

Today in Iraq there is religious freedom and human rights unlike anything seen during Saddam's regime. The Iraqi people now have hope where there was formerly only despair. They have hope for a future that must have seemed like only a dream a few short months ago.

The "blame America first" gang is grasping for anything they can to prop up the illusion they were right all along. But the absence, so far, of weapons of mass destruction and stockpiles of biological agents does not mean Saddam's Iraq was some kind of sunny paradise or a thriving garden dictatorship, one long springtime for Saddam. Nothing—nothing—could be further from the truth.

We have not yet found weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, but let me remind all of us what we have found. We have found torture chambers. We have found execution sites. We have found prisons where children were held in order to coerce their parents to bend to Saddam's will. We have found a legacy of fear and terror, the vestiges of years of tyranny and cruelty. We have found as many as 300,000 people—maybe more—buried in mass graves throughout Iraq in nearly 100 reported sites. They stretch from Basrah to Baghdad, from Najaf to Kirkuk. These stand as silent monuments of Saddam's ruthlessness left behind for all to see.

For the Iraqi people living under Saddam, peace—if you can call it that—was far more bloody than the current war.

To those who continue to doubt our mission in Iraq, I say this: Peace is a good thing but at what price is it purchased? By turning our backs on suffering, genocide, and evil? By tolerating those who defy the civilized world and encourage, facilitate, and promote international terrorism?

If the 20th century has taught us anything, it is that if America is to fulfill its role as the guardian of the free world, a beacon of light shining in the darkness, we cannot allow bloodthirsty tyrants such as Saddam Hussein to act with impunity.

Clearly, there are obstacles to overcome in Iraq, and there will be setbacks along the way. Yet we cannot allow the politics of the moment or the upcoming Presidential election to undermine the war on terror and American resolve.

I believe the task that falls to us at this moment in history is spreading the blessings of liberty and bringing the light of freedom to a nation that has, for too long, been imprisoned by darkness.

We must not falter in our efforts. We must not play political games while the world turns inward. We must fulfill our duty to defend America's interests abroad and ensure that the tragedies of September 11 are never repeated.

In the end, if there is one thing certain, it is this: In Iraq the mass murder has stopped. And we stopped it. The Iraqi people and the American people

and all the people of the civilized world are better off for it.

Those who would play political games with our mission in Iraq, even while our brave men and women labor to secure and stabilize this fledgling nation, risk dishonoring the memories of those who sacrificed all in opposing this bloodthirsty regime.

No, Mr. President, we must not cut and run, leaving the Iraqi people with a promise unfulfilled. Success in Iraq depends enormously on our willingness to stay the course and finishing the job we started, and through it all, we owe our men and women in uniform our unequivocal support as they labor in a dangerous place for an honorable cause.

In summary, America needs from this body and from its leaders less babble and more backbone.

Mr. President, with that, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Alaska is recognized.

EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I would like to share some of my thoughts on the administration's request for additional funding for Iraq and Afghanistan.

The majority of our attention has been focused on the situation in Iraq. Certainly this topic merits the attention it has received not only this morning but every morning it has received during morning business. In all of this, however, I would like to ensure that we do not overlook another very important aspect of this bill, which is increased assistance for Afghanistan.

The supplemental includes \$11 billion for Operation Enduring Freedom: over \$1 billion for training of the Afghan National Army and the construction of roads, schools, and health clinics.

Too often, as we focus on what is transpiring around the world—whether it is events in Iraq, the happenings in North Korea, the situation in Liberia—the news coming out of Afghanistan goes unnoticed: the cooperation between U.S. and Afghan forces in tracking down elements of the Taliban and al-Qaida; the progress USAID is making in strengthening the government; vaccinating Afghan children for measles; expanding educational opportunities for women and girls; and we must also remember the rehabilitation of numerous roads, bridges, tunnels, and related infrastructure.

There is also bad news as to what is happening in Afghanistan: reports of the resurgence of the Taliban and al-Qaida, increased poppy cultivation for opium production, and a yet uncertain relationship between the central and the provincial governments.

Our support for the progress in Afghanistan must continue. Many talk of the need to succeed in Iraq. The high price associated with that, if we fail, will be incredible. And I agree. The

same holds true with Afghanistan. So I am pleased this supplemental is not just about Iraq but includes Afghanistan as well.

This past May, during his commencement address at the University of South Carolina, the President spoke to what the biggest accomplishment our presence in these two nations—Iraq and Afghanistan—can be, and that is the opportunity to replace old hatreds with new hope.

As the President said, when citizens have hope—when they feel as if they are invested in the future—then the extreme ideologies of terrorists hold no sway. But if there is no hope, if individuals think the future holds nothing for them or their families, the appeal of extremism is great.

That is the fight the United States faces today. What does the future of Iraq and Afghanistan hold for their citizens?

We have all heard of the recent Gallup poll taken in Iraq, which showed that 67 percent of Iraqis surveyed thought their lives would be better off in 5 years as a result of the U.S.-led invasion. Only 8 percent said their lives would be worse off. The hope for the future is there.

The Iraqi people are not willing to give in to the evil of terrorism, but if the United States fails in its task, if we do not deliver on our promises to get the job done, we have perhaps opened the door to even further terrorism.

Make no mistake about it, if we go about our task in a halfhearted manner and do not provide the resources that are needed, then we are only sentencing our troops to continued danger and longer deployments. The fact is, the sooner we complete the job, the sooner our troops come home.

Despite what may be portrayed in the media, progress is being made. We see that on a daily basis. Towns and municipal councils have been set up.

Fifty-six thousand Iraqis have been trained and armed for the security of their nation. More Iraqis are being trained to serve in the Iraqi Army and the police force. Electricity has been restored to prewar levels. A new Iraqi currency was introduced just this week.

On the education side, on October 1, just a couple weeks ago, the children of Iraq returned to school. And with the assistance of the Coalition Provincial Authority and USAID, nearly 1,600 schools in Iraq have been renovated. Over 5.6 million math and science books, free of Saddam's propaganda, are being printed and will soon be delivered. U.S. universities are partnering with Iraqi universities. This is significant because over 40 percent of Iraq's population is under the age of 15. These are kids who have known nothing but life under Saddam Hussein. These children are Iraq's future. Ensuring access to educational opportunities for both boys and girls is key. This will give the Iraqis the chance to develop the skills they need for their own personal advancement, to diversify Iraq's

economic development, and to provide for the future of their nation and a future with hope, which is what we are all working toward.

I see the good Senator from Missouri is here. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Missouri is recognized for 8 minutes 15 seconds.

Mr. TALENT. Mr. President, it was not really my intention to come down on this particular debate and speak. I would like to give a broader statement on the war at some point. But I thought I would come for a few minutes today because I have been watching from time to time our friends on the Democratic side, particularly the Presidential candidates who seem to be vying with each other to show their base, to show the left how much they are against the war. They are trying to appeal to the left, which is certainly understandable given that they are running in a primary.

That has distressed me because I think the growing opposition to the war on the left is a tremendous historical mistake. People in that movement will view it that way 20 or 30 years from now. I say with all good faith to my friends in that movement that this is not the 1960s. Iraq is not Vietnam. Saddam Hussein is not Ho Chi Minh. The terrorists are not some kind of utopian movement that wants to create a workers paradise around the world. The terrorists stand for everything that this country hates, and in particular, everything the left in this country has always stood against. They are bloodthirsty cutthroats. They don't believe in diversity. They are racial and religious bigots. They are sexists. They hate the idea of international law. They have no respect for international norms. We should all be opposing them.

This is a war in which we should all be involved. We should all get in the same boat and row. I know it is hard to support a war which is led by a President you do not support. I was in that situation when we were involved in Bosnia. We are still there. It is hard to support a war led by a President whose very election you question. I understand what it is like to lose a contested election and, in fact, to lose one, the outcome of which is disputed. I was in that situation when I ran for Governor in 2000.

I believe very strongly that this is an American war. This action in Iraq is part of it. There is a tremendous strategic aspect of this war. We can and will win it, if we pull together, if we get in the same boat and row. There is no reason we should not. I urge both parties and all different parts of the philosophical spectrum to do that.

I want to take a few minutes to talk about this package, and in particular the need for reconstruction. There are three reasons this is very important, why it is in America's interest to spend this money and reconstruct Iraq.

First, we have to get the lights on there so that we can do the job we have

set out to do. It is very difficult to hunt people down, hunt the terrorists down, if you can't turn on the lights. We need this infrastructure in order to do our job. Second, we have to create a basic infrastructure in Iraq so that the country can have the stability that will allow us to leave honorably. None of us want to be there. But we have engaged in this war for our interests, and it is now our responsibility to make sure the country is stable enough so there is not chaos when we leave. To do that, they have to have an electricity grid, among other things.

The third point was made powerfully by Prime Minister Blair in the House Chamber. Part of what we have to do in this war is not just defeat the terrorists but vindicate our values against which they stand. It is not enough just to curse the darkness. We have to light a candle.

One of the terrorists' goals is to spread their philosophy and their ideals all throughout the Islamic world, from Morocco to Indonesia. We need to show that the ideals of our democracy—dignity, freedom, the rights of the individual—are not just for us; they are for everybody. They don't just work for us; they will work for everybody. That is why the creation of a stable, benign Iraqi democracy is so crucial an aspect of this war. It would be an enormous strategic victory for us if we could create such a democracy there. I believe we can. I believe we are. We can and will win, if we don't quit.

I don't believe the people are going to quit. I don't believe this Congress is going to quit. This money we are spending today is in our interest to spend. That bears on the loan versus grant problem. Certainly I hope we get this money back. I would love to get this money back. We all should do what we can to enhance the Treasury and FSC and the American taxpayer. But if it is in our interest to do it, we should do it the same way we do everything else that is in our interest—we just spend the money. If it is not in our interest, we should not loan it to them either. I don't want to loan money to a country just to help them. I am representing Missouri and the United States of America. We spend money. We loan money to advance America's interests. If it is in our interest, and we believe that, we ought to be willing to give it to them in the form of a grant, especially since everybody knows, if we give this money in a loan, eventually we will forgive it. We will not get the money back anyway. We are going to urge everybody around the world to forgive it.

This is in America's interest. We can light a candle. We can defeat these terrorists. We can win this war. We ought to do it. I hope we will all pull together in the debate on this bill and get it done.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. MURKOWSKI). The Democratic leader.

Mr. DASCHLE. Would the Chair inform the body as to the amount of time remaining on the Republican side?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There are 2 minutes 13 seconds remaining on the Republican side.

Mr. DASCHLE. Madam President, I do not know if anybody on the other side wishes to use that time, but in the interim, perhaps I might use leader time to make a statement on another matter.

(The remarks of Mr. DASCHLE and Mr. LEAHY pertaining to the introduction of S. 1740 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KENNEDY. Madam President, I ask that the Chair notify me when I have 3 minutes remaining.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will do so.

EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, nearly 6 months have elapsed since President Bush flew out to the aircraft carrier and declared "mission accomplished" in Iraq. Today, we all know all too well that the war is not over: The war goes on; the mission is not accomplished. An unnecessary war, based on unreliable and inaccurate intelligence, has not brought an end to danger. Instead, it has brought new dangers, imposed new costs, and taken more and more American lives each week.

We all agree that Saddam Hussein was a murderous tyrant, and his brutal regime was an affront to basic human decency. But Iraq was not a breeding ground for terrorism. Our invasion has made it one.

The trumped-up reasons for going to war have collapsed. All the administration's rationalizations as we prepared to go to war now stand revealed as "double-talk." The American people were told Saddam Hussein was building nuclear weapons. He was not. We were told he had stockpiles of other weapons of mass destruction. He did not. We were told he was involved in 9/11. He was not. We were told Iraq was attracting terrorists from al-Qaida. It was not. We were told our soldiers would be viewed as liberators. They are not. We were told Iraq could pay for its own reconstruction. It cannot. We were told the war would make America safer. It has not.

Before the war, week after week after week after week, we were told lie after lie after lie after lie.

And now, despite the increasingly restless Iraqi population, despite the continuing talk of sabotage, despite the foreign terrorists crossing thousands of miles of border to attack U.S. service men and women in Iraq, the administration still refuses to face the truth or tell the truth. Instead the White House responds by covering up its failures and trying to sell its rosy