IRAQ AND SMART SECURITY

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, yesterday Saddam Hussein faced a panel of Iraqi judges where he will finally stand trial for the crimes against humanity that were committed under his regime. Saddam Hussein is an evil person. He ordered thousands of his own people to death, and it is time that he is brought to justice for these crimes.

But anyone who suggests that Iraq is more stable or less of a threat to the United States now than it was before the war is fooling themselves. Iraq has never been less stable, and it has never posed a greater threat to the United States than it does today.

The war in Iraq has not combated terrorism as President Bush and his administration have repeatedly claimed. It has actually encouraged terrorism by providing a unified target and rallying point for those angry with our Mideast policies.

Since we invaded Iraq in March of 2003, hundreds of terrorist attacks have killed thousands of innocent people, both American soldiers and Iraqi civilians.

Most people assume that suicide terrorism of the sort that plagues Iraq on a daily basis stems from opposition to democracy in general or hatred of the United States in particular. But Dr. Robert Pape, a University of Chicago professor, reaches a different conclusion based on a comprehensive study on every act of suicide terrorism that has occurred over the last 10 years. Dr. Pape found that the common element linking all suicide attacks around the world is not religion. Rather, suicide terrorism is about pressuring another country to withdraw its military forces from the lands that the terrorists view as their homeland.

This helps to explain the intensity of the Iraqi insurgency. The insurgents resent the continued United States occupation of their land and want control over it.

If the folks in the Bush administration truly want to end the war, they must honestly convince the Iraqi people that the United States has no long-term objectives in Iraq. But to do that would require a sea change, because we currently maintain over 100 military bases in Iraq, with what certainly appears to be intentions to maintain some of them permanently.

Mr. Speaker, we all know that President Bush loves those prime time speeches to our Nation. Maybe it is time for him to eat a little crow and ask the international community to help. He needs to face the fact that the so-called Bush doctrine of preemptive war and unilateral military action just is not working. He should tell the Iraqi people that the United States has no plans to maintain permanent bases in Iraq, nor do we have any designs on controlling Iraqi oil. You could call this speech the ''anti-Bush doctrine.''

Mr. Speaker, there were plenty of mistakes made in Iraq, mistakes that could easily have been avoided. But now, the best thing for the President to do is cut his losses, admit he made mistakes, and change his course. He needs to seek the cooperation of our allies around the world to help Iraq get back on its feet, because we cannot do it by ourselves in the United States. The President should do that by going back to those countries we have spurned in the past like France and Germany, as well as influential bodies like the United Nations and NATO, and ask them to assist.

A true multilateral coalition could and would enable us to bring thousands of our troops hope. To borrow a phrase from the President, as our allies stand up, we will stand down.

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

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

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

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

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to speak out of order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

RISING COLLEGE COSTS AND REPUBLICAN RAID ON STUDENT AID

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

Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, this week new reports from the College Board showed how much harder it is getting for families to pay for college. Since 2001, tuition and fees at a 4-year public college have risen by 46 percent. Today the maximum Pell grant is worth $900 less when adjusted for inflation than it was in 1975 and 1976. This year, students attending 2 and 4-year public colleges are already $10 billion short for paying for college, even after grants, work study, savings, and Federal loans are taken into account. As a result, millions of students will be forced to work long hours to take on additional debt from other sources or forgo college altogether.

What has been the Republicans' response? To make American students and families who are already struggling to pay for college, pay even more.

In July, during the committee consideration of the Higher Education Act, Republicans voted to cut nearly $9 billion from the student aid programs and raise interest rates and fees on student borrowers. This raid on student aid represents the largest cut to the Federal student aid programs ever, ever. As a result of these cuts, the typical borrower with $17,500 in loan debt when they graduate will be forced to pay an additional $5,800 more for his or her college loans. That is $5,800 additional that they will have to pay over the life of those loans for the college education that they are seeking.

While many of the cuts were on excessive subsidies paid to student lenders, such as the 9.5 percent loan boondoggle, the Republicans only agreed to reduce some of these excessive subsidies to large lending institutions after widespread criticism from Democrats, students, and editorial writers.

But instead of reinvesting these dollars into low-interest loans and additional grants, the majority plans to use nearly $9 billion in cuts for the alleged deficit reduction, or to pay for their tax cuts to the wealthiest people in this Nation. They are going to take $9 billion out of the student loan account to pay for the tax cuts to the wealthiest 5 percent of the people in this country. That is their idea of economic justice.

But it gets worse. Next week, the majority plans to cut an additional $7.5 billion from the Nation's student aid programs, the second largest cuts ever. The first largest cuts were several weeks ago. Now they are back. They are back for $7.5 billion to take out of student loans to again pay for the $1 trillion in tax cuts that they gave to the top 5 percent of the people in this country.

To make matters even worse, the Republican leadership has failed to provide real relief for college tuition. In fact, in their higher education bill, they would do nothing to make tuition more affordable for the first 5 years after it is enacted into law. Even after 5 years, the bill only requires colleges and universities with rapidly rising tuition to increase their reporting and disclosures.

Mr. Speaker, the public already knows how much it costs. They struggle with it every spring as they try to figure out how to pay for their children's education. What the Republicans are doing, it is not lowering the cost of tuition, not lowering the rate or the increase in the cost of tuitions; they are adding thousands of dollars, thousands of dollars in additional costs to students and to their families.

This is unacceptable. What the Democrats had was a better idea that we would cut those outlandish subsidies to the lending institutions, to the banks, and to others, and we would take that money and we would recycle it into the student loan programs so