Madam Speaker, I hope the gentleman from Missouri

would just suspend a moment before he leaves the floor.

I would like to have the privilege to address the subject matter that

he raised and the issue of the Iraq Study Group. And it is somewhat of

a long book to read through, but I had a conversation this afternoon

with the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Wolf), and I have lifted some

things out of the Iraq Study Group's report that are clearly part of

the President's agenda in Iraq, ``The New Way Forward,'' and Mr. Wolf

assures me that the entire strategy in Iraq is right from the Iraq

Study Group.

So I point out to the gentleman from Missouri, and I would be happy

to yield to him if he had a response, that the plan and the strategy of

the President's for a new way forward in Iraq is not flying in the face

of the Iraq Study Group. In fact, it follows directly down the path of

the Iraq Study Group. If the gentleman from Missouri would care to

engage, I would certainly be willing to yield.

I came here to talk about that subject matter, in fact, Madam

Speaker. And as I listened to my colleagues in preparation for this 60-

minute Special Order, I will just take from the top some of the notes

that come to mind.

And one is, from the beginning, the gentleman from New Jersey spoke

about ExxonMobil's highest corporate profits, the highest corporate

profits, perhaps, ever in the history of the country, and the promise

by this Pelosi Congress to provide energy independence. And then the

gentlewoman from Ohio also spoke about ExxonMobil's profits, and the

details of that were such that they have $40 billion in profits. Did

they lower prices at the pump?

Well, yes. Prices at the pump are a dollar a gallon cheaper than they

were when oil prices were up to $75 a barrel. In fact, the prices at

the pump almost directly reflect the lowering of the prices and the

cost of the barrels of crude oil.

And then, of course, the argument that there was a class action

lawsuit against them for $3.5 billion. And one might take that as a

concern until one sees that that, Madam Speaker, is Alabama. Well,

Alabama is a venue shoppers' State of choice. Someone who has a

lawsuit, and the attorneys across this country know this, when they

want to bring a class action lawsuit, they look around and they say

what State has favorable laws; what State produces favorable juries.

Where is the class envy so focused and where they have a belief that

you can put 12 men and women on a jury and they would lay out a

punitive case against a company because they see a company as somehow

or another an evil Big Brother.

That is how you end up with these $3.5 billion or maybe $9 billion

punitive damages in a class action lawsuit.

We have dealt with this, Madam Speaker, in the Judiciary Committee in

the years that I have been in this Congress, and we passed legislation

out of the House, and not successful in the Senate, that would allow a

company that operates in multiple States, in fact, maybe

internationally, to be able to ask that a case that has been venue

shopped and taken to a State where there is a minimal amount of

economic activity but a maximum amount of punitive damages offered by

the juries there, a State that has that kind of reputation, we have

passed legislation here in the House that would allow

that to be changed to a Federal venue rather than a State venue so that

we can eliminate some of this ghastly profiteering that is taking place

and the punishment of some of our best corporate citizens that we have

in America.

And I sat here tonight and listened to a handful of speakers, and two

of them turned their focus on ExxonMobil, and they can't seem to

understand that because we have large and successful oil companies in

America that they are continuing to invest those profits into research

and development and exploration.

The gentlewoman from Ohio lamented that they bought back $10 billion

worth of their stock. Can she speculate that perhaps that gives them

enough control now that they can invest more of their profits in

exploration? And if they invest more in exploration, that means there

will be more oil on the market, which means then, of course, this law

of supply and demand, which I believe in, which everyone on the

Republican side of the aisle believes in, which some of the people on

the other side of the aisle believe in, that supply and demand will

drive down our prices. And that is exactly what has been happening,

Madam Speaker.

So I have to rise in defense of the companies that have provided

cheap gas in this country, cheap oil in this country, and even still,

whatever the price of gas is, milk is still more expensive. But not

only that, the product that has been free all of my life, that product

called ``drinking water'' and, in fact, now bottled water, is more

expensive in the machine at the gas station per gallon than a gallon of

gas is coming out of the pump right next to it by far. In fact, the

last time I calculated that, it was a little over $9 a gallon to get

your bottled water out of the machine at the gas station where gas was

selling for about $2.15.

So we need to keep this in perspective. We cannot be punishing those

companies that are out there exploring and putting this oil on the

market so that we have the convenience of relatively cheap fuel and the

mobile society that we have. If we did not have these companies and you

pulled their expertise and their capital and their reserves off the

market, we would be far, far more dependent upon Middle Eastern oil and

much, much more of America's economy and the profits that we have would

be skimmed off to go to the Middle East to fund the people who are

lined up against us militarily and philosophically.

We are trying to get to energy independence. The Pelosi plan doesn't

take us to energy independence. In the first 100 hours, one of those

first six pieces of legislation, H.R. 1 through 6, pick your number,

the one that addressed energy, went out and punished oil companies. It

said, if you have leases, and particularly some leases that were

perhaps profitable in the gulf coast, if you have leases that are

deemed by the government to be profitable, we are going to require you,

as a company, to renegotiate those leases. If you don't renegotiate,

then we are going to forbid you, ban you, blackball you, black list you

from a company that can negotiate future leases offshore, like,

actually, I believe, domestically in shore on land and in the United

States.

Now, what kind of a deal is it when you have a deal, and the Congress

comes here and passes legislation that says a deal is not a deal. Yes,

you had a deal. We signed it all in good faith, but we found out it was

a good deal. So now we are going to take some of that profit ourselves.

I have spent my life in the contracting business, and I have invested a

little bit of capital, and I was able to add a little more to it and

roll a little back in and work hard and take some chances and work

smart.

Over a period of time, I was able to build a little capital up and

get to the point where we could bid some projects that had some

significant value. I have seen this kind of envy rise up when someone

looks over and sees the industrious nature of their neighbor and

decides they want some of that hard-earned profit. I have had it happen

to me when I had a contract that I had significant profit in.

I can think of one in particular where I was able to purchase some

materials because I negotiated. I played my cards right, I went and

built those relationships with all the people that were involved. It

was a string of people through bankruptcy and banks. In the process of

doing that, everything had to come together just right. The timing had

to be just right. I was at great risk if I was not successful in

putting that all together so that I could buy a large quantity of dirt

for a reasonable price and it was handy.

In fact, when I first talked to the banker about that piece of land,

he said it would take $25,000 just to retain an attorney to represent

me in negotiating the purchase of that. That gives you a measure of how

difficult it was. But, in fact, I was successful purchasing that earth

on that farm for the purposes of taking it into a project we were

building, and, of course, I made some money.

If I had been wrong, if I hadn't been able to complete that purchase,

then it would have cost me a lot of money. But when the time came, the

owners sat me down, and the engineers sat me down, and they said, well,

we see that you are making money here, and now we would like you to

discount the work you are doing because we think you can afford to do

that.

I looked them in the face, and I thought, well, why are you asking me

to give some of my profit over to the owners? Isn't it all justly

earned? And isn't it ethical, and didn't I bid this for a price, and

was not it low bid? Not a no bid, but a low-bid contract? They said,

well, yes, but we think that you have some to give, and so we are

asking you to discount your work, do it more cleanly, because we think

you can afford to.

Well, what principle are you basing that judgment on because someone

can't afford to discount something? How can you ask them to do that in

a free enterprise society? I asked that question of the engineers, and

they said, well, again, we they think that you can afford to do that.

So let me ask you a question. If I had lost my shirt on this job,

which I likely could have done, and maybe even lost my business, would

you have stepped up and said things didn't go so well for you, here is

some extra? They just smiled and snickered a little bit because they

knew it was ludicrous to think that when things go bad that there is

going to be anybody in there holding my hand or ExxonMobil's hands or

Shell's or Chevron's or anybody else's. They suffer all of their

losses, and they have to have a margin in the work that they do.

We must have successful companies here operating out of the United

States, and especially developing our domestic supplies of energy. If

we fail to do that, then we are absolutely dependent upon middle

eastern oil. If we are up to that 60 percent or so of our oil that is

imported now, think what it would be like, Madam Speaker, if it was 100

percent.

So this effort to go down here and argue that we will see energy

dependence under Pelosi's term here in Congress, I would submit that

they have done anything but. They have changed the deal and said the

Federal Government's word is not good, we want a tax, windfall profits.

If we can find a way where we are jealous of your profit, we will find

a way where we can take it and put it into the government coffers.

A company that will look at that is going to take their profits and

decide why do I want to invest my profits in further exploration if the

Federal Government is going to come in and cancel the deal, which they

have done. I will submit that, perhaps, $40 million that may be

available, and it is probably a lot more than that is available for

exploration, that will continue to put oil supply on the market.

I would submit that it is more likely that exploration investment

will go overseas to foreign countries, and perhaps even into the Middle

East and places where we don't have such a stable environment, while we

sit on massive supplies and energy here in the United States, not

because the oil is not there, not because the natural gas isn't there,

but because this Congress has become a jealous Congress. This Congress

has become a vindictive Congress. This Congress has become a Congress

that has decided that they are going to play legislative corporate

class envy against companies that are providing an economic supply of

energy to this country.

I have always had the view that if I didn't like the way someone was

doing business, if I thought they were making too much profit, then

that should say to the whole world, well, there is opportunity there.

If Exxon is making all of this profit, and it has made so many people

irate that out of six or eight speakers two of them come to the floor

to speak about that very thing, then I would submit, go out and start

your own oil company.

That is the American way. You have a chance to do whatever you want

to do in this country. Go ahead and get an investor's group together,

or go buy up a group of oil companies, put them together and go out

there, and invest your capital, see how you do.

In fact, I welcome that. I think we need a lot of competition, and we

need a lot of exploration, and we need to be developing our oil

supplies more now than we ever have before. This is the time to push,

because perhaps a generation from now we will have transitioned into a

lot of other kinds of fuel and gas and oil will not be so important and

will not be so relevant any longer. It isn't just the gas and the oil

and the fuel that comes from our crude oil, but it is all the other

energy supplies out there.

Now, I understand that the other side of the aisle and the Pelosi

plan is going to include some things like conservation, and I suspect

reasonable conservation measures. I think it is awfully hard to

legislate. I think the markets do more for that than we could probably

do with legislation. Conservation is a component. But I would ask to

put in your mind's eye the idea that I call the energy pie. The energy

pie, shaped like a clock, for example, but slices of that pie, pieces

of the pie, or the components of it would come from all of the areas

where we get energy.

So I would submit that a certain percentage of our overall BTU

consumption in America is gasoline. Some is diesel fuel. Some is fuel

oil. Then those hydrocarbons that come from crude oil, and then, in

addition to that, we have a lot of our electricity, significant amount

comes from hydroelectric and nuclear and coal fired, especially clean

coal fired, and we also, then, out of that energy, then, in addition to

that, we have our ethanol, our biodiesel. We have hydrogen. There is a

whole list of sources for energy in America, and we need to look at

that, like all the BTUs consumed in America, a big energy pie, and then

reprioritize that. Let us change the size of the pieces and grow the

size of the energy pie.

I want more BTUs on the market. I want a lot more energy on the

market. I want to go everywhere we can to get that energy and pour it

into the marketplace and do it so that we can supply more BTUs than we

are using.

If we can do that, we can drive down the cost of all energy. We need

to do that by adding it by component by component. The ethanol, the

biodiesel, more coal, more wind, I left that out, the hydrogen, on the

horizon, the cellulosic ethanol that is coming, piece after piece of

this energy pie needs to be added together. Then we change the

proportion of the pieces so that gasoline from middle eastern oil

becomes a smaller piece, and diesel fuel from middle eastern oil

becomes a smaller piece.

Ethanol becomes a larger piece. Biodiesel becomes a larger piece.

Cellulosic down the line a half a decade from now can really start to

take hold, and we can replace some of the electricity that is being

generated by the natural gas with wind energy, and that is an

environmentally friendly and conservation approach that is good for our

environment.

All of these tools are at our disposal, but one of the tools we seem

to use is we want to punish the corporations that are busily

contributing to growing the size of the energy pie, and also

diversifying some of their investments so they aren't just locked into

the petroleum but adding the diversification out there, so that they

can contribute also to adjusting the size of the pieces in this larger

growing energy pie.

That is how this needs to be done. We need to be doing it by

complimenting the companies that are competing in the open market, not

by punishing them, not by defying the rules of free enterprise with

Congressional action, not by changing the deal, not by jerking the rug

out from underneath. I would suggest that there is a Chevron find in

the Gulf of Mexico, I understand it is about 265 miles southwest of New

Orleans, that may add as much as a 50 percent more to the overall

reserves or the overall production of oil in the United States.

With that field opening up, and the necessity to open up in ANWR, we

can, if we are aggressive, we can reduce dramatically our dependency on

foreign oil, and then, of course, we add to that the renewable energies

that I have talked about. We can get there. We will not get there if we

scare our companies off, if we punish them for doing good and doing the

right thing.

So I will move from that energy discussion and move to the discussion

by the gentleman, Mr. Andrews, on Iran. I want to compliment him for

the tone and the thoughtfulness and the constitutional discussion that

he brought here to the floor. I have no doubt that he understands the

Constitution, and he is correct when he says the power to declare a war

is with this Congress constitutionally.

But, also, the commander in chief of our military is the President of

the United States, and that is clear, and that is a constitutional

principle that should not be challenged by this Congress. He is the

commander in chief.

There is nothing in the Constitution that says Congress shall have

the authority to declare a war and then micromanage every little

operation of that war. Simply when Congress declares war, they say we

send a message to all sovereign nations in the world that we are at war

with whichever sovereign nations may be the subject of that

declaration.

That declaration shows the commitment of Congress to support our

troops and their mission. I will say that again, to support our troops

and their mission, and the lead troop is the commander in chief, the

President of the United States, George W. Bush, who does call these

shots.

Our founding fathers understood you cannot fight a war by committee,

and you can't put your finger into the wind and ask the public to poll

and ask how you should go about fighting a war. If we are going to sit

here and say, well, the public polls say that the support for the

operations in Iraq, the battleground of Iraq, which is a battleground

in the broader global war on terror, if we are going to take the

position that this Congress can steal the polls and make military

recommendations or pass edicts here or take the budget and squeeze down

our support for our troops or shut it off like they did at the end of

the Vietnam War, that we can micromanage a war from the floor of the

Congress?

It is a ridiculous concept, and it was a ridiculous concept for the

President of the United States during the Vietnam War, to micromanage

that war. President Johnson should have turned that over to his

military personnel at the joint chiefs of staffs, who would have relied

upon their commanders in the field. If they were not satisfied with

those results, they would have changed them. It is the prerogative of

the President to remove generals and appoint new generals.

Of course, the Senate confirms those higher appointments, as we saw

happen a little over a week ago, with the confirmation of General David

Petraeus.

Now, we find ourselves in this odd dichotomy here, this odd

contradiction, where Congress has, and I am speaking, I should say

specifically, the Senate has unanimously endorsed the President's

choice to be the commander of all operations in Iraq, General David

Petraeus.

Personally, I would put into the Record that he is the singular most

impressive individual that I have met in a military uniform in my

lifetime. I do not believe that there could be another choice. I do not

believe that there could be a better choice to head up these operations

in this new way forward in Iraq than General David Petraeus.

Not only does he understand the overall strategy, he has written the

book on counterinsurgencies. He spent years in Iraq. I first met him

over there in October of 2003 where he commanded the 101st Airborne

that had gone in and liberated the region about three provinces and in

the region of Mosul. And there, as I sat and received a briefing from

him, I will tell this little anecdote about General Petraeus, that is,

he started to give a briefing.

And it was in a way, a classical Powerpoint slide show, but a slide

show of pictures, the reality of what had taken place there. And he had

a cordless microphone.

Now I do not get very many briefings that last an hour and a half,

unless I happen to be the one that is delivering them. But General

Petraeus spoke for about an hour or a little more, and the battery went

dead on his microphone. The moment before the battery went dead, he had

picked up another microphone that was laying there, and without even

breaking stride, laid the one down, picked the microphone up with the

fresh battery in it, and proceeded to complete that briefing that

lasted about 90 minutes.

He had the solution sitting there waiting for the problem. He used

every single minute of the 90 minutes extraordinarily effectively. Not

only did he talk about politics and tactics and the military deployment

that they had there, the difficulties that they had faced, he talked

about how he had called for elections in Mosul.

Mosul was liberated in late March 2003. They had elections there in

May of 2003. And at the table later on the next day, I met with the new

governor of Mosul and the vice-governor of Moss, one a Shiia, one a

Kurd. One might have been a Sunni and the other was a Kurd. But

regardless, he had representatives from two different sectarian

factions there, and then a business leader at the table who was

proficient in English.

You could tell by the eye contact of those three men, they were a

team that was working together. General Petraeus understood the

military and the tactics, understands them better today than he did

then, and he understood them very well then. He understands the

politics. He understands the economics. And he studied this. It has

been his focus, it has been his life. He loves his soldiers. I am

looking forward to a completion of this mission in Iraq that will be I

believe a successful mission.

Mr. Andrews spoke about Iran. I digressed a bit before I get to that

point. I support his constitutional conclusion that Congress alone

declares war. But I would submit, in addition to that statement, that

the Commander in Chief calls the shots. We declare war, if that is what

the situation calls for.

And then Congress shall not get in the way and micromanage the

operations. No war by committee, Madam Speaker, and no interference

here on the part of these Members of Congress, except if they have an

issue then they can do, behind-the-doors oversight. They can have those

conversations. The President's door is open to the leadership of this

Congress. We know that.

If they have those kind of issues, they want to discuss, we have

classified briefings here. There are plenty of opportunities for

oversight. If not, you can ask for opportunities for oversight. But to

set up this Congress and to use the committees and use the committee

chairs and the ranking members to somehow configure a away to bring in

motions and micromanage a war is a guaranteed military debacle. There

has never been a successful committee operation fighting a war in

history, and there is no way that you can set a precedent here out of

this Congress, especially as divided and as defeatist as it is on the

majority side of the aisle.

It seems to me that the will to win this war runs a successful clear

distinct victory that would be written by the historians as a distant

victory, is not really something that is loved and anticipated by the

people on the other side of the aisle. And this is not a stretch that

comes out of my imagination, Madam Speaker. But it is simply an

observation from in this Chamber, when the Commander in Chief gave his

State of the Union Address last month, now when he spoke about

committing to victory in Iraq, one-half of this Chamber stood in a

thunderous standing ovation, and the other half of the Chamber, Madam

Speaker, sat on their hands in silence, disgraceful silence.

Could they not know that our troops in the field have televisions in

real time over there in Iraq and in Afghanistan, and in other parts

where our troops are today, supporting our troops that are in the front

lines? Could they not know that our commanders all the way down the

line to the privates are watching this disgraceful lack of support?

Their lives are on the line, and they will hear Members from this side

of the aisle to a man and to a woman say, I support the troops. I

support the troops. I support the troops.

And the question to follow is, what about their mission? Do you

support their mission? And that is when you cannot get a question

answer from hardly anybody on the Democratic side of the aisle. In

fact, the Speaker herself declined to say yes to that point blank

question sometime in December of last year.

She said it was not a matter of victory, it was a matter of managing.

Well, they want to manage their way out of there, and I will submit

that the rule of warfare is, victory goes to the side that is occupying

the territory at the end of the war. You cannot lift people off with

helicopters off a U.S. embassy in places like Saigon, and say, well, we

really won the war, we tactically won the war, we did not lose a

battle, we won, we left because we wanted to, it was kind of an

asterisk that those things happened down there.

We tactically did win every battle. And our U.S. military performed

courageously, heroically, and gloriously. And they need to be honored

by every generation from here on out. But we did not win the battle of

who stood on the terrain at the end.

And these enemies that we have in the Middle East are a philosophical

enemy that goes deep back into history. And before I go deep back into

history, I will speak again to the Iranian issue of Mr. Andrews, which

is, he criticized the regime of Iran. I agree with him. It is an

unstable leader that they have. And they have some mullahs that seem to

be directing the action of that unstable leader. So that cabal in the

middle appears to me to be, from our view, from our Western

civilization view, an irrational group of leaders.

He said the regime must never have a nuclear weapon. I agree, Mr.

Andrews, 100 percent, they must never have a nuclear weapon. And yet we

cannot go forward. He said we cannot go for a reckless premature action

against Iran. I agree with that as well. It cannot be reckless, it

cannot be premature.

But does anybody really think that we can make nice enough, talk nice

enough, be reasonable enough and take our case to the Iranians and say

somehow can we just put out an olive branch here, and have an open

discussion and find out what our disagreements. Does anybody really

think that Ahmadinejad or the mullahs would just then peacefully come

to the table, and they could be reasoned into a position of giving up

their nuclear weapons?

I mean, they came out yesterday, and their announcement was that they

will continue to develop their nuclear weapons, and they say they have

a right to do so. But does anybody believe that they can be talked out

of them? I am wondering what it is about human nature that I see this

so clearly that they have gone down this path, they will not let go,

they will not give up.

Why does anybody on that side of the aisle, Madam Speaker, think that

they can debate Ahmadinejad into giving up his nuclear missiles and his

nuclear technology and ability, when I would ask them, how long has it

been since you have seen anybody in this Congress change their mind

because of the sheer force of a debate?

I mean, these are not so momentous a decision that we make, but we

come down here on the floor. And how often can anyone point to a single

time that they have said something that was so profound, so honest, so

insightful that another Member said, I did not know that. I am on your

side, I will switch my position, change my vote, I will be with you

because you made sense.

It is so utterly rare in this Congress, why would the gentleman

believe that we could send negotiators over to Iran, and they would

say, well, it makes sense to me. We will just demolish all of that

nuclear capability. We want to sign a peace treaty with you all. We

will start trading and it will be a wonderful world again.

The reason that we have a problem there is because we have a

fundamental philosophical disagreement and misunderstanding. This began

in Iran when President Jimmy Carter's belief in supporting religious

fundamentalists caused him to support the return of the Ayatollah and

the demise of the Shaw in Iran.

And when that happened in 1979, that was the beginning of the hostile

Iran. And it did not take very long before we saw 444 days, 52 American

hostages paraded regularly in front of our television trying to

humiliate the United States. And some believe that Ahmadinejad was part

of that group, they think they have pictures that show him there, a

kidnapper of American diplomats.

I do not know. I do not know if that is true or if it is not true.

But he certainly was not opposed to that that we know. He is for the

annihilation of Israel, the annihilation of the United States, these

dictators tell us what they think, and often they follow through on the

those actions.

And so, no, I do not trust the Iranian leadership, I do trust a lot

of the Iranian people. And I would trust the Iranian people to capture

their freedom if given the chance. I would paint this image in the

mind's eye, Mr. Speaker, of all who might be contemplating this.

In the map you will see Iraq to the west and Afghanistan to the east.

And right in the middle, linked together bordering the two countries is

Iran.

Now, I will argue that Afghanistan today is a free country. And our

troops were on the ground guarding the polling places. The first time

ever in the history of the world that since Adam that there had been

any votes that took place on that soil.

Today it is a fledgling democracy. It has its problems. Certainly it

will. We had our problems in the early years. We have our problems

today. It is never pretty. It is always difficult. But it is always

worth the effort. But Afghanistan is a free country. Iraq is

technically a free country today.

The part that diminishes that freedom is the 80 percent of the

violence that takes place in Baghdad and within 30 miles of Baghdad.

But Iraq, much of Iraq is peaceful, it is pacified and it is becoming

prosperous. I went over there the last time, over the last

Thanksgiving, I actually spent my Thanksgiving Day eating dinner with a

good number of wounded troops in Landstuhl, Germany, at the hospital,

and encouraged by their courage.

That was the most monumental and profound Thanksgiving that I have

ever had or ever hope or expect to have. And from there, I traveled

over to Iraq where I did spend a couple of days in the Baghdad area,

and then I went to a camp, a forward operating base just out of

Baghdad, and then on up into Erbil in the north, in the Kurdish area in

the north.

I have been to most corners of Iraq over the last few years. I try to

get there as often as I can to get a feel for what is going on. I do

not think it is possible to understand that operation over there

without going there. I was encouraged by the level of peace and the

growing prosperity, especially that that I saw in Erbil and up in the

Kurdish area.

You get out of the plane there, take off your flack jacket, toss your

helmet in the back, and walk across to the parliament. I sat down with

some members of parliament there. And then they cooked also a turkey

Thanksgiving dinner that was something that I have not seen done as

well in this country. Gregarious hosts and wonderful people. That is

how I find most of the Iraqi people.

I do not accept a 60-percent number that was delivered here by the

gentleman from Georgia, that 60 percent of the Iraqis believe it is

good or okay to be attacking Americans. I do not know where that poll

would come from. Maybe if you polled the terrorists you would get a

number like that.

But I do not believe, Madam Speaker, that that is the sentiment of

the Iraqi people. The Iraqi people are grateful that the United States

has stepped in to liberate them. There is a bit of a power vacuum,

especially in Baghdad.

The President's plan is to go in and fill that power vacuum. Muqtada

al-Sadr has done a job in filling that power vacuum. And he has been

supported and funded and armed by Ahmadinejad's people in Iran. Iran is

fighting a proxy war against the United States within Iraq.

You also have Syria fighting a lesser effective but to a lesser

degree a proxy war against the United States in Iraq. When the

President came out shortly after September 11, he said if you harbor

terrorists, fund terrorists, train terrorists, you are a terrorist and

we will treat you as a terrorist state.

Iran is one of those countries. Syria is one of those countries. I

know of no example in the history of the world where an insurgency that

could go back and hide and have sanctuary in a sovereign state has ever

been defeated. You have to take your battle where the insurgency is.

And if they have got a sanctuary you have to go to their sanctuary.

That doesn't mean that we need to take on Iran. It means that we have

got to eliminate sanctuaries. And we cannot delude ourselves into

believing that we can negotiate a nuclear capability away from Iran. It

would be just utterly ineffective because they have a goal and they

have a vision.

And from that point I would submit that the background here of United

States history, American history, instructs us on what has been

historically, and is relevant to today. Madam Speaker, I would submit

that back in 1783 would be the period of time when the new United

States made peace with Great Britain. And at that time, we had an

American Merchant Marine that was sailing the world and trading. We

have always been a very effective seafaring nation. And as our American

Merchant Marine sailed and traded to the world and they went into the

Mediterranean, up until 1783 they had the protection of the British

Navy because we were, up until 1776, at least a colony of the British,

and so we are now rectified of their Navy.

But when we were recognized by Britain and began to fly the American

flag, and were not under the protection of the Union Jack, 1783,

America made peace with Britain; and then, 1784, the first American

ship was captured by pirates from Morocco. Thus began the Barbary wars

where we took on the Barbary pirates. From 1784 and on up until about

1815, the United States was engaged sporadically and periodically, but

actually almost continually in a war again the Barbary pirates along

the Barbary Coast.

And before I go into that, Madam Speaker, I need to give a little bit

more of the history of that region. Barbary pirates in that region had

been raiding the Mediterranean shoreline, especially the European side

of that, for years. And I will submit that they had been raiding the

shoreline for almost 300 years at that point in 1784 when they captured

the first American vessel.

Beginning about 1500, 1502, 1503 is when the Barbary pirates began an

active and aggressive pirating of merchant marines that were sailing

into the Mediterranean. And their goal was, capture the ship and the

cargo and the crew. And the most valuable portion of that was all too

often the crew, because they were pressed into slavery, Madam Speaker.

And they brought back European slaves to the Barbary Coast where they

pressed them into slavery.

And they built many of the edifices that you see there today, the old

architecture from the 1500 era and on, clear on into the early 1800s,

about 1830; much of that work was done by Christian slaves that were

pressed into slavery by Muslim masters. And, in fact, there is a book

written by a professor at Ohio State University called Christian Slaves

and Muslim Masters. And he has gone back and studied the coastline, the

European coastline of the Mediterranean and old church records and

other family records and old family Bibles and put together a credible

history of the slave trade by the Barbary pirates as they moved in with

their corsairs and took over the merchant marine, the merchant ships

from Europe.

The Barbary pirates raided the shoreline all around Greece and Italy

and France and Spain and all the way up the coastline of France and the

Atlantic into England and on over as far north as Iceland. In fact,

there is a fairly detailed commentary about 400 Icelanders who were

pulled from their beds at night just near the shore of Iceland, pressed

into slavery and sailed back down to the Barbary Coast on the north

shore of Africa.

And of all of the slaves that were captured along all of that

coastline, from Greece all the way up to Iceland, these Icelanders

survived the least, and they perished the most. They got the least

amount of work out of them and they died the most quickly. And that

happens to be some remarks that are written into the historical

documents.

Some say it had to do with the climate change. Some say it had to do

with the work they pressed them in. Some say it had to do with their

hearts being utterly broken that they were pressed into slavery, and

they just lost their will to live. But there is very little, if any,

genetic remnant of those slaves today because the men that were pressed

into slavery, and it was almost all men, they were never allowed an

opportunity to do anything but walk in their chains and row the

corsairs, or else do their slave labor, building the buildings and

doing the kind of construction work that built those cities.

They didn't have an opportunity to procreate, so you don't see their

genetics in the faces of the people that live on that part of the

continent today. Occasionally, I am told that there are some blue eyes

that pop up that look like they might be the descendants of the women

who were captured aboard ship or offshore, who were pressed into, I

will say concubinery.

And so there are some descendants from that, but it is very little,

from remnants. But all together, Professor Davis documents about 1.25

million Christian slaves that were pressed into slavery by the Barbary

pirates, and this period of time would be from about 1500 on to about

1583.

Well, it continued from that point forward, and Europe built a

practice of paying tribute to the pirates and seeking to purchase back

their most valuable citizens. And it would be those men and women of

substance. If they had a wealthy family, then they would try to go and

pay tribute to get that member of the family back. That went on for

hundreds of years.

There was a pattern there. It was a business that was being run. And

when the United States found themselves sucked into that in 1784 when

our first ship was captured by the pirates from Morocco, that began the

long conflict that lasted until at least 1815.

And one will remember that the United States took a posture

eventually; we paid tribute here, Madam Speaker, out of this Congress

to the Barbary pirates. And some of those line items that I have seen

were as high as $250,000 to pay tribute to the Barbary pirates, but

that would be just one line item. And, in fact, that was a line item

that was refused. But we paid more than that on an annual basis, and

that tribute, that bribery got so high that it became as high as 20

percent of the entire Federal budget to pay off the pirates in the

Barbary Coast.

And so we decided that we couldn't afford this any longer, and we had

two alternatives. One was to outfit a Navy and a Marine Corps and send

them over there to punish the Barbary pirates and get them to back off

of any vessel that flew the Stars and Stripes. So we sent our best

diplomats over there to negotiate with the Barbary pirates; and I don't

know that we have diplomats of that standing today, but historically

they will stand very high in the mind's eye of Americans, Madam

Speaker.

And so in 1786 Thomas Jefferson, who was then the ambassador to

France, and John Adams, who was the ambassador to Britain, met in

London with, and I don't have this name memorized, met in London with

Sidi Haji Abdul Rahman Adja, the ambassador to Britain from Tripoli.

Our American ambassadors, Jefferson and Adams, ambassadors to France

and Britain respectively, asked Adja why his government was hostile to

American ships, that even though there had been no provocation, his

government was hostile to American ships. The ambassador's response was

reported to the Continental Congress, and is a part of the permanent

record today that can be reviewed over in the Library of Congress.

The response from Sidi Haji Abdul Rahman Adja, the ambassador to

Britain from Tripoli, I will repeat, was this, and I quote, ``It was

founded on the laws of their prophet, that it was written in their

Koran, that all nations who should not have acknowledged their

authority were sinners, that it was their right and duty to make war

upon them wherever they could be found and to make slaves of all they

could take as prisoners, and that every Musselman,'' and that is the

term for a Muslim today, ``who should be slain in battle was sure to go

to paradise.''

Sound familiar, Madam Speaker, to some of the things that we hear

today?

And Jefferson's analysis, his comments upon that valiant effort at

diplomacy, an effort that has been suggested by Mr. Andrews here this

evening, Jefferson's analysis was this, and I will paraphrase and

summarize and not quote, but it is hard to reach common ground, it is

hard to negotiate with people whose profound religious belief is that

their salvation is from killing you.

1786; 2006-2007. We think we have come a long way; we may have not

gained a single inch in this disagreement, just had some interim

conflicts and relative periods of peace. I think the American people

need to understand this.

And so out of the failure of that diplomatic effort, that valiant

diplomatic effort, the United States Navy was born, March 1794. The

Marine Corps joined with the Navy and they went to the shores of

Tripoli. And that is today in the Marine Corps anthem, ``From the halls

of Montezuma, to the shores of Tripoli.''

And our Navy was fitted, and they designed frigates for Americans,

and these frigates had superior speed and superior maneuverability,

very much an American thing. That was the first time that Americans

went to war after the ratification of their Constitution, and they went

to war with the most modern frigates that had a tactical advantage

because the technology that was developed by the innovative nature and

the inventiveness of American shipbuilders. And today we are off in

space with that same kind of innovation.

The Marines, when they went to the shores of Tripoli, they knew what

they were up against to some degree.

And Madam Speaker, we have all heard Marines called Leathernecks.

Most don't recall, Marines got the nickname Leathernecks because they

put leather collars around their neck, thick leather collars when they

went into battle to reduce the chance that they would be beheaded by

the enemy. That is how Marines got the nickname Leathernecks. They got

that nickname over 200 years ago, and it is part of their history and

part of their lore. And the shores of Tripoli are engraved on their Iwo

Jima monument over across the Potomac River.

And so we need to go back and revisit history, Madam Speaker, and

understand that this enemy is driven by the same philosophy. They still

believe their path to salvation is in killing us. There are passages in

the Koran that support this almost verbatim that I have happened to

have read.

Thomas Jefferson had a Koran. I understand that Koran came to this

Congress to be used in a swearing-in ceremony. Some say that he leaned

towards Islam because he owned a Koran. I will submit that Thomas

Jefferson also studied Greek, and he had a Greek Bible; he wanted to be

able to understand the passages in the Bible from the perspective of

the Greek, rather than relying on the translations from Greek into an

English version.

Thomas Jefferson was perhaps the preeminent scholar of his time,

maybe the preeminent scholar in our history. He took his work

seriously. Of course he needed to understand ``nosce hostem,'' which is

Latin for ``know thy enemy.'' And that would absolutely be the reason

why Thomas Jefferson acquired a Koran, so he could understand that

enemy that said that it is written in their Koran that all nations who

should not have acknowledged their authority were sinners, that it was

their right and duty to make war upon them wherever they could be

found, and to make slaves of all they could take as prisoners, and that

every Muslim who should be slain in battle was sure to go to paradise.

What a promise to make. And when that is a profound religion, it is

impossible to negotiate with. So what we did, we went to war against

them, and over time put them in a position where they needed to sue for

peace.

And I will submit also that Algiers came under attack from the

British twice and the French once. And they didn't cease their attacks

on Western Europe--I will say Western civilization and the shipping

industry within the Mediterranean as a piracy approach, as a government

policy. They didn't cease those attacks until 1830 when the French went

in and occupied Algiers.

And so here we are today with an enemy, globally, in the world, which

is a segment of Islam. And I certainly respect and appreciate moderate

Islam. I

ask them to step forward and be our allies. I believe they are a

peaceful people and a good-hearted people. And the more I travel and

the more people I meet, the greater my respect and admiration for the

goodness of humanity is.

But there is an element within Islam that is radical Islam, the

jihadists, the Islamists, as Daniel Pipes has named them. That element

is a significantly large element and there are maybe 1.2 to 1.3 billion

Muslims in the world. And according to Daniel Pipes, our Benazir

Bhutto, 10 percent, and according to Pipes, perhaps as many as 15

percent, are inclined to be supportive of al Qaeda.

Now, if it is 10 percent you are looking at 130 million. If it is 15

percent, add half again to that. That is a huge number of people who

philosophically believe that their path to salvation is in killing us,

and that they don't really take a risk with their destiny when they

attack us because if they are killed in the process, they will surely

go to paradise.

That is the enemy that we are against, Madam Speaker.

Madam Speaker, may I inquire as to how much time I have left?

And so here we are today with a Congress that wants

to micromanage a war, and a resolution or two or three over in the

Senate that undermine our troops, and a resolution promise to come to

the floor of this House next week that undermines our troops. As I have

submitted, you cannot win a war by committee. You cannot fight a war by

committee, but you can undermine the mission and you can put your

troops at risk by doing so.

We have top-notch commanders in the field, Madam Speaker. They have

demonstrated their ability. We have the best military ever put into the

field. Their morale is strong, their technology is there, their

training is high. Their sense of mission and duty and sacrifice is

strong and is profound. They want to complete their mission.

I traveled over there with a lieutenant colonel who said to me, Don't

pull us out of this. Don't save me. Don't save me. I volunteered. I am

willing to take this risk. I want to take this burden off of my

children. That is my duty to my country and to my family. I want to

take this burden off my children. Don't try to save me.

I had some Gold Star families in my office a couple of months ago,

shortly before I went to Iraq, Gold Star families who have lost a son

or a daughter in combat over in either Afghanistan or Iraq. As I

listened to them, they just intensely pleaded with me, Do everything

you can to promote a successful mission. We have heard much of the

dialogue, but to look them in the eye and understand that intensity.

And then, one of the bereaved fathers from California, his first name

was John, said to me, It's different now. Our children have gone over

there and fought and died on that soil. The soil in Iraq is sanctified

by their blood. They paid their price for the freedom of the Iraqi

people. You cannot walk away and leave that now. That is the vision of

the Gold Star families. That is the commitment of our military.

I can't find people in uniform in Iraq that don't support the

mission, that aren't committed to the cause. But they ask me, why do we

have to fight the enemy over here, the news media over in the United

States, and the people that are undermining us in the United States

Congress? It is an undermining. And I will make this prediction, Madam

Speaker, that before this 110th Congress is adjourned, there will be an

amendment or a bill that comes to this floor that seeks to unfund our

military, one that is written off the pattern of the one at the end of

Vietnam. And if that amendment comes and it is successful and it shuts

off funding and our troops are forced by a defeatist attitude in

Congress to pull out of Iraq, you will see a human suffering like this

world has not seen since World War II.

The price for failing to succeed will be cataclysmic. I don't have

enough minutes to go into the description of all of that.

But I will submit that we either succeed victoriously and leave Iraq

a free democratic Iraq that can stand on its own two feet and defend

itself and be represented by its people, we either do that, or the last

battle in Iraq won't be fought over there, Madam Speaker. It will be

fought here on the floor of this Congress through an appropriations

bill that will seek to jerk the rug out from underneath our sacrificing

military. And it would put this country in utter disgrace if that were

to happen.

So I have introduced a resolution, a resolution that supports and

endorses our troops, one that recognizes the circumstances that we are

in, the constitutional power and authority of our Commander in Chief,

and stands up and defends our troops and our military all the way down

the line. It says, in fact, the bipartisan Iraq Study Group says on

page 73 that it could support a short-term redeployment or surge of

American combat forces to stabilize Baghdad or to speed up the training

and equipping mission if the U.S. commander in Iraq determines that

such steps would be effective.

General Petraeus has written the plan. He has determined it would be

effective; it is consistent with the Iraq Study Group, page 73. Look it

up. General Petraeus has endorsed the plan, as I said. And on top of

that, the cochair of the Iraq Study Group, former Secretary of State

James Baker III, came back to this Congress and said: The President's

plan ought to be given a chance. He wants us to support the Iraq Study

Group, and that is the President's plan. That means a free and

liberated Iraq, not a cut and run.

Honor the troops for their service and honor their mission, and in

fact honor their sacrifice. And I will fight this battle here where it

is at greatest risk, Madam Speaker. And I urge my colleagues to do the

same.

I look forward to the debate next week and the open dialogue, and I

hope that there is a rule that is offered here under the promise of

this new and open Congress that would allow for amendments to be

brought to the floor so that resolutions of this type actually have an

opportunity to be debated in this Congress.