

pacts that will mean more tainted products in our homes, more dangerous toys for our children, and more recalls for our businesses.

The administration and its free-trade supporters in Congress are gearing up for another trade fight. They want to force on our Nation—a nation that in November, in Montana, Ohio, and across the country, demanded change—more job-killing trade agreements with unreliable standards. Free-trade agreements with Peru, Panama, Colombia, and South Korea currently being debated in Congress are based on the same failed trade model.

This week, the Peru trade agreement is at the forefront of the debate between fundamentally flawed trade models—more of the same—and the fight for fair trade. We want more trade, plenty of trade; we just want fair trade, different rules.

The Peru free-trade agreement, like NAFTA, while it has some improvements over that, puts limits on the safety standards we can require for imports. FDA inspectors have rejected seafood imports from Peru and Panama—major seafood suppliers to the United States. Yet the current trade agreement, as proposed—the Bush administration's Peru and Panama agreements—limits food safety standards and border inspections. What has happened already is where, frankly, we have bought too many contaminated products, contaminated seafood imports, and whatever problems we have, this trade agreement will make it worse because this agreement will limit our own food safety standards and border inspections. Adding insult to injury, the agreements would force the United States to rely on foreign inspectors to ensure our safety. We have seen how well that worked with China.

It is time for a new direction in trade policy. It is time for a trade policy that ensures the safety of food on our kitchen tables and toys in our children's bedrooms. It is time for a trade policy that creates new businesses and good-paying jobs at home instead of a trade policy that encourages companies to outsource and move overseas. It is time for a trade policy that puts an end to the global exploitation of cheap labor.

The voters in November shouted from the ballot box, demanding a new trade policy. Their resounding call for a new trade policy put Members of Congress on notice that their trade votes in Washington matter to voters back home.

With Peru, Panama, Colombia, and South Korea, voters in my State of Ohio and across the Nation are watching these trade debates. Everyone agrees on one thing: We want more trade with countries around the world, but first we must protect the safety and the health of our families and our children.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Kansas is recognized.

PRESIDENTIAL VISIT

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, I want to talk on two issues with my colleagues. One is about Iran. The President of Iran is now in the United States. Mahmud Ahmadinejad is in the United States enjoying liberties here that are not enjoyed in his home country by his fellow citizens. I want to make a point of that. I want to talk about what he has said and what he has done. I think there is a substantial difference. I want to point out that we should pass the Lieberman-Kyl amendment regarding the designation of terrorist organization by—that the IRGC be designated as a terrorist organization. Finally, I will wrap up with a discussion about the Biden-Brownback amendment on federalism in Iraq, which I think would be very important.

President Ahmadinejad took advantage of the freedoms we enjoy to spread lies in the United States. I believe his appearance was disgraceful. I think the things he is saying are outright lies—what he is saying versus what he has done. He looked his audience in the eye and he lied. He knew he was telling lies, and the audience knew it.

Let's talk about the real truth inside Iran. I want to speak about what is taking place there.

I have chaired the Middle East subcommittee in the past. I have worked on issues regarding Iran. We have worked to secure and have secured funding for civil society development inside Iran. I worked with a number of Iranian dissidents who have been forced out of that country. We have seen it taking place on the news.

President Ahmadinejad is enjoying liberties now in this country that are not available to his people. It would be easier to spend time in his own country developing these same civil liberties for individuals and renouncing terrorism rather than trying to go to the World Trade Center site where terrorists killed so many of our citizens.

President Ahmadinejad and Ayatollah Khamenei are not trustworthy leaders. The Iranian people do not enjoy freedom of speech. Their people do not have a free press. The Iranian Government represses women and minorities. They do not tolerate religions other than their own extreme version of Shia Islam.

For example, consider the Baha'is of Iran. Since 1979, the Islamic Republic of Iran has blocked the Baha'is' access to higher education, refused them entry into universities and expelled them when they are discovered to be Baha'is.

Recently, a 70-year-old man was sentenced to 70 lashes and a year in prison for "propagating and spreading Bahaism and the defamation of the pure Imams"—a 70-year-old man, 70 lashes, a year in prison.

We must stand with the teachers who are getting purged from academic institutions in Iran for speaking their minds, with the Iranian-American scholars who are being arrested on

trumped-up charges, and with newspaper editors who refuse to censor according to Government demands.

Isn't it amazing that President Ahmadinejad would see that taking place in his country and yet come here to enjoy our civil liberties of freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, to speak his mind when he cannot do it in his country? We should be reaching out to the students, the labor activists, and the brave leaders of Iran's fledgling civil society and offer our support for their views and for an open society in Iran. It is not only a moral imperative, but I believe it is also in the strategic interest of the United States and of people of civil societies in the West and throughout the world.

This context is important as we consider the amendment offered by Senator LIEBERMAN and Senator KYL. Yesterday Ahmadinejad claimed that Iran is a free country, where women are respected and life is good for the Iranian people. We know this is not true.

Yesterday, we also heard from Ahmadinejad that Iran does not want to attack Israel, that it is not meddling in Iraq and Afghanistan, and it does not want a nuclear weapon. We know this is not true. They are meddling in Iraq, attacking our troops with weapons developed in Iran. They have held conferences stating a world without Israel, a world without the United States.

Iran's leaders would say the IRGC is not a threat, but we have no reason to believe them. In fact, we know the IRGC is killing our soldiers in Iraq. It is working with Hezbollah in Lebanon and it is present in other countries around the world advancing the agenda of the Supreme Leader in Iran.

The IRGC is the very definition of a terrorist organization, and Iran as a nation is the lead sponsor of terrorism around the world. The IRGC should be designated formally as a terrorist organization so that the full power of the American Government can be applied to combating its activities. The IRGC is not a normal military arm of a sovereign government. It is the operational division of the world's most dangerous state sponsor of terrorism. If we think of terrorism as a threat, we must designate the IRGC as a terrorist organization.

I hope the President of Iran will renounce terrorism and the support for terrorism today, although I know he will not.

POLITICAL SURGE IN IRAQ

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, on another matter on which we are going to be voting shortly, the Biden-Brownback amendment, I wish to show this map of Iraq. I note to my colleagues in the time I have, when President Bush saw the military situation was devolving on the ground and was moving toward civil war, he called for a military surge. He said: It is not working; we are not getting control; we

need more troops. I had difficulty with that decision. I questioned whether it would work. But I think one has to say this has worked, that it has calmed down much of the situation. We don't know for what period of time. It certainly has produced a lot of results in Anbar Province.

I was at Fort Leavenworth in Kansas yesterday meeting with a number of key leaders in the military who have been in and out of Iraq several times. They were quite pleased with the number of positive events moving forward in Iraq with the military situation.

If we look at the GAO report of what is taking place on the political situation in Iraq where there has been a military surge, when the military surge has produced results, what I am contending now is we need a political surge. The military situation is more stable. It is certainly not completely stable in Iraq, but it has produced an environment where we need a political surge, and the current political setup is not producing that situation.

When the military situation was not producing results, we made changes. The political situation is not producing results, and I suggest we have to have changes in this situation as well. We did not hesitate to move forward with a U.S. strategy on keeping a civil war from going full blown in Iraq. We should work now with a political surge in Iraq because this current situation is not working. Two weeks ago, when General Petraeus and Ambassador Crocker testified, the focus was on General Petraeus when I think the focus should have been on Ambassador Crocker.

As we see in the GAO assessment, the Iraqi Government has met 3 benchmarks politically, partially met 4 benchmarks, and did not meet 11 of the political benchmarks that we in Congress had set and that the administration had gone along with and said, yes, those are realistic. Out of 18 total, 11 have not been met at all, 4 partially met, and 3 met. That is not working politically.

I am showing a map of Iraq under the Ottoman Empire. It is broken into three categories, referred to as Mesopotamia at that point in time—Shia south, Sunni middle, and Kurdish north, with Baghdad as a federal city. They had it broken into three states. My point in saying this is—and the Chair will recognize this as he was raised in farm country, raised on a farm—you can work with nature or you can fight it. My experience is you are a lot more successful when you work with it than try to fight.

There is a natural setup in Iraq. There are divisions which people have lived with and in for a long period of time. We can try to force the whole country together and hold it together with a strong military force, or we can recognize these difficulties and say we are going to work with this situation. And we have in the north, in the Kurdish portion of the country. We said the Kurds run the Kurdish portion.

I was up there in January. It is stable, growing, with investments taking place, people moving into the area, the exact situation we want to see taking place across all Iraq. Wouldn't it be wise at this point in time to allow a Sunni state to develop, still one country, but devolving the power and authority more down to a state level of government and have the Sunnis have a police force and a military in their region, and the Shia doing the same in their region so they trust the structure, so they are willing to work with us?

This is a political structure that can meet some benchmarks we set and others set. Why would we be hesitant putting in a political surge and pushing? We were not hesitant about pushing a military surge and pushing that piece of it. I don't see why we wouldn't do a political surge.

This is a map of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This was before the Dayton accords and then after the Dayton accords. This is a very diverse map of what was taking place. This is the former Yugoslavia. We can see the different ethnic groups. We can see them spread around.

I now wish to show a map of what took place after the ethnic sectarian buttons were pushed and you had people sorting out, you had people moving to various parts to feel more comfortable and more secure, and this sort-ed out.

Then we saw the Bosnia-Herzegovina lines under the Dayton peace agreement that the United States pushed. It was a political agreement because the people on the ground could not agree to this themselves. This is something they could not deal with on their own because their own people would say we don't trust these guys or we don't trust those guys, we can't deal with them. We had to go in with a very aggressive military force that is still sitting there to enforce an agreement that was uncomfortable on the ground. We came in with a political surge to say: OK, this is something that should take place. We forced the parties to come to an agreement, and they have been at relative peace. There have been different breakouts. There is tension in the region. We still have troops in the area, as many others do, 15 years later, but this has maintained a relative peace.

I wish to show a map of Baghdad now. My point in saying that is, at times in these types of situations, I believe we have to have a U.S. push for a political surge. I am suggesting that we have a well-known, well-regarded policy person—maybe a Jim Baker, maybe it is Condoleezza Rice, maybe it is Colin Powell—who goes over and knocks out the agreement between particularly the Sunni and Shia who have not been able to get along. The Sunnis have run the country for a century, but they are in the minority. They think they still ought to run the country, but that is not going to happen. The Shia who are in the majority are not con-

fident at all that the Sunnis are not coming back to run the place again, and they don't trust them.

We see ethnic splitting. This is a map of Baghdad. The Tigris River runs through the middle. This is purifying more Sunni and more Shia. The hash lines to the left are Shia purifying, and Sunni purifying on the other side, and a lot of people moving out of this region.

This makes all the sense in the world. Instead of trying to fight against this situation and trying to force Sunni and Shia together into one government that has a strong centralized government, we are only going to get a weak Shia government because the Kurds and the Sunnis are not going to agree with a strong Shia government, and we devolve the power and authority mostly out to the states and let them run it. We would have the Sunnis running their region and the Shia running their region in Baghdad. That is a way we can work with the natural setup of the situation. That is what we are calling for in the Biden-Brownback amendment. It has a number of cosponsors from both sides. It is a political surge that recognizes the realities on the ground and says this is something that can produce results in keeping with what we are doing militarily in trying to give the political environment a setting in which it can work.

This current political setup is not going to work. It has not produced results. It has not produced results to date. It is unlikely to produce results in the future. I think it has failed as a political structure. We have seen a portion of this already work in the northern region, in the Kurdish region where the Kurds run their area and it is stabilized and moving forward. That is why I urge my colleagues to look at this amendment. This is a positive step on our part. It is a positive step for the Iraqis.

Some of my colleagues believe it is the U.S. dictating to them what they ought to do. I contend in the Dayton peace agreements we pushed awfully hard. They still had to make the decision, as the Iraqis will. I also believe because of these ethnic sectarian divisions that have existed for some period of time, that unless an outside force comes in and pushes aggressively, these things are unlikely to happen because the leaders are not going to be able to lead their people voluntarily; it is going to have to be something with some push.

We are going to have to work with the nations in the region as well to make sure the people we worked with a lot—the Saudis and Jordanians, in particular, and others within the region as well—are supportive of this plan. We have to assure them that Iraq will remain one country. One of the points they have all been adamant about is that Iraq remain one country. It would remain one country, as Bosnia-Herzegovina has remained one country, although it is split into two states.

We can do this. It is a positive step. It is a bipartisan step on a topic that certainly could use a little bipartisanship. We haven't had much on Iraq. That is the way we overall lose in a situation, when we split here. If we will stand together here, we will not lose over there. We need to start pulling people together around some sort of common idea and not say: Well, because it is a Democratic idea, I guess we can't do it, or because it wasn't proposed by certain individuals, we aren't going to do it.

Let's pull together. This is something that can and will work, and it is something we need to do because if we can get this situation to stabilize, we can start pulling our troop levels back. I do not believe we will pull our troop levels completely out of Iraq for some period of time, just as we are still in the Bosnia region for some period of time. We can pull our troop levels back, certainly pull them back to the Kurdish, Sunni, and Baghdad to keep as a stabilizing force for some years to come, but not losing troops on a daily basis and we will be able to get those troop levels down.

This is something we can work on in a bipartisan way and get us pulling together and get us into a stable political environment. It is not a perfect solution. There isn't a perfect solution that exists. I think it is a far better one and far more likely to produce political results on a benchmark basis of stability that we can work with and that we can then move forward in facing other more difficult situations, other equally difficult situations in the region, as I started off talking about—Iran, the lead sponsor of state-sponsored terrorism, which is one we have to address with what they are doing in the region.

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

THE ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

MR. DURBIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

THE ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LITTLE ROCK NINE

MR. DURBIN. Mr. President, today marks an important anniversary in America's continuing efforts to create a truly just and more perfect Union. It was 50 years ago today—50 years—that nine courageous high school students in Little Rock, AR, stood up to a jeering, threatening crowd, the Arkansas National Guard, and their own Governor to claim their fundamental right for equal educational opportunity.

I can still recall as a child, seeing that scene on black-and-white television, a scene that has been replayed so many times, watching those students as they walked through that gauntlet of hate into a high school.

High school, for most of us, was a joyous experience, a happy experience. For many of these students, their high school career began with fear.

These young people, not chosen by any scientific method but almost by chance, came to be known as the Little Rock Nine. Thankfully, it is hard for many Americans to understand what courage it took for them to walk into Little Rock Central High School in 1957. You know what it took? For those kids to walk into that high school, it took an order from President Dwight David Eisenhower, the protection of the U.S. Army, the extraordinary legal talents of future Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, and daily guidance from caring adults such as Daisy and L.C. Bates. Above all, it took the daily faith and courage of those nine young kids and their families.

The crowds who surrounded Little Rock Central that day may have disappeared after a few tense days, but the taunts and threats to those nine students continued for the entire school year. In the end, those nine young students became America's teachers. They showed us and they showed America how we could live closer to our ideals.

Although their names will always be linked first and foremost with Arkansas, the people of my State are proud that four of the Little Rock Nine went on to college in Illinois. Gloria Ray Karlmark earned a mathematics degree from the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago. Three of the Little Rock Nine earned degrees at Southern Illinois University, a great university in my State, which prides itself on having opened its doors and cast away any racial prejudice very early. It became well known throughout the African-American community as a place where higher education was available for those African-American students who were striving to better themselves.

Minnie Jean Brown Trickey graduated from Southern Illinois University and went on to a distinguished career in education, social work, and public service that included serving in the Clinton administration as a Deputy Secretary at the U.S. Department of the Interior.

Dr. Terrance Roberts earned a master's degree and a Ph.D. in psychology from SIU. Today, he is a professor and practicing psychologist in California.

Thelma Mothershed Wair earned a B.S. and a master's degree in guidance counseling from SIU, married a fellow SIU student from my hometown of East St. Louis, and served as an educator and an inspiration in the East St. Louis school system for 28 years before she retired.

A lot has changed in America over the last 50 years. Little Rock Central High School remains one of the best, most challenging high schools in Arkansas. Today, it has an African-American student body president. Other communities that were once deeply divided by race—and not all of them in

the South, I might add—have changed as well.

In my home State, my Land of Lincoln, a few weeks ago I visited a town I have come to know over many decades—Cairo, IL. Forty-five years ago, Cairo was a hotbed of Ku Klux Klan activism. In the land of Lincoln, in 1960, there was a white citizens council that was doing its best to keep Cairo a segregated town, many years after *Brown v. Board of Education*. The head of the white citizens council was the white states attorney for Alexander County. Similar to many southern towns, Cairo closed its municipal swimming pool rather than allow black and white children to swim together. Today, I am proud to tell you that the mayor, the city treasurer, and the police chief of Cairo are all African-American.

But the struggle for equal justice is not over. Last week, thousands of people from communities across America traveled by plane, car, and bus to Jena, LA, with a population of less than 3,000, to protest what appears to be separate and unequal justice. The facts in what has come to be known as the Jena 6 case sound disturbingly similar to so many cases from an era so many of us thought was long gone.

One year ago, some African-American students at Jena's public high school asked the school administrators if they could sit under a shade tree outside the school, and they were told they could. For years, that tree outside their school had been known as the "white tree." By custom, its shade was for white students only. Days after African-American students dared to sit under that tree, nooses were hung from its branches—nooses. Local authorities dismissed that unmistakable reference to the terrorism of lynching as another youthful prank.

Over the next 2 months, tensions rose at the high school. A series of fights between black and white students escalated. Each time, black students were punished more severely than the white students who took part in the same fights. Finally, last December, six young men, all African-American, were arrested and charged with attempted murder and other serious felonies that could send them to prison for a collective 100 years.

The problem of unequal justice is not confined to the South, and it is not limited to race. It is easy to condemn yesterday's wrongdoing, but the Little Rock Nine had the courage to oppose injustice in their own time. In our time, few people still condemn the overt racism of Jim Crow and "whites only" drinking fountains, but many still excuse and justify discrimination and unequal justice based on such distinctions as national origin and sexual orientation.

I believe one day in the not-too-distant future, we will look back on these attitudes and wonder how we could have tolerated such discrimination and division.

It is good to reflect on times past, the heroes and heroines of those eras,