

can now help drive the direction of policy, national policy in Iraq. This is a silly resolution. I recommend a "no" vote.

IRAQ WAR RESOLUTION

(Mr. ARCURI asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. ARCURI. Mr. Speaker, the American people and both Democrat and Republican Members of Congress are demanding a new direction in Iraq.

It is long past time for Congress to debate whether or not the President's latest troop escalation will actually change the situation on the ground in Iraq. This is a debate that Congress must have. We will all have 5 minutes to explain to our constituents and to the American people and to our troops why we either support the President's strategy or why we think it is time for a new direction.

This is the first time since the war began that every Member of the House will have 5 minutes to speak about the situation in Iraq. The last time Congress was allowed so much time for a debate on the war was during the lead-up to the first gulf war back in the 1990s.

Mr. Speaker, every single one of us in this House supports the efforts our troops are making in Iraq. Some believe the best way to support them is to allow the President to conduct the war in any way he sees fit, without question. I believe it is our job in Congress to ask the tough questions, and that is what we are doing this week.

□ 1015

AMERICA NEEDS A BALANCED BUDGET

(Mr. BUCHANAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to ask my colleagues to join me in cosponsoring legislation, H.J. Res. 21, which would add a balanced budget amendment to the United States Constitution. The amendment sets the financially responsible goal of balancing the budget by the year 2012.

Currently, the national debt is \$8.6 trillion. Each taxpayer's share of that debt is almost \$29,000. In fiscal year 2006, over \$400 billion of taxpayers' money was spent on interest payments to the holders of the national debt.

Last year the interest paid on the national debt was the third largest expense of the Federal budget. The debt is increasing by over \$1 billion every day. Our economy is ready for us to set this important priority.

Last year alone Federal revenues increased 11.8 percent. Receipts this year have grown by 8 percent so far in the first quarter compared to last year in that first quarter. Forty-nine out of 50 States, including my home State of Florida, currently have a balanced

budget. It is time that we follow the lead there and balance the budget for the country.

AMERICA'S GROWING TRADE DEFICIT

(Ms. KAPTUR asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, our Nation needs a course correction in our foreign policy, and we are being given the chance by the Democratic leadership this week to debate it fully, as we should have when that resolution was first debated in this House.

Our country needs many course corrections, including on the economy. President Bush's trade policy has clearly failed, as his foreign policy has, as American workers and American businesses find we are losing more jobs to imports again. The confirmed numbers for 2006 released today show that the annual trade deficit in 2006 doubled since this President took office.

In fact, for 2006 the trade deficit equaled \$763.6 billion and broke the prior year's trade deficit by adding another 6 percent more deficit from 2005's level of \$716 billion.

Five straight years of record deficits have left millions more Americans with displaced jobs, outsourced jobs, unemployment across regions of this country, and putting our financial future in the hands of foreign creditors such as China and Saudi Arabia.

Mr. Speaker, to grant renewed fast track authority to this President would be a serious mistake and irresponsible. This administration needs a course correction by this Congress, both in foreign policy and in domestic economic policy.

AMERICA NEEDS A COURSE CORRECTION IN INTERNATIONAL AND ECONOMIC POLICY

(Mr. KUCINICH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KUCINICH. Mr. Speaker, I want to agree with my colleague from Ohio that we need a course correction in international and domestic policy.

As Congress prepares to debate a nonbinding resolution on Iraq, this administration is already on its way to the next war against Iran. We are losing our democracy to war and to debt. We are borrowing money from China, from Korea and Japan to fight a war in Baghdad and to prepare for war against Iran.

Meanwhile here at home, there are so many people that lack access to adequate health care, who do not have money for housing or education. We do not have money for job creation, but we have money for war. It is time to stand up for the American people. It is time for Congress to assume its full power under the Constitution. It is time to impose some discipline on this

administration. It is time for Congress to truly be a coequal branch of government and to do the work for the American people.

BOTH PARTIES SUPPORT TROOPS EVEN THOUGH WE VOICE OPPOSITION TO BUSH PLAN

(Mr. PALLONE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, Congress has a responsibility to the American people and to our troops bravely serving our Nation in Iraq to debate the President's plan to send 21,500 more troops to Iraq.

Today this House will begin debate on a bipartisan resolution supporting our troops and voicing disapproval with the President's plan. I want to say, Mr. Speaker, it really concerns me that some of the Republicans on the other side this morning talked about this debate as silly and tried to trivialize a debate that involves our troops who are fighting, some of whom are dying in Iraq.

Our own intelligence agencies released a report earlier this month saying that the war in Iraq is not a civil war, it is worse, with numerous groups killing each other to gain the upper hand. Four times before, the President has sent thousands of additional troops to Iraq, and each time the situation on the ground either remained the same or grew even more dangerous. Could that be why our generals concluded, before being let go by this President, that sending more troops to Iraq simply will not help the situation?

Mr. Speaker, Congress needs to ask the tough questions this week so we can begin taking our Iraq strategy in a new direction.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H. CON. RES. 63, IRAQ WAR RESOLUTION

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 157 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 157

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order without intervention of any point of order to consider in the House the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 63) disapproving of the decision of the President announced on January 10, 2007, to deploy more than 20,000 additional United States combat troops to Iraq. The concurrent resolution shall be considered as read. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the concurrent resolution to final adoption without intervening motion or demand for division of the question except: (1) debate not beyond midnight on Tuesday, February 13, 2007, equally divided and controlled by the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader or their designees; (2) debate not beyond midnight on Wednesday, February 14, 2007, equally divided and controlled by the Majority Leader and the Minority

Leader or their designees; (3) 12 hours of debate commencing on Thursday, February 15, 2007, equally divided and controlled by the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader or their designees; and (4) one motion to recommit which may not contain instructions.

SEC. 2. During consideration of House Concurrent Resolution 63 pursuant to this resolution, notwithstanding any other provision of this resolution, on each demand of the Majority Leader or his designee after consultation with the Minority Leader, it shall be in order at any time to debate the concurrent resolution for an additional hour equally divided and controlled by the Majority Leader and Minority Leader or their designees.

SEC. 3. During consideration of House Concurrent Resolution 63 pursuant to this resolution, notwithstanding the operation of the previous question, the Chair may postpone further consideration of the concurrent resolution to a time designated by the Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. WEINER). The gentlewoman from New York (Ms. SLAUGHTER) is recognized for 1 hour.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

For the purpose of debate only, I am pleased to yield the customary 30 minutes to my colleague from California (Mr. DREIER). All time yielded during consideration of the rule is for debate only.

Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Ms. SLAUGHTER asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, H. Res. 157 provides for comprehensive consideration of H. Con. Res. 63. It provides all of the Members of this House with 3 full days of debate on this important matter. It is a momentous day for us, Mr. Speaker.

This is the debate that many of us have yearned for for at least 4 years, and our constituents have long suffered the lack of this debate. Every Member who wishes to speak on the resolution will have the opportunity to do so.

The rule also, in addition to the time in the rule, allows the majority leader at any time, after consultation with the minority leader, to extend the debate when necessary.

On January 10, President Bush announced an escalation of the Iraq war that will put as many as 50,000 more of our men and women in harm's way. Why 50,000 and not 20,000? Because the number of support groups who have to be there to support the troops adds up to nearly 50,000.

This body owes them an explanation for why at this moment in history the sacrifice is justified. Democrats and Republicans alike are determined to defend our Nation from harm and are wholly committed to supporting and protecting the members of our Armed Forces. But numerous military officials of the highest ranks, like General Colin Powell, General John Abizaid, and many, many others, have expressed a strong belief that increasing the number of combat troops in Iraq will not improve the situation in the country.

Two-thirds of the American people believe that further escalating the war is the wrong path to follow. This morning, 67 percent of them polled said we should get out at once. Even respected Members in the House and the Senate have been quick to state publicly that they oppose any troop escalation.

Republican Representative STEVE LATOURETTE best explained this broad bipartisan opposition to the President's plan. Like many Americans, he recently said, I desperately want America to succeed in Iraq and I would welcome a fresh approach, but this is not a fresh approach. This is more of the same.

For 4 years, through the deaths of 3,126 American service people and nearly 60,000 Iraqi civilians and 25 to 30,000 grievously wounded, through the forced dislocation of millions of Iraqi families, through numerous troop escalations, and \$379 billion appropriated by this Congress, through unbearable strain stretching our National Guard and Army Reserve, their members, and their families to the breaking point, more of the same has never worked.

As of last June, only 25 percent of the Iraqis had clean water to drink. The oil production has fallen by nearly half since the war began. The unemployment rate in Iraq as of December ranged between 25 and 40 percent.

Sixty-seven more innocent civilians were killed just yesterday in yet another bombing. Eighty-four of our troops were killed last month. Forty-one have been killed in the last 2 weeks alone. My district has suffered six casualties since 2005, and 140 men and women from my State of New York have been killed so far in Iraq.

Every piece of evidence suggests that the strategy currently employed by this administration is failing in Iraq. The only argument being used to support an escalation of the war would be one of trust. If we just give the President one more chance, we are told, things will be different.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the American people and the military leaders who know what war really is and a broad majority of this Congress are tired of giving this administration one more chance and have no reason to give it our trust.

The Pentagon Inspector General recently reported that statements made by Under Secretary of Defense Douglas Feith, during the runup to war, were "inconsistent with the consensus in the intelligence community and drew conclusions that were not fully supported by available intelligence."

Mr. Feith joins the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, Secretary Rumsfeld, Secretary Rice, and many others who made statements which simply misled us into war. So why should we trust the administration's assessments of Iraq?

Why should we trust the President to give the new troops that he wants to send the protection that they need to

come back home unharmed? Despite all the President's rhetoric in support of our Armed Forces, a second Pentagon report released at the end of January bluntly states that for years in Iraq and Afghanistan "servicemembers experienced a shortage of force protection equipment and were not always equipped to effectively complete their mission."

In fact, the report speaks of soldiers having to trade off Kevlar vests because there were not enough for each of them. This is what is happening today, Mr. Speaker. We were aware when we first went into the war that we were ill prepared, but 4 years later it is no better.

The Washington Post noted just yesterday that many Humvees still do not have the armor needed to protect them from the bombs that are killing and injuring 70 percent of our troops abroad.

□ 1030

While our troops have gone unprotected, corruption exploitation and incompetence has squandered billions of dollars and allowed vital reconstruction projects to be handed to well-connected companies that failed to fulfill their duties. Unbid contracts proliferate. Despite it all, for years the administration treated accountability as if it were a dirty word.

And why should we expect that without a radical change, of course, that things will suddenly improve?

Mr. Speaker, changing a broken course in Iraq is not going to demoralize our troops or abandon them. Frankly, they must wonder what it is we have been doing here all along. To the contrary, it is the only way to support the troops.

Changing a broken course will not provide our enemies with encouragement either. If our strategy is not working, then why would we help our enemies by resolutely adhering to the failing plan?

Now, that is a question that needs to be asked again. If our strategy is not working, why would we help our enemy by resolutely adhering to the failing plan?

Democrats are insisting on a new level of accountability in Congress, calling 52 hearings since January 4. But we also need a new course in Iraq. We need to oppose this escalation and stubborn adherence to a failing strategy.

We need to shift our focus and footprint in the region and to accept what so many observers have known for years: The conflict in Iraq will only be solved politically, not militarily.

As strongly as I feel on this matter, Mr. Speaker, I recognize that many of my colleagues in the House have a different perspective.

What is needed is a serious discussion conducted by serious people. The first step of such a discussion is a focused, clear and full debate on the question of the escalation itself. We need an unambiguous up-or-down vote on the escalation. We are keeping this rule and

this bill so straightforward in order to best achieve that result.

I want to emphasize that this is the first step, and Congress will have many opportunities during discussions of the supplemental funding request, for example, to debate the numerous dimensions of this war and to present new ways forward.

But we must first know where we stand. Our goal this week is to establish whether Congress disagrees or agrees with the President's current approach to Iraq. If the answer is no, then we will have the basis for forcing the President to work in a bipartisan way with us to change that approach.

The obvious truth is that a failure to achieve such a change will seal the fate of this war as one of the greatest blunders in America's history.

I urge a "yes" vote on the previous question and on the rule.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to express my appreciation to my distinguished colleague, the gentlewoman from Rochester, New York, the distinguished Chair of the Committee on Rules. And I appreciate having the customary 30 minutes, and I yield myself such time as I might consume.

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

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to this rule and the underlying resolution. This rule lays out a bad process, and the underlying legislation lays out bad policy.

This rule silences any meaningful debate on the floor by denying both Republicans and Democrats the right to offer any amendments or any substitute whatsoever.

Mr. Speaker, the Democratic leadership has attempted to mask this denial of real debate by providing us with 36 hours of floor time. But this nearly unprecedented amount of time is really little more than a joke; 36 hours of debate, without any opportunity whatsoever to voice dissent with a substitute, amounts to nothing more than 36 hours of talk. The American people want and deserve a real and meaningful debate, not empty gestures that show utter disregard for an honest and open discussion on this issue.

Why can't we have a discussion that explores real options and real solutions?

The reason is very clear, Mr. Speaker. Our Democratic colleagues have none.

It was bad enough when we addressed issues like stem cell research and minimum wage without any transparency or openness whatsoever. We have dealt with several important issues in a complete vacuum. But now, our Democratic colleagues are running roughshod over our national security, what is clearly the number one priority that we as a Federal Government, as federally elected officials, address.

We know, Mr. Speaker, that the war on terror and policy in Iraq is very

clearly the single most important issue that will be addressed by the 110th Congress. It clearly ranked very high on the list of issues voters cared about most in last November's election. The American people are concerned about this war, and they want to know that their elected officials are developing a sound and effective policy.

So what have the Democrats offered us? What is the substance of their proposal in a nonbinding resolution that denies the troops the numbers that they need to succeed? In other words, their proposal is, in fact, meaningless as legislation, and it is disastrous as a policy.

Mr. Speaker, it is an admission of defeat. And it is a vote of no confidence in our troops. Like it or not, it is a vote of no confidence in our troops. Why? Because it does not provide our troops what they need to succeed.

Mr. Speaker, we are all opposed to the status quo in Iraq. And the President stood right here when he delivered his State of the Union message and made it very clear. He wants this war to be over, and he wants it to be won.

We all know about the tremendous challenges that our men and women are facing over in Iraq. We all know that. We hear it regularly from our constituents, the families, and we hear it directly from the men and women who are serving. We all feel very deeply about the enormity of the sacrifice that so many have made in service to their country. And we know that they look to their Commander in Chief for a strategy for victory.

The President has put forth his strategy, Mr. Speaker. With the advice and close consultation of our generals in the field, he has called for a surge in troop levels in order to give our Armed Forces the support that they need.

Why, again is he doing this? So that he can give our men and women in uniform, our troops, the support that they need so that they can succeed.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it is our role as a Congress to thoroughly vet the President's proposal to ensure that we develop an effective policy for moving forward. With this resolution, the Democrats have ignored our constitutional role. They have not held a single hearing on this resolution. They have called not one expert witness to testify for the record on the merits of this resolution. All that they offer is a knee-jerk reaction against anything that the President says. Again, anything that the President says is wrong in the eyes of so many of our colleagues.

Obviously, we, Mr. Speaker, cannot be a rubber stamp for the executive branch, the second branch of government. But neither can we afford, neither can we forfeit our duty as a deliberative body to fully explore the plan that has been put forward and to craft sound public policy as it relates to this.

Mr. Speaker, in the absence of any deliberation, the Democrats have concocted a resolution that simply does,

as I say, concede defeat. To the American people, it admits the Democratic leadership is devoid of ideas. And to the troops, it admits that they have no faith in their mission, no faith in the troops' mission whatsoever, because they need this sound strategy that has been put into effect so that we can, in fact, attain victory and they can be successful.

What is worse, it tries to shroud their lack of faith in our military with platitudes about supporting our troops. You can't claim support for our troops without supporting their mission, Mr. Speaker. Again, you cannot claim to support our troops without supporting their mission. It is an outrage that they would deny our men and women in harm's way the traditional and additional support that they need to succeed.

Now, Mr. Speaker, yesterday afternoon I had an opportunity to talk with one of my constituents, a former marine called Ed Blecksmith. Very tragically, 2 years ago this past November, his son, J.P. was killed in one of the most famous battles in the war in Iraq, the battle of Fallujah. Mr. Blecksmith implored me to support a policy of victory. He said that his son's death will have been in vain if we do not complete our mission. He made that very clear to me. Again, we got into this battle to win, and victory is, in fact, the only option. That is from the father of a man who was tragically killed in Iraq.

And I know that we are going to hear a wide range of views over the next 36 hours that have come forward from different families. And, of course, our hearts go out to them. But I will say that this proud former marine does not want his son to have died in vain, and he is insistent that we do all that we can to ensure that we complete this mission.

Mr. Speaker, the war in Iraq, like all wars, has been very long, very difficult and very painful. It has come at a very high price, and we all know that it has taken its toll on the American people.

But, Mr. Speaker, we go to war to win. We go to war with a mission, and we dishonor the lives of those who have made the ultimate sacrifice, if we, in fact, abandon that mission.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution offers no hope to the troops, and it offers no hope to the people of this country who want to see the conflict in Iraq resolved so that our troops can come home to their families.

Mr. Speaker, they deserve better. We have a duty to offer them something better. We have a duty to pursue nothing less than victory.

I urge my colleagues to reject this rule, reject this resolution, and, instead, work together to fulfill our constitutional responsibility as effective legislators.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MCGOVERN).

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, let me begin by first thanking my colleagues, TOM LANTOS, IKE SKELTON and WALTER JONES for working together in a bipartisan way to create this very simple, straightforward and clear resolution. Their work will allow this House to have a full and fair debate and, at the end of this week, have a clear up-or-down vote on whether or not we support or oppose the President's plan to escalate this war in Iraq.

I also want to thank all my colleagues on the Rules Committee for a very thoughtful and productive debate last night.

Mr. Speaker, the American people are way ahead of the politicians in Washington on this issue. They want this war ended, and they want our troops to come home. Any Member of this House who has been home recently knows that the questions are increasing, the concern is growing, and the patience is running out.

The American people are tired of the bickering and partisan posturing. They are also tired of people trying to muddy the waters and confuse the issue. They want their leaders to be less concerned with saving political face and more concerned with saving lives.

It is my hope that at the end of this debate, the House will send a strong bipartisan message to the President of the United States that it is time to change course in Iraq.

I hope that the President will listen and will take the opportunity to sit down with us, roll up his sleeves and do the hard but necessary work of bringing this tragic war to an end.

If he does not, if he continues to ignore the will of the Congress and of the American people, then we will have no choice but to go beyond nonbinding resolutions.

Mr. Speaker, Members like me, who believe it is time to exercise the power of the purse, will get that opportunity when we take up the President's supplemental appropriations request and the fiscal year 2008 defense bills.

The best way to support our troops is to bring them home safely to their families. The best way to protect them is to begin their immediate, safe and orderly withdrawal from Iraq.

But this week we are focused, rightly in my opinion, on the narrow and important question of whether we support the President's desire to escalate the war.

The irony is that Members of this House will be given more time to debate this nonbinding resolution than they were given by the previous majority on the question of authorizing the war itself.

Mr. Speaker, this is not a meaningless exercise, which is what some of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle have said. For the first time in 4 years, the people's House will be on record opposing the President's policy in Iraq.

Mr. Speaker, the American people are watching. They want to know

where each Member stands on the issue of escalating the war in Iraq. That is the issue before us today. That is the only issue we shall be debating. It is what the American people want to know, and it is what the President of the United States needs to hear.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I have the distinct honor of yielding 5 minutes to my very distinguished colleague from Miami, Mr. DIAZ-BALART.

□ 1045

Mr. LINCOLN DIAZ-BALART of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman, my dear friend from California, for the time.

Mr. Speaker, after the debate in the Rules Committee last night where I hoped, and I made clear that it was my hope, that there would be an opportunity for the minority to present an alternative to this debate in the form of an alternative motion, an amendment, it was disappointing that that was not made possible. So now we are faced with a resolution before us that we cannot seek to amend with regard to that extraordinarily serious problem facing the United States of America: the crisis in Iraq.

Iraq presents the United States, Mr. Speaker, as the leader of the free world, with very difficult options, tough options. None of the options before us are simple nor easy. Clearly, as in every war in history, mistakes have been made. I believe, for example, that we should have learned the lessons from a neighbor of Iraq, from the creation in the 20th century of the Turkish state, modern Turkish state, by Ataturk, the father of that state, where the ability of religious parties, for example, to insert themselves into the political process was significantly limited. I think we could have done things such as that.

I admit, we all must admit, that mistakes have been made. But, Mr. Speaker, as the Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset said: "Man is man plus his circumstances," and our circumstances in Iraq today constitute our options.

What are our options? One option is partition. I do not believe that it is reasonable nor appropriate nor acceptable to very important realities in the region and factors in the region, I don't think that is a reasonable alternative. Another alternative is to withdraw before the situation is stabilized, before the democratically elected government in Iraq is stable. That is an option.

I happen to believe that the resolution before us, in effect, says this is the beginning of withdrawal. That is what the resolution says in effect. Melt it down. The resolution states this is the beginning of withdrawal, despite the fact that the situation in Iraq by the democratically elected government has not been stabilized.

So what will occur if we withdraw prematurely? Ethnic cleansing on a massive scale; obviously, the collapse of the current government; the creation of an ideal vacuum in power, a

power vacuum for international terrorism. We would see the creation of terrorist camps that would dwarf what we saw in Afghanistan before 9/11. Inevitably a surge in influence and the projection of power by the Iranian dictatorship. That uncontrolled projection of power in its quest to acquire, by the way, a nuclear weapon, that uncontrolled projection of power by Iran may very possibly lead to a regional war, Mr. Speaker, because the reality of the matter is that that region of the world cannot permit the uncontrolled projection of power by the Iranian dictatorship.

Now, the withdrawal could be, as I have stated, either announced and immediate or announced and phased. The reality of the matter is what the new congressional majority is bringing to the floor today is an announcement of withdrawal irrespective of what the situation may be on the ground in Iraq.

Another alternative, Mr. Speaker, is the President of the United States' attempt to stabilize the situation, to provide sufficient order, sufficient absence of chaos, for the government of Iraq to survive, for the sake not only of Iraq but of our national security. That is an option the President of the United States is trying to convert into a reality for the sake of our national security.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the options before us are not difficult. The resolution before us constitutes the wrong message at the wrong time in the wrong manner.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. MATSUI).

Ms. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from New York for yielding me the time and for her outstanding leadership on our committee.

Mr. Speaker, this debate is long overdue. There is no issue more serious or more urgent. The American people said loud and clear in the last election that they consider bringing this war to a close to be the singular imperative of their leaders. Yet rather than beginning to bring the troops home, the President has proposed escalating this conflict.

The American people deserve to know where their elected representatives stand on this, the most critical issue at this moment in history. This week the people will get their answer.

Mr. Speaker, here is where I stand: I opposed this war from the beginning, and I support several responsible proposals to bring this war to a close. I believe the President's proposed escalation would be a tragic mistake. It will most likely result in an increase in violence while only postponing the hard political choices the Iraqi people must make. It will also increase the strain on a military that is already stretched to the breaking point.

Mr. Speaker, it is critically important to make clear that Iraq has spiraled into civil war because of the failure of this country's political leadership, not our troops. Our brave men

and women in uniform have done everything that has been asked of them. The real tragedy is how ill served they have been by their political leadership.

I have heard firsthand from many families in Sacramento the impact this has had on their lives. Linda, a concerned mother, told me about her son, Nicholas, who serves as an Army sergeant in the 82nd Airborne in Germany. Shortly, he will be returning to Iraq for his third tour. And there are some 30 soldiers in the Sacramento area who have died in this war. I have met several times with members of the National Guard and Reserve and their families. Every Member knows what I am talking about. We have all done it. We all know the pain.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, this administration has failed to meet the most basic requirements of responsible leadership. As a result, it has abdicated any claim to deference from this Chamber on this war and has certainly relinquished the moral authority to send men and women into this catastrophe.

Undoubtedly, this Chamber will need to take more forceful action if we are to bring this war to a conclusion. But today is an important first step.

I urge my colleagues to support this resolution and to oppose this gravely mistaken proposal to escalate the war.

Mr. Speaker, this debate is long overdue. There is no issue more serious . . . or more urgent. The American People sent a message in the last election. That message was that they consider bringing this war to a close to be the singular imperative of their leaders.

Yet rather than beginning to bring troops home, the President has proposed escalating this conflict . . . sending tens of thousands of additional troops to Iraq.

Rather than change direction . . . they would instead continue down our current, disastrous path . . . only at a faster pace and with more human life placed in harm's way.

This week, every Member of the House of Representatives will have an opportunity to let their constituents know where they stand on the President's proposed escalation. That is only right.

The American people deserve to know where their elective representatives stand on this, the most critical issue at this moment of our history.

Mr. Speaker, here's where I stand. I opposed this war from the beginning, and I support several responsible proposals to bring this war to a close.

I believe the President's proposed escalation would be a tragic mistake. His stubborn insistence on pursuing the present course has been rejected by our military leaders . . . the independent Iraq study group . . . and a strong majority of the public. And with good reason.

This escalation will most likely result in an increase in violence while only postponing the hard political choices the Iraqi people must make.

Escalation of this conflict will also increase the strain on a military that is already stretched to the breaking point.

Mr. Speaker, it is critically important to make clear that Iraq has spiraled into civil war be-

cause of the failure of this country's political leadership . . . not our troops.

Our brave men and women in uniform have done everything that has been asked of them. They courageously put their lives on the line every day for us.

The real tragedy is how ill-served our men and women in uniform have been by their political leadership.

I have heard firsthand from many families in Sacramento about the impact this has had on their lives.

In 2005, I spoke with a group of women whose husbands were serving in the National Guard in Iraq.

One woman told me she bought her husband a Kevlar vest before he deployed . . . something all too many families were doing for their loved ones because the military wasn't providing it. Imagine the stress . . . sending a loved one into danger without the confidence that he would be given the needed equipment for protection.

And I have heard countless stories about the hardships being created by the multiple tours this conflict has demanded.

Linda, a concerned mother from Sacramento, told me about her son, Nicholas, who serves as an Army sergeant in the 82nd Airborne in Germany. He lives on-base with his wife and two children, ages four and five. Another child is on the way.

Nicholas recently learned that he was going to have to return to Iraq for his third tour.

Linda wrote me and said that his family . . . and I'm quoting . . . " . . . will be all alone in Germany when he leaves and each time he has gone, the children have terrible nightmares and anger issues because they do not understand the long separations."

Another Sacramento couple that wrote me are the proud parents of three Army soldiers . . . one is currently serving his second tour in Iraq . . . the other two have already completed two tours in Iraq. They ask . . . will their sons be asked to go back a third time?

My friend Richard Beach served as a chaplain in the U.S. Army Reserves in Iraq. Richard served in Iraq early in the conflict, and realized that four years since he went there, many of his fellow reservists are still serving there.

Richard shared with me a note he sent to some of his fellow members of the 114th. He wrote . . . and I quote . . . "I remember four years ago we were getting ready for our trip to Fort Lewis and then on to Iraq. I hope as the fourth anniversary of the war comes up you are all in good health and living life to the fullest. I too pray that soon this war will end, and we will stop sending our soldiers off to war."

Four years later . . . and still many of the same soldiers and their families are making the same sacrifice. But that is the heart-breaking reality here.

There are some 30 soldiers in the Sacramento area who have died in this war. I've met several times with members of the National Guard and Reserve and their families. Every member knows what I am talking about. We've all done it. We all know the pain.

The notion of "shared sacrifice" is something that helped make this country great.

But with this administration . . . only our soldiers and their families share in the sacrifice.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, it is important to note that this country has tried troop increases

before . . . to no avail. Sadly, this administration simply lacks credibility when arguing that this proposal will work.

As a result of this administration's failure to meet the most basic requirements of responsible leadership, it has abdicated any claim to deference from this chamber on this war . . . and it has certainly relinquished the moral authority to send additional men and women into this catastrophe.

Today's step is only a first step. Undoubtedly, this chamber will need to take more forceful action if we are to bring this war to a conclusion. But it is an important first step.

I urge my colleagues to support this resolution . . . and to oppose this gravely mistaken proposal to escalate the war.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, at this time I am happy to yield 5 minutes to a hardworking member of the Rules Committee, the gentleman from Pasco, Washington (Mr. HASTINGS).

Mr. HASTINGS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I thank the ranking member for the time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to House Resolution 157 and the underlying resolution.

Mr. Speaker, our Nation is engaged in a Global War on Terror, a war that we did not seek, but a war that was brought to our shores on September 11, 2001. Today, we fight an enemy without borders that is determined to destroy our Nation by any means necessary. An al Qaeda leader said that they have the right to "kill 4 million Americans, 2 million of them children, and to exile twice as many and wound and cripple thousands."

The President of Iran has called a world without America and Israel "possible and feasible."

It is also undeniable that Iraq is the central front on the war on terror. But you don't have to take my word for it, Mr. Speaker. The terrorists themselves have told us it is so. Al Qaeda's deputy leader has repeatedly said that Afghanistan and Iraq are the "two most crucial fields" in the Islamists' war. In a letter he said that expelling Americans from Iraq is the first step in expanding the jihad wave.

If this, Mr. Speaker, is what the terrorists are telling us, why should we not believe them?

As much as I wish that our troops were home, I recognize that arbitrary pulling out of Iraq would provide a sanctuary for terrorists and have serious consequences for our U.S. security. A self-sustaining government there is critical to our security here.

I share the frustration of all Americans who had hoped that the Iraqis would be protecting and governing themselves by now, but that simply is not the reality. Previous strategies to stabilize Iraq have not succeeded and things cannot continue as they have been. In order to succeed, Iraqis must step up and take responsibility for their own security. And under the new strategy, Mr. Speaker, announced last month, they will be held more accountable in the future.

Some say this new strategy is wrong; yet they fail to say what is right. They

call for an arbitrary pullout yet have not answered the question "what then?" They seek to cut off funding for our troops yet offer no plan for fighting terrorists.

Mr. Speaker, there is no easy answer. But simply declaring that we don't wish to be at war anymore does not make our enemies surrender. Withholding military personnel, failing to provide funds for our troops, or pulling out of Iraq with no plan to win the war on terror are simply not options. The consequence of failure is simply too dire. If we are defeated, Iraq will become a haven that our enemies will use to launch attacks against us. The Middle East will remain destabilized. Terrorists will fight us on our soil. And it will send a dangerous signal to countries like Iran, North Korea, and Syria, and embolden terrorists around the world.

The Baker-Hamilton Commission warned specifically against a precipitous withdrawal. They said: "The near-term results would be a significant power vacuum, greater human suffering, regional destabilization, and a threat to the global economy. Al Qaeda would depict our withdrawal as a historic victory."

So our challenge, Mr. Speaker, is to insist on victory and not accept defeat. So, accordingly, I will not vote to deny our troops the support they need to protect themselves and America.

The nonbinding resolution before us today is contradictory on supporting the troops. On the first page it says we will continue to support the troops in Iraq, but on the next page it expresses opposition to sending reinforcements that our military says are needed to support our troops currently on the ground.

Mr. Speaker, how can you support the troops but not the mission?

Let me say again that I will not vote to deny our troops the support they need to protect themselves and America. What I would vote for, if given the opportunity, is a plan that would have the force of law, that would set benchmarks to measure progress, that would ensure that funding for our troops is not cut off, and that would keep Congress fully apprised so that they can make informed decisions.

In closing, I would just say that we must not forget the sacrifice that our troops are making. They are fighting the enemy abroad so that we will not have to fight them here. The bottom line is that this is about America and our security and a set of enemies who have said again and again that their goal is to destroy us.

Mr. Speaker, I encourage my colleagues to oppose this closed rule and the underlying resolution.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. WELCH).

Mr. WELCH of Vermont. Mr. Speaker, today we begin debate on the question of whether to escalate the war in Iraq.

The administration's policy on Iraq has failed. It failed yesterday, it is failing today, and it will fail tomorrow. These failures have left America weakened, not strengthened.

Today, we must chart a new course. We must end the war in Iraq.

Each one of us is immeasurably proud of the service of our troops. They answered the call to duty, and they have done their job.

□ 1100

I am particularly proud of our Vermont troops and our families. No State has sacrificed more per capita in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan than our State of Vermont. But while our men and women in uniform have done their jobs, the President's policies have failed this country and failed our troops, demonstrably and repeatedly.

Mr. Speaker, it is now our responsibility to chart a new direction; one that brings our troops home, restores diplomacy to foreign policy and improves the readiness of our military. And we start today. No more troops, no more phony intelligence, no more blank checks. We must end this war.

Top military commanders have made it clear that no amount of American military force can take the place of the political consensus required to end Iraq's civil war. We now face two questions: What is best for America and what is best for Iraq? And the answer to both questions is to end this war.

This resolution, Mr. Speaker, is just a beginning. The President has left us no choice. America must change the direction of the war. If the President won't, we will.

Today, we choose the path which offers us the best hope for success: escalating the military conflict, as the President proposes, or taking the first step in a new direction. To strengthen America, we must choose a new path. Top generals have said it, the bipartisan Iraq Study Group confirmed it, and the American people demand it.

Mr. Speaker, the troops have done their job. Now we must do our ours.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, at this time I am very happy to yield 4 minutes to our colleague the gentleman from Dallas, Texas (Mr. SESSIONS).

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

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Los Angeles.

Mr. Speaker, we are here today as a result of the meeting in the Rules Committee last night where members of the Republican minority tried to speak about our desire to have more added to this "simple resolution," as it is being called by the minority. And that it is, a simple resolution.

Mr. Speaker, we implored upon the committee to make in order more amendments which would specifically speak directly to the needs of trying to provide direction and to work with the President of the United States on where we are in Iraq. In fact, on March

15, 2006, Members of both parties from this body supported the creation of a bipartisan Iraq Study Group to review the situation on the ground and to propose strategies on a way to move forward.

For more than 8 months, the study group met with military officials, regional experts, academics, journalists and other high-level officials. This study group included James Baker and Lee Hamilton as cochairmen. It included Lawrence Eagleburger, Vernon Jordan, Ed Meese, Sandra Day O'Connor, Leon Panetta, William J. Perry, Charles S. Robb and Alan Simpson.

Mr. Speaker, we believe that the things which were embodied within this Iraq Study Group report, which came out this last December, embody the kinds of things that the President of the United States is attempting to do now in Iraq. The President stood before each and every one of us as we sat in this Chamber just a few weeks ago and he outlined very clearly the changes that are taking place and his willingness not only to work with this body, but willingness to be more specific.

I would like to read some of the things from the Iraq Study Group report that we will not be hearing as the voice of the United States Congress. That is, that the United States should work to "provide political reassurance to the Iraqi Government in order to avoid its collapse and the disintegration of the country."

America should "fight al-Qaeda and other terrorist organizations in Iraq using more special operations teams."

We should "train, equip and support the Iraqi security forces."

And we should "deter even more destructive interference in Iraq by Syria and Iran."

But there is more. The "more" is "We could, however, support a short-term redeployment or surge of American combat forces to stabilize Baghdad, or to speed up training to equip the mission."

Mr. Speaker, the bottom line is what this resolution, that is nonbinding, is all about is to politically neuter the President of the United States, and, I believe, our forces and our mission in Iraq. It is about trying to do something that is politics, rather than policy.

The Rules Committee last night heard from several of our colleagues, one of them SAM JOHNSON, who brought forth an amendment that would clarify that Congress and the American people support our troops and the funding for our Armed Forces that are serving in harm's way to make sure that we do not put that element at risk.

Our colleague from Virginia, FRANK WOLF, brought forth the things that I just spoke about. He brought to the Rules Committee the recommendations from the Iraq Study Group, with this emphasis on providing American commanders in Iraq with the strategic and tactical means to support this war. However, my colleagues on the Democratic side have decided that what they

want to do is they want to have this be all about politics and not about policy. They are after a simple answer.

Last night, the Rules Committee met—and after hours of testimony from members from both parties, the Democrat members of the Committee voted along party lines to shut out every opportunity for amendment to the Resolution that the House will be considering over the next 3 days.

Our colleague from Texas, SAM JOHNSON, brought an amendment that would have clarified that Congress and the American people support our troops and that funding for our armed forces serving bravely in harm's way will not be cut off or restricted in any way.

Our colleague from Virginia, FRANK WOLF, also brought to the Rules Committee a very comprehensive amendment that would have made clear that Congress supports the recommendations of the Iraq Study Group—with its emphasis on providing American commanders serving in Iraq with the strategic and tactical means that they need for success and accelerated cooperation with Iraqi leaders to meet specific goals—as the strategy for moving forward to success in Iraq.

A number of other members also spent a large part of their evening sitting in the Rules Committee, waiting to share their ideas about how to improve this resolution—however, unfortunately the 13 members of the Rules Committee are the only ones who will have the benefit of hearing and debating these good ideas, because none of them were given the opportunity to be considered and voted on by the House.

Instead, today we are on the floor with a completely closed process to debate a non-binding resolution with no teeth and a serious logical flaw.

In 2 short paragraphs, without explicitly stating that funds will not be cut off from our troops serving in harm's way, the resolution asserts that Congress and the American people will continue to support and protect the members of Armed Forces who are serving in Iraq. This non-specific language is something that every member of this House clearly supports.

It also states that Congress disapproves of the President's plan to deploy 20,000 reinforcements to Iraq to bolster the mission and provide additional support to troops already serving on the ground.

This resolution gives no direction about how we should proceed in Iraq—instead, it settles for some generic language about supporting the troops without guaranteeing that Congress will continue to fund their efforts as they remain in harm's way—and it simply amounts to a vote for the status quo.

Mr. Speaker, this is a serious debate for serious people. We all understand that the cost of failure in Iraq is too great to bear—it would embolden radical Islamic terrorists and give them a base from which to train and attack America for generations.

But with this resolution my colleagues on the other side of the aisle provide the troops with nothing: no guarantees that we will continue to fund their heroic efforts; no guarantees that Congress will heed the advice of the Iraq Study group—which notes on page 73 of their report that it would “support a short-term redeployment or surge of American combat forces to stabilize Baghdad, or to speed up the training and equipping mission.”

Nor does it provide the American people with a clear picture of our direction in Iraq—it merely says “no” to the only strategy for success which has been put forward.

Mr. Speaker, I think that Congress can do better than this nonbinding vote for the status quo in Iraq. I know that a number of my Republican colleagues tried to improve this legislation, but were denied the opportunity by the Democrat majority.

But I know that our troops serving in harm's way, and the American people deserve better than this simplistic resolution that provides no new ideas, outlines no strategy for victory, and makes no guarantee that we will continue to fund the efforts of our troops.

I am greatly disappointed in this resolution and the Democrat majority's efforts to prevent this body from considering amendments from thoughtful members to improve it.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. CASTOR).

Ms. CASTOR. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished Rules Chair.

Mr. Speaker, it is time to bring this debate to the floor of the Congress. I oppose escalation of the war in Iraq that is being pushed by President Bush and Vice President CHENEY. Their intention to send more young American men and women into what is largely a sectarian civil war is more of the same “stay the course” mentality.

Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Armed Services Committee, I am particularly concerned that the reckless Bush escalation will undermine our country's readiness and ability to address other global threats to our national security. Indeed, in recent testimony, the Marine Commandant and the Army Chief of Staff testified that America will run a strategic risk by implementing the escalation and staying on the same course in Iraq. The generals confirmed that if our personnel and equipment are tied up in Iraq, then our ability to handle future threats and contingencies is reduced.

For example, in my State of Florida, the National Guard does not have all of the equipment it needs to train and deploy soldiers. They are only 28 percent equipped.

President Bush in essence confirmed that the escalation will harm our Nation's readiness when he sent over his proposed 2008 budget last week. He requested an additional \$235 billion for this war. That is on top of already \$350 billion of taxpayer money. In effect, Bush's war in Iraq is swallowing the defense budget and our country's ability to prepare for any other threat to our national security.

The Bush plan also sacrifices health care for children and our seniors and investments in our own towns and neighborhoods, while continuing this war without end.

We will debate budgets and appropriations in the coming months, but after 4 years of war, over 3,100 deaths of Americans, \$350 billion, and the Bush-Cheney failure to aggressively pursue a political solution, it is important that we have this debate in the House of

Representatives this week. It is important for Members to go on record, and it is important to demand a new direction on behalf of the American people.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, at this time I am happy to yield 3 minutes to a very hardworking former member of the Rules Committee, our good friend from Marietta, Georgia (Mr. GINGREY).

Mr. GINGREY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to this rule and the underlying legislation.

We are about to begin 3 days of debate over the Democrats' nonbinding resolution, 3 days of debate over a resolution that is nothing more than a political statement against our President.

Considering that last month Democrats rammed six bills through this House in a mere 100 hours, I would say we have ample time this week to also debate a Republican alternative to this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, as you well know, last week one of the Democratic Members in this body repeatedly referred to us as the “Republic Party.” I don't think, Mr. Speaker, that that Member was necessarily trying to pay us a compliment. But indeed he did, because this is a Republic, and we speak on behalf of 650,000 constituents.

But the Democrats have taken that away from us, Mr. Speaker. The Democratic leadership has shown us time and time again their pledge of an open and inclusive Congress amounts to nothing more than tired campaign rhetoric. So over and over the next 3 days, you will hear many Republican opinions and ideas, but you will see no Republican legislation.

Perhaps the Democratic leadership is afraid that a Republican alternative, like the bill introduced by a true American war hero, Sam Johnson of Texas, would force the Members to finally put their money where their mouths are and vote “yes” or “no” to cut funding for the troops. But instead, Mr. Speaker, the Democrats prefer to debate nonbinding resolutions that criticize the President's plan without offering any alternative or strategy for victory.

Mr. Speaker, we should be using the next 3 days to debate substantive legislation, not political attacks. This non-binding resolution may have been crafted with the 2008 election in mind, but I implore my colleagues to look far beyond 2008 to the future of our Nation and this global war on terror. Don't play politics with the security of the United States of America. Don't play politics with possibly our last best chance to secure freedom for the Iraqi people on the greater stability in the Middle East.

Mr. Speaker, the Democrats have sometimes accused Republicans in this Congress of being “yes men” for the President. Well, I believe the Democrats are being “no men” for the President, blindly saying no to any plan he proposes, without considering the merits or what is best for the security of this Nation.

Mr. Speaker, it is absolutely unbelievable that the Democrats are proposing 3 days of debate on an issue as critically important as Iraq without any Republican input or alternative. The manner in which this debate will be carried out is an affront to the American people and to our troops. I ask my colleagues to join me in opposition to this shameful rule.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. SUTTON).

Ms. SUTTON. I thank the gentlewoman for yielding time.

Mr. Speaker, I support this rule on a clear and concise resolution that expresses the will of the American people. Our troops are brave and capable. They have fought overwhelming odds and in the face of incomprehensible difficulty. They have engaged in many acts of heroism. And this resolution makes it unequivocally clear that those of us who feel it incumbent to speak out in opposition to the President's escalation nonetheless continue to support our troops.

All of us and all Americans support our troops. They must have and we must provide that which they need for any mission which they are sent. But Congress also has a responsibility to provide oversight, to ensure that our brave and honorable troops are provided a mission based on realistic assessments and an achievable goal before we ask them to risk life and limb to implement it.

The President has asked Congress and the American people to support his plan to escalate our involvement in the war in Iraq by sending an additional 20,000 troops, and that doesn't count the additional 20,000 support personnel that will be part of the escalation.

This war is almost 4 years long now. Congress has not spoken as loudly and as clearly as its responsibility requires. As the Representative of the 13th District of Ohio, I cannot sit silent. I am opposed to the President's plan for escalation, and, as such, I fully support this rule and resolution.

The President's own military commanders and experts have advised against this course of action. My constituents and the American people have made their position known. People across this Nation voted for a change in direction in Iraq. The plan to escalate is directly contradictory to that call for change. It takes us further down the wrong path, getting us deeper and deeper with a policy that asks our military to accomplish the non-military mission of creating a viable, unified government in Iraq.

Mr. Speaker, I support the rule and resolution.

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Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I understand that there is much more time on the other side, so I would like to reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to yield 3 minutes to the

gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. PATRICK J. MURPHY).

Mr. PATRICK J. MURPHY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I take the floor today not as a Democrat or a Republican, but as an Iraq war veteran who was a captain with the 82nd Airborne Division in Baghdad. Three years ago I came home, but 19 of my fellow paratroopers did not.

I rise to give a voice to the hundreds of thousands of Pennsylvanians and veterans across the globe who are deeply troubled by the President's plan to escalate the number of American troops in Iraq.

I served in Baghdad from June 2003 to January 2004. I saw firsthand this administration's failed policies in Iraq.

In this new Congress, there are 49 new faces. I am proud that five of those 49 new faces are veterans. All five of those veterans are Democrats.

Today, I stand with my other military veterans, Sergeant Major TIM WALZ and Admiral JOE SESTAK. We stand together to tell this administration that we are against the escalation and to say with one voice that Congress will no longer be a blank check to the President's failed policies.

Mr. Speaker, the time for more troops was 4 years ago, but this President ignored the military experts like General Shinseki and General Zinni, who in 2003 called for more troops, several hundred thousand more troops, to secure Iraq.

Now, Mr. Speaker, our President is ignoring military leaders again, patriots like General Colin Powell, General Abizaid and the bipartisan Iraq Study Group who were clear: the President's plan to send more of our best and bravest to die refereeing a civil war in Iraq is wrong.

Mr. Speaker, it is a time for a new direction in Iraq. From my time serving with the 82nd Airborne Division in Iraq, it became clear that in order to succeed we must make it clear to the Iraqis that we are not going to be there forever. Yet 3 years after I left Iraq, Americans are still running convoys up and down Ambush Alley and securing Iraqi street corners.

Today I am proud to stand with my fellow veterans and support this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, we often hear from our colleagues on the other side that the only way to support the troops is to blindly support the President.

Mr. Speaker, I ask anyone to look at Admiral JOE SESTAK, a man who was responsible for the safety and security of 15,000 sailors and marines, and tell him that he does not support the troops. I ask them to look at Sergeant TIM WALZ, a man who served his country for 24 years in the Minnesota National Guard as a noncommissioned officer, the backbone of our Army, and tell him he does not support our troops.

Mr. Speaker, we are the troops, and we oppose the President's escalation of troops.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to yield 2 minutes to my very good friend, who is the progenitor of the Iraq Study Group, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF).

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

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, last night I testified before the Rules Committee asking that the Iraq Study Group report be made in order for debate today. The Iraq Study Group offers the way forward, a new approach, and is authored by former Secretary of State Baker and former chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Lee Hamilton. Yet there has been no vote allowed. The American people have been shut out with regard to having a vote on the Iraq Study Group report. You cannot pick and choose with regard to the Iraq Study Group.

Let me read you some of the comments that have been made by the members who served on the Iraq Study Group. Lee Hamilton, Jim Baker: "There is no magic formula to solve the problems of Iraq. However, there are actions that can be taken to improve the situation.

"Our political leaders must build a bipartisan approach to bring a responsible conclusion to what is now a lengthy and costly war. Our country deserves a debate that prizes substance over rhetoric, and a policy that is adequately funded and sustainable."

That is the Iraq Study Group. Members on both sides have said they support the Iraq Study Group, and yet there is no vote allowed on the Iraq Study Group.

"In this consensus report," Hamilton and Baker go on to say, "the 10 members of the Iraq Study Group," bipartisan, five and five, "present a new approach because we believe there is a better way forward."

The better way forward, and the gentleman who just spoke mentioned the Iraq Study Group, is the Iraq Study Group, and yet the Rules Committee last night foreclosed a vote on the Iraq Study Group which is bipartisan.

Lee Hamilton, Jim Baker, Leon Panetta, Bill Perry, Ed Meese. Ed Meese's son is one of the colonels with General Petraeus. Leon Panetta, who served here in the Congress, but yet for some reason the American people are not to be given an opportunity whereby their Congress can vote on the Iraq Study Group.

There are good people on both sides. Every resolution should be in order. God bless you, what you are offering is fine, but give the country, give the American people, give us an opportunity to vote on the Iraq Study Group. You cannot pick and choose.

I urge a defeat of the resolution and urge that we allow this to be voted on whereby we can have a successful policy to bring this country together.

Mr. Speaker, I rise against this rule and against the underlying resolution.

I've been to Iraq three times since the United States sent Armed Forces there. I continue to be deeply concerned about the violence that continues to take the lives of U.S. personnel as well as innocent Iraqi citizens.

That's why, upon my return from my third trip in 2005, I worked to promote an independent, bipartisan review of ongoing operations in Iraq—what I called “fresh eyes on the target.”

I initiated the legislation authorizing and funding the Iraq Study Group, which was set up through the U.S. Institute of Peace. The 10-member group—5 Republicans and 5 Democrats—was led by cochairs James A. Baker III, the Nation's 61st Secretary of State and honorary chairman of the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy at Rice University, and Lee H. Hamilton, our former colleague in this House and director of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, who also cochaired the 9/11 Commission.

The other members of the study group included: Lawrence S. Eagleburger, former Secretary of State; Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., former advisor to President Clinton; Edwin Meese III, former Attorney General; Sandra Day O'Connor, retired Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court; Leon E. Panetta, former White House chief of staff for President Clinton; William J. Perry, former secretary of Defense; Charles S. Robb, former Governor and Senator of Virginia, and Alan K. Simpson, former Senator from Wyoming.

After more than 8 months of work, the panel presented its report last December 6. The Iraq Study Group was a truly bipartisan group who came together—like this body should be coming together—and offered the way forward in Iraq.

I believe the group's work provides an important framework to move forward in Iraq and on January 24 I introduced H. Con. Res. 45, expressing the sense of Congress that all the recommendations of the Iraq Study Group become the new baseline strategy for dealing with Iraq. That's the resolution we should be advancing today.

In my car coming to the Capitol this morning I heard a member of this body on a radio interview say he's voting for H. Con. Res. 63 because what we're looking for is a new solution for Iraq. We have that. It's the Iraq Study Group report. Look at the cover of the report—“The way forward—A new approach.”

The Iraq situation has created a bitter divide in our country. We all want to see an end to the fighting in Iraq and stability there, as well as an end to violence perpetrated by terrorists around the world. I continue to pray for the protection of the American service men and women and civilians who are putting their lives on the line every day and also for their families here at home who continue to make tremendous sacrifices.

The Iraq Study Group met the test of developing a bipartisan consensus on how to succeed in Iraq. When our country is divided we are weak. When we are together we are strong.

I want to read from the letter penned by Secretary Baker and Congressman Hamilton as the prelude to the Iraq Study Group's recommendations:

There is no magic formula to solve the problems of Iraq. However, there are actions that can be taken to improve the situation and protect American interests.

Many Americans are dissatisfied, not just with the situation in Iraq but with the state of our political debate regarding Iraq. Our political leaders must build a bipartisan approach to bring a responsible conclusion to what is now a lengthy and costly war. Our country deserves a debate that prizes substance over rhetoric, and a policy that is adequately funded and sustainable. The President and Congress must work together. Our leaders must be candid and forthright with the American people in order to win their support.

No one can guarantee that any course of action in Iraq at this point will stop sectarian warfare, growing violence, or a slide toward chaos. If current trends continue, the potential consequences are severe. Because of the role and responsibility of the United States in Iraq, and the commitments our government has made, the United States has special obligations. Our country must address as best it can Iraq's many problems. The United States has long-term relationships and interests at stake in the Middle East, and needs to stay engaged.

In this consensus report, the ten members of the Iraq Study Group present a new approach because we believe there is a better way forward. All options have not been exhausted. We believe it is still possible to pursue different policies that can give Iraq an opportunity for a better future, combat terrorism, stabilize a critical region of the world, and protect America's credibility, interests, and values. Our report makes it clear that the Iraqi government and the Iraqi people also must act to achieve a stable and hopeful future.

What we recommend in this report demands a tremendous amount of political will and cooperation by the executive and legislative branches of the U.S. government. It demands skillful implementation. It demands unity of effort by government agencies. And its success depends on the unity of the American people in a time of political polarization. Americans can and must enjoy the right of robust debate within a democracy. Yet U.S. foreign policy is doomed to failure—as is any course of action in Iraq—if it is not supported by a broad, sustained consensus. The aim of our report is to move our country toward such a consensus.

This last sentence is the essence of what we should be addressing this week. The recommendations of the Iraq Study Group provide the blueprint for a consensus. The work has been done. The recommendations have been made. Now is the time for implementation.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. WALZ).

Mr. WALZ of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, today we will begin a long overdue debate about the President's troop escalation plan, and the Iraq war in general. I spoke earlier this morning, and I had the opportunity to address some of the conflict between the testimony of experts and this administration's wishful thinking in regard to this escalation.

What is said here on the floor of Congress, what is said by our experts and what is said by the administration matters. It matters because our troops will be asked to fulfill the mission that comes out of these discussions. Our debate on this resolution is about far more than expressing our disapproval for the President. We offer this debate in the hopes that it will shape the mis-

sion that our soldiers are asked to carry out, one that is based on facts and reality, not blind ideology.

I retired from the Army National Guard in the spring of 2005, and the unit I served with is now in Iraq. Many of these soldiers were kids that I taught in my high school classroom, that I coached on our football team. They joined my Guard unit, and I trained them. We deployed together in support of Operation Enduring Freedom, and now they are deployed again to Iraq.

As a 24-year veteran of the Army National Guard, I know that our soldiers are trained to fulfill the mission they are given, but having a mission that is achievable is the key to any military success.

The previous Republican Congress failed to hold the administration accountable for providing a mission that could succeed; and in so doing, they failed to support our troops.

Last week, I had the opportunity to speak with a field commander from the Minnesota National Guard serving in Iraq. He told me that our soldiers are performing magnificently, every minute of every hour of every day. That is not the issue at hand here. The issue at hand is providing a mission that can succeed.

Mr. Speaker, when we recess for our district work period next week, I will go home and look into the eyes of the families of these soldiers. These are the same families and the men and women who learned on cable television that they would be extended in their tour of duty. These are the same men and women who will face financial loss because many of them had the plan to return to their jobs after an 18-month deployment to work in agriculture and construction businesses, and now they will be delayed in their return. They will miss the critical season. They have been deployed for 2½ of the last 4 years.

Mr. Speaker, we can and must do better by our soldiers. The resolution we will debate today and that I am in support of is meant as a first step to giving them an achievable mission and a chance to return. Our soldiers are trained to fulfill their mission without question. We as civilian leaders have a duty to question it on their behalf.

For the past 4 years, this Republican-led Congress has failed in their duty. This resolution is about this Congress standing up and saying we will achieve our duty to the same level of excellence that our soldiers have.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire of my distinguished Chair of the Rules Committee how many speakers are remaining on the other side.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I have one remaining speaker. Is my colleague ready to close?

Mr. DREIER. One remaining speaker, then your close?

Ms. SLAUGHTER. That is right.

Mr. DREIER. Or you are prepared to close now?

Ms. SLAUGHTER. No, I have one remaining speaker.

Mr. DREIER. Then I will reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Do you have any further speakers?

Mr. DREIER. Here I am.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. All right. Why don't you go ahead then and we will have our speaker after you.

Mr. DREIER. I would like to close the debate on our side just before you close the debate on your side.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. I have only got the one speaker. My understanding is if you want to close, you need to do it now.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentlewoman seek to close for her side?

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Yes. Mr. SESTAK will be my final speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. To the gentleman from California, Mr. SESTAK represents the close for the majority side.

The gentleman from California is recognized.

Mr. DREIER. I would encourage the gentleman to sit down so he can listen to my eloquence, and then I will look forward to hearing his.

Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of the time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, on the eve of the Civil War, that great philosopher John Stuart Mill wrote: "War is an ugly thing but it is not the ugliest of things. The decayed and degraded state of moral and patriotic feeling which thinks nothing worth a war is worse."

No one likes this war that we are in. As I said earlier, the President stood here just weeks ago, and in his State of the Union message he said, I wish very much that this war were over and that we had won. That is the goal. The goal is victory.

We need to make sure that our men and women in uniform, many of whom are paying the ultimate price every single day, as we look at the tragic loss of life, we need to make sure that they have everything necessary so that we can, as my constituent Ed Blecksmith, a father of a man who was killed 2 years ago last November in the battle of Fallujah, said, so that we can complete our mission.

Mr. Speaker, I believe very fervently that you cannot support our troops without supporting their mission. This resolution that is before us unfortunately undermines the ability of our troops to complete their mission.

We have had some very thoughtful proposals that have come forward. We just had Mr. WOLF stand here and talk about the opportunity that was denied him to have a vote on the very important bipartisan work of that Iraq Study Group. Much of what the Iraq Study Group has done has been already implemented by this administration, but there is more that needs to be done. Mr. WOLF was tragically denied an opportunity to even have a vote on whether or not we should support that

bipartisan effort of the Iraq Study Group.

We also had testimony last night, Mr. Speaker, from a man who just yesterday marked the 34th anniversary from being freed after 7 years as a prisoner of war in Vietnam, our colleague from Dallas, Texas, Mr. JOHNSON. He was denied a chance to have a substitute that would simply say that we are not going to cut off funding for our troops.

Now, there are many who have argued, Mr. Speaker, that this resolution that we are going to consider in the next few days is simply a first step. It is a first step towards ultimately cutting off funding, and, Mr. Speaker, I think that would be wrong, and that is why I am urging defeat of the previous question. When we do that, we will be making in order, when we defeat the previous question, an opportunity for us to say that we will not cut off funding for our men and women in uniform.

So, Mr. Speaker, I urge a vote against the previous question; and if by chance we fail on that, I urge a "no" vote on this rule, and I urge a "no" vote on the underlying resolution which does, in fact, undermine the goal of completing our mission and bringing our men and women home.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

□ 1130

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield the remainder of our time to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. SESTAK).

Mr. SESTAK. Mr. Speaker, as this essential debate begins today, I am quite honored to be asked to make opening remarks at its beginning.

I served in our military for over three decades, entering during the Vietnam War and serving under Presidents Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan, Bush, Clinton, and our Commander in Chief today, President Bush. I had the honor of leading men and women in harm's way, the highest honor that our Nation can give to anyone; most recently in combat, over at Afghanistan and Iraq, where I commanded an aircraft carrier battle group of 30 ships and 15,000 sailors and marines.

Having worn the cloth of this Nation so long, I know that duty of choice, that the citizens of this great country have about the future course of this war in Iraq is not an unpatriotic one, nor is what anyone will say in the next few days unpatriotic.

If my 31 years in the military taught me anything, it was that we serve in this all-volunteer military to defend Americans' freedom to think as they please and to say what they think, even if they disagree with their leaders. A democracy is based on freedom of expression, and those who join the military do so to fight, if necessary, the wars which defend that freedom, hoping that our use will be to a wise end. And that is what concerns me about Iraq.

The continuing use of our national treasure in what is an inconclusive, open-ended involvement within a country with long-term benefits does not match what we need to reap. It is why I am opposed to a troop surge that doubles down on a bad military debt that has been tried already.

We need to apply our resources elsewhere in the world, where terrorists come from, including Osama bin Laden who is still on the loose, or emerging nations such as in the Western Pacific have growing political and economic interests and, therefore, influence that may challenge ours.

I do not think that my extensive military experience alone gives me license to disagree with our strategy in Iraq, but just being an American who has closely watched and thought about the trade-off and benefits for our future prosperity, interest, and values does.

Our military is a national treasure that should not be used recklessly, nor should it be hoarded like miser's gold. It is a vital resource if we are to continue to be a force for peace and prosperity, but throughout the world. And that is why I firmly believe in a planned end to our military engagement in Iraq within the next year as the primary catalyst for change in Iraq so their leaders are forced to accept the political and military responsibility for their country, with our diplomatic and economic help, and limited military support from outside Iraq, but within the region is best. It is for our Nation's greater security that I believe this, and why I cannot support a troop surge that strains our military readiness further and, more, our overall strategic security in a war that does not serve our Nation's greater interest in this world and our future.

The material previously referred to by Mr. DREIER is as follows:

AMENDMENT TO H. RES. 157 OFFERED BY REP. DREIER OF CALIFORNIA

(1) In section 1, insert "and any amendment thereto" after "previous question shall be considered as ordered on the concurrent resolution".

(2) At the end of the resolution, add the following:

Sec. 4. Notwithstanding section 1, it shall be in order at any time to consider the amendment printed in section 5, if offered by Representative Sam Johnson of Texas or his designee, which shall be in order without intervention of any point of order, shall be considered as read, and shall be separately debatable for one hour equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent.

Sec. 5. The amendment referred to in section 4 is as follows:

Strike all after the resolved clause and insert the following: "That Congress and the American people will continue to support and protect and Congress will not cut off or restrict funding for members of the Armed Forces who are serving or who have served bravely and honorably in Iraq."

(The information contained herein was provided by Democratic Minority on multiple occasions throughout the 109th Congress.)

THE VOTE ON THE PREVIOUS QUESTION: WHAT IT REALLY MEANS

This vote, the vote on whether to order the previous question on a special rule, is not

merely a procedural vote. A vote against ordering the previous question is a vote against the Democratic majority agenda and a vote to allow the opposition, at least for the moment, to offer an alternative plan. It is a vote about what the House should be debating.

Mr. Clarence Cannon's Precedents of the House of Representatives, (VI, 308-311) describes the vote on the previous question on the rule as "a motion to direct or control the consideration of the subject before the House being made by the Member in charge." To defeat the previous question is to give the opposition a chance to decide the subject before the House. Cannon cites the Speaker's ruling of January 13, 1920, to the effect that "the refusal of the House to sustain the demand for the previous question passes the control of the resolution to the opposition" in order to offer an amendment. On March 15, 1909, a member of the majority party offered a rule resolution. The House defeated the previous question and a member of the opposition rose to a parliamentary inquiry, asking who was entitled to recognition. Speaker Joseph G. Cannon (R-Illinois) said: "The previous question having been refused, the gentleman from New York, Mr. Fitzgerald, who had asked the gentleman to yield to him for an amendment, is entitled to the first recognition."

Because the vote today may look bad for the Democratic majority they will say "the vote on the previous question is simply a vote on whether to proceed to an immediate vote on adopting the resolution [and] has no substantive legislative or policy implications whatsoever." But that is not what they have always said. Listen to the definition of the previous question used in the Floor Procedures Manual published by the Rules Committee in the 109th Congress, (page 56). Here's how the Rules Committee described the rule using information from Congressional Quarterly's "American Congressional Dictionary": "If the previous question is defeated, control of debate shifts to the leading opposition member (usually the minority Floor Manager) who then manages an hour of debate and may offer a germane amendment to the pending business."

Deschler's Procedure in the U.S. House of Representatives, the subchapter titled "Amending Special Rules" states: "a refusal to order the previous question on such a rule [a special rule reported from the Committee on Rules] opens the resolution to amendment and further debate." (Chapter 21, section 21.2) Section 21.3 continues: Upon rejection of the motion for the previous question on a resolution reported from the Committee on Rules, control shifts to the Member leading the opposition to the previous question, who may offer a proper amendment or motion and who controls the time for debate thereon."

Clearly, the vote on the previous question on a rule does have substantive policy implications. It is one of the only available tools for those who oppose the Democratic majority's agenda and allows those with alternative views the opportunity to offer an alternative plan.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time has expired.

The question is on ordering the previous question on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, further pro-

ceedings on this question will be postponed.

The point of no quorum is considered withdrawn.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 and 9 of rule XX, the Chair will now put each question on which further proceedings were postponed, in the following order:

Suspending the rules and adopting H. Res. 122, by the yeas and nays;

Ordering the previous question on H. Res. 157, de novo vote;

Adoption of H. Res. 157, if ordered;

Suspending the rules and passing H.R. 437, by the yeas and nays.

The first electronic vote will be conducted as a 15-minute vote. Remaining electronic votes will be conducted as 5-minute votes.

RECOGNIZING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 65TH ANNIVERSARY OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 9066 AND SUPPORTING AND RECOGNIZING A NATIONAL DAY OF REMEMBRANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The unfinished business is the question of suspending the rules and agreeing to the resolution, H. Res. 122.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. BERMAN) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 122, on which the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 426, nays 0, not voting 8, as follows:

[Roll No. 95]

YEAS—426

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Aderholt
Akin
Allen
Altmire
Andrews
Arcuri
Baca
Bachmann
Bachus
Baird
Baker
Baldwin
Barrett (SC)
Barrow
Bartlett (MD)
Barton (TX)
Bean
Becerra
Berkley
Berman
Berry
Biggert
Bilbray
Bilirakis
Bishop (GA)
Bishop (NY)
Bishop (UT)
Blackburn
Blumenauer
Blunt
Boehner
Bonner

Bono
Boozman
Boren
Boswell
Boucher
Boustany
Boyd (FL)
Boyd (KS)
Brady (PA)
Brady (TX)
Braley (IA)
Brown (SC)
Brown, Corrine
Brown-Waite,
Ginny
Buchanan
Burgess
Burton (IN)
Butterfield
Buyer
Calvert
Camp (MI)
Campbell (CA)
Cannon
Cantor
Capito
Capps
Capuano
Cardoza
Carnahan
Carney
Carson
Carter
Castle

Castor
Chabot
Chandler
Clarke
Clay
Cleaver
Clyburn
Coble
Cohen
Cole (OK)
Conaway
Conyers
Cooper
Costa
Costello
Courtney
Crenshaw
Crowley
Cubin
Cuellar
Culberson
Cummings
Davis (AL)
Davis (CA)
Davis (IL)
Davis (KY)
Davis, David
Davis, Lincoln
Davis, Tom
Deal (GA)
DeFazio
DeGette
DeLaunt
DeLauro

Dent
Diaz-Balart, L.
Diaz-Balart, M.
Dicks
Dingell
Doggett
Donnelly
Doolittle
Doyle
Drake
Dreier
Duncan
Edwards
Ehlers
Ellison
Ellsworth
Emanuel
Emerson
Engel
English (PA)
Eshoo
Etheridge
Everett
Fallin
Farr
Fattah
Feeney
Ferguson
Filner
Flake
Forbes
Fortenberry
Fossella
Fox
Frank (MA)
Franks (AZ)
Frelinghuysen
Gallegly
Garrett (NJ)
Gerlach
Giffords
Gilchrest
Gillibrand
Gillmor
Gingrey
Gohmert
Gonzalez
Goode
Goodlatte
Gordon
Granger
Graves
Green, Al
Green, Gene
Grijalva
Gutierrez
Hall (NY)
Hall (TX)
Hare
Harman
Hastings (FL)
Hastings (WA)
Hayes
Heller
Hensarling
Herger
Herseth
Higgins
Hill
Hinchey
Hinojosa
Hirono
Hobson
Hodes
Hoekstra
Holden
Holt
Honda
Hooley
Hoyer
Hulshof
Hunter
Inglis (SC)
Inslee
Israel
Issa
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee
(TX)
Jindal
Johnson (GA)
Johnson, E. B.
Johnson, Sam
Jones (NC)
Jones (OH)
Jordan
Kagen
Kanjorski
Kaptur

Keller
Kennedy
Kildee
Kilpatrick
Kind
King (IA)
King (NY)
Kingston
Kirk
Klein (FL)
Kline (MN)
Knollenberg
Kucinich
Kuhl (NY)
LaHood
Lamborn
Lampson
Langevin
Lantos
Larsen (WA)
Larson (CT)
Latham
LaTourette
Lee
Levin
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (GA)
Lewis (KY)
Linder
Lipinski
LoBiondo
Loebach
Lofgren, Zoe
Lowey
Lucas
Lungren, Daniel
E.
Lynch
Mack
Mahoney (FL)
Maloney (NY)
Manzullo
Marchant
Markey
Marshall
Matheson
Matsui
McCarthy (CA)
McCarthy (NY)
McCaul (TX)
McCollum (MN)
McCotter
McCrery
McDermott
McGovern
McHenry
McHugh
McIntyre
McKeon
McMorris
Rodgers
McNerney
McNulty
Meehan
Meek (FL)
Meeks (NY)
Melancon
Mica
Michaud
Millender-
McDonald
Miller (FL)
Miller (MI)
Miller (NC)
Miller, Gary
Miller, George
Mitchell
Mollohan
Moore (KS)
Moore (WI)
Moran (KS)
Moran (VA)
Murphy (CT)
Murphy, Patrick
Murphy, Tim
Murtha
Muggrave
Myrick
Nadler
Napolitano
Neal (MA)
Neugebauer
Nunes
Oberstar
Obey
Oliver
Ortiz
Pallone
Pascarelli

Pastor
Paul
Payne
Pearce
Pence
Perlmutter
Peterson (MN)
Peterson (PA)
Petri
Pickering
Pitts
Platts
Poe
Pomeroy
Porter
Price (GA)
Price (NC)
Pryce (OH)
Putnam
Radanovich
Rahall
Ramstad
Rangel
Regula
Rehberg
Reichert
Renzi
Reyes
Reynolds
Rodriguez
Rogers (AL)
Rogers (KY)
Rogers (MI)
Rohrabacher
Ros-Lehtinen
Roskam
Ross
Rothman
Roybal-Allard
Royce
Ruppersberger
Ryan (OH)
Ryan (WI)
Salazar
Sali
Sánchez, Linda
T.
Sanchez, Loretta
Sarbanes
Saxton
Schakowsky
Schiff
Schmidt
Schwartz
Scott (GA)
Scott (VA)
Sensenbrenner
Serrano
Sessions
Sestak
Shadegg
Shays
Shea-Porter
Sherman
Shimkus
Shuler
Shuster
Simpson
Sires
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (NE)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Smith (WA)
Snyder
Solis
Souder
Space
Spratt
Stark
Stearns
Stupak
Sullivan
Sutton
Tancred
Tanner
Tauscher
Taylor
Terry
Thompson (CA)
Thompson (MS)
Thornberry
Tiahrt
Tiberi
Tierney
Towns
Turner
Udall (CO)