Mr. President, I have not come to the floor, except once,

in the 2 years I have been here to discuss the war in Iraq. I have been

to Iraq and had experience in Iraq as a medical missionary during the

first gulf war.

I am very much concerned as to how the world will read us. What we

know is that enemies try to defeat us not by trying to defeat us on the

battlefield or in Iraq; they try to defeat our will, try to defeat the

will of the American public.

Senator DeMint talked about leadership. Leadership is laying out the

real consequences of our action. What are those consequences? What

next? What is going to happen next? What is going to happen? We heard

this morning that we are trying to delay this resolution. We are not

trying to delay it. As a matter of fact, they are saying we would not

debate it. We are debating it right now. The fact is, we believe you

ought to have a resolution that says we support our troops in this

group of resolutions. Unless we get some semblance of saying we want to

send a signal to our troops that we support them, we should not have a

rule that precludes that.

So politics aside, and the next election aside, and the Presidential

election aside, what does it mean to the American people about what we

end up doing in Iraq? That is the question we should be asking. We

should be making sure that the mistake we do not make is to have an

ill-informed American public about what the consequences will be.

Regardless of whether we should be in Iraq, we are there. We cannot

change that. The question comes, what does the Iraq Study Group say?

They said we needed to secure Baghdad; they said we needed

reinforcements to be able to do that; they said we needed more funds to

make a difference in people's lives. These are the funds that go to the

generals to actually approve things.

Can we accomplish something in Iraq or do we walk away? Here is what

happens when we walk away. No. 1, there will be a genocide in Iraq. The

minority Sunni population will scatter out of Iraq, and those who don't

will be killed.

The northern Iraqis, the Kurds--what will happen to them? If we are

gone and full-blown civil war breaks out, what will happen to the

Kurds? This is a group of 36 million people who have not had a homeland

since the Ottoman Empire. Genocide was committed against them by

Saddam. What will happen to them? They will be seen as a risk to

Turkey. Turkey already has problems with its Kurdish population.

What will happen in Lebanon? Probably civil war.

What will happen in Jordan?

What will happen to the Sunni gulf states, as they now fear Iran and

its dominance?

This is a war Iran wants us to leave. Why? Because they want to

empower themselves to be the dominant force in the Middle East. We can

talk about all of the resolutions and how we disagree; that is

basically political posturing, and you can disagree. But as the Senator

from South Carolina said, unless

you put something into force of action, it is criticism, not

leadership. We need to calculate whatever we do in this body, based on

what the outcome of that calculation is going to be, not by giving

bellicose speeches that set up false choices that are not there. The

fact is we have an obligation to the very people--the innocent people--

in Iraq today.

We can walk away from that, but history will judge us harshly. The

estimates are there will be 5 million people displaced out of Iraq.

There will be between 700,000 and 1 million additional Iraqis who will

die. Do we not have an obligation to make that not happen? Do we not

have an obligation to do what is in the best long-term interests of

this country? Is it in our best interest for this country to get out of

Iraq? Is it? How does that fit with the war on terror and our ability

to conduct that war when we create in Iraq, by withdrawing, a new state

that is run by al-Qaida and by the Shia, which will in fact have the

funding to dominate in the international arena with terrorism and

hatefulness and murder and pillaging of innocent people?

It is not as simple as everybody here wants to make it seem. It

certainly should not be political. But that is where we are going. The

very comment that we cannot have a debate on supporting the policy,

that we will not allow a resolution that says we are going to support

our troops--why don't they want that? It is because that will get the

highest number of votes. That will become the story--not the story that

somebody postured in a position that is well-intended and well-meaning,

that they don't think a surge or a reinforcement in Iraq is correct.

America is at a crossroads. The crossroads is whether we will fulfill

and carry out the responsibilities, some of which we added to ourselves

by our very position, but whether we will fulfill that. We will be

judged by history.

To undermine many of the steps that the Iraq Study Group said, which

is in the President's plan, nobody knows if this will work, but I

guarantee it will not work if we send a signal to those who oppose us

that this is it. All they do is sit and wait. More of Iran's influence

and more dollars from Iran coming into Iraq--more to defeat us. If you

defeat the will of the American people--and, by doing that, that is our

problem--if we allow that to happen as leaders in this country, then we

will be responsible for that 5 million displacement, for those million

deaths, and the millions that will follow when you have a Middle East

dominated by Iran with a nuclear weapon.

We should think long and hard. The American people should not respond

just to the urge to get out of Iraq but respond to the well-thought-out

consequences of what happens next. And what happens next is a disaster,

not only for the people of Iraq, for the people of the Middle East, but

also for the national security of this country and our ability to carry

out our foreign policy in the future.

I earnestly pray that we will consider the actions here and the words

here in light of what comes next, not in terms of politics but what

happens to our country.

Denying the heritage we have of sacrifice for freedom and liberty and

denying that it costs something and walking away from that, we will

reap that which we sow as we walk away from it. Caution to us as we do

that.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.