Thank you, Madam Chairman, for calling this hearing.

And thank the Deputy Secretary for his years of service to the

country.

We are at war in Libya. I know there is careful parsing of words

to describe our military action; no fly plus and the rest. But we are

at war in Libya.

And while I am troubled by how we went to war in Libya, I will

never jeopardize support for our troops, but I do not believe the

President of the United States has the authority to take America

to war without Congressional approval where our safety and vital

national interests are not directly threatened.

I also do not believe in limited war. I believe if America chooses

to go to war, then by God you go to war to win.

Now the President said this week that it would be a mistake to

broaden our mission. He said ‘‘We went down that road in Iraq,’’

and we are certainly going down a very different road than we

went in Iraq. In Iraq we had a clear objective. We had Congressional

bipartisan approval in both Houses, then international sup-

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port, then through trial and sacrifice of blood and treasure we prevailed.

Here in Libya no clear objective, no Congressional approval,

uncertain and wavering international support, aerial bombardment;

we are on a different road.

So, Mr. Deputy Secretary, I would like to ask you in the course

of conversation today tell me why Congress should not immediately

bring an authorization to the floor of the House of Representatives

that would define our mission or end this mission and bring the

clarity that the Constitution and the American people expect.

Thank you, Chairman.

And I want to thank the Deputy Secretary of State for your service

to the country over the last several years and in prior administrations.

And I do wish you well in your next employ.

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I actually want to get give you an opportunity to answer a couple

of questions. I think you heard in my opening statement, I think

it is important that we say we are at war in Libya. And while I

am troubled about various aspects of how we began this conflict,

I will never jeopardize support for our troops. And I always attempt

to maintain the level of deference and respect that is due

and owing to the Commander in Chief, and to the executive in matters

of war. But I want to say, and it is not my question, I do not

believe the President has the unilateral authority to take America

to war with Congressional approval where our safety or vital national

interests are not directly implicated.

And so my first question, if you want to scribble it, is I will give

you three and you can pick whichever ones, my first question is:

How was the safety of the people of the United States of America

or our vital national interests implicated in a way that justified the

President bypassing the ordinary deliberation, consideration and

authorization of the Congress in one form or another?

Secondly, in my opening statement I also said I think history

teaches that the wisest course of action is not limited war and that

America has succeeded throughout our history when we have chosen

to send our most precious heroes and a treasure into combat

if we had made the decision that when you go to war, you go to

war to win?

And my next question is what is the objective here? I hear that

there is a political objective that we hope Maummar Ghadafi goes,

but that that is not the military objective. So my second question

is how do we define victory?

And thirdly, you know the President has said that we should not

repeat the mistakes of Iraq. We have gone down that road before.

He does not want the mission to involve regime change. And as I

said before, I stipulate that this is a very different road than Iraq.

In Iraq we had a clear objective; defeating the enemy and removing

a dictator. We had a clear congressional bipartisan approval. We

had careful military preparation. Then we went and got international

support. And through trial and sacrifice of blood and

treasure we prevailed.

Here we have no clear objective. No Congressional approval.

Military preparation, as was just suggested, has been done ‘‘on the

fly.’’ We have mixed international support. And we are involved in

an aerial bombardment campaign plus on the ground.

And so my question is: Why should not the Congress take up and

debate, and amend, and consider and vote on a resolution authorizing

the use of force in this case and specifically lay out what the

objectives and the mission, and the goal of the American people is

in Libya?

If I could interrupt because I respect your background

and experience on this. When President Reagan made the

decision to launch missiles into Maummar Ghadafi’s compound, did

that go on for more than a day? What is the history of that?

But that instance was a day. It was one launch, it

was on attack. And we have been at this in Libya now with over

100 Cruise missiles and air support and ground bombardment and

now we are talking about equipment and maybe more for several

weeks.

Thank you.

Mr. Connolly of Virginia.