

shaped, is now implementing, and appears to be working?

In my opinion, the deadline for withdrawal from Iraq that is in this bill now is a deadline for defeat, where victory and success are still possible. There are no guarantees, of course, in war. That is why we adjust our judgments according to what is happening on the ground. So there are no guarantees that the encouraging first results of the implementation of the Petraeus plan will continue and go to full success—no guarantees.

But I can tell you this: If we adopt an arbitrary order to begin to withdraw our troops, regardless of what is happening on the ground in Iraq in the war, it will guarantee failure. That failure will have profound consequences for Iraq, which I believe will break up into not just full-fledged civil war but the kind of ethnic slaughter that drew us a decade ago into Bosnia to stop. And we will have withdrawn and be expected to stand by and let it happen.

Of course, ultimately it will lead to what will be claimed as a victory for the forces of Islamic extremism, our enemies in this war we are fighting. It will, in my opinion, ultimately embolden them to strike us here at home again.

So I appeal to my colleagues, as this debate on this amendment to strike begins, let's have a good debate. That is our nature. That is the essence of our democracy and of this Senate in which we are privileged to serve. But I ask my colleagues, in the end, to step back and think carefully about what this section 1315 would bring about, and instead of undermining General Petraeus, or at best sending a mixed message to him and his troops, let's give him and his troops the unified support and time they need to succeed for us.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

I withdraw the suggestion of an absence of a quorum, seeing my friend and colleague from Oklahoma now on the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WHITEHOUSE). The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. COBURN. Mr. President, the Senate is going to take up, tomorrow, in rather full detail, an emergency supplemental spending bill. I think it is real important, first, for the American people to know what an emergency supplemental bill is supposed to be. It is supposed to be about funding unforeseen problems we could not have anticipated in the regular appropriations process. For a very small amount of this bill, that may be true.

This bill is \$121 billion of your grandchildren's and great-grandchildren's money. This bill does not have to stay within the budgetary limitations Congress sets on itself. This bill goes outside every rule we have in terms of controlling the budget, living within our means, and it says: Here is a credit card.

Now, by the way, on the way to funding the war in Iraq, the wisdom of the Senate has added—and it is \$21 billion in the House—about \$18.9 billion in a wish list. It is a Christmas tree. If each of us in our own personal lives ran our businesses or our households the way Congress is running the emergency supplemental process, we would do it for about 1 year. Then we would be going to bankruptcy court, and we would be losing the vast majority of our possessions because we would not have been deemed to be responsible with the assets we had.

There lies the problem. It is the culture of Congress that thinks we can put a hood over the American people's eyes so they will not know what we are about to do in the next 4 or 5 days in this Chamber. You are going to hear all the reasons in the world why somebody needs something, except it is never going to be held in contrast to the loss of the standard of living of our grandchildren. Yes, there are agricultural needs out there we should have funded a year ago.

The chairman of the Budget Committee said when he would get in power, when the Democrats would get in power, they were going to pay for it—except here we have an emergency agriculture supplemental bill, a good portion of which is needed but it is not paid for. There is no offset anywhere else in the hundreds of billions of dollars' worth of waste in the discretionary side of the budget alone, to reduce something else so we can take care of those who need us now.

There is another aspect to this funding bill; that is, the politics that plays into it over the debate on the Iraq war. What we are seeing play out is a double-edged sword of how do we hurt the troops in the field by adding things to a supplemental bill to take care of them, when there has already been a threatened veto over the bill because it adds \$18.9 billion more than what the President asked for to fund the war.

So as you listen, in the next 4 or 5 days, to the Senate debate this bill, there are a couple things you ought to pay attention to, and you ought to ask yourself the question: Where is the money coming from to pay for this bill? Where is the sacrifice from the generations today to do what the Members of this body want to do?

There is no sacrifice. We are not calling on anybody to sacrifice. What we are saying is: Those unborn, those young, those who are about to be born, and the children of those who are young, unborn or about to be born are the ones who are going to pay for it.

It portends a great moral question of our society today: How is it we can totally turn upside down the heritage of this country, the heritage of a country that has been built on the following premise: "I am going to work hard. I am going to sacrifice. And I am going to serve so that my children and grandchildren get ahead"? Have we become such a selfish country that we do not care about the next two generations?

I think the Senate has spoken, at least the appropriators have spoken. They have said "yes," it is OK to do things such as pay for the conventions, in August, of the Democratic and Republican Parties for the additional funds that will be needed for police enforcement with an emergency bill. Our grandchildren are not going to benefit from that. The political process today is. But we put it in this bill because it means if we put it in this bill, it will not be charged against the regular budget process. It is another way to spend more money. So let's move more things into the emergency category, so we do not have to be responsible when the rest of the appropriations bills come through the Senate.

Think about this: You have a grandchild sitting on your knee and you say: Yes, back in 2007, they had a party in Minneapolis and in Denver, and they charged it to you. You may get to go to college, you may not, but I just want you to know we had a good time at our conventions. How about \$100 million for businesses that have under \$15 million in revenue a year that have suffered some loss from a drought over the last 2 or 3 years. We already have several organizations within the Federal Government: Farm Service Agency, loan capabilities from the Department of Agriculture, the Small Business Administration. All are qualified to loan money to businesses that work in the agricultural area but, no, we set aside. We expanded the farm program with this bill to give \$100 million to small businesses that have been hurt. If you are not connected to agriculture and you have been hurt, where is the bill to help you? Where does the precedent stop in terms of your small business?

What about the fact that gas prices rose and some auto dealers went out of business? Where is the \$100 million for them? What about the fact that energy prices have gone up and small business profits all across the country have been severely damaged because if they are energy dependent, their costs have risen significantly? Where is the \$100 million? Where does it stop? Where does it stop that we steal—when do we stop stealing from our grandchildren?

There is also in this emergency provision \$3.5 million for tours of the Capitol. An emergency, that we have to have the money now, otherwise we won't have tours in the Capitol? That isn't right, but that is what is in the bill: \$3.5 million. Why? So we can have \$3.5 million more to play with when we get inside the budget now that we are outside the budget.

Oh, and I forgot to mention the fact the administration isn't innocent in this either, because the war in Iraq is hardly an emergency. As a matter of fact, it is in its fourth year. The administration should know what they need. Rather than send a supplemental up here, it should be in the Defense appropriations bill. It should have been in the bill we passed this last year. But instead, even the administration is complicit.