Fanaticism, George Santyana famously said, is ``redoubling

your effort when you have forgotten your aim.''

Let us measure our efforts against our aims in Iraq. After great

effort, Saddam is dead. After long effort, we have established there

are no WMD. We have eliminated Iraq as a threat to its neighbors. We

have achieved the President's Iraq war aims.

Why are we sending 21,000 more troops there, rather than redeploying

all our troops out of Iraq? Because we have forgotten our aims. Now we

referee a civil war between the peoples of Iraq. The President admitted

as much in his State of the Union, saying ``This is not the war we

entered but the war that we are in.''

The use of force resolution we passed in 2002 nowhere authorizes our

participation in an Iraqi civil war. It has, therefore, expired. The

President must come back to Congress for reauthorization if he wishes

to war further in Iraq or to extend the war to Iran.

The fact that we are in a civil war is backed up by our own national

intelligence estimate, as well as my conversations with soldiers who

served, serve or who will serve in Iraq.

I share with you a typical comment: ``I joined the Army, and I will

go as many times as they send me. But I will tell you what. These folks

have been killing each other for 1,000 years. They are killing each

other today and may kill each other for another thousand years. I just

don't see what good we are doing there.''

This loyal soldier deserves our support and our protection.

John Murtha's efforts to craft an emergency supplemental

appropriations bill to protect our troops is commendable. No soldier

should be repeatedly deployed to Iraq without being rested, retrained

and ready. To do so otherwise is an abuse of our citizen soldiers. It

is a criminal dereliction of duty. It is an abuse of power.

The Constitution gives Congress the express power to regulate the

military. We must exercise this responsibility and stop the abuse of

our troops by building thoughtful guidelines into our defense

appropriations bills.

Some want us to believe that we must either stand aside and let the

President have his way or use the blunt axe of cutting off all funding

for the Iraq war. Not true. Not only does the Constitution give to

Congress, not the President, the power and responsibility to regulate

the military, there is ample precedent to support Congress's authority

in wartime.

In the 19th century, Congress went so far as to require President

Andrew Johnson to obtain the signature of General Ulysses S. Grant to

any of the President's military orders before it could become valid.

The President obeyed.

President Truman was forced in the Youngstown Steel case to recognize

that his powers as Commander in Chief were severely limited when they

undermined congressional decisions. Even though a steel strike

seriously affected our ability to fight the Korean war, the Commander

in Chief could not act independently of Nation's laws.

President Bush needs to learn that we are a Nation of laws and that

no one in America is above the law. He needs to listen to the American

people. He should heed our professional military, rather than shop for

a convenient opinion.

The American people understand the challenges in Iraq are political

and that no amount of military force can retrieve the situation. Only

the Iraqis can solve the problems of Iraq. Our staying merely delays

their day of full responsibility, and that is why this Iraqi government

asked us not to escalate until, like our own generals, they were

browbeaten into submission by President Bush.

We must end this war with a minimum of domestic recrimination, a

maximum of motive and opportunity for the many peoples of Iraq to solve

their own problems without genocide, one last chance to win the war in

Afghanistan, the last known mailing address of Osama bin Laden, and we

must begin the long task of rebuilding America's foreign policy on its

traditional bipartisan basis.

We must forsake fanaticism and never forget our national aims.

My colleagues, this President has never had the authorization from

Congress to enter a civil war in Iraq. Our mission is done. Bring the

troops home.