The Senate met at 9:30 a.m. and was called to order by the Honorable Benjamin L. Cardin, a Senator from the State of Maryland.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Barry C. Black, offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.

Eternal Lord God, before whose Eyes the ages pass, who knows our changing thoughts, help us to remember that You guide the planets and our times are in Your hands. Open our ears to hear Your voice as the heavens declare Your glory and the flowers speak of Your majesty. As You whisper in the wind, teach us to number our days and to seize the seasons You have given us to serve.

Strengthen our lawmakers for today’s work. Give them priorities that honor You, patience to persevere, and humility to build new bridges of cooperation. Empower them, Lord, to do to others what they want done to themselves. Impart to them also the wisdom to live with gratitude to You, and to the author and finisher of our faith. We pray in Your sacred Name. Amen.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The Honorable Benjamin L. Cardin led the Pledge of Allegiance, as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. Byrd).

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,  
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,  

To the Senate:

Under the provisions of rule I, paragraph 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby appoint the Honorable Benjamin L. Cardin, a Senator from the State of Maryland, to perform the duties of the Chair.

Robert C. Byrd,  
President pro tempore.

Mr. Cardin thereupon assumed the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader is recognized.

SCHEDULE

Mr. Reid. Mr. President, this morning, there will be 60 minutes for morning business, with the Republicans controlling the first half, and the Democrats controlling the second half.

Following morning business, the Senate will resume consideration of the FDA legislation. Last night, due to the hard work of Senator Enzi and the staffs of Senators Kennedy and Enzi, they were able to come to an agreement to complete action on this legislation today. I compliment the hard work of the many individuals who worked to accomplish this, especially Senator Brown who, in the absence of the chairman, was here throughout the day to assist in moving the process along. In addition, I would like to single out Senator Enzi, who has worked so hard on this legislation in the committee and, of course, with it being on the floor. He has worked very well with Senator Kennedy in the entire process of getting this legislation through the committee to the floor and now toward completion.

Through the hard work of these I have mentioned, we have only three amendments that are in order to the bill, and we have 60 minutes of debate time. Votes on the remaining amendments and passage of the bill will occur around 11:30 this morning.

Following final action on the FDA bill, the Senate will consider, for up to 3 hours, the nomination of Debra Ann Livingston to be a circuit court judge. Upon the use or yielding back of that time, then a vote on confirmation will occur.

Once the judge has been confirmed, I have every belief that the Senate will begin and complete the process of going to conference on the budget resolution. I have spoken to Senator Conrad earlier this morning. He and Senator Dodd get along extremely well, and they will work out the time on the number of motions to instruct and how many motions to instruct the minority will require. So Members should be prepared to work into the evening on this most important item.

Finally, the cloture vote on the motion to proceed to the water resources legislation will not occur before tomorrow morning. Today will be a busy day, with votes occurring throughout the day, so Members should plan accordingly.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. Reid. Mr. President, on the FDA legislation, it is my understanding there will be three votes, and then final passage.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator is correct.

Mr. Reid. Mr. President, the votes occur all at one time?  
The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. There is 2 minutes between each vote.

Mr. Reid. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that be the case, and I also ask consent that there be 10-minute votes after the first vote.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered as to each request.
RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, there will now be a period for the transaction of morning business, for up to 60 minutes, with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each, with the first half under the control of the Republicans, and the second half of the time under the control of the majority.

The Senator from Missouri.

IRAQ

Mr. BOND. Mr. President, I am pleased to report to my colleagues on a trip, an Intelligence Committee trip, that I led to Iraq this past weekend, with Senators Snowe and Chambliss and Congressman Issa. We found some very amazing things. We visited Tikrit, Baghdad, Ramadi, Balad. We talked to the commanding officers, sat down and talked with our troops, our soldiers, our marines, and others.

In Ramadi—which only a month or so ago had been a denied area, an area so hostile that heavily armed U.S. units could not even successfully go in. It was extremely dangerous. On Sunday, as a result of changes that have happened in Ramadi in the last several weeks, the four of us Members of Congress, with the General in charge of the area, General Gaskin, and a driver, and two marines with M-16s, went down to downtown Baghdad. We had no phalanx of troops around us, no helicopters flying overhead. We got out and walked in downtown Baghdad at “Firecracker Corner,” so named, as one might guess, because of the tremendous number of rounds that perpetually were going off in that area.

It was quiet at the time. We went from there into the former Anbar college, which has become the security force headquarters for the area. That building is manned by Iraqi police units, Iraqi army units, and U.S. marines. They were living together, conducting missions together, and apparently they have been extremely successful because Ramadi has changed significantly.

In the last 3 months, attacks in Ramadi have decreased by some 74 percent. I have a chart in the Chamber. You probably cannot see it too well. But the first part shows weekly attacks going from a high of 127, in February, down to 24 in the week of April 20 to 26.

Indirect fire attacks went from 129 per week down to about 10. Improvised explosive device attacks—this is per month—went from over 320 last July, down to, in March, 67 per month; and in April to 28 per month.

Now, what is going on here? Well, it is quite simply that the surge and clear-and-hold counterinsurgency strategy is beginning to work. The mistake we made previously is we would go in and take out al-Qaida and leave. Well, al-Qaida would come right back. And anybody who had cooperated with the coalition forces, if they had been objected to death or other severe penalties.

Now, with significant new numbers of Iraqi police and army, backed up by the U.S. military, we are able to go in and clear and hold. That is why the marines, the Iraqi police, and army are stationed downtown in Baghdad. This is becoming—it is not yet a denied zone for al-Qaida.

Now, one of the most important and amazing things that has happened is the tribal sheiks, the Sunnis in that area—if you have been following the Al Anbar progress, the Sunni sheiks run that country. They have concluded—having dealt with al-Qaida, and having had their family members killed, businesses disrupted—they have decided that they are going to fight al-Qaida. Australian, British—in cooperation with the Iraqi Army and police are far better hopes for security.

By our making a commitment to go in there, they have made a commitment as well. They are volunteering large numbers of men to serve in the Iraqi police and the Iraqi Army.

In just a couple weeks, 1,200 Iraqi young men signed up for the army. There are now over 10,000 Iraqi policeman, and they are being trained, and they are taking over the area.

As you look at the entire scope of Ramadi, there are 23 tribal areas. Last year, in one or two of the tribal areas, the sheiks were working with us. Now all 23 have joined with us to fight al-Qaida. There are no uncooperative tribes left. They are joining the military and the police force to help keep the area clear.

In downtown Ramadi, the U.S. military has cleared in and been able to repair and help reopen the largest, most important mosque in Ramadi, the mosque that is central for the Sunnis in Al Anbar. It had been closed since the start of the war. Now, this past Friday, hundreds of Iraqis were able to attend services. The U.S. military has supplied and set up mosque speakers in Ramadi to broadcast security messages in addition to messages from the local Imam.

This is just one example we saw. In Baghdad, we learned the clear-and-hold strategy is working. Areas which had been highly dangerous, with a high number of attacks daily, now, because of the presence of the joint security forces—Iraqi, U.S., and coalition forces—have seen the incidents decline by more than two-thirds.

What does this mean? Well, it means al-Qaida is being significantly degraded. Significant numbers of al-Qaida have been killed and detained, and others have been forced out of Baghdad and Al Anbar. Our coalition forces, with the help of the Iraqi military, are, I understand, doing a very good job tracking them down and eliminating them.

Now, this is not conclusive. This is only the first results of the surge and the effective counterinsurgency strategy. It was recommended by the Baker-Hamilton commission that it is being implemented by General Petraeus, who is an expert on counterinsurgency.

I would say that Marine General Gas- kin, who is running Al Anbar, is doing a magnificent job. I talked with him about what we heard from General Odierno and General McChrystal and others who are working to make sure they complete their job.

We also met with the most influential leader of the Shia in Iraq, Ayatollah Abdul Aziz al-Hakim. He is the influential leader of the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq. We talked with him about the need for the Iraqis to find political solutions that bring together the government of Sunnis, Kurds, and Shiias to ensure the safety and stability of their country so they would have an opportunity to go back to normal lives and prosper. We have given them that opportunity, and they need to take that opportunity. We need a better job of telling people the difference, and our military is doing that. But at the same time, when we met with our troops, they kept asking us why we aren’t getting the money. They know they are doing the job. But at the same time, when we meet with our troops, we cannot afford to tell our troops we are not making great progress, and we cannot risk our lives every day, because the war is not lost. What are people in Congress thinking? We cannot tell the Iraqis and our troops that we are going to cut out of here in a couple of months because we will lose control of the tribal sheiks and the others who are helping us against al-Qaida if they think we are about ready to leave and leave them at the mercy of al-Qaida, which will come back in if we leave. We have said we will leave prior to establishing strength in the Iraqi security forces. We now need to enable them to prevent al-Qaida from taking over their country.

Make no mistake about it, that is the goal of al-Qaida. Our intelligence community unanimously says it. Ayman al-Zawahiri has said it, Osama bin Laden has said it. If we don’t believe them, at least we ought to believe our intelligence community.