

there was something called the Helsinki Accords. The Helsinki Declaration was signed in December, 1975, by many European countries, including the Soviet Union, including Eastern Europe. And, by the way, the Atlantic Charter was what led into the United Nations to help secure sovereignty for countries, human rights, freedom of expression, freedom of thought, and so on. In 1975, and I want to bring this out for another particular reason and how it can apply today in the Middle East, in 1975 a number of countries signed the Helsinki Declaration, and what did that say in part? It said "sovereign equality, respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty." It said, "refraining from the threat of use of force." This helped trigger dialogue between the differences of nations that had conflict. "Peaceful settlements of disputes." We didn't go to war with the Soviet Union. We didn't go to war with East Germany. We didn't go to war with a number of other conflicts around the world. "Nonintervention in internal affairs. Respect for human rights, including the freedom of thought. Equal rights and self-determination of peoples. Fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law."

Now, Brezhnev actually liked this. Premier Brezhnev of the Soviet Union, Prime Minister Brezhnev, liked that because he thought that all the land that the Soviet Union then occupied, he would be able to occupy that territory forever. But what, in fact, did the Helsinki Accords actually do to people around the world, Eastern Europe, and Soviet Republics like the Ukraine? What did it do? It gave them official permission to say what they felt, to say what they thought, and the world would listen, and the world did listen. People living in the Ukraine today, the former Soviet Union, will tell you that the Helsinki Accords was that trigger, that slow fuse that led to their self-determination, their sovereignty, their independence. The Atlantic Charter, the Helsinki Accords.

What the United States can do in the Middle East is to remember those words, bring about a Middle East summit in which there can be Middle East accords, to bring about sovereignty, to bring about human rights, to bring about the respect for international law, to bring about respect for human thought. It can do for the Middle East what it did for former Soviet Republics that are now independent, now free. And the Ukraine is trying to get into the European Union. The Ukraine is trying to get into NATO, as is Kosovo, as is Macedonia, former Soviet Republics. View of the Helsinki Accords is what led to their ability to become sovereign and free nations and develop democracy. What can happen in the Middle East under these circumstances is the same thing. Eisenhower talked to Khrushchev. Kennedy avoided war in Cuba. Nixon talked to Mao Tse-tung. Knowledge is the solvent for danger.

History is the vast early warning system.

What is our policy now based on in the Middle East? Do we have a definite direction? Are we sure about our power, our power to influence, our power of trade, our power of human dignity? What is our policy now in the Middle East?

Sam Rayburn, former Speaker, former Member of the House, the building right across the road is named after him, the Rayburn Office Building, where I work. What did Sam Rayburn say years ago that is actually applicable today? "Any mule can kick a barn door down, but it takes a carpenter to build one." It takes a carpenter to build a barn.

We need more carpenters. We need more people who understand the nature of conflict. We need more people that have a sense of urgency.

The soldiers in Iraq that are driving in convoys that actually in the next few minutes might run over a land mine, those soldiers need to know, those soldiers in Iraq who are stunningly competent about what they do, need to know that we, the policymakers, are also stunningly competent in how we developed a policy that they have to take out.

But I will tell the American people, Mr. Speaker, just don't wait for the government to be competent. You're hoping they are competent. You're hoping they know what they are doing. Turn your television off 2 hours every night and start trying to understand the nature and the culture and the history and the intrigue and the complexity of the violence in the Middle East so you're better able to understand it.

Rudyard Kipling lost his son in France a long time ago, and to soothe his pain, he said, "Why did young men die because old men lied?" Today old people should talk before they send young people to die.

As we look back on the landscape of human tragedy, what and who in every instance was the enemy? What caused the violence? What caused the pain? What caused the despair? What caused the suffering? I will tell you we have three enemies in the landscape of human tragedy: ignorance, arrogance, and dogma. When you put those three things together, it leads to this monstrous certainty, this oversimplification of what the issues actually are, this monstrous certainty that comes out of al Qaeda that I'm right and you're wrong, this monstrous certainty that comes out of the Taliban, I'm right and you're wrong. A suicide bomber should do his job, that's what God wants. We know that's not right. We know that's wrong.

What's the antidote over history to ignorance, arrogance, and dogma? Knowledge to replace ignorance, humility to replace arrogance, and tolerance to replace dogma. We, as the policymakers, need to be knowledgeable and informed so we are competent to

create a policy that will lead us out of this conflict, that will take us through the violence and understand the nature of this conflict so a resolution can come to the fore.

Mr. Speaker, I want to wish the American people well in their assignment to read these books that will bring knowledge to the fore: "Violent Politics" by William Polk, "Fiasco" by Thomas Ricks, "All the Shah's Men" by Steve Kinser, "Traacherous Alliance" by Trita Parsi, "The Battle For Peace" by Tony Zinni, "Why Vietnam?" by Archimedes Patti, and "Human Options" by Norman Cousins.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. PALLONE (at the request of Mr. HOYER) for today.

Mr. CULBERSON (at the request of Mr. BOEHNER) for today and the balance of the week on account of official business.

Mr. LOBIONDO (at the request of Mr. BOEHNER) for April 14 and up until 6 p.m. today on account of visiting servicemen and women in Afghanistan.

Mr. MACK (at the request of Mr. BOEHNER) for April 14 and the balance of the week on account of an illness.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. McNULTY) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Ms. GIFFORDS, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. SCOTT of Georgia, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. KAPTUR, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. WOOLSEY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. DEFAZIO, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. LOEBSACK, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. POE) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. POE, for 5 minutes, April 22.

Mr. JONES of North Carolina, for 5 minutes, April 22.

Mr. SALI, for 5 minutes, April 16.

Mr. WELLER of Illinois, for 5 minutes, today and April 16.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. GILCHREST. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 11 o'clock and 25 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, April 16, 2008, at 10 a.m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 8 of rule XII, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows: