

Mack	Oberstar	Stark
Marshall	Paul	Weller
McCrery	Ruppersberger	Wolf
Myrick	Sessions	

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). Members are advised 2 minutes remain in this vote.

□ 1909

So (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Stated for:

Mr. RUPPERSBERGER. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 1105, I was unable to vote for medical reasons. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea."

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoidably absent during rollcall votes 1093 through 1105. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea" on rollcall 1093, "yea" on rollcall 1094, "nay" on rollcall 1095, "yea" on rollcall 1096, "yea" on rollcall 1097, "yea" on rollcall 1098, "yea" on rollcall 1099, "nay" on rollcall 1100, "nay" on rollcall 1101, "yea" on rollcall 1102, "yea" on rollcall 1103, "yea" on rollcall 1104, and "yea" on rollcall 1105.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 3773, RESTORE ACT OF 2007

Mr. ARCURI, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 110-449) on the resolution (H. Res. 824) providing for further consideration of the bill (H.R. 3773) to amend the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 to establish a procedure for authorizing certain acquisitions of foreign intelligence, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 3915, MORTGAGE REFORM AND ANTI-PREDATORY LENDING ACT OF 2007

Mr. ARCURI, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 110-450) on the resolution (H. Res. 825) providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 3915) to amend the Truth in Lending Act to reform consumer mortgage practices and provide accountability for such practices, to establish licensing and registration requirements for residential mortgage originators, to provide certain minimum standards for consumer mortgage loans, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

ORDERLY AND RESPONSIBLE IRAQ REDEPLOYMENT APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2008

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 818, I call up the bill (H.R. 4156) making emergency supplemental appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2008, and for other purposes, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 4156

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2008, and for other purposes, namely:

TITLE I—POLICY ON REDEPLOYMENT AND CONDUCT OF OPERATIONS IN IRAQ

SEC. 101. It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the war in Iraq should end as safely and quickly as possible and our troops should be brought home;

(2) the performance of United States military personnel in Iraq and Afghanistan should be commended, their courage and sacrifice have been exceptional, and when they come home, their service should be recognized appropriately; and

(3) the primary purpose of funds made available by this Act should be to transition the mission of United States Armed Forces in Iraq and undertake their redeployment, and not to extend or prolong the war.

SEC. 102. (a) No person in the custody or under the effective control of the United States Government shall be subject to any treatment or technique of interrogation not authorized by and listed in the United States Army Field Manual FM2-22.3 Human Intelligence Collector Operations.

(b) Subsection (a) shall not apply with respect to any person in the custody or under the effective control of the United States Government pursuant to a criminal law or immigration law of the United States. Nothing in this section shall be construed to affect the rights under the United States Constitution of any person in the custody or under the physical jurisdiction of the United States.

SEC. 103. None of the funds made available in this Act may be used in contravention of the following laws enacted or regulations promulgated to implement the United Nations Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (done at New York on December 10, 1984)—

(1) section 2340A of title 18, United States Code;

(2) section 2242 of the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1998 (division G of Public Law 105-277; 112 Stat. 2681-822; 8 U.S.C. 1231 note) and regulations prescribed thereto, including regulations under part 208 of title 8, Code of Federal Regulations, and part 95 of title 22, Code of Federal Regulations; and

(3) sections 1002 and 1003 of the Department of Defense, Emergency Supplemental Appropriations to Address Hurricanes in the Gulf of Mexico, and Pandemic Influenza Act, 2006 (Public Law 109-148).

SEC. 104. (a) The Congress finds that United States military units should not enter into combat unless they are fully capable of performing their assigned mission. The Con-

gress further finds that this is the policy of the Department of Defense.

(b) None of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available by this Act may be used to deploy any unit of the Armed Forces to Iraq unless the President has certified in writing to the Committees on Appropriations and the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and the House of Representatives at least 15 days in advance of the deployment that the unit is "fully mission capable".

(c) For the purposes of subsection (b) the term "fully mission capable" means capable of performing a unit's assigned mission to the prescribed standards under the conditions expected in the theater of operation, consistent with the guidelines set forth in the Department of Defense's Defense Readiness Reporting System.

(d) The President, by certifying in writing to the Committees on Appropriations and the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and the House of Representatives that the deployment to Iraq of a unit that is not assessed fully mission capable is required for reasons of national security and by submitting along with a certification a report in classified and unclassified form detailing the particular reason or reasons why the unit's deployment is necessary, may waive the limitations prescribed in subsection (b) on a unit-by-unit basis.

SEC. 105. (a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, funds appropriated or otherwise made available by this Act are available immediately for obligation to plan and execute a safe and orderly redeployment of United States Armed Forces from Iraq.

(b) Within 30 days after enactment of this Act, the President shall commence an immediate and orderly redeployment of United States Armed Forces from Iraq, which shall be implemented as part of the comprehensive regional stability plan described in subsection (g). The President shall endeavor to begin such redeployment with units of the Armed Forces that have been deployed in excess of 365 days, except to the extent those units are needed to provide for the safe withdrawal of other units of the Armed Forces or to protect United States and Coalition personnel and infrastructure.

(c) The reduction in United States Armed Forces required by this section shall be implemented in conjunction with a comprehensive diplomatic, political and economic strategy that includes sustained engagement with Iraq's neighbors and the international community for the purpose of working collectively to bring stability to Iraq.

(d) The goal for the completion of the transition of United States Armed Forces to a limited presence and missions as described in subsection (e) shall be a date that is not later than December 15, 2008.

(e) After the conclusion of the reduction and transition of United States Armed Forces to a limited presence as required by this section, the Secretary of Defense may deploy or maintain members of the Armed Forces in Iraq only for the following missions:

(1) Protecting United States diplomatic facilities, United States Armed Forces, and American citizens.

(2) Conducting limited training, equipping, and providing logistical and intelligence support to the Iraqi Security forces.

(3) Engaging in targeted counterterrorism operations against al-Qaeda, al-Qaeda affiliated groups, and other terrorist organizations in Iraq.

(f) Not later than February 1, 2008, and every 90 days thereafter, the Secretary of Defense shall submit to the congressional defense committees a report setting forth the following:

(1) The current plan for and the status of the reduction of United States Armed Forces in Iraq and the transition of the Armed Forces in Iraq to a limited presence whose missions do not exceed the missions specified in subsection (e), including the associated force reductions and adjustments and expectations with respect to timelines and the force levels anticipated to perform those missions.

(2) A comprehensive current description of efforts to prepare for the reduction and transition of United States Armed Forces in Iraq in accordance with this section and to limit any destabilizing consequences of such reduction and transition, including a description of efforts to work with the United Nations and countries in the region toward that objective.

(g) Not later than February 15, 2008, the President shall submit to the Congress in classified and unclassified form a comprehensive regional stability plan for the Middle East, which shall include a military, diplomatic, political and economic strategy that provides for the national security interests of the United States in the region and for the engagement of targeted counterterrorism operations. The plan shall include a detailed description of the projected United States military force presence in and around the Middle East region for the 5-year period beginning on October 1, 2008.

SEC. 106. The amounts appropriated by this Act are sufficient to fully meet the immediate needs of the United States Armed Forces deployed to Iraq. Congressional consideration of additional funding shall be deferred until the first report required by section 105(f) is submitted to the Congress.

TITLE II—SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE—MILITARY MILITARY PERSONNEL

MILITARY PERSONNEL, ARMY

For an additional amount for “Military Personnel, Army”, \$713,700,000.

MILITARY PERSONNEL, NAVY

For an additional amount for “Military Personnel, Navy”, \$95,624,000.

MILITARY PERSONNEL, MARINE CORPS

For an additional amount for “Military Personnel, Marine Corps”, \$56,050,000.

MILITARY PERSONNEL, AIR FORCE

For an additional amount for “Military Personnel, Air Force”, \$138,037,000.

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, ARMY

For an additional amount for “Operation and Maintenance, Army”, \$27,429,490,000.

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, NAVY

For an additional amount for “Operation and Maintenance, Navy”, \$2,071,560,000.

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, MARINE CORPS

For an additional amount for “Operation and Maintenance, Marine Corps”, \$2,429,323,000.

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, AIR FORCE

For an additional amount for “Operation and Maintenance, Air Force”, \$3,582,560,000.

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, DEFENSE-WIDE

For an additional amount for “Operation and Maintenance, Defense-Wide”, \$1,330,540,000, of which not to exceed \$333,000,000, to remain available until expended, may be used for payments to reimburse key cooperating nations, for logistical, military, and other support provided to United States military operations, notwithstanding any other provision of law: *Provided*, That such payments may be made in such amounts as the Secretary of Defense,

with the concurrence of the Secretary of State and in consultation with the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, may determine, in his discretion, based on documentation determined by the Secretary of Defense to adequately account for the support provided, and such determination is final and conclusive upon the accounting officers of the United States, and 15 days following notification to the appropriate congressional committees: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of Defense shall provide quarterly reports to the congressional defense committees on the use of funds provided in this paragraph.

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, ARMY RESERVE

For an additional amount for “Operation and Maintenance, Army Reserve”, \$61,223,000.

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, NAVY RESERVE

For an additional amount for “Operation and Maintenance, Navy Reserve”, \$47,500,000.

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, MARINE CORPS RESERVE

For an additional amount for “Operation and Maintenance, Marine Corps Reserve”, \$26,157,000.

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, AIR FORCE RESERVE

For an additional amount for “Operation and Maintenance, Air Force Reserve”, \$8,089,000.

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, ARMY NATIONAL GUARD

For an additional amount for “Operation and Maintenance, Army National Guard”, \$378,381,000.

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, AIR NATIONAL GUARD

For an additional amount for “Operation and Maintenance, Air National Guard”, \$34,422,000.

AFGHANISTAN SECURITY FORCES FUND

(INCLUDING TRANSFER OF FUNDS)

For the “Afghanistan Security Forces Fund”, \$500,000,000: *Provided*, That such funds shall be available to the Secretary of Defense, notwithstanding any other provision of law, for the purpose of allowing the Commander, Office of Security Cooperation Afghanistan, or the Secretary’s designee, to provide assistance, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, to the security forces of Afghanistan, including the provision of equipment, supplies, services, training, facility and infrastructure repair, renovation, and construction, and funding: *Provided further*, That the authority to provide assistance under this heading is in addition to any other authority to provide assistance to foreign nations: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of Defense may transfer such funds to appropriations for military personnel; operation and maintenance; Overseas Humanitarian, Disaster, and Civic Aid; procurement; research, development, test and evaluation; and defense working capital funds to accomplish the purposes provided herein: *Provided further*, That this transfer authority is in addition to any other transfer authority available to the Department of Defense: *Provided further*, That upon a determination that all or part of the funds so transferred from this appropriation are not necessary for the purposes herein, such amounts may be transferred back to this appropriation: *Provided further*, That contributions of funds for the purposes provided herein from any person, foreign government, or international organization may be credited to this Fund, and used for such purposes: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of Defense shall notify the congressional defense committees in writing

upon the receipt and upon the transfer of any contribution, delineating the sources and amounts of the funds received and the specific use of such contributions: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of Defense shall, not fewer than 5 days prior to making transfers from this appropriation account, notify the congressional defense committees in writing of the details of any such transfer: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of Defense shall submit a report no later than 30 days after the end of each fiscal quarter to the congressional defense committees summarizing the details of the transfer of funds from this appropriation.

IRAQ SECURITY FORCES FUND (INCLUDING TRANSFER OF FUNDS)

For the “Iraq Security Forces Fund”, \$500,000,000: *Provided*, That such funds shall be available to the Secretary of Defense, notwithstanding any other provision of law, for the purpose of allowing the Commander, Multi-National Security Transition Command—Iraq, or the Secretary’s designee, to provide assistance, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, to the security forces of Iraq, including the provision of equipment, supplies, services, training, facility and infrastructure repair, renovation, and construction, and funding, and to provide training, reintegration, education and employment programs for concerned local citizens, former militia members and detainees and former detainees: *Provided further*, That the authority to provide assistance under this heading is in addition to any other authority to provide assistance to foreign nations: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of Defense may transfer such funds to appropriations for military personnel; operation and maintenance; Overseas Humanitarian, Disaster, and Civic Aid; procurement; research, development, test and evaluation; and defense working capital funds to accomplish the purposes provided herein: *Provided further*, That this transfer authority is in addition to any other transfer authority available to the Department of Defense: *Provided further*, That upon a determination that all or part of the funds so transferred from this appropriation are not necessary for the purposes provided herein, such amounts may be transferred back to this appropriation: *Provided further*, That contributions of funds for the purposes provided herein from any person, foreign government, or international organization may be credited to this Fund, and used for such purposes: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of Defense shall notify the congressional defense committees in writing upon the receipt and upon the transfer of any contribution, delineating the sources and amounts of the funds received and the specific use of such contributions: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of Defense shall, not fewer than 5 days prior to making transfers from this appropriation account, notify the congressional defense committees in writing of the details of any such transfer: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of Defense shall submit a report no later than 30 days after the end of each fiscal quarter to the congressional defense committees summarizing the details of the transfer of funds from this appropriation.

IRAQ FREEDOM FUND

(INCLUDING TRANSFER OF FUNDS)

For “Iraq Freedom Fund”, \$3,168,000,000, to remain available for transfer only to support operations in Iraq and to fight terrorism: *Provided*, the Secretary of Defense and the Director of National Intelligence shall, no fewer than 30 days prior to making transfers under this authority, notify the Committees on Appropriations in writing of the details of any such transfer made for intelligence activities: *Provided further*, That funds transferred shall be merged with and be available

for the same purposes and for the same time period as the appropriation or fund to which transferred.

JOINT IMPROVISED EXPLOSIVE DEVICE DEFEAT FUND

(INCLUDING TRANSFER OF FUNDS)

For an additional amount for "Joint Improvised Explosive Device Defeat Fund", \$1,638,500,000, to remain available until September 30, 2010: *Provided*, That such funds shall be available to the Secretary of Defense, notwithstanding any other provision of law, for the purpose of allowing the Director of the Joint Improvised Explosive Device Defeat Organization to investigate, develop and provide equipment, supplies, services, training, facilities, personnel and funds to assist United States forces in the defeat of improvised explosive devices: *Provided further*, That within 60 days of enactment of this Act, a plan for the intended management and use of the Fund is provided to the congressional defense committees: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of Defense shall submit a report not later than 60 days after the end of each fiscal quarter to the congressional defense committees providing assessments of the evolving threats, individual service requirements to counter the threats, individual service requirements to counter the threats, the current strategy for predeployment training of members of the Armed Forces on explosive devices, and details on the execution of this Fund: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of Defense may transfer funds provided herein to appropriations for operation and maintenance; procurement; research, development, test and evaluation; and defense working capital funds to accomplish the purpose provided herein: *Provided further*, That this transfer authority is in addition to any other transfer authority available to the Department of Defense: *Provided further*, That upon determination that all or part of the funds so transferred from this appropriation are not necessary for the purpose provided herein, such amounts may be transferred back to this appropriation: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of Defense shall, not fewer than 5 days prior to making transfers from this appropriation, notify the congressional defense committees in writing of the details of any such transfer.

PROCUREMENT

AIRCRAFT PROCUREMENT, ARMY

For an additional amount for "Aircraft Procurement, Army", \$302,200,000, to remain available until September 30, 2010.

PROCUREMENT OF WEAPONS AND TRACKED COMBAT VEHICLES, ARMY

For an additional amount for "Procurement of Weapons and Tracked Combat Vehicles, Army", \$1,574,217,000, to remain available until September 30, 2010.

PROCUREMENT OF AMMUNITION, ARMY

For an additional amount for "Procurement of Ammunition, Army", \$154,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2010.

OTHER PROCUREMENT, ARMY

For an additional amount for "Other Procurement, Army", \$1,976,100,000, to remain available until September 30, 2010.

AIRCRAFT PROCUREMENT, NAVY

For an additional amount for "Aircraft Procurement, Navy", \$25,300,000, to remain available until September 30, 2010.

OTHER PROCUREMENT, NAVY

For an additional amount for "Other Procurement, Navy", \$88,281,000, to remain available until September 30, 2010.

PROCUREMENT, MARINE CORPS

For an additional amount for "Procurement, Marine Corps", \$729,232,000, to remain available until September 30, 2010.

AIRCRAFT PROCUREMENT, AIR FORCE

For an additional amount for "Aircraft Procurement, Air Force", \$147,800,000, to remain available until September 30, 2010.

OTHER PROCUREMENT, AIR FORCE

For an additional amount for "Other Procurement, Air Force", \$42,125,000, to remain available until September 30, 2010.

PROCUREMENT, DEFENSE-WIDE

For an additional amount for "Procurement, Defense-Wide", \$102,588,000, to remain available until September 30, 2010.

OTHER DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE PROGRAMS

DEFENSE HEALTH PROGRAM

For an additional amount for "Defense Health Program", \$649,001,000; of which \$599,001,000 shall be for operation and maintenance; and of which \$50,000,000 shall be for research, development, test and evaluation, to remain available until September 30, 2009, only for peer reviewed research on traumatic brain injury and psychological health, including post-traumatic stress disorder.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

SEC. 201. Appropriations provided in this Act are available for obligation until September 30, 2008, unless otherwise provided in this Act.

(TRANSFER OF FUNDS)

SEC. 202. (a) Upon a determination by the Secretary of Defense that such action is necessary in the national interest, the Secretary may transfer between appropriations up to \$4,000,000,000 of the funds made available to the Department of Defense in this Act.

(b) The Secretary shall notify the Congress promptly of each transfer made pursuant to the authority in this section.

(c) The authority provided in this section is in addition to any other transfer authority available to the Department of Defense and is subject to the same terms and conditions as the authority provided in section 8005 of the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2008, except for the fourth proviso.

SEC. 203. Funds appropriated in this Act, or made available by the transfer of funds in or pursuant to this Act, for intelligence activities are deemed to be specifically authorized by the Congress for purposes of section 504(a)(1) of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 414(a)(1)).

SEC. 204. None of the funds provided in this Act may be used to finance programs or activities denied by the Congress in fiscal years 2007 or 2008 appropriations to the Department of Defense or to initiate a procurement or research, development, test and evaluation new start program unless such program or project must be undertaken immediately in the interest of national security and after written prior notification to the congressional defense committees.

SEC. 205. (a) From funds made available for operation and maintenance in this Act to the Department of Defense, not to exceed \$500,000,000 may be used, notwithstanding any other provision of law, to fund the Commander's Emergency Response Program, for the purpose of enabling military commanders in Iraq and Afghanistan to respond to urgent humanitarian relief and reconstruction requirements within their areas of responsibility by carrying out programs that will immediately assist the Iraqi and Afghan people.

(b) Not later than 15 days after the end of each fiscal year quarter, the Secretary of Defense shall submit to the congressional defense committees a report regarding the source of funds and the allocation and use of funds during that quarter that were made available pursuant to the authority provided

in this section or under any other provision of law for the purposes of the programs under subsection (a).

SEC. 206. (a) During fiscal year 2008, funds available in this Act to the Department of Defense for operation and maintenance may be used, notwithstanding any other provision of law, to provide supplies, services, transportation, including airlift and sealift, and other logistical support to Coalition forces supporting military and stability operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.

(b) The Secretary of Defense shall provide quarterly reports to the congressional defense committees regarding support provided under this section.

SEC. 207. (a) Supervision and administration costs associated with a construction project funded with appropriations available for operation and maintenance, Afghanistan Security Forces Fund, or Iraq Security Forces Fund, and executed in direct support of the Global War on Terror only in Iraq and Afghanistan, may be obligated at the time a construction contract is awarded.

(b) For purposes of this section, the term "supervision and administration costs" includes all in-house Government costs.

SEC. 208. Each amount appropriated or otherwise provided in this Act is designated as an emergency requirement and necessary to meet emergency needs pursuant to subsections (a) and (b) of section 204 of S. Con. Res. 21 (110th Congress), the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2008.

SEC. 209. (a) Not later than January 15, 2008 and every 90 days thereafter through the end of fiscal year 2008, the Secretary of Defense shall set forth in a report to the Congress a comprehensive set of performance indicators and measures for progress toward military and political stability in Iraq.

(b) The report shall include performance standards and goals for security, economic, and security force training objectives in Iraq, together with a notional timetable for achieving these goals.

(c) The report shall include, at a minimum, the following specific provisions:

(1) With respect to stability and security in Iraq, the following:

(A) Key measures of political stability, including the important political milestones that must be achieved over the next several years.

(B) The primary indicators of a stable security environment in Iraq, such as number of engagements per day, numbers of trained Iraqi forces, trends relating to numbers and types of ethnic and religious-based hostile encounters, and progress made in the transition to Provincial Iraqi Control (PIC).

(C) An assessment of the estimated strength of the insurgency in Iraq and the extent to which it is composed of non-Iraqi fighters.

(D) A description of all militias operating in Iraq, including the number, size, equipment strength, military effectiveness, sources of support, legal status, and efforts to disarm or reintegrate each militia.

(E) Key indicators of economic activity that should be considered the most important for determining the prospects of stability in Iraq, including—

(i) unemployment levels;

(ii) electricity, water, and oil production rates; and

(iii) hunger and poverty levels.

(F) The criteria the Administration will use to determine when it is safe to begin withdrawing United States forces from Iraq.

(2) With respect to the training and performance of security forces in Iraq, the following:

(A) The training provided Iraqi military and other Ministry of Defense forces and the equipment used by such forces.

(B) Key criteria for assessing the capabilities and readiness of the Iraqi military and other Ministry of Defense forces, goals for achieving certain capability and readiness levels (as well as for recruiting, training, and equipping these forces), and the milestones and notional timetable for achieving these goals.

(C) The operational readiness status of the Iraqi military forces, including the type, number, size, and organizational structure of Iraqi battalions that are—

(i) capable of conducting counterinsurgency operations independently, without any support from Coalition forces;

(ii) capable of conducting counterinsurgency operations with the support of United States or Coalition forces; or

(iii) not ready to conduct counterinsurgency operations.

(D) The amount and type of support provided by Coalition forces to the Iraqi Security forces at each level of operational readiness.

(E) The number of Iraqi battalions in the Iraqi Army currently conducting operations and the type of operations being conducted.

(F) The rates of absenteeism in the Iraqi military forces and the extent to which insurgents have infiltrated such forces.

(G) The training provided Iraqi police and other Ministry of Interior forces and the equipment used by such forces.

(H) Key criteria for assessing the capabilities and readiness of the Iraqi police and other Ministry of Interior forces, goals for achieving certain capability and readiness levels (as well as for recruiting, training, and equipping), and the milestones and notional timetable for achieving these goals, including—

(i) the number of police recruits that have received classroom training and the duration of such instruction;

(ii) the number of veteran police officers who have received classroom instruction and the duration of such instruction;

(iii) the number of police candidates screened by the Iraqi Police Screening Service, the number of candidates derived from other entry procedures, and the success rates of those groups of candidates;

(iv) the number of Iraqi police forces who have received field training by international police trainers and the duration of such instruction;

(v) attrition rates and measures of absenteeism and infiltration by insurgents; and

(vi) the level and effectiveness of the Iraqi Police and other Ministry of Interior forces in provinces where the United States has formally transferred responsibility for the security of the province to the Iraqi Security forces under the Provincial Iraqi Control (PIC) process.

(I) The estimated total number of Iraqi battalions needed for the Iraqi Security forces to perform duties now being undertaken by Coalition forces, including defending the borders of Iraq and providing adequate levels of law and order throughout Iraq.

(J) The effectiveness of the Iraqi military and police officer cadres and the chain of command.

(K) The number of United States and Coalition advisors needed to support the Iraqi Security forces and associated ministries.

(L) An assessment, in a classified annex if necessary, of United States military requirements, including planned force rotations, through the end of calendar year 2008.

SEC. 210. None of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available by this or any other Act shall be obligated or expended by the United States Government for a purpose as follows:

(1) To establish any military installation or base for the purpose of providing for the permanent stationing of United States Armed Forces in Iraq.

(2) To exercise United States control over any oil resource of Iraq.

SEC. 211. None of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available by this Act may be obligated or expended to provide award fees to any defense contractor contrary to the provisions of section 814 of the John Warner National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2007 (Public Law 109-364).

SEC. 212. During the current fiscal year, appropriations made available to the Department of Defense for operation and maintenance in this Act may, upon determination by the Secretary of Defense that such action is necessary to meet the operational requirements of a Commander of Combatant Command engaged in contingency operations overseas, be used to purchase items having an investment item cost of not more than \$500,000.

SEC. 213. Section 3303(c) of Public Law 110-28 shall apply to funds appropriated in this Act.

This Act may be cited as the "Orderly and Responsible Iraq Redeployment Appropriations Act, 2008".

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 818, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LEWIS) each will control 1 hour.

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, because of unusual circumstances, I would choose at the floor well to yield control of the time to the former chairman of the committee, the ranking member of the Defense Subcommittee, BILL YOUNG of Florida.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Florida will be recognized.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 10 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, we hear so many voices in this country and in this Chamber who are willing to fight to the last drop of someone else's blood. Those of us who are supporting this resolution today are being accused of being for "precipitous withdrawal." I hardly think that seeing this war continue for another 14 months constitutes precipitous withdrawal.

Mr. Speaker, it is 56 months since the United States first launched its attack against Iraq. It is 4½ years since the President appeared before his "Mission Accomplished" banner on that carrier. It is almost 5 years since the administration ignored the advice of General Shinseki. It is 2½ years since Vice President CHENEY said that he thought the insurgency was in its last throes. Since that time, we have had 3,800 Americans killed and 28,000 wounded. We have had 8,000 Iraqi military personnel killed and 38,000 civilians killed. We have had 4 million Iraqis displaced. 2.3 million of them have been displaced internally in the country. One and a half million have fled to Syria, 1 million to other countries. Not a pretty picture.

This war is the most colossal blunder in modern U.S. history. It is a mistake that has shattered our influence in the

region, and it has made the one country in the region that we did not want to see strengthened, Iran, it has made them infinitely stronger in that region. We are in the process of borrowing \$600 billion and we are not having the guts to pay the bill ourselves.

There is no sense of shared sacrifice in this country. The only families being asked to sacrifice are military families and they're being asked to sacrifice again and again and again and again. We aren't even willing to tax ourselves to pay for the cost of this war, so we're shoving off the cost to our kids. Shame on every one of us for making that decision.

In November, the public tried to send two messages to this Congress. The first was that they wanted a change in policy in Iraq. The second is that they wanted a change in domestic policy. And yet after blowing \$600 billion in Iraq, after signing a Defense bill which adds \$39 billion to spending levels over last year, the President has yesterday blocked our efforts to add \$6 billion to pay for investments in education, health and medical research here at home.

□ 1915

The President is telling the American people, "Forget what message you think you sent in November in the election." He is stiffing the American people. He is saying, "Forget what message you thought you were sending to Washington; I am the 'Great Decider' and we are going to do things my way." That is what we are getting out of the White House. Instead of compromise and instead of searching for common ground, the President is making clear that he prefers to govern through confrontation, he prefers to go it alone, with one-third support in the country and one-third support in the Congress.

The same is true in Iraq. This is the same President who decided to go it alone, with almost no allies, who decided to go it alone when it came to evaluating intelligence, ignoring the caution alerts that were sent by the State Department intelligence people and the CIA analysts. He bulldozed through. When Baker-Hamilton was produced to offer an opportunity for change, the President simply used that as an opportunity to say "full steam ahead, no change in course", and he has deepened and intensified our involvement in Iraq.

At home, he insists that Congress cuts 50 percent out of vocational education; he insists that we cut 1,100 grants out of medical research at the National Institutes of Health; he insists that we cut rural health programs by 54 percent; he insists that we cut low-income heating assistance programs by 18 percent; he insists that we cut financial support for programs under No Child Left Behind that he mandated in the first place. He insists that we cut all of that, and yet he demands \$200 billion more for Iraq. I say enough is enough.

He gave a speech to the American people which was designed for the purpose of public deception, in my view, because it was designed to leave the impression that the President intended to reduce steadily our troop commitment in Iraq, when in reality it was intended to assure that 6 months from now we have the same number of troops we have there that we had 6 months ago.

Mr. Speaker, the President is asking for \$200 billion more, and as chairman of the Appropriations Committee, I announced that I had no intention of providing that money, but I made it clear I'd be happy to provide it all, provided that the President would recognize that we needed a policy change and would get on board with the determination to have a goal of removing our troops from combat operations by the end of next year. That is hardly precipitous.

So what this measure does, instead of giving the President \$200 billion to continue the war, it gives him \$50 billion to shut the war down. Instead of having troops there for the next 10 years, as the President indicated in his speech, we want to have them out by December of 2008. It requires redeployment to begin in 60 days, and it ends the authority for any agency of the United States Government whatsoever to engage in torture.

We are mired, Mr. Speaker, in Iraq because of the self-important illusions of hopeless romantics in the administration. We hear tell these days that the President talks a lot about Teddy Roosevelt and Winston Churchill. If that is the case, he is harboring dangerous illusions. He ought to heed the advice of a statesman 80 years ago who wrote the following. I will read excerpts from this letter.

"I am deeply concerned about Iraq. The task you have given me is becoming really impossible. Incompetent Arab officials are disturbing some of the provinces and failing to collect revenue. We overpaid on last year's account, which it is almost certain Iraq will not be able to pay this year, thus entailing a supplementary estimate. . . I have had to maintain troops in Mosul all through the year in consequence of the Angora quarrel. This has upset the program of relief and will certainly lead to further expenditures. . . . I do not see what political strength there is to face a disaster of any kind, and I certainly cannot believe that in any circumstances any large reinforcements would be sent. . . . In my own heart, I do not see what we are getting out of it. I think we should now put definitely to the assembly the position that unless they beg us to stay, and stay on our own terms in regard to efficient control, we shall actually evacuate before the close of the financial year. I would put this issue in the most brutal way, and if they are not prepared to urge us to stay and to cooperate in every manner, I would actually clear out. . . ."

"I think I must ask you for definite guidance at this stage as to what you wish and what you are prepared to do. At present, we are paying millions a year for the privilege of living on an ungrateful volcano out of which we are in no circumstances to get anything worth having."

That was the real Winston Churchill speaking in 1922 in a letter to Lloyd George. It seems to me that the President in the White House today ought to heed the words of Winston Churchill so long ago and at long last reconsider a policy change in Iraq. That is what this legislation is designed to stimulate.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the majority chairman of the committee bringing this bill before the House because we do need the money, not for our troops at home, not for the basic bill, because that basic bill was signed by the President yesterday. What we need is to make sure that our troops in the field have the equipment that they need, the force protection measures they need, the body armor that they need, the MRAPs that they need, the ammunition they need, whatever they need to take on the enemy to accomplish their mission, to protect themselves while they are doing it. So I want to speak directly to the bill rather than to the politics or the history of the political aspect of this legislation.

Fifty billion dollars is a good number. I wish it would have been a little higher because I don't think it takes us all the way to where we need to be for a supplemental next spring as far as what we are doing in Afghanistan and Iraq, but the \$50 billion that is in this bill, the dollars are good. What is provided by those dollars is needed for our troops in the field. That has to be the important decision that we make tonight: Are we going to fight a political battle here on the floor while our soldiers overseas are facing the enemy of terrorism? I don't think that is what we are here for today. I think we are here to pass this bill.

The gentleman from Wisconsin mentioned a policy change; that this bill is going to bring about a policy change. There was a policy change earlier in the year. Most everybody referred to it as the surge, and many Members of this body opposed the surge. But if you listened to the briefers this afternoon in the Rayburn building, that policy change has produced a lot of very positive effects.

So there was a policy change. But, nevertheless, whether you still support the policy change or not, that is up to everybody's individual decision. Despite what your position is on the war, on the battle, you have got to be prepared to provide for the troops that are there, whether you like the fact that they are there or not. I want them home. I want them home as soon as we can get them home.

Along with Chairman MURTHA of the subcommittee, I have seen too many wounded soldiers and marines in our military hospitals. We have both attended too many funerals of our war heroes who were sent home after having lost their life on the battlefield. So I want this war over and I want our troops home as soon as we can get them home in victory; victory in a war that didn't start on September 11 and it didn't start in March of 2003 when we went into Iraq or Afghanistan. It started back in 1983, October 23 of 1983. Terrorists bombed our Marine barracks in Beirut. Those marines were there as peacekeepers, not as part of any other expeditionary force, other than to keep the peace, and 241 of our military marines and soldiers lost their lives there.

In 1993, the World Trade Center was bombed; in June of 1996, the home of the airmen in Saudi Arabia in the Khobar Towers were bombed, and 19 of our airmen lost their lives. In August of 1998, our embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were bombed by terrorists and 11 Americans lost their lives and hundreds of others were injured. In October of 2000, the USS *Cole*, on a peaceful mission off the shore of Yemen, was bombed by terrorists and 17 lives were lost. All this started before September 11, and of course I don't think anybody denies what happened to us on September 11. So this war started a long time ago, and this threat is basically the same threat that we saw starting in 1983.

I am pleased that sufficient funds are included for the Army operation and maintenance account to allow for 6 months of war operations. Other accounts would apparently allow for only 4 months of operations, however. The size of the package is secondary to the policy provisions that have been attached to the bill. Many Members have stated they cannot vote for war funding without language requiring a withdrawing from Iraq. The reality is most of them have already done that.

When we passed the Defense appropriations bill, the basic Defense appropriations bill for 2008, we provided transfer authority, large amounts of transfer authority so that if we didn't get a bridge fund passed, if we didn't get a supplemental passed, the Services could reach into their basic accounts to pay for fighting the war in Afghanistan and Iraq.

So those who voted for that bill have already voted to fund the war, whether they like it or not. That legislation has now been signed into law, so the money is there to borrow. We are going to start hearing about cuts in services at military bases here in the United States if we don't pass a supplemental or a bridge fund and the Services will have to borrow from their basic funds. We don't want that to happen. We don't want the Services to run short on anything that they have to do to provide for the security of our Nation.

So whatever your position on the war, whatever decisions are going to be

made about withdrawal from Iraq, this money, this \$50 billion and more will be needed in the next 6 months and it needs to be passed.

This bill was only filed last night. Some of the provisions have not been sufficiently reviewed, in my opinion.

□ 1930

I have read this bill twice, word for word, and I am concerned about some of the sections of this bill.

Section 102 regarding interrogations says in part that “nothing in this section shall be construed to affect the rights under the United States Constitution of any person,” and I will repeat, “any person in the custody or under the physical jurisdiction of the United States.”

Now, to me, that means that terrorists who we capture on the battlefield, who have been killing our own American soldiers on the ground, I read that to mean that they will be given the same constitutional protections as any citizen of the United States of America. And I object to that. I don't think they deserve the protection of the Constitution.

I wonder, does that mean we have to read the terrorists their rights under the Miranda ruling? Can they be released on a technicality? Can they get out on bail? Those are protections guaranteed to American citizens. Are we going to give terrorists that same right? Well, this bill says that we are going to give terrorists that same right. Terrorists go by no rules. They do not subscribe to the Geneva Convention and they do not deserve the same protection under our Constitution that our constituents enjoy.

I think this bill needs a lot of repair work before it can become law.

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

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. LINCOLN DAVIS).

Mr. LINCOLN DAVIS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I rise on behalf of this bill and the effort by this Congress to bring accountability to the war in Iraq.

This war is in desperate need of a new direction. For nearly 5 years, our brave men and women have valiantly toed the line for this administration, and I'm proud to say that they have had great successes in their mission. We have seen a terrible dictator overthrown, tried and put to death, and in his place the people of Iraq carried out free and open elections. For all of this, we owe our soldiers and their families a debt of thanks.

But today's debate is not about the purpose of this war. We are here to make a decision on how best to bring accountability to this engagement. Today's legislation will keep soldiers on the ground to oversee diplomatic missions, protect U.S. citizens, equip and train Iraqis to stand on their own and continue to engage in targeted attacks on terrorists as we seek them out. This

is a responsible strategy that worked for Eisenhower in South Korea when troops remained to oversee the DMZ after major operations had ended, and it can work for America today in Iraq.

However, I have long felt that it is time to remove our men and women from the kill zones of Iraq. Our soldiers are trained to do the job of the United States military, not the job of police-on-the-beat for the nation of Iraq. We need to redeploy our troops so they can continue to carry out the work of defending America from terrorist threats around the globe. It is time for the Iraqis to occupy their own country with their own military and police force.

This bill begins the redeployment of our combat troops, while continuing to fund initiatives for our men and women that protect them from IEDs, traumatic brain injury and more. But the days of a blank check from this Congress must come to an end. The American people deserve a new direction in Iraq, and this legislation is an important step.

I would like to add that I bristle when I hear the other side talk of “cut and run” Democrats. The legacy of the Democratic Party is one of great wartime leaders. Andrew Jackson may have done the cutting at the Battle of New Orleans, but it was Colonel Packingham who did the running. It was President Wilson who convinced the American people to take on the oppressors in the First World War. It was President Roosevelt who said “we have nothing to fear but fear itself” before leading the charge into the battlefields of Asia and Nazi Germany. And it was President Truman who ended that war by dropping a nuclear weapon.

I am a member of a Democratic Party that has never cut and run, but has been responsible with our men and women in regard to their safety and families, as well as our national security. We need a change in Iraq and a change in course. This must happen.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the very distinguished minority leader, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. BOEHNER).

Mr. BOEHNER. Let me thank my colleague from Florida for yielding.

Let me just say that the gentleman from Wisconsin, the chairman of the committee, is a Member that I know well and have great respect for, and along with the gentleman from Florida and the gentleman from Pennsylvania, they have spent over 30 years doing everything they could to support our troops. But if you think that the debate that we are having tonight is something that we have heard before, it is. Over 40 times this year, we have had votes and debates in this house on the issue of Iraq.

Let me just say that my colleague from Wisconsin is known for his famous statement about Members coming to the floor of the House posing for “holy pictures.” Now, if there has ever been a case over my 17 years here in

Congress of people posing for holy pictures, it is over this issue of Iraq.

When I came to the Congress in 1991 as a brand new Member, my first vote in this Chamber was on whether to go to war with the Iraqis in Kuwait. I remember coming here as a brand new Member, Members in the well of this House who had been here 30 and 40 years, tears in their eyes, talking about this being the most difficult vote they had ever cast. It was a very difficult moment for me and all of my colleagues. But we went through that, and we went through it successfully.

So when we have the issue of war debated here on the floor of the Congress, there is no issue, no issue that is more personal, no issue that is of greater significance to our country, than all of us casting our vote on sending our young men and women into battle anywhere overseas. So I understand the passion that we have on both sides of the aisle over this issue.

But I think we all have to understand that we are in Iraq for a very important reason. We went there to get rid of Saddam Hussein. I think everybody understands that. We went there to make sure that the weapons of mass destruction were gone. They are gone. Where they went, I don't think we will ever know. We went there to set up a democratically elected government, and, frankly, we have succeeded.

It was al Qaeda 3 years ago that made Iraq the central front in their war with us. We didn't start this war with al Qaeda. They did. And as the gentleman from Florida pointed out earlier, it didn't start on 9/11, it started back in the early eighties. And it persisted through the eighties and the nineties, and America and the rest of the world looked up, looked away, and just hoped the problem would go away.

Well, it didn't go away. After 3,000 of our fellow citizens died on 9/11, what was America to do? Look up, look away and just hope the problem would go away one more time? No. So we went to Iraq. But it was al Qaeda and it was Iran who have made this the central front in their war with us.

America has no choice but to succeed in our efforts in Iraq. We all know what failure in Iraq will bring. Failure in Iraq brings a destabilization of Iraq itself, a safe haven for the terrorists to operate from, a destabilization of the entire Middle East, the end of Israel as we know it, and who doesn't believe that if we leave Iraq and we leave in failure, that the terrorists don't follow us home and that we have to deal with the problem here on the streets of America?

This is not what America wants. America wants us to succeed, and it is success that we are having in Iraq. You all know the statistics. You have all seen the headlines over the last several weeks and the last several months. Our troops in Iraq are doing a marvelous job on our behalf. They are succeeding. They are training the Iraqi Army to take our place. The Iraqi Army is more

out in front than ever before. The amount of violence in Iraq is down significantly. Our troops, our troops, are dying in less numbers each and every day. Why? Because we are having success there.

So we ought to thank our troops, thank our troops for the great job they are doing, because General Petraeus put forward a plan that is working.

Now, I understand that a lot of my colleagues on the other side have invested all their political capital over the course of this year in failure in Iraq. It hasn't happened, thankfully, because for the good of our Nation, not today, not tomorrow, maybe not next week, but for my kids and their kids, success in Iraq is critically important. And I think all the Members in this Chamber understand just how important success is there. We are taking on an enemy that is growing in all parts of the world, and if we are not willing to take them on in Iraq, if we are not willing to draw the line and defeat them, where will we draw the line? Where will we stand up for America, and where will we stand up for American values? Iraq is the place to do it.

The bill that we have before us goes back to the same old tired plan, the plan for failure, if you will. That is what the bill that we have before us does. It ties the hands of the administration, it ties the hands of our generals, it ties the hands of our people on the ground, and it will lead to nothing other than failure.

We have been down this path. We have been down this path all year long. And I will admit to my colleagues, we have had plenty of mistakes that have been made in Iraq. There has never been a war when there haven't been a lot of mistakes made. You can go back to the Civil War and look at all the mistakes that were made. The First World War, the Second World War, Vietnam, there were a lot of mistakes that got made in wars, and mistakes have been made in this war.

But, ladies and gentlemen, you all know that we have no choice, no choice, but to succeed, and the plan that we have before us, to fund our troops for the next 4 months, will lead to nothing other than failure.

So I am going to ask my colleagues, let's stop the political games. We all know what is going on here. It is another political stunt, another political stunt trying to trap the President, trying to trap the generals and putting handcuffs on them. Let's stop it.

I think my colleagues on both sides of the aisle want us to succeed. Instead of playing these political games, what we ought to be doing is passing this bill cleanly. And we ought to be passing the Military Quality of Life Veterans bill, because our troops are coming home. We have got 3,000 troops that have been sent out of Diyala on their way home. We are going to have troops coming home all year. And if we don't

pass the Military Quality of Life Veterans bill, the benefits they are entitled to, the services we ought to be providing to those veterans coming home will not be there.

So let's vote "no" on this bill. Let's find a way this week to make sure that the veterans bill is up on this floor and passed and in the President's hands.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MURTHA), the chairman of the Defense appropriations subcommittee.

Mr. MURTHA. As the gentleman from Florida said, we just passed a \$459 billion bipartisan Defense appropriation bill, and it funds the troops, it funds the health care, it funds almost all the Defense Department. It does not fund the war in Iraq.

Now, when I spoke out 2 years ago, I said we need stability in the Middle East. All of us want stability in the Middle East. We can talk about Iraq, but it's not in isolation that you talk about Iraq. You have to talk about Pakistan and what's happening in Pakistan and why we haven't had an overall diplomatic success there. You can talk about Turkey, on the verge with tanks moving towards the border and might go into Kyrkystan, which would completely disrupt what is going on in Iraq.

You can talk about Iran and the policy that we have had in Iraq and how it has disappointed us with the influence that Iran has gained. When we were attacked, Iran was one of the first countries to come to the support of the United States with their concern about what had happened, their concern about al Qaeda.

What we are trying to do here today is stop torture. We do it by saying the Army Field Manual has to be the guideline for torture. If you're going to have prisoners, and I have talked to service people, Colin Powell agrees with this, Gates agrees with this, almost all the military understands if you don't have guidelines set by the Army Field Manual, it hurts our troops. It's pretty hard to argue. If you're for torture, I don't say you vote for this or you vote against this bill, but this stops torture by saying you've got to comply with the Army Field Manual.

The other thing we say in this bill is you have to have fully equipped and fully trained troops. Can anybody argue about that? Is there anybody that can say to me we shouldn't have fully trained and fully equipped troops? I don't think so.

□ 1945

The other thing, it sets a goal. And the goal is to start the redeployment out of Iraq and have them out within a year. That doesn't mean that we are going to necessarily get it, but we have to start it. At some time we have to convince the Iraqis that we need to

change the direction and they are going to have to take responsibility. I think they have started that. I think we have backed off a little bit.

What we did in Vietnam was make the mistake that every time they made a mistake, we took over. In this particular case, we have to let the Iraqis continue to do their job.

Now, the government has let us down; there is no question about it. The government has not changed the policies. There has been ethnic cleansing. There have been 4 million people ethnically cleansed either by sending them out of the country or by moving them from Sunni areas into Shiite areas or vice versa.

This is one of the reasons that the military commanders have said over and over, the Iraqis are finally taking an interest. The al Qaeda has been defeated, according to what the military commanders are saying.

What is the point in us being there if al Qaeda has been defeated? I said a couple of years ago, there are only 2 or 3,000 al Qaeda, and the Iraqis know where they are and know what they have to do to take care of them.

I am convinced that this bill starts to force the Congress to have oversight. We are the board of directors, somebody said to me today. The President is the executive officer. We are the board of directors. When the board of directors sees the policies going in the wrong way, and actually, the people of the United States are the board of directors and we act for the board of directors by the people of the United States. If we think it is going the wrong way, we have to change the policy.

This is a change in policy. This holds the President accountable for the decisions he is making. It doesn't tie the commanders' hands. No torture. They are supplied with equipment and training. That is not tying the hands of the commanders. And we are starting to get them out already.

Al Qaeda has been defeated. The civil war has wound down. It is time to get us out. Let's remember, stability in the Middle East doesn't depend just on Iraq. It depends on Pakistan with nuclear weapons or the possibility of nuclear weapons. Stability depends on Iran. Stability depends on Syria. Stability depends on Turkey, our allies. We need a diplomatic effort.

As I said and the Chief of the Joint Chiefs said, we cannot win this militarily; it has to be won by the Iraqis and it has to be won diplomatically.

This helps us hold the administration accountable, and I would ask for all Members to vote for a bill that changes the direction of this Congress and this country in this effort in Iraq.

ORDERLY AND RESPONSIBLE IRAQ REDEPLOYMENT APPROPRIATIONS ACT- 2008

(IN THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS)

RECOMMENDED

TITLE II--SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS
DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE--MILITARY

Military Personnel

Military Personnel, Army (emergency).....	713,700
Military Personnel, Navy (emergency).....	95,624
Military Personnel, Marine Corps (emergency).....	56,050
Military Personnel, Air Force (emergency).....	138,037

Total, Military Personnel.....	1,003,411
	=====

Operation and Maintenance

Operation and Maintenance, Army (emergency).....	27,429,490
Operation and Maintenance, Navy (emergency).....	2,071,560
Operation and Maintenance, Marine Corps (emergency)...	2,429,323
Operation and Maintenance, Air Force (emergency).....	3,582,560
Operation and Maintenance, Defense-Wide (emergency)...	1,330,540
Operation and Maintenance, Army Reserve (emergency)...	61,223
Operation and Maintenance, Navy Reserve (emergency)...	47,500
Operation and Maintenance, Marine Corps Reserve (emergency).....	26,157
Operation and Maintenance, Air Force Reserve (emergency).....	8,089
Operation and Maintenance, Army National Guard (emergency).....	378,381
Operation and Maintenance, Air National Guard (emergency).....	34,422

Subtotal, Operation and Maintenance	37,399,245

Other Operation and Maintenance

Afghanistan Security Forces Fund (emergency).....	500,000
Iraq Security Forces Fund (emergency).....	500,000
Iraq Freedom Fund (emergency).....	3,168,000
Joint Improvised Explosive Device Defeat Fund (emerg)	
Attack the network.....	498,500
Defeat the Device.....	900,000
Train the Force.....	200,000
Staff and infrastructure.....	40,000

Total, Joint IED Defeat Fund.....	1,638,500

Subtotal, Other	5,806,500

Grand total, Operation and Maintenance.....	43,205,745
	=====

ORDERLY AND RESPONSIBLE IRAQ REDEPLOYMENT APPROPRIATIONS ACT- 2008

(IN THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS)

RECOMMENDED

Procurement	
Aircraft Procurement, Army (emergency).....	302,200
Procurement of Weapons and Tracked Combat Vehicles, Army (emergency).....	1,574,217
Procurement of Ammunition, Army (emergency).....	154,000
Other Procurement, Army (emergency).....	1,976,100
Aircraft Procurement, Navy (emergency).....	25,300
Other Procurement, Navy (emergency).....	88,281
Procurement, Marine Corps (emergency).....	729,232
Aircraft Procurement, Air Force (emergency).....	147,800
Other Procurement, Air Force (emergency).....	42,125
Procurement, Defense-Wide (emergency).....	102,588

Total, Procurement.....	5,141,843
=====	

Defense Health Program	
Operation and maintenance (emergency).....	599,001
Research, development, test and evaluation Traumatic brain injury and psychological health research (emergency).....	50,000

Total, Defense Health Program.....	649,001
=====	

General Provisions	
Special transfer authority (Sec. 102) (emergency)....	(4,000,000)

Total for the bill (net)	50,000,000
=====	

RECAPITULATION	
Military Personnel.....	1,003,411
Operation and Maintenance.....	37,399,245
Other Operation and Maintenance.....	5,806,500
Procurement.....	5,141,843
Defense Health Program.....	649,001

Total, Department of Defense.....	50,000,000
=====	

ORDERLY AND RESPONSIBLE IRAQ REDEPLOYMENT APPROPRIATIONS ACT- 2008

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE

(IN THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS)

RECOMMENDED

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, ARMY	
INCREMENTAL WARTIME OPERATING COSTS.....	22,532,921
RESET (UNIT AND INTERMEDIATE MAINTENANCE).....	3,920,014
SERVICEWIDE TRANSPORTATION.....	976,555
(COMMANDER'S EMERGENCY RESPONSE PROGRAM) (NA).....	(500,000)
TOTAL, O&M, ARMY	27,429,490
	=====
OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, NAVY	
INCREMENTAL WARTIME OPERATING COSTS.....	2,071,560
TOTAL, O&M, NAVY.....	2,071,560
	=====
OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, MARINE CORPS	
INCREMENTAL WARTIME OPERATING COSTS.....	2,034,499
DEPOT MAINTENANCE.....	245,319
SERVICEWIDE TRANSPORTATION.....	149,505
TOTAL, O&M, MARINE CORPS.....	2,429,323
	=====
OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, AIR FORCE	
OPERATING FORCES/FLYING HOURS.....	3,582,560
TOTAL, O&M, AIR FORCE.....	3,582,560
	=====
OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, DEFENSE-WIDE	
SPECIAL OPERATIONS COMMAND.....	696,000
DLSA OFFICE OF MILITARY COMMISSIONS.....	1,540
DCSA COALITION SUPPORT.....	333,000
DCSA LIFT AND SUSTAIN.....	150,000
GLOBAL TRAIN AND EQUIP.....	150,000
TOTAL, O&M, DEFENSE-WIDE.....	1,330,540
	=====
OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, ARMY RESERVE	
OPERATING FORCES SUPPORT.....	61,223
TOTAL, O&M, ARMY RESERVE.....	61,223
	=====
OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, NAVY RESERVE	
MISSION AND OTHER FLIGHT OPERATIONS.....	38,841
INTERMEDIATE MAINTENANCE.....	31
MISSION AND OTHER SHIP OPERATIONS.....	937
COMBAT COMMUNICATIONS.....	2,233
COMBAT SUPPORT FORCES.....	5,458
TOTAL, O&M, NAVY RESERVE.....	47,500
	=====

ORDERLY AND RESPONSIBLE IRAQ REDEPLOYMENT APPROPRIATIONS ACT- 2008

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE

(IN THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS)

RECOMMENDED

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, MARINE CORPS RESERVE

BASE OPERATION SUPPORT.....	48
OPERATING FORCES.....	25,301
TRAINING SUPPORT.....	808

TOTAL, O&M, MARINE CORPS RESERVE.....	26,157
	=====

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, AIR FORCE RESERVE

PRIMARY COMBAT FORCES.....	8,089

TOTAL, O&M, AIR FORCE RESERVE.....	8,089
	=====

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, ARMY NATIONAL GUARD

PRE-DEPLOYMENT AND POST-DEPLOYMENT TRAINING.....	378,381

TOTAL, O&M, ARMY NATIONAL GUARD.....	378,381
	=====

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, AIR NATIONAL GUARD

AIRCRAFT OPERATIONS.....	32,274
MISSION SUPPORT OPERATIONS.....	2,148

TOTAL, O&M, AIR NATIONAL GUARD.....	34,422
	=====

RECAPITULATION

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, ARMY.....	27,429,490
OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, NAVY.....	2,071,560
OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, MARINE CORPS.....	2,429,323
OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, AIR FORCE.....	3,582,560
OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, DEFENSE-WIDE.....	1,330,540
OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, ARMY RESERVE.....	61,223
OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, NAVY RESERVE.....	47,500
OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, MARINE CORPS RESERVE.....	26,157
OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, AIR FORCE RESERVE.....	8,089
OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, ARMY NATIONAL GUARD.....	378,381
OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, AIR NATIONAL GUARD.....	34,422

TOTAL, OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE.....	37,399,245
	=====

ORDERLY AND RESPONSIBLE IRAQ REDEPLOYMENT APPROPRIATIONS ACT- 2008

PROCUREMENT

(IN THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS)

RECOMMENDED

SUMMARY	
ARMY	
AIRCRAFT.....	302,200
WEAPONS, TRACKED COMBAT VEHICLES.....	1,574,217
AMMUNITION.....	154,000
OTHER.....	1,976,100
TOTAL, ARMY.....	4,006,517
NAVY	
AIRCRAFT.....	25,300
OTHER.....	88,281
MARINE CORPS.....	729,232
TOTAL, NAVY.....	842,813
AIR FORCE	
AIRCRAFT.....	147,800
OTHER.....	42,125
TOTAL, AIR FORCE.....	189,925
DEFENSE-WIDE	
DEFENSE-WIDE.....	102,588
TOTAL PROCUREMENT.....	5,141,843

ORDERLY AND RESPONSIBLE IRAQ REDEPLOYMENT APPROPRIATIONS ACT- 2008

PROCUREMENT

(IN THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS)

RECOMMENDED

PROCUREMENT, MARINE CORPS

LIGHT ARMORED VEHICLES (LAV)	
LAV PRODUCT IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM (PIP).....	23,000
LAV RESTORATION AND MODERNIZATION (RAM).....	33,600
MODIFICATION KITS	
MULTIPURPOSE TANK BLADE.....	2,200
TACTICAL CONCEALED VIDEO SYSTEM.....	400
5/4T TRUCK HMMWV (MYP).....	53,482
MARINE AIR COMMAND CONTROL SYSTEM (MACCS).....	29,000
INTELLIGENCE SUPPORT EQUIPMENT	
ANGEL FIRE SENSOR PACKAGE.....	8,000
MOTOR TRANSPORT MODIFICATIONS	
MTVR ARMOR.....	60,000
EOD SYSTEMS	
CREW.....	172,800
PHYSICAL SECURITY EQUIPMENT	
GBOSS.....	340,000
FIELD MEDICAL EQUIPMENT	
FAMILY OF FIELD MEDICAL EQUIPMENT.....	6,750

TOTAL, PROCUREMENT, MARINE CORPS.....	729,232
=====	

AIRCRAFT PROCUREMENT, AIR FORCE

C-17 LAIRCM.....	72,000
C-5 DEFENSIVE SYSTEM INSTALLATION.....	11,700
TO EQUIP DEPLOYING AIRCRAFT	
F-15 ARC-210 BLOS COMMS UNR.....	39,700
F-16 SLOS UON.....	24,400

TOTAL, AIRCRAFT PROCUREMENT, AIR FORCE.....	147,800
=====	

OTHER PROCUREMENT, AIR FORCE

MEDIUM TACTICAL VEHICLES.....	3,500
HALVORSEN LOADER.....	13,500
VEHICLE COUNTER SNIPER PROTECTION KITS.....	1,625
AIR FORCE PHYSICAL SECURITY SYSTEM.....	13,000
NIGHT VISION GOGGLES.....	2,500
REMOTE OPTICAL VIDEO ENHANCED RECEIVER (ROVER).....	5,500
BLUE FORCE TRACKING (BFT).....	2,500

TOTAL, OTHER PROCUREMENT, AIR FORCE.....	42,125
=====	

PROCUREMENT, DEFENSE-WIDE

CV-22.....	52,200
C-130 MODS.....	6,400
SPEAR.....	1,000
TACTICAL COMBAT CASUALTY CARE KITS.....	4,964
SOF COMBAT ASSAULT RIFLE (SCAR).....	4,593
AN/PVS-15A NIGHT VISION GOGGLES.....	1,057
MOUT RANGE CONTROL SYSTEM.....	3,316
GROUND MOBILITY VEHICLES.....	1,846
SUSPENSION UPGRADE TO TACTICAL GROUND MOBILITY VEHICLE.....	10,112
U-28 BLOCK 20 UPGRADE.....	17,100

TOTAL, PROCUREMENT, DEFENSE-WIDE.....	102,588
=====	

ORDERLY AND RESPONSIBLE IRAQ REDEPLOYMENT APPROPRIATIONS ACT- 2008

PROCUREMENT

(IN THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS)

RECOMMENDED

OTHER PROCUREMENT, ARMY

HMMWV RECAP PROGRAM.....	465,000
HIGH MOBILITY MULTI-PURP WHEELED VEHICLE (HMMWV).....	427,000
HEMTT EXTENDED SERVICE PROGRAM.....	40,000
KNIGHT FAMILY.....	50,000
FAMILY OF MEDIUM TACTICAL VEH (FMTV).....	80,000
TACTICAL BRIDGE, FLOAT-RIBBON.....	21,000
FAMILY OF HEAVY TACTICAL VEHICLES (FTHV).....	70,000
TACTICAL TRAILERS/DOLLY SETS.....	29,000
GROUND STANDOFF MINE DETECTION SYSTEM.....	13,000
NIGHT VISION DEVICES.....	45,000
NIGHT VISION THERMAL WEAPONS SIGHT.....	11,000
MOBILE MAINTENANCE EQUIPMENT SYSTEM.....	13,000
ALL TERRAIN LIFTING ARM SYSTEM.....	11,000
GENERATORS AND ASSOCIATED EQUIP.....	18,500
DIGITAL TOPOGRAPHIC SUPPORT SYSTEM (DTSS) (MIP).....	6,000
CONSTRUCTION EQUIPMENT ESP.....	4,500
DISTRIBUTION SYSTEMS, PETROLEUM & WATER.....	4,500
CBRN SOLDIER PROTECTION.....	54,300
ITEMS LESS THAN \$5.0M (TAC VEH).....	4,000
FIRE SUPPORT C2 FAMILY.....	3,500
TRUCK, TRACTOR, LINE HAUL, M915/M916.....	3,200
DEFENSE ENTERPRISE WIDEBAND SATCOM SYSTEM.....	9,300
SAT TERM, EMUT (SPACE).....	3,400
ARMY GLOBAL COMMAND AND CONTROL SYSTEM (AGCCS).....	2,800
PROPHET GROUND (MIP).....	4,600
ITEMS LESS THAN \$5.0M (MAINT EQ).....	12,100
INFORMATION SYSTEMS SECURITY PROGRAM-ISSP.....	1,500
RAPID EQUIPPING SOLDIER SUPPORT SYSTEMS (INCL WARLOCK)	400,000
MODIFICATION OF IN-SERVICE EQUIPMENT (OPA3).....	160,000
NAVSTAR GLOBAL POSITIONING SYSTEM (SPACE).....	3,200
ROUGH TERRAIN CONTAINER HANDLER.....	3,000
ARMORED SECURITY VEHICLES (ASV).....	1,500
CI HUMINT INFO MANAGEMENT SYSTEM (CHIMS) (MIP).....	1,200
TOTAL, OTHER PROCUREMENT, ARMY.....	1,976,100

AIRCRAFT PROCUREMENT, NAVY

GEN II MISSILE WARNING SYSTEM (COMMON ECM).....	17,000
P-3 ISR UPGRADES (P-3 SERIES).....	1,200
EP-3 ISR UPGRADES (EP-3 SERIES).....	4,500
CH-53 AMARC (H-53 SERIES).....	2,600
TOTAL, AIRCRAFT PROCUREMENT, NAVY.....	25,300

OTHER PROCUREMENT, NAVY

UNMANNED AERIAL VEHICLES FOR EOD TEAMS (EOD EQPT).....	37,000
BOARDING PARTY BODY ARMOR (PHYSICAL SECURITY EQPT).....	3,100
EOD ROBOTS (EOD EQPT).....	1,200
AIRCREW BODY ARMOR (AVIATION LIFE SUPPORT).....	750
CREW (EOD EQPT).....	35,400
WMD DETECTION (PHYSICAL SECURITY EQPT).....	3,000
NCIS VEHICLES (PHYSICAL SECURITY VEHICLES).....	900
IN THEATER AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL (ATC EQPT).....	6,111
MEDICAL SUPPORT EQUIPMENT.....	820
TOTAL, OTHER PROCUREMENT, NAVY.....	88,281

ORDERLY AND RESPONSIBLE IRAQ REDEPLOYMENT APPROPRIATIONS ACT- 2008

PROCUREMENT

(IN THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS)

RECOMMENDED

AIRCRAFT PROCUREMENT, ARMY

UTILITY FIXED WING F/W CARGO AIRCRAFT.....	5,000
UH-60M BLACKHAWK (MYP).....	47,400
AH-64 MODS.....	113,600
CH-47 CARGO HELICOPTER MODS.....	120,000
COMMON GROUND EQUIPMENT.....	10,000
AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL.....	6,200

TOTAL, AIRCRAFT PROCUREMENT, ARMY.....	302,200
=====	

PROCUREMENT OF W&TCV, ARMY

BRADLEY BASE SUSTAINMENT.....	400,000
STRYKER VEHICLE	521,000
FIST VEHICLE (MOD)	30,000
BFVS SERIES (MOD).....	48,000
IMPROVED RECOVERY VEHICLE (M88 MOD)	135,000
M1 ABRAMS TANK (MOD).....	200,000
ABRAMS UPGRADE PROGRAM	225,000
M249 SAW MACHINE GUN, 5.56MM (SAW).....	8,700
M249 SAW MACHINE GUN MODS (GZ1290).....	6,517

TOTAL, PROCUREMENT OF W&TCV, ARMY.....	1,574,217
=====	

PROCUREMENT OF AMMUNITION, ARMY

40MM ALL TYPES.....	65,700
30MM ALL TYPES.....	40,000
25MM ALL TYPES.....	300
105MM ARTILLERY AMMUNITION ALL TYPES.....	10,000
MODULAR ARTILLERY CHARGE SYSTEM (MACS).....	18,000
SHOULDER FIRED ROCKETS ALL TYPES.....	20,000

TOTAL, PROCUREMENT OF AMMUNITION, ARMY.....	154,000
=====	

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 15 seconds just to point out, and I agree strongly with Mr. MURTHA's statement about torture. I don't think Americans want to be known as a Nation that do torture.

But we have put prohibitions on torture in our Defense appropriations bills almost from the beginning of the war, and so we have made it very clear that we are opposed to the use of torture. We just wish the other side would go by the same rules.

I am pleased to yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California, the former chairman of the Armed Services Committee, Mr. HUNTER.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time. I want to also thank everyone who works on this committee and has spent so much time over the years working to prepare our military forces to be able to handle contingencies and wars around the world. We appreciate that, and you have lots of great experience.

But let me tell you, this provision in this particular bill is terrible for the warfighters. Let me talk about a small piece of it.

You have what I call a 15-day wait, notify and hold provision. That means before any unit can go into Iraq, a 15-day period, waiting period, has to expire after you have notified the Armed Services Committees and the Defense appropriations committee that unit is "ready for battle" and meets a mission-capability standard.

Now, the problem with that is we have a war against terror in which teams, whether they are special operations teams, medivac teams, EOD teams, special fire support teams like C-130, A-6 gun ships are constantly moving across the boundaries between Iraq and the rest of the world. Some of our assets come off of carriers. Some of them come out of Incirlik, Turkey. Some from Kuwait and some of them come from other places.

This idea that before a special forces team can move across a line you must have a 15-day notify and wait period is totally unworkable.

I want to give to you what Admiral Fallon, head of the Central Command, said when we asked him what he thought about the notify and hold provision. He said, "I would ask for consideration that we not limit the flexibility of our commanders in allowing them to use forces that might be necessary to meet a situation or a mission which they might be asked to undertake. And so I would opt to allow our commanders to have the flexibility of making that decision rather than have some dictated requirement in advance."

I would say to my good friend, Mr. MURTHA, who has several times stated that the administration should listen to its generals: Every team that goes into that warfighting theater goes in because one of the battlefield commanders has requested their presence.

I can remember talking to my son when he was in the battle of Fallujah as an artillery officer and he was inside the city as a forward observer. And I asked him what the most important platforms we had out there were. He said the A6 C-130 gunship. I said, Where are they? He said, They come and they go.

Ladies and gentleman, we move fire-fighting teams, all types of special operations crews and teams, EOD teams, A6 C-130 gunships across those borders constantly, and to have a requirement where you are going to have to give a 15-day notification and wait before you can move that unit in is devastating to our warfighting capability.

I would ask for a "no" on this measure.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LEE).

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, as one who opposed the invasion of Iraq and as one who has led efforts to end the occupation of Iraq, I rise today to support the Orderly and Responsible Iraq Redeployment Appropriations Act of 2007.

First, I would like to thank Speaker PELOSI, Chairmen OBEY and MURTHA for really crafting this historic legislation that takes the first step to end the occupation of Iraq. This bill's main purpose, main purpose, is to begin to fund the end of this occupation.

This is also the very first time that this Congress will explicitly tie funding to bringing our troops home. It mandates a start date for the President to begin redeployment of our brave troops within 30 days of his signature. It also once again puts Congress on record prohibiting the establishment of permanent military bases and United States economic control of Iraqi oil and also of torture.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation is not perfect. I strongly feel that there should be additional clarity on the numbers and nature of U.S. forces that remain for protection of diplomats and training of Iraqi forces. And given the President's determination to protect his legacy by allowing the occupation to continue indefinitely, we really must be wary of providing him opportunities to prolong or extend this war.

So we made sure in this legislation that this bill explicitly states that "the primary purpose of this \$5 billion should be to transition the mission, redeploy troops in Iraq, and not to extend or prolong the war."

But I am also disappointed that the end date in this legislation is a goal no later than December 2008. But hopefully, the Senate will pass this and send it to the President.

This legislation does conform to what Congresswomen WATERS, WOOLSEY and myself have been working on all year. Earlier this year, we authored the Lee amendment that stipulates funding for Iraq should be used to fully fund, fully fund, the safe and orderly redeployment of our troops from Iraq. We did this way back in March. Now, 92

Members of Congress wrote to the President to put him on notice to this effect. So I am glad this remains the main purpose of this legislation.

This legislation represents for many of us a very important step forward to end the combat operations in Iraq. Otherwise, believe you me, I would never vote for it.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation does not give the President a blank check for his occupation. It provides a down payment on redeploying our troops from Iraq and ending the occupation. It clearly says these funds are to be used to begin to end the death, the violence, and the destruction that the Bush administration has brought on Iraq, which he has brought on our brave young men and women, and our country and the world.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 5 minutes to the very distinguished gentleman from New Jersey, the former vice chairman of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I rise in strong opposition to this legislation, the process that brought it here tonight, but not to the money that is badly needed for our troops in the field.

For each of the last 3 years, the Defense appropriations bill, ably led by Chairman YOUNG and Chairman MURTHA, has included a straightforward bridge fund to cover the cost of ongoing operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Indeed, the continuing resolution we passed last month gave our military access to the bridge funding until November 16. This funding allowed our warfighters, all volunteers, the ability to fuel their Stryker vehicles and Humvees, restock their ammunition, resupply their mess halls, power the systems that allow them to keep in touch with their families at home, and even to ship their new MRAP vehicles to the battle zone so they may be better protected from IEDs. And yes, protect their fellow soldiers and innocent Iraqis.

But bowing to antiwar sentiment, the majority leadership pointedly chose to keep this important bridge funding out of the defense bill that we approved last week.

So while our brave warfighters are hard at work in Iraq in a hellish environment, they find they have to watch their own backs from those in Washington who want to choke off funding for their missions, both military and humanitarian.

I submit that this deliberate attempt to starve our operations in Iraq threatens the very safety of those troops and the lives of hundreds of thousands of innocent Iraqis. No, Mr. Speaker, we should be sending to the President a clean bridge fund that does not tie the hands of commanders in the field and allows them to build on their undeniable successes in recent months in Iraq. Cutting money does tie their hands, limits those commanders' options, as does the setting of date certain.

□ 2000

My colleagues, the ill-advised process this House started last week is not without its costs. While Congress deliberately procrastinates, and some say throws roadblocks in front of our brave warriors battling violent international terrorists every day, military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan will run out of money, causing the Department of Defense to borrow from other important programs to support their operations.

I am told this process could completely drain the Army's operations and maintenance accounts by the end of next January.

In fact, it is my understanding that the Deputy Secretary of Defense has warned that the military would have to start preparing in December, next month, to close domestic military facilities, lay off civilian workers, and delay contracts if the bridge funding is not provided. This could have very damaging consequences for those communities privileged to host a military installation.

Mr. Speaker, I am also troubled that this bill requires the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq and slaps restrictions on the mission of U.S. troops, again, both military and humanitarian.

This harkens back to what was recently described by the junior Senator from Connecticut as the "narrative of defeat and retreat." As Senator LIEBERMAN said yesterday, and I quote, "Rather than supporting General Petraeus and our troops in the field, antiwar advocates in Congress are instead struggling to deny or disparage their achievements, and are now acting, once again, to hold hostage the funding our troops desperately need and to order retreat by a date certain, regardless of what is happening on the ground."

I would remind my colleagues that even the Iraq Study Group warned us against setting arbitrary deadlines. We should let the troops and their commanders do their work.

I have always maintained that our brave troops' service in Iraq should be as short and as safe as possible. This legislation does nothing to advance either of these goals. I urge rejection of this bill.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include tabular and extraneous material on H.R. 4156.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. OBEY. I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MURTHA).

Mr. MURTHA. I would say to my good friend from New Jersey, he voted for the \$459 billion bill where we had a CR that fully funded the MRAPs, fully funded, \$16 billion for the year. We are not holding up the MRAPs. And we provided the transportation.

We were very careful with this bill. The gentleman knows how careful I am in taking care of the troops. The gentleman knows how careful he is in taking care of the troops. None of us are trying to put roadblocks in the way. What we are trying to do is hold the administration accountable for what they have done. We want stability in the whole Middle East, not just in Iraq. So we have got to focus also on the future of the country. Russia is starting to come up, China is starting to come up. And in our bill, which the gentleman from New Jersey was a part of, we started to look ahead. Iraq is occupying us as well as we occupying Iraq.

So I have to say to the gentleman, I just want to make sure we keep the facts straight. We have fully funded the MRAPS, even though it's costing \$150,000 per MRAP to get them overseas because of the lateness of the request.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Indiana (Mr. PENCE).

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

Mr. PENCE. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this Iraq supplemental bridge fund. While no one is declaring victory in Iraq, the tide is turning. But nothing changes here on Capitol Hill. And here we go again, by some estimates, the 41st effort by the majority to come to this floor and force a precipitous and reckless withdrawal of forces from Iraq, another Democrat plan for redeployment from Iraq tying \$50 billion in necessary combat funds for our troops to a Democrat plan for withdrawal.

With unambiguous evidence of progress on the ground filling the newspapers of America, the Democrats in Congress seem to have decided to add denial to their plan of retreat and defeat in Iraq. And the newspapers speak for themselves.

The Washington Post last week wrote, "The number of attacks against U.S. soldiers has fallen to levels not seen since before the February 2006 bombing of a Shia shrine in Samarra that touched off waves of sectarian killing." The death toll of American troops in October fell to 39, the lowest since March 2006.

And on Thursday last, The New York Times noted, "'American forces have routed al Qaeda in Mesopotamia, the Iraqi militant network, from every neighborhood in Iraq,' a top general said today, 'allowing American troops involved in the surge to depart as planned.'"

The Washington Times would say, "Responding to the good news, Speaker Pelosi has unveiled her newest legislative strategy to damage the war efforts. House Democrats this week," they wrote, "will try to enact a bill calling for immediately beginning to withdraw U.S. troops from Iraq. The surrender language will be attached to a 4-month, \$50 billion funding."

"The contrast could hardly be more striking," they said. "American soldiers performing heroically and successfully, risking their lives on the battlefield in Iraq, Speaker Pelosi and the Democrat leadership by contrast look for ways to advertise American weakness to the enemy."

And I say from my heart, with great respect to the good and patriotic Americans with whom I differ on this point, I urge my colleagues to reject this Democrat plan for withdrawal. But I also urge my countrymen to give our soldiers a chance. I know things have not always gone as we had all hoped in Iraq.

In my role as the ranking member of the Middle East Subcommittee and before, I have traveled to this war-torn country five times over the last 4½ years. I have seen success and I have seen less than success. I have seen advance and I have seen failure. But today, we are seeing hope spring. Freedom and stability are beginning to take hold in Iraq. And I say from my heart, we cannot lose faith in ourselves. We cannot lose faith in freedom. We must reject this latest plan for retreat and defeat.

Mr. OBEY. I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentlewoman from California (Ms. WOOLSEY).

Ms. WOOLSEY. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

This is almost the 250th time I have been down on this House floor to talk about Iraq in the last 2 years. I can't remember, so I say almost how many times it's been.

During that time, the American people have been demanding two things, that the Congress step up to our responsibility and bring our troops home, and that we take bold steps to face up to the President by using our power, the power of the purse, to hold him accountable for what is going on in Iraq.

Today, Speaker PELOSI is leading the House of Representatives in a bold direction. It is the first time so far that we have tied funding to redeployment. Ninety-two Members of the House have written a letter to the President demanding that no more funding for Iraq go forward without it, meaning bringing our troops home and redeployment.

This vote also leads to next year's appropriations where we can use the power of the purse and fully fund bringing our troops home in a very responsible and very timely and actually safe way.

This bill is not perfect. It is the boldest step yet, however, and we must support it. I would not support it if we were not tying the funding to responsible redeployment. I would not support it unless there was a start date for the President to begin the redeployment of our brave men and women in uniform. This bill is the beginning, but it is a bold beginning. I think we should consider everything that is in it, and then build on that for the future and get our troops home as soon as possible.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I now yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. GOHMERT).

Mr. GOHMERT. Mr. Speaker, it seems like not that long ago, but it was a year or so ago, we heard repeatedly: We're losing in Iraq. We're losing in Iraq. We've got to have a policy change. We're losing in Iraq. We've got to have a policy change. And we got a policy change.

It's kind of refreshing to hear so many say we're winning, and a little bit surprising to hear we're winning, so we need a policy change. We're winning, so we need a policy change? We know if we pull out too quickly, we don't leave a stable area.

Hearing comments earlier about somebody won't listen to anyone else; they get no input. I thought they were talking about the Democratic majority. Just today on FISA, the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, I'm told at 1:30 that we've got to have amendments in by 4 o'clock on a bill that we weren't even allowed to see. You want input? Let's start it right here on the floor.

I heard comments about Vietnam mistakes. The biggest mistake that history teaches us about Vietnam was that it was micromanaged from Washington. If you want documentation, go to Sam Johnson's book. After the carpet bombing finally took place and we went after and took it to them, the bombing stopped, we gave away the farm at Paris, and as the prisoners left the Hanoi Hilton, one of the leaders said, "You know, you Americans are so foolish. If you'd have kept it up another week, we would have had to unconditionally surrender." But we were micromanaged from Washington.

We show the greatest reverence for those who have given their last full measure of devotion not by pulling out before we leave a stable area, but by seeing that we finish the job and leave a stable area so they will not have died in vain.

I leave with a comment of Travis Buford's mother as we stood there by his casket in Nacogdoches, Texas at the funeral home earlier this year. I said to his mother as we stood near his coffin, "Is there anything I can do?" She gritted her teeth and she said, "Go back and tell the Congress to shut up and let the military finish their job."

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, after that very thoughtful statement, I would like to yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. KAGEN).

Mr. KAGEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise tonight in support of H.R. 4156 because people in Wisconsin want their country back.

This bill supports our troops and demands the President begin to move our forces away, away from Iraq and back after our real enemies, Osama bin Laden and his followers.

Iraq will forever be President Bush's war, an unnecessary war based on lies

and deceptions. His poor judgment has written perhaps the saddest chapter in our Nation's history, wearing down our military and the endless, centuries-old Iraqi civil war.

The vote today will end not the hatred between the Shiites and Sunnis, but it will redirect our efforts away from Iraq as soon as humanly possible. A "yes" vote supports our troops by protecting them from a President who does not understand reality.

People in Wisconsin have asked me to deliver their message here, here on the House floor: I want my country back. I want my country back. Tonight, we will begin to move our country in a new direction, away from Iraq and back after Osama bin Laden and his followers.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Georgia (Mr. GINGREY).

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

Mr. GINGREY. Mr. Speaker, I rise tonight in strong opposition to H.R. 4156, the so-called Orderly and Responsible Iraq Redeployment Appropriations of 2008, because in fact, Mr. Speaker, the bill should be called the Disorderly and Irresponsible Iraq Redeployment Appropriations Act.

Let me be clear, Mr. Speaker. What we are debating tonight, disguised as a genuine bridge fund to sustain operations in the global war on terror, is nothing more than another defeatist measure intended to placate the Democrats' liberal base as we approach this Thanksgiving recess.

The Democratic leadership apparently has decided it's more to stand with the Out of Iraq Caucus, MoveOn.org and Code Pink than with our brave men and women in uniform. Rather than funding our soldiers' needs and delivering a decisive blow to the terrorist campaign in Iraq, the Democrats are again conditioning the funding on a date certain for withdrawal.

At a time of sustained progress by our forces, Mr. Speaker, it seems that what is great news for America and for our troops is consequently bad political news for a Democratic majority who has literally bet the farm on a defeatist agenda.

Just last weekend, Prime Minister Maliki stated that violence between Sunnis and Shias has nearly disappeared from Iraq, disappeared from Baghdad, with terrorist bombings down 77 percent.

The Washington Post reported that attacks against United States soldiers have fallen to levels not seen since the February 2006 bombing of the Shia shrine in Samarra. And an Investor's Business Daily article detailed that military analysts, including many who are opposed to the war, have concluded that the United States and its allies are on the verge of winning in Iraq. And, thankfully, United States casualties in Iraq are at their lowest level

since March of 2006, Mr. Speaker. Now is not the time to risk impeding the progress we are making. Now is the time to continue building on the turnaround we have made, and to state unequivocally that we are on the verge of victory in Iraq and that we will finish the job.

Mr. Speaker, we cannot give in to the terrorists' extremist views and sinister plans for the Middle East and the world. And we certainly should not send a message to the terrorists that such a capitulation will begin in 30 days and will wrap up by December of 2008.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote "no" on tying funds for our troops to a date certain withdrawal from Iraq. I urge all my colleagues to vote "no" on this dangerous bill.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to H.R. 2156, the so-called "Orderly and Responsible Iraq Redeployment Appropriations of 2008." Because, in fact, this bill is a "disorderly and irresponsible Iraq Redeployment Appropriations Act."

Let me be very clear, Mr. Speaker. What we are debating today—disguised as a genuine bridge fund to sustain operations in the Global War on Terror—is nothing more than another defeatist measure intended to placate the Democrat's liberal base as we approach the Thanksgiving recess.

The Democratic leadership has decided it is more important to stand with the "Out of Iraq Caucus," MoveOn.org and Code Pink than with our brave men and women in uniform. Rather than funding our soldiers' needs and delivering a decisive blow to the terrorist campaign in Iraq, the Democrats are again conditioning the funding on a date-certain withdrawal.

At a time of sustained progress by our forces, Mr. Speaker, it seems that what is great news for America and for our troops is consequently bad political news for the Democrat majority and their defeatist agenda.

Mr. Speaker, a July New York Times editorial authored by Michael O'Hanlon and Kenneth Pollack stated "We are finally getting somewhere in Iraq, at least in military terms. . . . The soldiers and marines told us they feel that they now have a superb commander in General David Petraeus; they are confident in his strategy, they see real results, and they feel now they have the numbers needed to make a real difference."

In September, General Petraeus and Ambassador Crocker spoke optimistically about the future of Iraq citing concrete progress. Acknowledging we still had a long way to go, they recognized we had achieved tactical momentum and were building momentum toward local reconciliation. Indeed, local Iraqis were turning against extremists.

Last weekend Prime Minister al-Maliki stated that violence between Sunnis and Shi'ites has nearly disappeared from Baghdad, with terrorist bombings down 77 percent. The Washington Post reported that attacks against U.S. soldiers have fallen to levels not seen since before the February 2006 bombing of a Shi'ite shrine in Samarra. An Investor's Business Daily article detailed that military analysts—including many who are opposed to the war—have concluded that the U.S. and its allies are on the verge of winning in Iraq.

And thankfully, U.S. casualties in Iraq are at their lowest level since March 2006. Now is not the time to risk impeding the progress we are making. Now is the time to continue building on the turn-around we have made and to state unequivocally that we are on the verge of victory in Iraq, and that we will finish the job.

Mr. Speaker, let me remind my colleagues of the consequences of giving up on Iraq: the collapse of a democratic Iraqi government, likely leading to mass killings and genocide in the nation; an emboldened al-Qaeda; regional instability; Iran and Syria setting the course of Iraq's future; and Israel being pushed into the Mediterranean sea.

The stakes are too high for political posturing. Ayman al-Zawahiri has said "the Jihad in Iraq requires several incremental goals. The first stage: expel the Americans from Iraq."

Mr. Speaker, we cannot give in to their extremist views and sinister plans for the Middle East and the world. And we certainly should not send a message to the terrorists that such a capitulation will begin in 30 days and will wrap up by December of 2008.

Mr. Speaker, never have I been so glad that we've got General Petraeus leading our troops in Iraq and not the Democratic leadership of this house. I urge my colleagues to vote "no" on tying funds for our troops to a date-certain withdrawal from Iraq. I urge all of my colleagues to vote "no" on this bill.

Mr. OBEY. I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentlewoman from New Hampshire (Ms. SHEA-PORTER).

Ms. SHEA-PORTER. I have had to listen as my colleagues on the opposite side of the aisle have made comments like, give our soldiers a chance.

This is not about our soldiers. This is about a failed policy. I think we need to go over some of the facts again, the facts that 70 percent of Americans remember but my colleagues on the opposite side of the aisle seem to have forgotten.

Number one. There were no Iraqis on the plane that day.

Number two. There were no weapons of mass destruction.

□ 2015

They weren't there. They were never found.

Number three. There was no al Qaeda in Iraq before the war, so it doesn't matter if we reduce the number. There were none before the war.

Number four. This could have been a war against terrorists, should have been a war against terrorists, not a war against the Iraqis.

Now we have almost 4,000 dead Americans. We don't even know how many dead Iraqis. It's a terrible tragedy in our Nation. And we're making decisions to spend billions of dollars in Iraq while we tell our people, sorry, we don't have money for education. Sorry, we don't have money for health care. Sorry, we don't have money to build bridges.

Bring these troops home. And this is what we are doing responsibly. We're saying "no" to the President and "yes" to the American people.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. FORTENBERRY).

Mr. FORTENBERRY. Mr. Speaker, before we vote on this measure, the American people need to know that U.S. troops in Iraq have achieved significant security gains. Violence against U.S. troops and Iraqi civilians has fallen dramatically, and forces of chaos have had their safe havens and supply lines systematically eliminated. In fact, it was recently announced that the curfew in Baghdad may soon be lifted.

Mr. Speaker, we can all agree that the goal is to end the war, but this must be done in a solicitous and strategic manner. While there is clearly military momentum in Iraq, the situation remains fragile and complex, and our work continues to be very dangerous and difficult. Establishing an arbitrary deadline for withdrawal of our troops would potentially undermine the stabilization of the country, especially in light of recent security gains.

However, I would submit that one area of potential agreement in this body involves a renewed spirit of diplomacy for the region. It is time for a diplomatic surge. The gains made possible by the steadfast competence of our troops gives rise to a new diplomatic potential in the effort to curtail regional destabilizing influences, promote political and economic progress, as well as provide for the safe and stable transition of refugees throughout the area.

The recent meeting in Istanbul, Turkey of countries neighboring Iraq, the upcoming meeting in Annapolis to further the Middle East peace process, and the United Nation's own recent re-engagement in Baghdad are all positive diplomatic trends that should be aggressively supported and augmented by our efforts in this House to facilitate the rapid stabilization of Iraq, potentially empowering an even more rapid drawdown of our troops and a sustainable peace for the country.

Mr. OBEY. I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HARE).

Mr. HARE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.R. 4156.

For the last 4 years, President Bush has demanded more and more money from this Congress for the war in Iraq, draining funding from domestic priorities in the process. And this year's just no different.

True to form, in October the President casually requested an additional \$200 billion to continue his failed policy.

Mr. Speaker, every time I travel back to my district, constituents plead with me to stand up to this President and end the war. Fortunately for them, the days of the rubber-stamp Congress are over. This bill before us holds the President accountable.

The bill provides only \$50 billion of the President's \$200 billion request, which serves to meet the immediate needs of our troops currently deployed, while the balance is dependent upon progress in Iraq.

The funding is also conditioned on the redeployment of troops from Iraq to begin within 30 days of enactment, with a target for completion by December of 2008.

Passage of this bill is the first step towards forcing a change of course in Iraq, shifting the mission from the combat forces to a comprehensive strategy.

I urge all my colleagues to vote "yes" on H.R. 4156.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, would you advise us as to the time available on each side?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Florida has 32¼ minutes remaining. The gentleman from Wisconsin has 34 minutes remaining.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I'd like to reserve my time at this point.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. FARR).

Mr. FARR. Mr. Speaker, leadership is about getting results. I want to thank our leadership for bringing a bill to the floor for the first time that gets results.

I've never voted for funds for this war, and I've been waiting a long time to vote for a bill that would bring our troops home.

On March 20, 2003, the United States invaded Iraq. It was a mistake then, and every day we've failed to correct this mistake costs us in cash, in credibility, and in lives. Every day we are not working to get out of Iraq, we make our Nation weaker and less safe. Every day that we do not get our troops out of Iraq is another day of mistakes.

The road out of Iraq starts with the first step. This bill is the first beginning. To start a withdrawal, this bill jump-starts that withdrawal. It starts in 30 days.

Passing this bill tonight makes clear that the U.S. House of Representatives has acted to bring our troops home, to end this war, and to put our country back on the right track. This leadership deserves your support.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I continue to reserve.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS).

Ms. WATERS. Mr. Speaker, today I'm proud to join with a unified Democratic Caucus to cast my vote in support of H.R. 4156, the Orderly and Responsible Iraq Redeployment Appropriations Act. This legislation marks the first time redeployment language has been attached to funding, and includes the strongest worded language to date, by stating Congress's explicit commitment to end the war in Iraq as safely and quickly as possible and bring our troops home.

The letter my colleagues LYNN WOOLSEY, BARBARA LEE and I sent to President Bush stating that we would only support funding for the redeployment of our troops has grown from 70 to 92

signatories. As the letter stated, and as the title of this legislation echoes, we choose to support our military and look out for the best interests of this country by funding an orderly and responsible redeployment from Iraq.

While this bill is far from perfect, there's a lot in this bill to be proud of. This bill requires the redeployment of U.S. troops from Iraq within 30 days. It prohibits the deployment of U.S. troops not deemed fully trained, and it effectively bans the awful practice of waterboarding by any affiliate of a U.S. agency. I applaud the shared commitment of the Democratic Members in both the House and Senate to end the war in Iraq.

I share the public's dismay at the slow pace of Congress's action to end President Bush's failed war. It is, of course, the administration, not Congress, who ultimately deserves the blame for this terrible war. Before every major debate on the Iraq war, like clockwork, President Bush fires up the propaganda machine to twist reality and obscure the facts on the ground.

Those who stand in the way of real change in Iraq must be held accountable. They must not be allowed to quietly throw wrenches in the gears of change slowly rotating within this country.

A large and growing majority of Americans now believe it was a mistake to invade Iraq and that Congress should force a change in the President's irresponsible policies.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Missouri (Mr. AKIN).

Mr. AKIN. Mr. Speaker, before us tonight is yet another Democrat plan, a plan for failure. I guess it's really not quite so much a plan as just a schedule for failure.

It seems ironic to me that when there is actually success, the Democrats are having a hard time seeing the success. And that's, perhaps, because the success that is going on in Iraq is not a big government, Washington, D.C. beltway kind of success. It's not the Parliament in Baghdad where the success is going on. No, it's a uniquely American and a special success. It's the success that bubbles from the hearts of the very people that are involved, from the local communities, from the streets, and particularly from the sheiks. It's the kind of thing that happened in America where local communities stood up against the biggest military power in the world and defended our declaration in the same way these sheiks now are paying a tremendous price. One, Sheik Meshin al-Jamari, he was encouraged to come back from his safe haven in Jordan. He came back to take up responsibility for his tribal area just to the east of Fallujah. And what was the cost when he turned on al Qaeda? First, his daughter was killed, then his brother shot, and then his family rounded up inside a house in Karma, and the house

imploded upon their heads. And yet, that sheik is standing firm because he does have a vision for the possibility that there will one day be an Iraq where people can be free.

Our General Allen was asked by some of the Iraqis in his tribe, they said, When the British left, they left us a big skyscraper. When America leaves Iraq, will you leave a skyscraper? And General Allen said, No. We'll leave the ideas that leave you a free people. And one day there will be Iraqis who come to us and they will say, Hey, GI Joe, we believe it too. We believe that there is a God that gives inalienable rights to all people, the right to life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and we will also stand with you because you have that hope.

It is my hope that the Americans and the Democrats will rediscover why we have always gone to war in America, because we do believe in our battle cry from years ago that there is a God that gives basic rights to all people and that we must have the courage to stand behind those things. I hope that the Congress will vote to reject a plan of defeat.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Illinois (Ms. SCHAKOWSKY).

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. The war in Iraq is a disaster and it's time to bring our brave troops, the men and women who volunteered to serve their country for the right reasons but were sent to Iraq for the wrong reasons. It is time now for them to come home.

For that reason, I support this bill which, for the first time, ties funding to the responsible redeployment of our troops out of Iraq, beginning within 30 days of passage and to end in December 2008.

I'm supporting this bill for another important reason. It establishes once and for all that the United States of America does not torture people. This bill is not confused about waterboarding. Waterboarding is clearly made illegal, as well as electric shocks and mock executions and every other gruesome interrogation method that is currently prohibited in the Army Field Manual.

The American people elected the Democratic majority in this House last November because they're done with the war. They're sick and tired of losing American lives in Iraq. And they're sick and tired of losing vital programs at home to continue to finance this tragic war.

This is a vote of conscience. I urge every one of my colleagues to vote in favor of this bill.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I reserve my time.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1½ minutes.

Mr. Speaker, we have heard significant discussion tonight about al Qaeda. And people seem to think that Iraq, the Iraq war was necessary in order to tackle al Qaeda. Well, that's backwards.

I can recall being out at CIA headquarters after 9/11. I can recall sitting out at CIA headquarters watching the Predator aircraft as they flew over Afghanistan, transmitting pictures back here in the search for bin Laden and al Qaeda. And I remember what those CIA people out there said, and the frustration they expressed because half of their resources were being diverted from the search for bin Laden and al Qaeda to prepare for the attack on Iraq.

It isn't that the war in Iraq was necessary to get at al Qaeda. The war in Iraq diverted us from concentrating on al Qaeda and bin Laden.

□ 2030

And we are still suffering the consequences today.

So let's keep the facts straight. Let's keep history straight. And let's keep our heads straight. The fact is that Iraq got in the way of our effort to get at al Qaeda and we have been suffering from that fact ever since.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. OBEY. I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI), the distinguished Speaker of the House.

Ms. PELOSI. I thank the gentleman for yielding and appreciate his leadership in bringing this important legislation, the Orderly and Responsible Iraq Redeployment Appropriations Act.

Mr. Speaker, on Monday, America honored our veterans, something that we do every day in our hearts but which we openly celebrated on that day. I am very proud that this year we could celebrate also the biggest increase in veterans benefits in the 77-year history of the Veterans Administration thanks to the New Direction Congress.

Yesterday, the President of the United States signed the Defense appropriations bill with the biggest increase in defense spending, made necessary because we must rebuild the capacity of our troops, which capacity has been weakened by the war in Iraq. And today, we bring before the Congress new direction legislation regarding the orderly and responsible redeployment of our troops out of Iraq.

This legislation is necessary because whatever you may have thought about the war or the conduct of the war or the origin of the war, whatever you may think about the performance of the Iraqi Government there, and I have my views on that subject, the fact is we can no longer militarily sustain the deployment in Iraq. Staying there in the manner that we are there is no longer an option.

Our troops have performed their duties magnificently, excellently, patriotically, and courageously. We owe them the deepest gratitude for their courage, their patriotism, and the sacrifices that they and their families are willing to make. But even as they tried

to create and had their military successes, God bless them for that, the secure framework was established to enable the Iraqi Government to make the political change necessary to end the civil war. Well, the sacrifice of our troops was simply not met by the actions of the Iraqi Government.

How much longer should we expect our young people to risk their lives, their limbs, their families, for an Iraqi Government that is not willing to step up to the plate?

This legislation today offers something fundamentally different from what President Bush is proposing, a 10-year war, a war without end, costing trillions of dollars at the expense of our military readiness. In fact, it offers something different than this House has done before. Indeed, it provides the tools to our troops so that they can get their jobs done with the greatest respect for that job. But it also presents a strategy that will bring them home responsibly, honorably, safely, and soon.

The legislation is different because it ties the funding to a strategy for redeployment. It is different because the funding provided is for the short term so that we can measure the administration's plan, if there is such a plan, to redeploy the troops on the schedule established in this bill.

We do have a military crisis not seen since Vietnam. Equipment is wearing out and needs to be replaced. Our troops, wherever they are, are only being trained for counterinsurgency in Iraq instead of a wider training for a full range of missions that they may be called on to perform. The deployment schedule of the Bush administration is wearing down our forces, plain and simple.

The distinguished chairman of the Armed Services Committee has made this readiness issue the cornerstone of his opposition to this war in Iraq. The distinguished chairman of the appropriations subcommittee on Defense has told us over and over again that this deployment in Iraq cannot be sustained without weakening our national security, without diminishing the capacity of our armed services to meet challenges to our national security wherever they may occur. As such, this readiness crisis poses a grave threat to America's national security.

Yet under the President's plan, and this was expressed by representatives of the administration on more than one occasion, the President's plan would bring 30,000 troops, the number of troops that were sent in for the surge, that 30,000 troops would be redeployed back to the U.S. by July of 2008. So let's understand this. This means that by July of 2008, we will have the same number of troops in Iraq as we had in November of 2006 when the American people called for a new direction in Iraq. Again, we cannot afford the President's commitment in Iraq. It traps us. It traps us, and we cannot, while we are in that trap, address our readiness crisis.

This redeployment, in addition to undermining our military capacity to protect the American people, is also unsustainable financially. According to a recent report by the Joint Economic Committee, this war could end up costing American taxpayers \$3 trillion. We will pay any price, as President Kennedy said, to protect the American people, but without us going into the shortcomings of this war and the President's execution of it, \$3 trillion, think of the opportunity cost of that money in our readiness, in the strength of our country, in our reputation in the world.

The legislation before us is important. Again, the title of it is the Orderly and Responsible Iraq Redeployment Appropriations Act. It would begin redeployment within 30 days of enactment and have a goal of completing the redeployment by December 15, 2008. The legislation requires a transition in the mission of U.S. forces from being in combat to diplomatic and force protection, to targeted counterterrorism and limited support for the Iraqi security forces. It would prohibit the deployment of U.S. troops to Iraq who are not fully trained and fully equipped. Thank you, Mr. MURTHA, for your leadership on that subject and on this one as well and so many others. It requires that all U.S. Government agencies and personnel abide by the Army Field Manual's prohibition against torture.

The legislation that Mr. OBEY has brought to the floor, and I salute your leadership over and over again on this subject and so many others, Mr. Chairman, the House must choose between the President's plan for a 10-year war without end, no end in sight, the longer we're there, the harder it is to come out, the longer we're there, the more severely it hurts our military readiness; or a Democratic plan for responsible, honorable, safe redeployment out of Iraq and soon.

Our troops have already paid too high a price for this war: 3,850 U.S. troops killed, 28,000 injured, thousands of them permanently. That is, of course, the biggest price to pay. But the price that we are paying in our reputation in the world for us not to be able to take our rightful place as a leader in the world to make the world safer, to make the region, the Middle East, more stable, and so many other challenges that the world faces, whether it's the eradication of disease, the alleviation of poverty, the curbing of global warming, keeping peace, ending the fury of despair that contributes to the violence in the world. The countries of the world are crying out for American leadership, and at the same time they disrespect us for what is happening in Iraq.

We must act now to provide a new direction because it is clear that the President has turned a blind eye to all of this. And in addition to what I said earlier, our troops paying the biggest price, our reputation in the world, the

several-trillion-dollar price tag to the taxpayer, and the cost to our readiness, despite the fact that the President has turned a blind eye to the facts of Iraq and a tin ear to the wishes of the American people to take a new direction in Iraq and bring our troops home, we must act today. I hope that our colleagues will all support this legislation because in doing so and if it is enacted into law and if this policy is pursued, we can resume our rightful place in the world. We can refocus our attention, as Mr. OBEY said earlier, on the real war on terrorism, and we can make the American people safer by rebuilding and restoring the readiness and the capacity of our military to protect the American people wherever our interests are threatened.

All of us stand here and take an oath of office by pledging to protect and defend the Constitution. In that preamble, to provide for the common defense is one of our first responsibilities. Unless we do that, protect the American people, nothing else is possible.

So let us support this legislation which helps us honor our oath of office to defend the American people and to respect the sacrifice, the courage, the patriotism of our troops to make us the home of the brave and the land of the free.

I urge a "yes" vote on this important legislation.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON), the distinguished chairman of the Armed Services Committee.

Mr. SKELTON. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I rise in support of this resolution.

It's very important that we take a good look at where we are in the country of Iraq. It's important that we take a good look at the status of the United States military forces, in particular our Army, which is being stretched and strained nearly beyond recognition.

You can't help but have a great deal of pride in the young men and young women in doing the duty upon which they have been called. But it is important for us to turn the reins, give the baton over to the Iraqi forces, to the Iraqi Government. We cannot hold their hand there forever. It is important that we redeploy our forces in a responsible and reasonable manner so that their readiness is assured in case of some future challenge.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The call was taken by electronic device, and the following Members responded to their names:

[Roll No. 1106]

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—377

Abercrombie	Alexander	Arcuri
Ackerman	Allen	Baca
Aderholt	Altmire	Bachmann
Akin	Andrews	Bachus