

part of the burden of the aftermath is in its own interest.

Accomplishing all of this in less than six months is probably unrealistic. The political decision should be made, and the target date set, now.

#### THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISTS

Despite President Bush's repeated claims, Al Qaeda had no significant foothold in Iraq before the invasion, which gave it new base camps, new recruits and new prestige.

This war diverted Pentagon resources from Afghanistan, where the military had a real chance to hunt down Al Qaeda's leaders. It alienated essential allies in the war against terrorism. It drained the strength and readiness of American troops.

And it created a new front where the United States will have to continue to battle terrorist forces and enlist local allies who reject the idea of an Iraq hijacked by international terrorists. The military will need resources and bases to stanch this self-inflicted wound for the foreseeable future.

#### THE QUESTION OF BASES

The United States could strike an agreement with the Kurds to create those bases in northeastern Iraq. Or, the Pentagon could use its bases in countries like Kuwait and Qatar, and its large naval presence in the Persian Gulf, as staging points.

There are arguments for, and against, both options. Leaving troops in Iraq might make it too easy—and too tempting—to get drawn back into the civil war and confirm suspicions that Washington's real goal was to secure permanent bases in Iraq. Mounting attacks from other countries could endanger those nations' governments.

The White House should make this choice after consultation with Congress and the other countries in the region, whose opinions the Bush administration has essentially ignored. The bottom line: the Pentagon needs enough force to stage effective raids and airstrikes against terrorist forces in Iraq, but not enough to resume large-scale combat.

#### THE CIVIL WAR

One of Mr. Bush's arguments against withdrawal is that it would lead to civil war. That war is raging, right now, and it may take years to burn out. Iraq may fragment into separate Kurdish, Sunni and Shiite republics, and American troops are not going to stop that from happening.

It is possible, we suppose, that announcing a firm withdrawal date might finally focus Iraq's political leaders and neighboring governments on reality. Ideally, it could spur Iraqi politicians to take the steps toward national reconciliation that they have endlessly discussed but refused to act on.

But it is foolish to count on that, as some Democratic proponents of withdrawal have done. The administration should use whatever leverage it gains from withdrawing to press its allies and Iraq's neighbors to help achieve a negotiated solution.

Iraq's leaders—knowing that they can no longer rely on the Americans to guarantee their survival—might be more open to compromise, perhaps to a Bosnian-style partition, with economic resources fairly shared but with millions of Iraqis forced to relocate. That would be better than the slow-motion ethnic and religious cleansing that has contributed to driving one in seven Iraqis from their homes.

The United States military cannot solve the problem. Congress and the White House must lead an international attempt at a negotiated outcome. To start, Washington must turn to the United Nations, which Mr. Bush spurned and ridiculed as a preface to war.

#### THE HUMAN CRISIS

There are already nearly two million Iraqi refugees, mostly in Syria and Jordan, and

nearly two million more Iraqis who have been displaced within their country. Without the active cooperation of all six countries bordering Iraq—Turkey, Iran, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Syria—and the help of other nations, this disaster could get worse. Beyond the suffering, massive flows of refugees—some with ethnic and political resentments—could spread Iraq's conflict far beyond Iraq's borders.

Kuwait and Saudi Arabia must share the burden of hosting refugees. Jordan and Syria, now nearly overwhelmed with refugees, need more international help. That, of course, means money. The nations of Europe and Asia have a stake and should contribute. The United States will have to pay a large share of the costs, but should also lead international efforts, perhaps a donors' conference, to raise money for the refugee crisis.

Washington also has to mend fences with allies. There are new governments in Britain, France and Germany that did not participate in the fight over starting this war and are eager to get beyond it. But that will still require a measure of humility and a commitment to multilateral action that this administration has never shown. And, however angry they were with President Bush for creating this mess, those nations should see that they cannot walk away from the consequences. To put it baldly, terrorism and oil make it impossible to ignore.

The United States has the greatest responsibilities, including the admission of many more refugees for permanent resettlement. The most compelling obligation is to the tens of thousands of Iraqis of courage and good will—translators, embassy employees, reconstruction workers—whose lives will be in danger because they believed the promises and cooperated with the Americans.

#### THE NEIGHBORS

One of the trickiest tasks will be avoiding excessive meddling in Iraq by its neighbors—America's friends as well as its adversaries. Just as Iran should come under international pressure to allow Shiites in southern Iraq to develop their own independent future, Washington must help persuade Sunni powers like Syria not to intervene on behalf of Sunni Iraqis. Turkey must be kept from sending troops into Kurdish territories.

For this effort to have any remote chance, Mr. Bush must drop his resistance to talking with both Iran and Syria. Britain, France, Russia, China and other nations with influence have a responsibility to help. Civil war in Iraq is a threat to everyone, especially if it spills across Iraq's borders.

President Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney have used demagoguery and fear to quell Americans' demands for an end to this war. They say withdrawing will create bloodshed and chaos and encourage terrorists. Actually, all of that has already happened—the result of this unnecessary invasion and the incompetent management of this war.

This country faces a choice. We can go on allowing Mr. Bush to drag out this war without end or purpose. Or we can insist that American troops are withdrawn as quickly and safely as we can manage—with as much effort as possible to stop the chaos from spreading.

#### SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 18, 2007, and under a previous order of the House, the following Members will be recognized for 5 minutes each.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gen-

tleman from Michigan (Mr. McCOTTER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. McCOTTER addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

#### BRING OUR TROOPS HOME FROM IRAQ

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WOOLSEY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, we are back from our Fourth of July district work period, but our homecoming has not been a particularly happy one because we have received even more bad news from the occupation in Iraq.

Yesterday the nonpartisan Congressional Research Service reported that the cost of the occupation has soared to \$10 billion a month, which will add up to half a trillion dollars, thanks to the administration's decision to send more troops and escalate the occupation.

Ten billion dollars a month. I pulled out my calculator. I did some division and found that \$10 billion translates into \$23 million per month per congressional district. Yes, the President is sending a bill to our constituents in every district every month that says you owe \$24 million and you had better pay up because if you don't, I will borrow the money and stick your children and your grandchildren with the bill plus plenty of interest. And I am going to send you another bill just like this one every single month from here on.

Now, some people call the spending on the war the "burn rate." But America doesn't have money to burn. Not when we have critically important investments to make in places that really make a difference for our country, like education; health care; the environment; energy independence; and homeland security, including better security at our ports, at our airports and giving first responders the tools they need to keep our communities safe.

And here is what disturbs me the very most about this burn rate: while the administration throws good money after bad in Iraq, it wants to roll back health coverage for kids right here in America. Those are the wrong priorities. They are the wrong values.

Let's ask ourselves what are we getting for our \$10 billion a month. We are getting an Iraq Government that isn't meeting any of the benchmarks. We are contributing to a refugee crisis that has already forced at least 4 million Iraqis out of their homes with tens of thousands leaving every month. And we are stretching our military to the breaking point.

Today, the Army announced that in June it missed its recruitment goal for the second month in a row. It appears that parents, alarmed about the bloodshed and never-ending nature of this occupation, are discouraging their children from signing up. Isn't it ironic that our involvement in Iraq is turning

out to be a bad recruiting tool for the United States but a great recruiting tool for al Qaeda and other terrorist groups?

I am encouraged, however, that a growing number of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle are turning against the occupation. But at the same time, the President gave a speech today in Cleveland that showed he isn't budging an inch from his failed escalation strategy. He said that Congress "should wait" for General Petraeus's report on the surge in September before making any decision about Iraq, while admitting at the same time that September is a meaningless goal. That is outrageous. The American people didn't send us to Congress to sit around and wait to do nothing. They sent us here to end the occupation, and that is what we must do.

I have proposed a bill that would achieve that, H.R. 508. It would fully fund bringing our troops home safely and soon. It would accelerate international assistance for reconstruction and reconciliation in order to keep Iraq as peaceful as possible. And it would use diplomacy. It would use diplomacy, not war, to achieve political solutions to regional problems.

We will have a golden opportunity in the days and weeks ahead to chart a new course. I urge my colleagues to heed the call and listen to history and listen to the American people and to bring our troops home.

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□ 1845

#### FRANCIS SCOTT KEY AND SAM HOUSTON

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. POE) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. POE. Mr. Speaker, Francis Scott Key is best known for being the author of our National Anthem, "The Star Spangled Banner." During the second American revolution, the War of 1812, the British reinvaded the United States, captured Washington, DC, burned this building, the White House and most of this city.

The English then set sail for nearby Baltimore and were determined to take the city, but Fort McHenry was blocking and protecting Baltimore Harbor. Key, a lawyer, had boldly gone on board a British ship to seek release of a captured United States citizen. The Royal Navy held both Key and his client and refused to release either until after the British naval attack on the fort was completed. During the night, the British bombarded the fort with hundreds of shells and rockets, but at "dawn's early light," the American defenders still held the fort, refusing to surrender, and a massive 30 foot by 40 foot American flag still flew defiantly

over Fort McHenry. The unsuccessful British sailed away. Francis Scott Key, upon seeing the flag, wrote our national anthem that was sung this past 4th of July throughout the prairies and plains of America.

But, Mr. Speaker, Key also has a Texas connection. Before Sam Houston made his way to Texas, he served with Andrew Jackson in the Indian wars and was elected United States Congressman for Tennessee for two terms and served as Governor of Tennessee.

After his governorship, Houston spent time in Washington, DC, during the 1830s advocating on behalf of the Cherokee Indians and denouncing the corruption in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

In 1832, Congressman William Stanbery from Ohio made slanderous accusations about Houston and the Cherokees on the floor of Congress. One morning, Houston was leaving a boarding house on Pennsylvania Avenue and saw Stanbery walking down the street. A confrontation occurred between the two men over Stanbery's statement. A street brawl resulted. Sam Houston thrashed and viciously beat Congressman Stanbery with his hickory walking cane for Stanbery's derogatory remarks on this House floor. Stanbery then pulled a pistol and put it to the chest of Houston, but the pistol misfired. Mr. Speaker, fate saved Sam Houston's life.

The United States Congress ordered the arrest of Sam Houston, charging him with assault and demeaning a Member of Congress. Houston was tried before Congress in a joint session with the Supreme Court acting as judges. The trial lasted a month. Houston spent one full day on this House floor in boisterous oratory stating his positions, that he was defending his honor; Stanbery was the aggressor; and anyway, Stanbery deserved the severe caning.

So what does Francis Scott Key have to do with any of this? Francis Scott Key was Sam Houston's defense lawyer. He did an admirable job in the defense of this later Texas hero, but after the trial was over, Houston was found guilty, publicly reprimanded and ordered to pay a \$500 fine. Houston refused to pay the fine and, rather than face more problems with Congress, left Washington that same year and began a new life and political career in Texas. And the rest, they say, is Texas history.

General Sam Houston was the successful commander of the Texas Army during the Texas War of Independence from Mexico in 1836. After defeating Dictator Santa Anna on the marshy plains of San Jacinto, Houston became the first president of the Republic of Texas. After Texas was admitted to the United States in 1845, he was a United States Senator and then Governor of the State. Houston is the only person

to serve as Governor and Member of Congress from two different States.

Sam Houston's troubles with the legislative bodies continued, however. When Texas voted to leave the Union in 1861, the Governor, Houston, refused to take the oath to support the Confederacy. So the Texas legislature removed General Sam from the office of Governor. Too bad. Maybe if Francis Scott Key had been Sam Houston's lawyer before the Texas legislature, the outcome might have been different.

And that's just the way it is.

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The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. JONES) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. JONES of North Carolina addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

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The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Kansas (Mr. MORAN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. MORAN of Kansas addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

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#### REVISIONS TO ALLOCATION FOR HOUSE COMMITTEES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SPRATT. Madam Speaker, under sections 211 and 320(c) of S. Con. Res. 21, the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for fiscal year 2008, I hereby submit for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a revision to the budget allocations and aggregates for the House Committees on Energy and Commerce, Ways and Means, and Education and Labor for fiscal years 2007, 2008, and the period of 2008 through 2012. This revision represents an adjustment to the Committees' budget allocations and aggregates for the purposes of section 302 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, as amended, and in response to the bill S. 1701—to provide for the extension of transitional medical assistance, TMA, and the abstinence education program through the end of fiscal year 2007, and for other purposes. Corresponding tables are attached.

Under section 211 of S. Con. Res. 21, this adjustment to the budget allocations and aggregates of the Committees on Energy and Commerce, Ways and Means, and Education and Labor applies while the measure—S. 1701—is under consideration. The adjustments will take effect upon enactment of the measure—S. 1701. For purposes of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, as amended, a revised allocation made under section 211 of S. Con. Res. 21 is to be considered as an allocation included in the resolution.