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

Somebody walked by not long ago, and they said, I do not have to go

to your funeral because I paid my dues today with all these people

giving these accolades.

I have to tell you this story. When you start getting all these

accolades, you think you are a big shot. I remember one time President

Carter asked me to go to the seventh game of the World Series with him.

Tip O'Neill and I went down, and there were only 4 of us and 15 Secret

Service people in the plane.

We got in this helicopter and, of course, flew over all these other

people going to the ballgame. Well, Carter was not the most pleasant

guy to be with. He wanted to talk all business, and Tip O'Neill wanted

to talk nothing but baseball.

So we get about halfway there, and it is not a very long trip to

Baltimore. Tip finally got him warmed up. We land, and we only land a

block away from the stadium, but we had to have an armored car drive us

in. So the President said, you sit in the middle there, Murtha, and Tip

sat on the left side, and the President sat on the right side. Some guy

yelled out some obscenities. He said, My God, they must have recognized

Murtha in the car.

Let me say, this resolution today is not what I envisioned, not what

I introduced, and let me read what I introduced on November 17.

``Whereas Congress and the American people have not been shown clear,

measurable progress toward establishment of stable and improving

security in Iraq or of a stable and improving economy in Iraq, both of

which are essential to `promote the emergence of a democratic

government';

``Whereas additional stabilization in Iraq by U.S. military forces

cannot be achieved without the deployment of hundreds of thousands of

additional U.S. troops, which in turn cannot be achieved without a

military draft.''

Now, let me say this. There were two of us who voted for a military

draft, so I do not think that is an option. When you go to the high

schools, they say, you are for a draft. I said, yes, but there is not

too many of us, and I do not think you have to worry about it.

``Whereas more than $277 billion has been appropriated by the United

States Congress to prosecute U.S. military action in Iraq and

Afghanistan;

``Whereas, as of the drafting of this resolution, 2,079 U.S. troops

have been killed in Operation Iraqi Freedom;

``Whereas U.S. forces become the target of the insurgency;

``Whereas, according to recent polls, over 80 percent of the Iraqi

people want the U.S. forces out of Iraq;

``Whereas polls also indicate that 45 percent,'' this is a British

poll, but the Defense Department support this British poll or confirm

this British poll, ``of the Iraqi people feel that the attacks on U.S.

forces are justified.''

Hear what I am saying. Forty-five percent of the Iraqi people feel it

is justified to attack Americans.

``Whereas, due to the foregoing, Congress finds it evident that

continuing U.S. military action in Iraq is not in the best interests of

the United States of America, the people of Iraq, or the Persian Gulf

Region, which were cited in Public Law 107-243 as justification for

undertaking such action.''

I did not say anything about intelligence. I did not say anything

about the President. All these statements that have been made vilifying

me today did not say anything like that.

``Therefore be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives

of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the

deployment of United States forces in Iraq, by direction of Congress,

is hereby terminated and the forces involved are to be redeployed at

the earliest practicable date.

``Section 2. A quick-reaction U.S. force and an over-the-horizon

presence of U.S. Marines shall be deployed in the region.

``The United States of America shall pursue security and stability in

Iraq through diplomacy.''

That is what I said. I have never had in the 32 years that I have

been in Congress such an outpouring from this country, four to one in

my office. You cannot even call my office if you tried, an outpouring

of people crying. People are thirsting for some direction. They are

thirsting for a solution to this problem. They want to support the

President. I want to support the President. Everybody does.

We put into place in the Appropriations Committee a criteria for

success because we were so unhappy. This was in May. The gentleman from

Florida (Mr. Young) and I put a criteria for success in the bill, it

was a Moran amendment, because we were not happy with the results.

Nobody was talking to us. Nobody would tell us what was going on, and

we felt it was absolutely necessary that we put this into writing.

I went to Iraq about 2 months ago, and I talked to the commanders,

and all of you know the commanders are very hesitant to say anything

that is not in the policy of the White House, and I agree, that is the

way it is run by the civilians. That is the way it should be, but I

could tell how discouraged the commanders were.

The one Marine commander said, I do not have troops to put on the

border, the Syrian border. Now, why did they not have enough troops?

Because of the deployment, because of the small number of people that

are serving in our Armed Forces today.

We told them, the Armed Services Committee, under Duncan Hunter's

leadership, said you can take 30,000 more people. They cannot recruit

to that. They have fallen 10,000 short; and not only have they fallen

10,000 short, they are now taking 20 percent category 4s, which they

said in the voluntary Army would never happen.

The war's not going as advertised. The American public is way ahead

of us. If you heard the World War II veterans, if you heard the Vietnam

veterans, the wives and the widows on the phone crying to my staff and

myself when I am talking to them, if you heard them reaching out and

asking for a policy, a bipartisan policy. When I introduced this

resolution, I did not introduce this as a partisan resolution.

I go by Arlington Cemetery every day, and the Vice President, he

criticizes Democrats. Let me tell you, those gravestones do not say

Democrat or Republican. They say American, and Dick Cheney's a good

friend of mine. He was a good Secretary of Defense.

Our military is suffering. The future of our country is at risk. We

cannot continue on the present course. It is evident that continued

military action in Iraq is not in the best interests of the United

States of America, the Iraqi people and the Persian Gulf region. That

is my opinion.

General Casey said in a September 2005 hearing, the perception of

occupation in Iraq is a major driving force behind the insurgency. Hear

what I am saying. General Abizaid said on the same date, reducing the

size of visibility of the coalition forces in Iraq is part of our

counterinsurgency strategy.

For 2 1/2 years I have been concerned about our policy and the plan

in Iraq. I have addressed my concerns to the administration and the

Pentagon.

I have spoken out in public about my concerns in going to war.

A few days before the start of the war, I was in Kuwait. They drew a

red line around Baghdad; and they said when the American forces cross

the red line, they will attack us with weapons of mass destruction,

meaning biological and chemical weapons. I believed that. They believed

it. The military commanders believed it. And when they went in, though,

they felt they had sufficient protective gear that they could overcome

it. The heat would dissipate some of the gas and so forth, and it would

be no problem for our forces, they felt. They even thought they had

cell phones monitored so they could tell that it was there. It turned

out not to be true.

Let me tell the Members this: Bill Young and I have been on the

Defense

Subcommittee for 25 years. We spend more money on intelligence than all

the countries in the world put together and more on intelligence than

most countries' GDP. But the intelligence concerning Iraq was wrong. It

is not a world intelligence failure. It is a U.S. intelligence failure.

I have been visiting our wounded troops at Bethesda, and only two

people, I think, visit any more than I do, and that is Bill Young's

wife and Bill Young. They go there as often as I do, and Beverly goes

more often.

Now, let me tell the Members what demoralizes the troops. Going to

war with not enough troops and equipment to make the transition to

peace, the devastation caused by IEDs, being deployed to Iraq when

their homes have been ravaged by hurricanes, being under second and

third deployment and leaving their families behind without a network of

support.

The threat posed by terrorism is real, but we have other threats that

cannot be ignored. We must be prepared to meet all these threats. The

future of our military is at risk. Our military and their families are

stretched thin. A very small percentage of people in this country are

serving this country at this stage in this war. Many say the Army is

broken. Some of our troops are on their third deployment. Recruitment

is down. Defense budgets are being cut, $5 billion this year, $5

billion cut from the defense budget; and the chairman and I are

concerned they are going to cut another percentage point, which is $4

billion more, from the defense budget.

Personnel costs are skyrocketing, particularly in health care. And

choices have to be made. We cannot allow a promise that we have made to

our military families in terms of service benefits, in terms of their

health care to be negotiated away. Procurement programs that ensure our

military dominance cannot be negotiated away. We must be prepared.

The war in Iraq has caused huge shortfalls in our bases in the United

States. I visited four bases, four Southern bases, premier bases. Every

one of them was short, short radios, short mortars, short ammunition

even. Our troops were C-4, which means the lowest state of readiness,

because they did not have the equipment to train right before they are

deployed to Iraq. And much of our ground equipment is worn out and in

need of serious overhaul.

I have said to all these CEOs that come to see me, Folks, do not

think about procurement. We about bought, what, five or six ships this

year, something like that. They said they are going to build 12 next

year. Do not believe that. But I will tell the Members one thing we

have to do is rehabilitate this equipment. A $50 billion bill, in my

estimation, and I do not know where the money is going to come from.

George Washington said: ``To be prepared for war is one of the most

effective means of preserving peace.'' I do not know what the threat

is, but I will tell you it takes 18 years to get a weapons system out

there, and we had better well get those systems put together now. We

had better start them right now because we do not have them. They have

a system right now they are thinking of cutting back. The Europeans

invested a lot of money in it. Billions of dollars have been invested

in this weapon system, JSF. If they cut back the buy, the cost to

increase, the Europeans will cut back on their buy, and it will

skyrocket the price; and we will have to reduce the number of airplanes

that we buy. We must rebuild our Army.

Our deficit is growing out of control. The Director of the

Congressional Budget Office recently admitted to being ``terrified''

about the budget deficit in the coming decades. This is the first

prolonged war we have fought with 3 years of tax cuts, without full

mobilization of American industry, and without a draft. The burden of

war has not been shared equally, and the military and their families

are shouldering this burden.

Our military has been fighting a war in Iraq for over 2\1/2\ years.

Our military has accomplished its mission and done its duty. Our

military captured Saddam Hussein, captured or killed his closest

associates. But the war continues to intensify. And you know the deaths

and you know they estimate that not only do we have 15,500 that have

been wounded, but we have 50,000 that we think may suffer from what I

call battle fatigue.

I just recently visited Anbar Province, as I said, and I became

convinced that we had to take some action. I became convinced that I

needed to say something about what was going on. I needed to introduce

a resolution which would bring this to a head so we could come to a

bipartisan resolution to fight this war together, to show our troops

how we support them, and that resolution calls for a redeployment of

our troops. I said over a year ago now, the military and the

administration agree, Iraq cannot be won militarily.

We can say it here in these air conditioned offices, but let me tell

you something. It cannot be won militarily. It has got to be won

politically, and we have to turn it over to the Iraqis and give them

the incentive to take back their own country.

Our troops have become the primary target of the insurgency. They are

united against U.S. forces. We have become the catalyst for violence.

U.S. troops are the common enemy of the Sunnis, the Saddamists, and the

foreign jihadists. I believe with U.S. troop redeployment, the Iraqi

security forces will be incentivized to take control. A poll recently

conducted shows 80 percent of the Iraqis oppose the presence of

coalition troops. I believe we need to turn Iraq over to the Iraqis. I

believe the Iraqi election scheduled for mid-December, the Iraqi people

in the emerging government must be put on notice: the United States

will immediately redeploy. All of Iraq must know that Iraq is free,

free from United States occupation. I believe this will send a signal

to the Sunnis to join the political process for a good and free Iraq.

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

This is his resolution.

The first encounter with the casualties in this war, I had two young

widows come to my office. They wanted to go to Walter Reed because they

had lost their husband and they wanted to talk to the soldiers and tell

them how lucky they were that they were still alive. One was 23 with

two children. One was 19 without any children. I thought how proud I

was of them. Another young man from my district was blinded and lost

his foot. They did everything they could do for him in Walter Reed. And

then he went home and his father was in jail. His mother had not seen

him. There was no one at home and he was by himself. The VA has done

everything they could to help him. They sent him to Johns Hopkins to

see if there is a possibility for him to see and found out that he

could not see. And then they started sending bills. Collection agencies

sent him bills. Imagine. He is by himself in his own home and a

collection agency from Johns Hopkins sends him a bill. Obviously we

straightened it out, but that is the kind of thing that happens when

you forget about the veteran.

I had a soldier that lost both legs and an arm. Bill has seen the

young fellow from Micronesia. We visited a mental health ward. You know

what they said to me? Fifty thousand of them are going to have some

kind of battle fatigue. They said that we don't get Purple Hearts. We

don't get any recognition at all. We get shunned aside as if we were

cowards.

A young woman from Notre Dame lost her arm and she was worried about

her husband losing weight. She was the one that lost her arm. It makes

me so proud. A Seabee was lying in intensive care with his three

children and his mother and his wife in tears because he was paralyzed

from the neck down. This young Marine, his father had been a Marine.

His father was there. His father was rubbing his hand. He says, please

get my son's brother home. He wants to see his brother. I called the

Marine Corps. The Marine Corps said, he doesn't want to come home. So I

went back and told his father. He said, please get him home. So I told

the Marine Corps and they got him home. I said, you get him out of that

country blank-blank right now, and they did.

Another Marine lost both his hands, blinded. I went to the hospital.

After I talked to him, I said how proud, as I do to all of them, how

proud I was of them. Is there anything you can do for them, I said? He

said, yeah, get him a Purple Heart. Why wouldn't he get a Purple Heart?

Because he was demobilizing from the friendly bomblets that had been

dropped and hadn't exploded, thousands of them. Finally one of them

blew up, blew his hands off and killed the guy behind him and blinded

him. The Marine Corps said, we have regulations about Purple Hearts. It

was friendly fire so he can't get a Purple Heart.

I told the commandant, If you don't give him the Purple Heart, I'm

going to give him one of mine. I was going to go out on Thursday, the

commandant went out on Wednesday and he got his Purple Heart. Our

troops have become the enemy.

Folks, it is easy to sit here in your air-conditioned offices and

say, send them into battle. It is easy to sit here in the Capitol of

the United States and say, stay the course. But when there is not a

plan, when the families write to me and say there is not a plan, when

they don't understand, when they believe that Captain Fishback came to

see me, he says, You're complicit with the administration in torture,

Congress is, because you're looking the other way. I said, We didn't

know a thing about it.

And one of the things that turned the Iraqis against us was the

tragedy that happened at Abu Ghraib. Because we in Congress are charged

with sending our sons and daughters into battle, it is our

responsibility, our obligation to speak out for them and that is why I

am speaking out.

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