

hear the truth about where we are. If it is a painful truth, as someone who has to go in for surgery has to know at times so they can get better, let us hear the truth, let us hear when it is that we are going to bring our troops home. Let us hear when it is that the fighting is going to end. Let us hear when it is that there is confidence to be restored in the Presidency. Above all, let us stop assailing the character of those who would challenge the positions that we are in, because I think that is the essential working of a democracy: Challenge, ask questions, instead of snide criticism that says they are unpatriotic if a question is asked about an appropriations bill or something such as that. Do not do that.

We have JOHN KERRY who served honorably, bravely, in Vietnam and had the courage to say: I disagreed with the policy but I had the courage, the guts, the backbone to go do what I had to do. Let his record speak for itself and do not try to color it with innuendo and insult.

I yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CRAPO). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, are we in morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We are.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for up to 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

IRAQ

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, those of us who listened to Prime Minister Allawi today could not help being overwhelmingly impressed by the courage and the strength of this individual, as he outlined the hopes and dreams of his nation, which he is leading as an interim Prime Minister, and which nation is obviously going through tremendous strain and stress.

I heard the Senator from New Jersey just recently on the floor. I hope the Senator from New Jersey listened to Prime Minister Allawi, but maybe he had not, because much of what the Senator from New Jersey was saying about Iraq was starkly different than what Prime Minister Allawi said.

The points the Prime Minister made which I thought were so telling were, first, that the people of Iraq do want independence and they do want liberty and they do want freedom, that they will hold elections, and that they have overcome great odds, 30 years of despotism of the most horrifying kind—tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, potentially millions of their

citizenry being savagely treated and killed by Saddam Hussein. They have come through that. They have moved toward democracy, and they intend to hold elections in January. That is a statement of extraordinary strength.

Secondly, he made the point, which I think is a telling and appropriate point, that Iraq has become the front-line of the fight against terrorists. The way he phrased it is: It is the place where the forces of hope are fighting the forces of fear. There can be no question about that.

He made the third point, which I believe is critical: That to pursue a course of defeatism in Iraq will lead to an emboldening attitude amongst terrorists throughout the world and will cause us to face many more years of fierce, intense, and brutal attacks from terrorists, which might otherwise be undermined to some degree, hopefully, if we are able to set up a functioning free state of Iraq where liberty rules, where women have rights, where the strength of law exists. That sort of course is what we are on and what we should pursue there.

The personal courage of this individual cannot be understated. There can be no question but that the interim Prime Minister of Iraq, because he speaks for freedom and he speaks for democracy, is the No. 1 target of the terrorists within his nation, of which there are, obviously, a fair number functioning.

But the point he makes is that they represent the distinct minority of his people, and to a large extent they come from outside his nation, and the hang-over from the Baathist Party which ran such a despot government which was so authoritarian and so destructive to human life and freedom, and that the vast majority of the Iraqi citizens seek freedom and seek liberty, and that right now, today, significant progress has been made. He made the point that 15 of the 18 provinces could today hold an election and will hold an election in January, obviously—a huge stride forward.

I was also interested to see the response of the candidate for President from the other side of the aisle, Senator KERRY, to the statements by Prime Minister Allawi.

When he was specifically asked how he reacted, he said: The President is saying one thing and being contradicted by the Prime Minister. Then he went on to say that things are disastrous in Iraq.

He had said earlier this week that Iraq is in chaos and that actually Saddam Hussein's administration was better than the chaos. I am paraphrasing him here, but essentially that was the purpose of his statement, that the way Saddam Hussein was replaced, the chaos which has succeeded him is worse than Saddam Hussein—a statement which I think and I hope he regrets making, and certainly which is, according to the Prime Minister, not credible because, as the Prime Minister

pointed out today, the people of Iraq are seeking and pursuing freedom and moving toward elections. And they have a government that has been formed through a constitutional process.

So it is really not the President and the Prime Minister who are speaking in opposite terms; it is Senator KERRY and the Prime Minister who are speaking in opposite terms. They, obviously, have significantly different views of what is happening in Iraq. The Prime Minister of Iraq maybe does not know as much about Iraq as the Senator from Massachusetts. But if he does know as much about Iraq as the Senator from Massachusetts, and I suspect he does, his view of Iraq is starkly different than basically the attitude of defeatism which is being pursued or presented by the Senator from Massachusetts.

It is also ironic that in his response at this press conference to what Mr. Allawi said, he basically said Mr. Allawi was wrong, that the "reports are pretty devastating," is the term Senator KERRY used, that "we are losing the peace," is a term Senator KERRY used, that "we are not getting the reconstruction aid out," and that "we are not training the Iraqi personnel to defend themselves."

Prime Minister Allawi disagrees with him on all those points. He thinks we are moving toward a policy of peace that is going to lead toward freedom for his people. He recognizes we are in a difficult time, and he said that very openly, and that there are those in his nation who, unfortunately, will use the horrific and barbarous tactics of beheading and car bombing and cowardly attacks on children and women as a way to try to disrupt the movement toward freedom.

He recognizes that, but he also says progress is being made, dramatic progress. In fact, as is pointed out today, 15 of 18 provinces could hold an election today. That is progress toward peace, which Senator KERRY says does not exist there. He says that the reconstruction money is not going out. That is not what Prime Minister Allawi said. Prime Minister Allawi went through a litany, a long list of schools that have opened, hospitals that have opened, books that have been supplied, businesses that have begun as a result of reconstruction aid. More is on the way, and it is in the pipeline. He talked about the excitement, really, of his nation coming back to being a nation of commerce.

When Senator KERRY says the troops are not being trained—and Senator KERRY mocked in this press conference Secretary Rumsfeld who got numbers incorrect on the issue of how many troops were being trained. It was a mistake, no question about it. The Secretary admitted to that. But as far as Senator KERRY was concerned that mistake, once admitted to, was still a mistake that deserved to be mocked. But the mistake Senator KERRY makes

is that he is saying the number is 5,000—5,000 troops. That is not what the Prime Minister said. The Prime Minister said 100,000, and growing, and that people are seeking to participate in the security forces of Iraq.

Furthermore, what he said was he did not want any more American troops, that he recognizes the responsibility of protecting Iraq should fall and will fall to a free Iraq Government and Iraqi security forces which answers to that government. He expects them to be able to accomplish that. He made it very clear that Senator KERRY may have a different view but that he thinks, from his experience in Iraq, that is not the case.

If you listened to Senator KERRY in his press conference, in response to Prime Minister Allawi's statement to the joint meeting of Congress, you almost sense that he hopes things are not going well. He, of course, gives the token statements: Oh, I really do want peace there. I really do want to win there. But with every token statement, there is a followup statement of how disastrous things are, how much chaos there is—a follow-on to his statement that replacing Saddam Hussein was a mistake because chaos followed.

It is an attitude which cannot possibly assist the Iraqi people as they reach for freedom, as they reach for liberty, to have a major candidate running for President of the United States basically saying they will not succeed and that it is time to take drastically different action. It is an attitude which I also suspect must have some impact on our own troops there who are looking for consistency from our leaders in their support for their efforts in that very difficult situation.

In this press conference, Senator KERRY went on to say that he has told the President, and he used the words: I have stood in Fulton, MO, and I gave the President advice about what he needed to do, and he did not take it. I stood at Georgetown University a year and a half ago and I gave the President advice about what he needed to do, and he did not take it. I stood on the floor of the Senate and I gave the President advice about what he needed to do, and he did not take it. I stood up last week in New York City and gave the President advice, and he did not take it.

The problem is, of course, he kept changing his advice. In every one of those speeches, the proposals he laid out as to what we should do in Iraq were different. He went from being for the war to being against the war. He went from being for giving the President authority to move forward to saying the President moved forward inappropriately with the authority. He went from saying that Saddam Hussein should absolutely be removed—and in his words; I paraphrase again but fairly accurately—that anybody who did not understand the necessity of removing Saddam Hussein should not be elected President because they did not understand the significance and the impor-

tance of removing Saddam Hussein and how significant that was—he went from that position to saying Saddam Hussein should not have been removed because it would create chaos. He may have given the President advice. He has advice every week.

The fact is, there have been such different positions in all these periods when he gave advice that we would have looked like a windmill or like a weather vane on top of a barn in the middle of a hurricane. Had we been following that advice, we would have been shifting positions so often.

The point is the President has said: We will stay with the Iraqi people as they seek peace and freedom. And if we are successful in creating a democracy which functions in Iraq—and Prime Minister Allawi made clear that is exactly what they intend to do, and they are well down the road toward accomplishing that, with 15 of 18 provinces being ready for elections now, and they intend to pursue elections in January—where liberty reigns and where law reigns and where women have rights, we will fundamentally undermine the capacity of fundamentally Islamic movements, the terrorist groups of this world, to recruit within the Muslim world, because the Muslim people will understand that freedom and democracy and rights and women having rights works to the benefit of their society and gives them a better life.

The Senator from Massachusetts has been quick to run down the statements made by Prime Minister Allawi. That is unfortunate. When Prime Minister Allawi said the only thing that could harm them would be forces of defeatism, he was speaking for his people. They want hope. They want the opportunity to succeed. And they need our support to accomplish that.

I have watched the evolution or the mutation or the development of Senator KERRY's position relative to Iraq. He spent a lot of time in New Hampshire campaigning in the primary. We had a chance to observe it there. At that time he was quite aggressively supportive of pursuing the efforts in Iraq. He was confronting, of course, an individual who took a much different position, Howard Dean, who said we should not be there. We should get out of there and peace at any price.

After that, he moved back to more of an attitude: We are making mistakes, and we should not be there under the context that we are there.

Then he moved to Saddam Hussein should have survived. It is better than the chaos that exists there today. And then he has moved to, we have made so many mistakes, I disagree absolutely with everything this administration has done relative to Iraq, which leaves the alternative: what would he do. Obviously, he would not have put Iraq on a course to peace, on the course to independence, on the course to freedom, on the course to democracy, on the course to liberty, on the course to giving women rights they didn't have

before. That is what the President has pursued. He would have abandoned—and it appears he would still—Prime Minister Allawi who has come forward so courageously and has stated so distinctly the basic essence of what this war is about, which is that it is about people seeking freedom.

He quoted Prime Minister Blair and he said: Prime Minister Blair said that this was a battle between people who are seeking freedom and those who wish to overwhelm freedom and that the basic impetus of all people is to want to be free; it doesn't matter whether they are Christian or Muslim, people want to be free. Prime Minister Allawi is trying to accomplish that for his people, with his people in Iraq. Yet we have a press conference here by the leading candidate of the other party, Senator KERRY, who basically contradicts all of what the Prime Minister has said, both as to the substance of what is happening on the ground and as to the purposes of what his goals are. That is terribly unfortunate. It is a fundamental shift in where Senator KERRY was when he was campaigning in New Hampshire, at least. It is almost as if he has decided to step into the shoes of Howard Dean and pursue that course as the new policy of the Democratic Party in this Presidential campaign.

That is unfortunate because Howard Dean, as decent and as honorable a person as he is—and I had the great privilege to serve with him as Governor; we became Governors of neighboring States about the same time; we had many very good experiences—the fact is, Governor Dean's policies were the wrong policies. And they were rejected by the party in the nominating process. It is unfortunate that Senator KERRY has sort of morphed into that position as he has evolved in this campaign.

This is a period of considerable need for consistency and determination on the part of our Nation, if we are to be successful in supporting a heroic and strong effort on the part of Prime Minister Allawi and his nation to obtain freedom and democracy and the rule of law which comes with it. I certainly hope we will not be abandoning that cause.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

FOREIGN OPERATIONS AMENDMENTS

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, for the advice of my colleagues, I have been notified that the majority leader wishes to go soon to the Foreign Operations appropriations bill. The floor manager for the majority will be Senator MCCONNELL of Kentucky. I will floor manage for the Democratic side. Obviously, it will be up to the distinguished majority leader when the bill will actually be laid down. I just wanted to notify colleagues, I have been informed