

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The objection is heard.

Mr. REID. I object to the underlying request and ask the Senator to allow a clean extension for 6 months of this most important legislation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I will object for the moment. I understand the House is working on an extension right now. We may agree later today. Certainly, we need to do an extension and I will check with the leader on that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The objection is heard.

The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, prior to my distinguished friend, the Senator from Kentucky, taking the floor, I inquire as to how much time is remaining with the majority?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is 13 minutes.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, if I could on behalf of Senator DASCHLE yield 15 minutes when our time comes to Senator KENNEDY, 5 minutes to Senator DURBIN, and 5 minutes to Senator FEINGOLD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Kentucky.

FOUR-PART PRESIDENTIAL PLAN FOR IRAQ

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, the Presidential campaign is heating up and after considerable flipping and flopping, Senator KERRY claims to have finally presented the American people with something resembling a firm position on Iraq. It is a four-part plan, and frankly it resembles the plan President Bush has been pursuing for the last year and a half. I call it Senator KERRY's "too little too late to gain credibility" plan.

Although Kerry has characterized the administration's policy as a failure, perhaps he simply believes it would be a success were he the one implementing it. I wonder. Let us take a look.

The first part of Senator KERRY's plan is to "internationalize because others must share the burden." Let's leave aside the inconvenient fact that Senator KERRY has denigrated the 19 countries that participated in the liberation of Iraq or the 34 helping to secure and rebuild that country today as a "trumped up and so-called coalition of the bribed, the coerced, the bought and the extorted."

This from the man who is so confident of his diplomatic skills.

Senator KERRY fails to understand that no amount of diplomacy will convince the countries whose interests compete with ours, or the nations that share our interests but lack our will or capacity to act, to join our efforts to bring security and freedom to the Middle East and the terrorists to their knees.

Senator KERRY wants to bring U.S. troops home within the first 6 months of his administration. So his plan is not to share the burden; it is to pass the buck. But to whom would he pass the buck?

The Financial Times reported yesterday that Germany and France will not send troops to Iraq even if JOHN KERRY is elected. Indeed, how could Senator KERRY convince any nation to send troops to a conflict he himself has called "the wrong war at the wrong time"?

It would be nice to see the United Nations pulling its own weight once in a while, but one would have to be living in a fantasy world to believe that it will do so. If it continues to allow tyrannies like Sudan to chair the Human Rights Commission, the U.N. will follow the League of Nations into permanent and deserved irrelevance.

The second part of Kerry's plan is to "train Iraqis because they must be responsible for their own security." Adding further confusion to his inconsistent claims that, first, the U.S. needs more troops in Iraq, that he would bring them home within the first 6 months of his administration, and that this would make America stronger at home and more respected in the world, Senator KERRY now claims the U.S. is not doing enough to train Iraqis to provide for their own security.

Well, about a year ago I traveled to Iraq and I stood with GEN David Petraeus in Mosul where I witnessed the graduation ceremony of an Iraqi security force, a unit trained by the 101st Airborne. I recall being impressed that so many Iraqis were willing to risk their lives to help secure their newly free country.

Petraeus completed his tour as the commanding general of the 101st Airborne in February of this year. After making sure his soldiers returned safely to Fort Campbell, KY, Dave Petraeus received his third star and went back to Baghdad, where he assumed responsibility for training Iraq's army and security forces. He is the right man for the job and, for me, his views carry enormous weight. He had an op-ed in the Washington Post this past Sunday that I would commend to my colleagues, in particular the junior Senator from Massachusetts. In it, he notes:

Approximately 164,000 Iraqi police and soldiers . . . and an additional 74,000 facility protection forces are performing a wide variety of security missions.

Equipment is being delivered. Training is on track and increasing in capacity. . . . Most important, Iraqi security forces are in the fight, so much so that they are suffering substantial casualties as they take on more and more of the burdens to achieve security in their country.

But he cautions that:

Numbers alone cannot convey the full story. The human dimension of this effort is crucial. The enemies of Iraq recognize how much is at stake as Iraq reestablishes its security forces. Insurgents and foreign fighters continue to mount barbaric attacks against

police stations, recruiting centers and military installations. . . . Yet despite the sensational attacks, there is no shortage of qualified recruits volunteering to join the Iraqi security forces.

This is David Petraeus.

So it would seem the training of Iraqis is well underway.

The third part of KERRY's plan is to "move forward with reconstruction, because that's an important way to stop the spread of terror."

I agree. When I spoke with General Petraeus in Iraq last year, he told me that: "Money is ammunition," and that it was critical to get the Iraqi economy working again in order to provide jobs for Iraqis who may otherwise turn to violence. I returned to Washington and lobbied my colleagues to vote for the \$87 billion to supply our troops and for Iraqi reconstruction, because I had seen firsthand how important it was to get Iraq's economy back on track.

It is a shame Senator KERRY was not listening to General Petraeus when he voted against this \$87 billion for our troops. In fact, Senator KERRY still does not seem to get it, because he complained just recently that too much money was being spent on reconstruction in Iraq and too little was being spent in America.

We won the debate on the \$87 billion for our troops and reconstruction in spite of Senator KERRY's—and Senator EDWARDS'—opposition. And although I am heartened Senator KERRY has come to appreciate the importance of this aid, I hope he understands that Presidents, unlike Senators, do not often get second chances to make crucial decisions.

The fourth and final plan in Senator KERRY's plan is to: "help the Iraqis achieve a viable government, because it is up to them to run their own country."

You could call this the "Do as I say, not as I do" plan, because Senator KERRY may have undermined the credibility of Iraq's Prime Minister—who traveled to America to consult with President Bush, to deliver a speech to a Joint Session of Congress, and rebut the criticism of those who believe Iraq and the world are not better off with Saddam Hussein in an Iraqi jail.

KERRY's wrong-headed criticism of Ayad Allawi—who risks his life every day to bring peace and democracy to Iraq—was as repugnant as it was undiplomatic. If a President KERRY were to treat foreign leaders as disgracefully as he treated Prime Minister Allawi, he would find it difficult to live up his campaign promise of being "more respected in the world."

Yet, KERRY has already done diplomatic damage, in my view. By maligning the judgment of America's most important new ally in the Middle East, Senator KERRY has fired a political shot that will be heard more loudly in the streets of Baghdad or Tehran than in Boston or Orlando. His comments were intended to undercut President

Bush's standing in the eyes of American voters, but they may have the consequence of undermining Prime Minister Allawi's position in Iraq.

If a potential President of the United States doesn't take the Iraqi Prime Minister seriously, why should the terrorists?

Writing about Iraq's transition from totalitarianism to democracy, General Petraeus concluded his op-ed with this line: It will not be easy, but few worthwhile things are.

Bringing democracy and stability to the heart of the Middle East is more than worthwhile. It is a critical component of our war against terrorists. For if we fail to offer an alternative to the corrupt theocracies and dictatorships of that region, we will forever be fighting the war against terrorism defensively, making it much more likely that we will be fighting terrorists in Chicago and New York than in the cities where they live and train.

We have an opportunity to fight side by side with our new Iraqi allies against the terrorists who share goals and tactics with those who hijacked planes on 9/11, who murdered hundreds of school children in Russia, and who bombed innocent civilians in Bali, Istanbul, Riyadh, Madrid, Jerusalem, and elsewhere. And if we fail to win this fight it will not be just Prime Minister Allawi's credibility that suffers, it will be our own.

Mr. President, I ask that General Petraeus's op-ed be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 26, 2004]

BATTLING FOR IRAQ

(By David H. Petraeus)

BAGHDAD.—Helping organize, train and equip nearly a quarter-million of Iraq's security forces is a daunting task. Doing so in the middle of a tough insurgency increases the challenge enormously, making the mission akin to repairing an aircraft while in flight—and while being shot at. Now, however, 18 months after entering Iraq, I see tangible progress. Iraqi security elements are being rebuilt from the ground up.

The institutions that oversee them are being reestablished from the top down. And Iraqi leaders are stepping forward, leading their country and their security forces courageously in the face of an enemy that has shown a willingness to do anything to disrupt the establishment of the new Iraq.

In recent months, I have observed thousands of Iraqis in training and then watched as they have conducted numerous operations. Although there have been reverses—not to mention horrific terrorist attacks—there has been progress in the effort to enable Iraqis to shoulder more of the load for their own security, something they are keen to do. The future undoubtedly will be full of difficulties, especially in places such as Fallujah. We must expect setbacks and recognize that not every soldier or policeman we help train will be equal to the challenges ahead.

Nonetheless, there are reasons for optimism. Today approximately 164,000 Iraqi police and soldiers (of which about 100,000 are trained and equipped) and an additional

74,000 facility protection forces are performing a wide variety of security missions. Equipment is being delivered. Training is on track and increasing in capacity. Infrastructure is being repaired. Command and control structures and institutions are being reestablished.

Most important, Iraqi security forces are in the fight—so much so that they are suffering substantial casualties as they take on more and more of the burdens to achieve security in their country. Since Jan. 1 more than 700 Iraqi security force members have been killed, and hundreds of Iraqis seeking to volunteer for the police and military have been killed as well.

Six battalions of the Iraqi regular army and the Iraqi Intervention Force are now conducting operations. Two of these battalions, along with the Iraqi commando battalion, the counterterrorist force, two Iraqi National Guard battalions and thousands of policemen recently contributed to successful operations in Najaf. Their readiness to enter and clear the Imam Ali shrine was undoubtedly a key factor in enabling Grand Ayatollah Ali Sistani to persuade members of the Mahdi militia to lay down their arms and leave the shrine.

In another highly successful operation several days ago, the Iraqi counterterrorist force conducted early morning raids in Najaf that resulted in the capture of several senior lieutenants and 40 other members of that militia, and the seizure of enough weapons to fill nearly four 7½-ton dump trucks.

Within the next 60 days, six more regular army and six additional Intervention Force battalions will become operational. Nine more regular army battalions will complete training in January, in time to help with security missions during the Iraqi elections at the end of that month.

Iraqi National Guard battalions have also been active in recent months. Some 40 of the 45 existing battalions—generally all except those in the Fallujah-Ramadi area—are conducting operations on a daily basis, most alongside coalition forces, but many independently. Progress has also been made in police training. In the past week alone, some 1,100 graduated from the basic policing course and five specialty courses. By early spring, nine academies in Iraq and one in Jordan will be graduating a total of 5,000 police each month from the eight-week course, which stresses patrolling and investigative skills, substantive and procedural legal knowledge, and proper use of force and weaponry, as well as pride in the profession and adherence to the police code of conduct.

Iraq's borders are long, stretching more than 2,200 miles. Reducing the flow of extremists and their resources across the borders is critical to success in the counterinsurgency. As a result, with support from the Department of Homeland Security, specialized training for Iraq's border enforcement elements began earlier this month in Jordan.

Regional academies in Iraq have begun training as well, and more will come online soon. In the months ahead, the 16,000-strong border force will expand to 24,000 and then 32,000. In addition, these forces will be provided with modern technology, including vehicle X-ray machines, explosive-detection devices and ground sensors.

Outfitting hundreds of thousands of new Iraqi security forces is difficult and complex, and many of the units are not yet fully equipped. But equipment has begun flowing. Since July 1, for example, more than 39,000 weapons and 22 million rounds of ammunition have been delivered to Iraqi forces, in addition to 42,000 sets of body armor, 4,400 vehicles, 16,000 radios and more than 235,000 uniforms.

Considerable progress is also being made in the reconstruction and refurbishing of infrastructure for Iraq's security forces. Some \$1 billion in construction to support this effort has been completed or is underway, and five Iraqi bases are already occupied by entire infantry brigades.

Numbers alone cannot convey the full story. The human dimension of this effort is crucial. The enemies of Iraq recognize how much is at stake as Iraq reestablishes its security forces. Insurgents and foreign fighters continue to mount barbaric attacks against police stations, recruiting centers and military installations, even though the vast majority of the population deplores such attacks. Yet despite the sensational attacks, there is no shortage of qualified recruits volunteering to join Iraqi security forces. In the past couple of months, more than 7,500 Iraqi men have signed up for the army and are preparing to report for basic training to fill out the final nine battalions of the Iraqi regular army. Some 3,500 new police recruits just reported for training in various locations. And two days after the recent bombing on a street outside a police recruiting location in Baghdad, hundreds of Iraqis were once again lined up inside the force protection walls at another location—where they were greeted by interim Prime Minister Ayad Allawi.

I meet with Iraqi security force leaders every day. Though some have given in to acts of intimidation, many are displaying courage and resilience in the face of repeated threats and attacks on them, their families and their comrades. I have seen their determination and their desire to assume the full burden of security tasks for Iraq.

There will be more tough times, frustration and disappointment along the way. It is likely that insurgent attacks will escalate as Iraq's elections approach. Iraq's security forces are, however, developing steadily and they are in the fight. Momentum has gathered in recent months. With strong Iraqi leaders out front and with continued coalition—and now NATO—support, this trend will continue. It will not be easy, but few worthwhile things are.

Mr. REID. What is the time left for the majority?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is 3 minutes. The Senator from Mississippi.

EXTENSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that morning business be extended by 5 minutes on each side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. REID. I have no objection at all. I know Senator KENNEDY has been waiting a long time, but that is fine. Five minutes won't hurt him. I have no objection.

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

The Senator from Mississippi is recognized.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, if I could, I will yield an additional 5 minutes to Senator DURBIN and an additional 5 minutes to Senator KENNEDY. That uses our entire 35 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi.