE
GENERAL COUNSEL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE
DIRECTOR, OPERATIONAL TEST AND EVALUATION
ASSISTANTS TO THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

DIRECTOR, ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT DIRECTOR, FORCE TRANSFORMATION DIRECTOR, NET ASSESSMENT DIRECTOR, PROGRAM ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION DIRECTORS OF THE DEFENSE AGENCIES DIRECTORS OF THE DOD FIELD ACTIVITIES



SECRETARY OF DEFENSE 1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

JUL 15 2004

The Honorable Duncan Hunter Chairman Committee on Armed Services U.S. House of Representatives Washington, D.C. 20515-6035

Dear Chairman Hunter:

Thank you for the opportunity to respond to House Resolution 689. The Department of Defense has presented, or is preparing to present as they become available, the following reports and information to the Congress:

- Reports received by the Department of Defense from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) concerning the treatment of detainees
- Briefings and reports on at least six major investigations ongoing within the Department of Defense, including:
 - a) Major General Fay's review of military intelligence and contractor interrogation procedures;
 - The assessment by the Army Inspector General on overall doctrine and training of detention operations;
 - Brigadier General Jacoby's review of detainee operations and facilities in Afghanistan;
 - d) Vice Admiral Church's investigation into detention operations and detainee interrogation techniques;
 - e) The Army Reserve Command assessment of reserve training, with a special focus on Military Intelligence and Military Police functions;
 - f) The Schlesinger Panel independent review into the pace, breadth, and thoroughness of the investigations and whether additional investigations need to be initiated.
- 3. The Department will also continue its practice of periodically updating Members on the status of relevant criminal investigations.

Over the last 34 legislative days, Department witnesses, including the Deputy Secretary and me, have testified at 15 hearings, conducted 31 Member briefings, and 25 staff briefings. Additionally, the Department has forwarded to Congress 75 documents, comprising several thousand pages, and has declassified



several interrogation memorandums for the record. We have briefed or met with 285 Members regarding the treatment and detention of persons under the control of the Department of Defense.

It is almost certain additional information will come to light that we have not anticipated and which will call for further investigation. However, we have tried to be expansive in the investigations we have initiated, and are ready to initiate others should the facts suggest the need to do so. Further, we have tried to be forthcoming with the Congress and, where appropriate, the media and general public with respect to our activities and initial findings.

Sincerely,

ZURju

cc: Honorable Henry J. Hyde

Chairman, Committee on International Relations



PRINCIPAL DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE 2000 DEFENSE PENTAGON WASHINGTON, DC 20301-2000



POLICY

JUL 1 5 2004

Honorable Henry Hyde Chairman, Committee on International Relations House of Representatives Washington, DC 20515

Dear Chairman Hyde:

I am writing to provide assurance that upon a request from the Committee, the Department of Defense is prepared to make available for review to Members and staff directors all information contained in reports from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) relating to Iraq.

Should other reports from the ICRC on Iraq be transmitted to the Department, we will make that information available to the Committee as well.

Sincerely,

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COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

U.S. House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515-6035

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTH CONGRESS

LOBETTA SANCHEZ CALIPONYA MIKE MORTHATE NOPH CAPONY CHO DI PODRI OLEZ TRAN-LELINO OTRASCHE CALIFORNIA MARCHE PILL, INDONA LINE SANCHO, COMMENCIAL SUSAN A DAVE CALIFORNIA LAMES RI LINDONA NOPHOCKA LAMES RI LINDONA NOPHOCKA LAMES RI LINDONA NOPHOCKA LINCOOPER, TOMBESPI LINCOOPER, TOMBESPI SENDRIC REPORT NOPHOCKA EXCLARBENT MERCHANIA CANCELLEN LE SCHOOL COLLEGA MARCHE RIC LE SCHOOL COLLEGA MA

July 15, 2004

RUBERT'S RANGEL STAFF DIPECTOR

Honorable Henry Hyde Chairman, Committee on International Relations 2170 Rayburn House Office Building Washington, DC 20515

Dear Henry:

As you know, the Secretary of Defense has promised to present to Congress briefings and reports on the six major investigations ongoing within the Department of Defense regarding detainee policy, including:

- a) Major General Fay's review of military intelligence and contractor interrogation procedures;
- b) The assessment by the Army Inspector General on overall doctrine and training of detention operations;
- c) Brigadier General Jacoby's review of detainee operations and facilities in Afghanistan; d) Vice Admiral Church's investigation into detention operations and detainee interrogation techniques.
- e) The Army Reserve Command assessment of reserve training with a special focus on Military Intelligence and Military Police functions.
- f) The Schlesinger Panel independent review into the pace, breadth, and thoroughness of the investigations and whether additional investigations need to be initiated.

Recognizing your committee's interest in these issues, consistent with applicable procedures for protecting national security information, I commit to make those reports in the possession of the Committee on Armed Services available to members of the Committee on International Relations for review.

With best wishes,

Duncan Hunter Chairman

DISSENTING VIEWS

We deeply regret the decision of the Committee to report H.Res. 699 to the whole House unfavorably and we respectfully dissent. We believe that today we betrayed a sacred trust given to Congress by the founding fathers and the American people—to serve as a check and a balance against the executive branch. As part of that role, Congress was designed to be the watchdog of the executive, whichever side of the aisle we are on.

For example, on July 19, 1999 Chairman Dreier quoted Lee Hamilton, the former Democratic Chairman of this very Committee. Chairman Hamilton had said, "Oversight is designed to throw light on the activities of government. It can protect the country from the imperial presidency and from bureaucratic arrogance. It can expose and prevent misconduct, and maintain a degree of constituency influence in an administration. The responsibility of oversight is to look into every nook and cranny of government affairs." Chairman Dreier then concurred with his Democratic colleague in stating, "I wholeheartedly agree with our distinguished former colleague. As Chairman of the Committee that is charged with the responsibility of safeguarding the privileges and prerogatives of this esteemed institution, I believe Congress should vigorously conduct oversight in order to fulfill the legacy of our Founding Fathers—which is ultimately to preserve and protect our fragile democracy."

At no time has there been a more urgent case than dealing with the detention abuses that have occurred in Iraq, Guantanamo, and Afghanistan. We are sure that the Committee unanimously agrees that the disgusting pictures of Iraqi detainees being abused by members of our military were a disgrace. It was wholly inconsistent with the character of our nation and the nature of our military. It has been an embarrassment to our government, to our

brave and dedicated troops in the field, and to each of us.

Some institutions in the Congress have taken up this challenge to our values. Indeed, in the aftermath of this episode, the Senate Armed Services Committee embarked on a thorough inquiry of this scandal, including hearing from the author of the original investigation of the Abu Ghraib prison. The Chairman of that Committee seems likely to continue his efforts. Similarly, it would seem obvious that such aberrant behavior would be ripe for a serious and full ranging investigation by this House.

Regrettably, no such investigation has taken place. In fact, despite repeated requests by the Democratic leadership and ranking members of the relevant Committees members of the majority leadership have repeatedly said that an investigation is unwarranted and have criticized the Chairman of the Senate Armed Services

Committee for asserting a proper role for Congress.

The position of the majority leadership is simply unacceptable. When the work of government goes as far astray as it apparently has in this case, it is palpably clear that the legislative branch needs to exert more authority to provide both direction and oversight. This affair has damaged our country's credibility, it undermined U.S. ability to promote human rights and prevent torture, and it crippled our efforts to advance peace in the Middle East.

To counteract these perceptions, we have to ensure that we thoroughly investigate these matters and be seen as doing so. Damage to our foreign policy of this magnitude can only be corrected by a full, independent investigation that is perceived as credible and relentless, including up the chain of command to the highest levels. Indeed, the recent replacement of General Faye with yet another officer in the investigation of actions of military intelligence officers has not helped in this regard. It will raise further questions of who is looking at the actions on the civilian side. The continuing detention of individuals by the military, without allowing registration by the International Committee of the Red Cross raises other serious issues regarding the acts of the Defense Department's civilian leadership.

Moreover, the memoranda from the Department of Justice issued in August 2002 that have recently come to light highlights the need for an inquiry into this matter. These memos, which claim that the President can ignore U.S. law and treaty obligations preventing torture and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment, represent a usurpation of power by the Executive Branch written by lawyers who acted as if they were arguing their case in court rather than giving the President their best advice. Moreover, the Justice Department argument that physical acts can only be considered torture when the physical pain results in "organ failure, impairment of bodily function, or death" flies fully in the face of the Senate's statements regarding advice and consent to ratification of the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, (G.A. res. 39/46, [annex, 39 U.N. GAOR Supp. (No. 51) at 197, U.N. Doc. A/39/51 (1984), entered into force June 26, 1987).

One aspect of this affair which demands our attention is the apparent unwillingness of the Department of Justice to consult with the U.S. Government experts on international law, the Office of the Legal Adviser at the Department of State. It appears that after the State Department disagreed with the Justice and Defense Departments on the application of the Geneva Conventions to detainees in Afghanistan and Guantanamo Bay, the Justice and Defense Departments decided not to consult State on these critical issues of international law. We cannot allow a system of government where experts are ignored and the President receives uninformed legal advice.

This is not an esoteric lawyers' argument. When our Justice Department says it is legal to torture others, our enemies will point to our own statements to justify the maiming and killing of Americans. That is why we enter into and abide by international treaties of these types, to help hold all others to the higher standard we believe in.

In light of the majority leadership's refusal to sanction any investigation, we on our side have submitted identical resolutions of inquiry to each of the major committees to help these committees, hoping that each committee would approve these resolutions on a bipartisan basis. Regrettably, that was not the case with the Committee on International Relations.

We recognize that there are a number of investigations being conducted of this matter, although as we have described, some of these actions have not given the world confidence that they are comprehensive. We would also remind our colleagues that even in this Administration there have been congressional inquiries conducted while the U.S. Government had a criminal investigation open. Just to cite one case, in the last Congress both the House and the Senate conducted an investigation of the Enron scandal with multiple hearings and the subpoena of Justice Department targets, including calling all the major corporate officers who have been subject to plea agreements and indictments or remain targets of the investigation. Allegations of insider trading involving Martha Stewart were also investigated by congressional committees during the course of a criminal investigation. Of course, in the last Administration there were numerous congressional investigations of matters under criminal investigation (including some where grand juries were active). President Clinton turned over, for example, documents totaling more than 1.2 million pages to the House Government Reform Committee alone despite ongoing criminal investigations, and congressional investigations encompassed the Waco Incident, the U.S. technology transfers to China, allegations of campaign finance violations, the White House Travel office and many others. And the Iran-Contra Commission investigated the foreign policy implications of that affair while an independent counsel conducted his own investigation.

If this were not a pattern of neglect, we would feel less strongly. But whether it is the failure to find weapons of mass destruction, Iraqi war profiteering or the release of the name of a covert CIA agent for political purposes, the House has been reluctant or wholly failed to conduct its own investigations. One would have thought that at least one of these matters would have yielded an investigation by this Committee. And while many of the documents requested by H.Res. 699 may have been produced by agencies other than the Department of State, other requests are directly relevant. The State Department, for example, should have been receiving warnings from the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission and relevant nongovernmental organizations. Moreover, the lack of documents from other agencies would help demonstrate the manner in which other agencies excluded the Department from their deliberations.

The need to shed light on these issues should be self-evident, especially in the body commonly known as The People's House. Senators from both parties have been living up to their responsibilities and calling the Administration to account for its policies. We fail to understand why all our colleagues in the House of Representatives do not see that this is the right thing to do. Therefore, we urge all of the Members of this Committee and the full House, from both parties, to recall the words of our distinguished former rank-

ing Member Hamilton and the words of Chairman Dreier and "vigorously conduct oversight in order to fulfill the legacy of our Founding Fathers—which is ultimately to preserve and protect our fragile democracy."

TOM LANTOS.
HOWARD L. BERMAN.
GARY L. ACKERMAN.
ROBERT MENENDEZ.
BRAD SHERMAN.
ROBERT WEXLER.
GREGORY W. MEEKS.
JOSEPH M. HOEFFEL.
SHELLEY BERKLEY.
DIANE E. WATSON.
BETTY MCCOLLUM.
WILLIAM D. DELAHUNT.
EARL BLUMENAUER.
BARBARA LEE.
GRACE F. NAPOLITANO.
ADAM SMITH.
DONALD M. PAYNE.
SHERROD BROWN.
ELIOT L. ENGEL.

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