

majority leader. He indicated a willingness to let me speak without interruption for 20 minutes. If there is no objection, I ask for that, then, by unanimous consent.

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

Mr. SMITH. After that, Mr. President, we will go as we can. I know other colleagues are coming. Senator WARNER has an amendment he wants to speak to at 3:45.

SECURE RURAL SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY SELF-DETERMINATION ACT OF 2000

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I came here today knowing we were in morning business but looking to find a time to make a case of my State before the United States on an issue of great emergency. The clock is running out. I am speaking of the Secure Rural Schools and Community Self-Determination Act of 2000.

I am pleased to state that in my conversation with my friend, the majority leader, he did indicate that he has become aware of this issue with some intensity through his conversations with Senator WYDEN and now with me, and that Senator WYDEN and I have little choice but to use all of our rights and privileges as Senators to focus the attention of the United States on this dire issue. I know many of my colleagues want to speak. I do not mean to disrupt their schedules, but as long as I can be allowed to speak today and at future opportunities, I intend to speak and to take a lot of time. I came prepared to speak for 5 hours today. I have a long speech, a lot of phonebooks in the cloakroom. I have a tale to tell that I believe America needs to hear about the Pacific Northwest and the people I am privileged to represent.

I want Members to understand my position in the Senate, how a rural businessman from eastern Oregon was elected to the Senate, the first time someone with my profile has been elected in my State in over 70 years. It is because my political base was heard and through my candidacy has tried to be heard. It is a political base the cornerstone of which consists of farmers, fishermen, and foresters.

The rural people I live with in rural Oregon, my hometown of Pendleton, OR, are counting on me to do everything I can to bring to the attention of this Senate and to the Congress in general the dire situation in which our State finds itself.

I talked about the Secure Rural Schools and Community Self-Determination Act of 2000. That program actually expired last December. Despite many efforts in this Senate and from my colleagues in the House, efforts to extend the safety net have simply failed. Senator WYDEN is working the way I did with my leadership before when we were in the majority. I hope he finds something different from what I found. What I found was people will-

ing to listen, your cause is just, but we can't do anything for you unless and until everyone is in agreement.

The problem for this particular bill is that it isn't Republican and Democratic; it is the United States against the Pacific Northwest. It is State versus State. It is Idaho complaining about Oregon's formula allocation or Washington about Oregon or Montana or California or Mississippi or all the States in the Southeast that look for county funding from this act. It is really more parochial. It is more local. It is more about individual constituencies.

The formula complained about was a formula derived from this bill that Senator CRAIG, Senator WYDEN, and myself, as the original sponsors, authored. It is a formula based on historic harvest off of public lands. By that historical formula, Oregon got about half of the money allocated under this program. There is disgruntlement now with that formula. The problem is no one can agree on another formula without doing great damage to the historical position in which Oregon finds itself.

As I speak today, thousands of layoff notices are being prepared by rural counties in my State. These include law enforcement officers, county road crews, surveyors, assessors, clerks, public health workers, district attorneys, among others. These are the basic units of our extended democracy. These services are required by the Oregon State Constitution to be provided by our counties. Now those units of government are in jeopardy.

My amendment cannot be called up because the amendment tree has been filled by the majority, as is their right—a practice that is coming, though, under increased scrutiny. I will briefly describe the amendment. It provides a 1-year extension of the safety net. Literally, what we are talking in the totality of this budget is a .09 percent across-the-board cut to other programs funded in this bill. I realize the majority would prefer to have this Chamber acquiesce to the preexisting contents of the bill. The fact that we are only now considering it, just hours before the Federal Government shuts down, illustrates this point.

Some have said to me: How can you try to look for opportunities to filibuster the continuing resolution? How can you do that, Senator, and shut down the Government? I believe this Senate should know my heart and feeling is the United States will shut down Oregon in many respects if the continuing resolution is allowed to go forward without, literally, \$360 million. That is what we are talking about—in a \$1.7 trillion budget, \$365 million. That is a lot of money to you and me individually; it is a rounding error in a \$1.7 trillion continuing resolution. When that is translated to what it means to Oregon counties, it means shutdown.

This is not a pure continuing resolution, though. The Committee on Appropriations of both the House and the

Senate have shifted billions of dollars between accounts in support of their priorities. Many of those adjustments are laudable and reflect the Nation's priorities. But the fact that the county payments safety net was not addressed in this bill requires me to come to this floor and do what I can to change it. It may also reflect that many of my colleagues do not understand what this program means—not only to my State but to 8.5 million schoolchildren, 557,000 teachers, and 18,000 schools nationwide.

But to fully understand the safety net and this Government's moral obligation to rural counties, a history lesson is in order. My colleagues need to understand why Federal forest management decisions make or break my State and why the consequences of these decisions have moral implications for this Chamber to consider and to act upon.

The Oregon story is a history of trees and timber, of boom and bust. The Federal Government plays a central role in this account, both as protagonist and antagonist.

Alexis de Tocqueville, writing about democracy in America in the 1830s, believed that any history—of men and nations alike—must begin at infancy. He wrote:

A man has come into the world; his early years are spent without notice in the pleasures and activities of childhood. As he grows up, the world receives him when his manhood begins, and he enters into contact with his fellows. He is then studied for the first time, and it is imagined that the germ of the vices and the virtues of his maturer years is then formed.

This, if I am not mistaken, is a great error. We must begin higher up; we must watch the infant in his mother's arms; we must see the first images which the external world casts upon the dark mirror of his mind, the first occurrences that he witnesses, we must hear the first words which awaken the sleeping powers of thought, and stand by his earliest efforts if we would understand the prejudices, the habits, and the passions which will rule his life. The entire man is, so to speak, to be seen in the cradle of the child.

Like Alexis de Tocqueville's America, the Oregon story must be told from the beginning.

Many of my colleagues are familiar with the slogan "54-40 or fight!" This referred to the territorial dispute between Great Britain and the United States over the Northwest Territory, lying south of the parallel 54 degrees, 40 minutes.

In 1846, Great Britain conceded absolute jurisdiction to the United States, and in 1848, Congress formally declared this land "the Oregon Territory," albeit below the 49th parallel.

Joseph Lane, of Roseburg, OR, became the first territorial Governor of Oregon Territory. Soon thereafter, the Columbia River divided it into two territories, with Washington Territory demarcated north of the river.

Two days from now will mark the 148th anniversary of a great act of this body. By the way, Oregon's birthday is Valentines Day every year.

Let me read from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—then called the Journal of the Senate—from February 14, 1859:

Mr. President: The House of Representatives has passed the bill of the Senate (S. 239) for the admission of Oregon into the Union.

Mr. Jones reported from the committee that they had examined and found duly enrolled the bill (S. 239) for the admission of Oregon into the Union.

A message from the President of the United States by Mr. Henry, his secretary:

Mr. President: The President of the United States this day approved and signed an act (S. 239) for the admission of Oregon into the Union.

Mr. Pugh presented the credentials of the honorable Joseph Lane, elected a senator by the legislature of the State of Oregon.

The credentials were read; and the oath prescribed by law was administered to Mr. Lane and he took his seat in the Senate.

Mr. Gwin presented the credentials of the honorable Delazon Smith, elected a senator by the legislature of the State of Oregon.

The credentials were read; and the oath prescribed by law was administered to Mr. Smith and he took his seat in the Senate.

I note that my colleague, Senator WYDEN, is on the floor. As a matter of interest to him and me, I sit in the seat of, I suppose appropriately, Delazon Smith. Senator WYDEN sits in the seat of Joseph Lane.

Mr. President, as an aside, I have always thought the best movie I had ever seen as a little boy was "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington." Apparently, I am going to be denied that opportunity today, but I do want to begin this 5-hour speech which the Senate will hear in its entirety eventually and on other pieces of legislation inevitably.

Mr. Gwin submitted the following resolutions; which were considered, by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Senate proceed to ascertain the classes in which the senators from the State of Oregon shall be inserted, in conformity with the resolution of the 14th of May, 1879, and as the Constitution requires.

Resolved, That the Secretary put into the ballot box two papers of equal size, one of which shall be numbered one, and the other shall be numbered two, and each senator shall draw out one paper; that the senator who shall draw the paper numbered one shall be inserted in the class of senators whose term of service will expire the 3d day of March, 1859, and the senator who shall draw the paper numbered two shall be inserted in the class of senators whose term of service will expire the 3d day of March, 1861.

Whereupon—The papers above mentioned, being put by the Secretary into the ballot box, the honorable Joseph Lane drew the paper numbered two, and is accordingly in the class of senators whose term of service will expire the third day of March, 1861. The honorable Delazon Smith drew the paper numbered one, and is accordingly in the class of senators whose term of service will expire the third of March, 1859.

That is the end of the citation.

This is how Oregon entered the Union and its first two U.S. Senators were welcomed into this great deliberative body—148 years ago this Wednesday.

On February 14, 1859, Oregon had a population of 52,465 people. Congress passed and President Lincoln signed into law the Homestead Act in 1862. That law offered 160 acres to any cit-

izen who would live on frontier land for 5 years. By 1866, Oregon's population was nearly doubled by those answering the Federal Government's call into the fertile valleys and along the fish-filled rivers of Oregon. Even when the land in the valleys and along the rivers was all taken, there was another wave of pioneers ready to head into the mountains.

One such story is recounted by Jessie Wright in her book "How High the Bounty." Jessie and Perry Wright were granted the first of five homesteads in the Umpqua National Forest. This story—as were thousands of others—was a call to the Manifest Destiny, embodied in our State song, "Oregon, My Oregon." By the way, if I get a chance to get back at this, eventually I will read the whole book, "How High the Bounty," here in the Senate. But our State song embodies this Manifest Destiny. It sings like this. I will not sing it to you, Mr. President.

Land of the Empire Builders,
Land of the Golden West;
Conquered and held by free men,
Fairest and the best.
Onward and upward ever,
Forward and on, and on;
Hail to thee, Land of Heroes,
My Oregon.

Land of the rose and sunshine,
Land of the summer's breeze;
Laden with health and vigor,
Fresh from the Western seas.
Blest by the blood of martyrs,
Land of the setting sun;
Hail to thee, Land of Promise,
My Oregon.

When Oregon entered the Union in 1859, the State itself was given roughly 3.5 million acres of the 62 million acres lying within its boundaries. The remaining 95 percent of the land base was retained by the Federal Government as national public domain lands. Think of that, Mr. President. Just like your State, I suspect, the Federal Government owns most of it.

Over a period of 75 years, following Oregon's statehood, the U.S. General Land Office sold, exchanged, donated, or otherwise disposed of 23 million acres of Oregon's land—reducing Federal ownership from 91 percent to 52 percent.

The Federal Government continues to hold ownership to 33 million acres of Oregon land, wielding autocratic control over a majority of my State—a practice exercised only against Western States, holding them in what can only be described as a form of economic bondage. Neither the State of Oregon nor its counties can tax federally controlled land or exercise any control whatsoever over them. But since 1908, with the passage of the 25 Percent Act, the Federal Government has paid counties 25 percent of the income generated from timber, mining rights, grazing leases, and other benefits from the land it owns in Oregon. Twenty-five percent; that is what we are talking about. That is what has gone away through timber law changes and court decisions and administrative Executive orders.

Since 1937, the Bureau of Land Management has shared 75 percent—and more recently 50 percent—of its timber receipts with affected counties.

It was out of the 33 million acres of Federal land that were created, first, the forest reserves and then the national forests. The General Revision Act in 1891 allowed Presidential withdrawal of forest reserves. The Organic Act and the Forest Reserve Act followed, expanding the National Forest System and Federal assertion over the management of these forests.

In creating these Federal forests, President Teddy Roosevelt had a clear policy. This is what Teddy Roosevelt said:

And now, first and foremost, you can never afford to forget for one moment what is the object of our forest policy. That object is not to preserve the forests because they are beautiful, though that is good in itself; nor because they are refuges for wild creatures of the wilderness, though that, too, is good in itself; but the primary object of our forest policy in the United States, is the making of prosperous homes. Every other consideration comes as secondary.

Unlike other Western States with national forests, Oregon has a unique tract of Federal forestland. Its official name is the Revested Oregon and California Land Grant and the Reconveyed Coos Bay Wagon Road grant lands, or O&C for short. These forests have a fascinating history of their own. To capture this history, I will borrow from the book "Saving Oregon's Golden Goose," interviews with Joe Miller. It reads as follows:

Think of railroads as the internet of America's Gilded Age. . . .

Am I done, Mr. President? I am just getting to the good part. You would really enjoy this.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has used his 20 minutes. It has been good.

Mr. SMITH. I thank the Presiding Officer for the time and the majority leader for his courtesy. I was informed by the majority leader that after Senator WYDEN and other Senators who have reserved time speak, I could again ask for time, and would indicate that being my intention because I do not want you to miss this. This is really getting good, Mr. President. There is about 4½ hours to go of it.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, I believe the distinguished Senator from Virginia has time reserved at about 3:45. I ask unanimous consent to be able to speak up until 3:45, when the distinguished Senator from Virginia has his time allotted.

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

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, before he leaves the floor, let me tell my colleague from Oregon that I very much appreciate his comments with respect to the county payments legislation. The top priority—the top priority—for Oregon's congressional delegation in

this session is getting this program reauthorized.

I wrote this law in 2000 with Senator CRAIG because it was my view in 2000 that without this program, Oregon's rural communities would not survive. I am here today to tell the Senate that if this program is not reauthorized, there is a serious question today whether these rural communities will be able to survive. Now, I want to bring the Senate up to date on three developments with respect to the reauthorization of this critically needed program.

The distinguished Senator from Nevada, the majority leader, Mr. REID, has been the majority leader for just over 1 month.

I have had many conversations with the majority leader about this program. He vacationed in our beautiful State this summer. He saw the importance of our bountiful forests. I explained to him that the Federal Government owns more than half of our State. He has told me that he is determined to work with me until our State gets a fair shake with respect to this critically important program.

Second—and this is something that the distinguished Senator from Montana knows something about—we have a good bipartisan group of Senators on the legislation I have authored to reauthorize the program. Both Senators from Oregon, both Senators from Washington, and both Senators from California, the distinguished Senator from Montana, and the distinguished Senator from Alaska have all joined us in the effort to reauthorize this program.

Third, as the chairman of the Forestry Subcommittee, I would like to announce that the first hearing we are going to have in the Forestry Subcommittee is to reauthorize this program. Because it is so important, because it is a lifeline to rural communities across our State, we are making this the subject of the first hearing. We have pink slips going out now, county commissions trying to make decisions about schools and law enforcement. These programs involved are not extras. They are not the kind of thing that you consider something you would like to have. These are programs that involve law enforcement, that raise the question of whether we are going to have school in our State other than three times a week in some of these rural communities. I am committed to making sure that doesn't happen. Senator SMITH is committed to it. The whole Oregon congressional delegation is committed to it.

In Curry County, for example, on the Oregon coast, they are looking at the prospect of laying off all nonessential workers, including patrol officers, some of whom would be left to perform only their mandated correction duties. In a few months, they will have laid off 20 percent of their county workforce. My judgment is—and this comes directly from those folks in Curry County—there is a real question about

whether they are going to be able to continue as a county without this essential program.

We have seen similar cuts put on the table all through the rural part of our State. A lot of Senators—I know the Senator from Montana knows a little bit about it—can't identify with something like this. In most of the East, they don't have half of their land in public ownership. They essentially have private property. A piece of private property is sold, revenue is generated, taxes are paid. That is how they pay for services. We have not been able to do that in our State because the Federal Government owns more than half of our land.

People ask: How is it—and Senator SMITH has touched on this this afternoon—that Oregon depends on these revenues for essential services? Well, God made a judgment that what we ought to do in Oregon is grow these beautiful trees. And, by God, we delivered. That is what we do. And we do it better than anybody else. So we didn't come up with some arbitrary figure back in 2000 and say, well, let's just give the State of Oregon a whole bunch of money because we decided to exercise raw political muscle. It was essentially based on a formula that is decades old, built around the proposition that where the Federal Government owns most of the land, we ought to make it possible for those communities to get help, at least at that time, through timber receipts. But when the environmental laws changed, suddenly those counties were high and dry.

So I went to the Clinton administration. Frankly, I was pretty blunt. I have been blunt with the Bush administration, but I was even more blunt with the Clinton administration.

I said: You don't pass this program, you might as well not come to our State because you are not going to be able to make a case for cutting off this program when those communities are getting hammered through no fault of their own. They did nothing wrong.

What happened in this country is that values changed. Environmental priorities changed. All of a sudden those counties had nowhere to turn. So you are seeing that in Montana, in Oregon, throughout these small communities.

Senator SMITH has seen this as well. You can't go to a small community in rural Oregon, such as John Day, and tell them they ought to set up a biotechnology company in the next few months. They are making a big push right now to diversify and get into other industries. But these resource-dependent communities, communities that are looking at the axe falling on them, not in 6 months, not in a year, but coming up in a matter of weeks, they have nowhere to turn. So we consider ourselves the last line of defense.

What we are asking for is what I and Senator REID, the majority leader, have been talking about. And that is a fair shake for our State, not a death

warrant for rural communities in our State, not a program that, in effect, has them shrivel up and disappear. We want a fair shake.

This is an extraordinarily important issue. I just had a big round of townhall meetings across my State. We are all going home for the recess. I will start another round of those townhall meetings in rural Oregon this weekend. What happens at these meetings is you have law enforcement people. I had Sheriff Mike Winter from southern Oregon—I am sure Senator SMITH knows Mike Winter—talking to us about what the cuts would mean in law enforcement in rural areas. We are talking about law enforcement, the fight against methamphetamines, which I know the Senator from Montana knows something about. It is a scourge that is clobbering the whole West. We can't leave our communities defenseless. We can't leave our communities without the resources they need to fight meth and these other critical problems.

I have open meetings, one in every county every year. I am sure the Senator from Montana will be starting something like that. Folks in these rural school districts used to come up and say: Ron, we are not going to have school but for 3 days a week if we don't have this program. So what we are talking about is any serious semblance of public instruction in rural communities in our State. We don't see how we are going to be able to achieve it without this particular program.

The consequences here are very real. The consequences are tragic. This is not a question of the Oregon congressional delegation, Senator SMITH and myself, crying wolf and coming out and just being alarmists on the floor of the Senate. This is what we hear from our constituents. I heard it at town meetings a little bit ago, just a little over a week. I am going to hear it again this weekend. Suffice it to say, over 700 counties in 39 States are involved. Many of them are in parts of the country where the Federal Government owns most of the land. That is certainly the case in Oregon where we have many rural communities where significantly over half of the land is owned by the Federal Government.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I wonder if my colleague will yield for a question.

Mr. WYDEN. I am happy to yield.

Mr. SMITH. My colleague is the author of this legislation. As he has worked in the 109th Congress from the minority side, and I worked the majority side, I suppose he found, as I did, that many people said: Well, the cause is just, but just work it out. There weren't a lot of folks who wanted to work it out. Now, as we come to the final business of the last Congress in this Congress, in a congressional resolution, is it not true that we only have this piece of legislation and the emergency supplemental that we have to attach this to? And if we don't, the pink slips are for real?

Mr. WYDEN. The Senator is right with respect to how critical this question is. As he knows, because he and I have made this a top priority now for quite some time, we didn't get a fair shake in the last session of Congress. I put a hold on several appointments from the Bush administration because I wanted to make sure that they got the wake-up call. I lifted that hold and, frankly, I wish I hadn't because I think they have never put the effort into trying to get this warranted program reauthorized. So Senator SMITH is correct in terms of saying that this program should have been reauthorized some time ago. He and I have put it at the top of our priority list.

This is not an abstract question. Decisions are being made by rural school officials, by county commissions at this time. They are looking at cuts that are going to affect our ability to protect the communities from serious matters as it relates to criminal justice, to adequate public education. And we are not talking about extras. We are talking about basics, as Sheriff Mike Winter from southwestern Oregon has noted, and local school officials as well. We want to make it clear just what the consequences are going to be.

I mentioned Curry County on the Oregon coast, for example. A number of our other communities—Douglas County, Lane County, in particular—are going to see direct and painful consequences as a result of this program and the failure of this program to be reauthorized. County payments legislation is supported by a diverse coalition. We are pleased to see that this is a top priority of the National Association of Counties. A number of labor organizations have also said that they believe this is critically important.

I will just wrap it up by saying that I believe these cuts in payments to rural counties are going to hit the rural part of my State and rural America like a wrecking ball. They are going to pound these communities. And it doesn't have to happen. Senator SMITH has made that point. I have made that point. The whole Oregon congressional delegation, every member of our House delegation, we don't have 50 Members representing us in the House of Representatives like California, but we are going to be heard.

I have been gratified that Senator REID, our majority leader, has been willing to spend so much time with me. He is a westerner. He knows what the impact is in a public lands State. He was in our State. He saw what the forests mean to us. He is an honorable man and a man of his word. He said he would work with me to make sure that our State gets a fair shake. We are going to make sure that message is heard loudly and clearly when we have the hearing in the Forestry Subcommittee. We will make sure the legislation that the Senator from Montana has joined me on will get a thorough hearing at that particular discussion.

I thank the distinguished Presiding Officer for being a cosponsor of this bill. We are glad to have him in our bipartisan coalition.

I wanted to wrap up by saying I appreciate Senator SMITH's remarks here on the floor. He is going to hear from the Oregon congressional delegation and Oregon Senators again and again, until this critical program is reauthorized.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

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

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

Mr. WARNER. Reserving the right to object, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to calling off the quorum?

Mr. WARNER. No. Before the Senator begins to speak, I want to make this clear. I ask the Presiding Officer, am I not to be recognized for the time between 3:45 and 4:30?

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from Virginia, I think, will be pleased with my request.

I ask unanimous consent that Senator WARNER be recognized at this time for up to 60 minutes and, following that, Senator MURRAY be recognized for 15 minutes, a Republican Senator be recognized next for 10 minutes, then Senator MCCASKILL be recognized for 10 minutes, and then Senator SMITH be recognized for up to 75 minutes. I will be joining Senator SMITH during his 75 minutes. That is my request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Virginia is recognized.

IRAQ RESOLUTION

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I shall be joined by a number of colleagues and the purpose of our taking this time is as follows: We have decided to put in an amendment to H.J. Res. 20, amendment number 259 which will be printed in today's record. This amendment mirrors S. Con. Res. 7, a resolution prepared by myself and others sometime last week, which expresses certain concerns we have with regard to the President's plan as announced on January 10 of this year.

This amendment, to H.J. Res. 20 is cosponsored by Mr. LEVIN, Ms. COLLINS, BEN NELSON of Nebraska, Mr. HAGEL, Ms. SNOWE, Mr. SMITH, Mr. BIDEN, and as other Senators return to town, we may have further cosponsors.

We are concerned that the fighting rages on throughout Iraq, and particularly in Baghdad. It is very important

that the Senate should, as the greatest deliberative body—certainly in matters of war and peace—in a prompt way address the issues regarding Iraq.

Our men and women in the Armed Forces are fighting bravely in that conflict, as they are in conflicts elsewhere worldwide. Our concerns are heartfelt, not driven by political motivation. As we gathered as a group in the past 2 weeks to work on this, we took note of the fact that the President, on January 10, in his message to the Nation explicitly said that others could come forward with their ideas. I will paraphrase it—the exact quote is in the amendment we are putting in today—that he would take into consideration the views of others. So in a very constructive and a respectful way, our group said we disagreed with the President and we gave a series of points urging him to consider those points as he begins to implement such plan as finally devised throughout Iraq but most specifically in Baghdad.

We are very respectful of the fact that the plan put in by the President was in three parts: a diplomatic part, an economic part, and a military part. We explicitly stated in the resolution our support for the diplomatic and economic parts, and we are hopeful it can be put together in a timely fashion. There is some concern as to whether the three main parts can progress together, unified, in this operation, given the short timetable to implement it. So two parts of the program we wholeheartedly support and so state in this amendment.

The concern is about the military section. We state the explicit nature of our concerns. Some Senators have suggested the resolution expresses matters which I can find no source whatsoever in the resolution for those complaints. Nevertheless, I will address in the course of this time each and every one of those concerns.

Indeed, on the weekend talk shows, one Senator said: My problem with the Warner proposal and others that criticize the surge is, what is your plan? All right. That is a legitimate question. I say that our amendment states a clear strategy. It says as follows:

The Senate believes the United States should continue vigorous operations in Anbar Province specifically for the purpose of combating an insurgency including elements associated with the al-Qaida movement and denying terrorists a safe haven.

Secondly, the primary objective of the overall strategy in Iraq should be to encourage Iraqi leaders to make political compromises that will foster reconciliation and strengthen the unity government, ultimately leading to improvements in the security situation.

Next, the military part of the strategy should focus on maintaining the territorial integrity of Iraq, denying international terrorists a safe haven, conducting counterterrorism operations, promoting regional stability, supporting the Iraqi efforts to bring