

Democrats and Republicans, spoke of that vote as the greatest mistake of their careers.

That resolution was adopted hastily after reports of a minor incident which may, in fact, not have occurred at all. It was interpreted by both the Johnson and Nixon administrations as *carte blanche* to wage war in Vietnam for over a decade, ultimately involving over half a million American troops and resulting in the deaths of over 58,000 Americans.

I am not suggesting that the administration is trying to deceive Congress or the American people, and I recognize that the situation in Iraq today is very different from Vietnam in 1964. But we learned some painful and important lessons back then. And one that is as relevant today as it was 38 years ago, is that the Senate should never give up its constitutional rights, responsibilities, and authority to the executive branch. It should never shrink from its Constitutional responsibilities, especially when the lives of American servicemen and women are at stake.

So when we consider the resolution on Iraq, I hope we will remember those lessons, because under no circumstances should the Congress pass a blank check and let the administration fill in the amount later. The Constitution does not allow that, and I will not do that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from South Dakota is recognized.

IRAQ

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I rise today to state my intention to vote in favor of a resolution to authorize the use of military force against Iraq. At this point, final resolution language is begin arrived at, and I believe this effort will lead to a resolution which will gain broad, bipartisan support. I support the President, and as a member of the Appropriations Committee, look forward to working with him to ensure that our Armed Forces remain the best-equipped, best-trained fighting force in the world.

Simply put, the world would be a far safer place without Saddam Hussein. As long as he remains in power in Iraq, he will be a threat to the United States, to his neighbors, and to his own people. Over the past decade, he has systematically reneged on his commitments to the international community. He has refused to halt his weapons of mass destruction program, to renounce his support for international terrorism, and to stop threatening peace and stability in the region. The threat that Saddam Hussein continues to pose to our national security interests, and his failure to abide by previous United Nations Security Council resolutions, provides sufficient justification should military action become necessary.

I am pleased that President Bush has come to the Congress to ask for authorization for the use of force in Iraq,

and that the White House is continuing to work with us to develop the appropriate language for a congressional resolution. It is important for the people's representatives in Congress to have the opportunity to fully debate and vote on a matter of this importance. I hope we will move to this vote in an expeditious manner.

In addition, I back the administration's efforts to build support for our policy in Iraq with our allies and with the international community as a whole. Secretary of State Colin Powell has been particularly effective in making the case that Iraq has not complied with the relevant Security Council resolutions and that he remains a threat. Make no mistake, I believe the United States is within its rights to act alone militarily to protect our vital national security interests. I we are required by circumstances to act alone, I will support that decision. U.S. action should not be contingent upon the decisions made by other nations or organizations. My expectation, however, is that this resolution will strengthen the hand of the President at securing United Nations or other forms of international support and cooperation, and I encourage his on-going effort in that regard.

I believe that there is value in building an international coalition of nations and in having the full support of our allies. International support brings practical benefits, such as basing rights for U.S. soldiers and equipment in the region and authorization to use the airspace of neighboring countries to execute military strikes against Iraq. In addition, international support will increase the likelihood of success for our long-term strategy in Iraq and for the ongoing war on global terrorism. I encourage the President to continue his efforts to build a strong coalition of nations to support our Iraq policy.

Mr. President, this issue has particular significance for me—my son Brooks is on active duty in the Army and is a member of one of the three units that General Franks has identified as likely to prosecute this war. There is a strong possibility that I may be voting to send my own son into combat, and that give me special empathy for the families of other American servicemen and women whose own sons and daughters may also be sent to Iraq. Nevertheless, I am willing to cast this vote—one of the most important in my career both as a Senator and certainly as a father—because I recognize the threat that Saddam Hussein represents to world peace. It is my hope that we can move forward quickly, in a bipartisan manner, to approve a resolution that will give the President the authority he needs to defend our Nation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. NELSON of Florida). Under the previous order, the Senator from North Dakota is recognized.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, this is called the greatest deliberative body in

the world. I have always been enormously proud to be a part of it. There are times I think we treat the light too seriously and then the serious too lightly, but in this time and place, the issue of national security is something all of us understand is serious.

This is a deadly serious business. The question of war with Iraq, the question of homeland security, are very important issues. I know there was some controversy yesterday beginning with stories in the newspaper and in the Senate Chamber about statements by the President.

I don't think there is a context in which it is ever appropriate for us to suggest or the President to suggest the opposing political party or members of the opposing political party do not support this country's national security. You will never, ever, hear me suggest a group of my colleagues don't care about this country's national security. I will never do that. It is not the appropriate thing to do.

When you read the President's statements at fundraisers about these matters and hear his suggestion, no matter the context, that the U.S. Senate doesn't seem to care about national security, or places special interests ahead of the Nation's interests with respect to security, that is wrong.

National security is deadly serious business. The issue has to do with the country of Iraq, but much more than that—a very troubled region of the world—the question of whether a tyrant, an international outlaw of sorts, is going to acquire nuclear weapons and threaten his region and the rest of the world, and what we might be considering doing about that, what we should do about it, and what the United Nations considers we should do about it. That is serious business.

Any discussion ever about sending our sons and daughters to war is serious business. It has no place in political fundraisers or in the normal routine of American political partisan activity leading up to an election.

Yesterday I attended a top secret briefing with Vice President CHENEY at his invitation. I happen to think we are all on the same side. We have a single relentless interest, and that is the interests of this country and its security.

Yesterday it was said some of this dispute relates to the discussions about homeland security and the position taken by some Members of the Senate with respect to homeland security. There is no right or wrong way to do homeland security. There are a lot of ideas on how one might address homeland security.

I happen to believe port security is very important. We have 5.7 million containers coming in on container ships every single year; 100,000 of them are inspected, and 5.6 million are not. If a terrorist were to want to introduce a weapon of mass destruction into this country, do you think they would not consider putting it in a container on a ship that is going to come up to a dock

at 2 miles an hour and dock at one of our major ports, to be taken off and put on 18 wheels, driven across the country to its target?

No, we will spend \$7 or \$8 billion this year believing a rogue nation or terrorist will acquire an intercontinental ballistic missile, put a nuclear bomb on top of it; so we will spend \$7 to \$8 billion on national missile defense. Is that the smart thing to do, at a time when 5.6 million containers will show up at our docks and are uninspected? That is a decision this Congress ought to take a hard look at.

We have differences on the homeland security bill. It is not that one side believes in supporting this country's defense and this country's security and the other side doesn't. There are differences about it. Is putting 170,000 people into one agency, moving all these boxes around into one agency, is that going to make us better, more fit, more capable of defeating terrorism? Maybe. But big, slow, and bureaucratic is not the way to address terrorism. These 170,000 people will not include the CIA and the FBI. Just read the papers in the last couple of months and ask yourself, where have the problems been in the gathering and the interpretation of intelligence and information about prospective terrorists? They are not even a part of this.

Some say if the President doesn't have flexibility to deal with all of these workers in any appropriate way he thinks necessary, somehow it affects our country's security. It is as if taking 170,000 workers and putting them into one agency and providing some basic security, the kind of basic security they have had with respect to jobs, is counter to this Nation's security. I don't believe that at all.

Go back 100 years and ask yourself what happens in a country such as ours when you decide the Federal workforce shall become a part of patronage, Federal workers will have no security, but can be used at the whim of an executive agency. I am not talking about this one; I am talking about any executive agency or any administration. This country has been best served by making sure we have a Federal workforce that we can trust, that works hard, that is honest, that serves this country well, and that doesn't serve any partisan interest ever.

Some say let's get rid of all the worker protections, that is the way to handle homeland security. That doesn't make any sense to me. There is not a Republican or a Democratic way to develop the issue of security for this country. This is not about political parties. It is about trying to figure out what is the best approach to protect this country's interests, what is the best approach to do that.

Those who want to use this politically do no service to this country's interest. It is not about politics. It is, indeed, about security.

Let me make the next point. Yes, security with respect to people such as

Saddam Hussein, and I hope at the end of the day we can find a way to pass a resolution in this Senate that has broad bipartisan support. I hope that is what happens. I believe that is what should happen. I hope at the end of the day we will have passed a homeland security bill that works, one that is effective, one that gives us confidence about defeating prospective terrorists and those prospective terrorists' acts against the American people.

Also, there is another issue with respect to security, and that is the security of our country with respect to the economy and what is happening inside our country. Take a look at the stock market these days. The stock market has collapsed like a pancake. Why? Because investors are nervous. There is no predictability, consistency, security. They are nervous.

We have had a circumstance in recent years where big budget surpluses that were projected for 10 years have turned to big budget deficits. We have had a recession. We have had a terrorist attack on our country that was the worst terrorist attack in the history of our country. We have had, in addition to that, a war against terrorists and a collapse of the technology bubble and a collapse of the stock market. We have had a corporate scandal unparalleled in the history of this country. It shakes the faith of the American people in this economic system of ours.

Even as we discuss all of these security issues, let's understand there is one additional security issue, and that is the economic security of the people in this country, an economy that, hopefully, grows and provides opportunities and jobs once again. This economy is in trouble, and it would serve this President and this Congress well to decide we ought to work together to do something about that as well.

More and more people are out of work. What does that mean? Is that a statistic? No, it is not just a statistic; it is someone who comes home from work one day and says: Honey, I have lost my job, a man or woman who is well trained and worked hard, and because the economy runs into some whitewater rapids and some trouble, they are laid off. Hundreds of thousands of Americans are losing their jobs. It is a big problem.

For those who lose their jobs, their statistic is 100-percent unemployment. They wonder whether there are people around here who care about that. Will there be people who care about economic security issues, trying to put the pieces back together in an economy that is troubled?

We are told the average 401(k) retirement savings account has lost about a third of its value. A North Dakotan who worked for the Enron Corporation for many years wrote to me and said: I had \$330,000 in my 401(k) account. It was my life savings—\$330,000. It is now worth \$1,700.

Do you think that family cares about whether we try to do something to fix

what is wrong with this economy? That also deals with security—economic security.

We have all across the central heartland of this Nation family farmers, in my judgment the economic all-stars of America. They raise the food that a hungry world so desperately needs. But a massive drought has occurred across much of this country. Many of those farmers and ranchers have produced nothing.

In my home area of southwestern North Dakota, the landscape looks like scorched earth. It looks like the moonscape, in fact, with no vegetation.

The question is: What about economic security for people who have suffered a natural disaster of a drought? This Senate answered that. The Senate said: Let's provide some emergency help, just as we do when tornadoes, earthquakes, fires, and floods happen. When these natural disasters occur, this country says to people affected: You are not alone; we are here with you; we want to help. So this Senate, with 79 votes, said: We want to help you; we want to help provide some economic security during a tough time, during a disaster. The drought was not your fault, we say to farmers and ranchers.

But the House of Representatives and the President do not support the bill we passed in the Senate that also deals with economic security.

Nobody in this Chamber has a farm someplace 15, 25 miles from town and has invested virtually everything they have in seeds to plant in the ground in the spring and then discovered it did not rain and those seeds are gone, there is no crop, and they do not have the money for family expenses to continue, so they are going to have to have an auction sale. No one in this Chamber suffers that fate—no one.

No one in this Chamber gets up to do chores in the morning—milk cows, feed the cattle, service farm machinery. Nobody does that. But this Chamber understands because 79 Members of the Senate voted for a disaster package to help family farmers during this disaster.

We hope that when we have all of this talk about security, which I think is deadly important and deadly serious—we hope security includes a discussion about economic security, and part of that economic security is providing a disaster bill and disaster help to family farmers when they need it. I ask the House of Representatives and the President to stop blocking that disaster bill.

Another part of this issue of economic security is fixing what is wrong with respect to corporate governance in dealing with corporate scandals. We passed a bill in the Senate dealing with that, but it is not quite enough. We must do more.

Senator SARBANES, in my judgment, deserves the hero's award for being able to put together the bill he did. I

was proud to vote for it. One amendment, to give an example of the unfinished business, I tried to offer and which was blocked for 3 or 4 days by my colleague, Senator GRAMM from Texas, dealt with bankruptcy. That amendment is not now law. Let me give an example of what I was trying to do and why it is unfinished business if we are really going to provide economic security.

The Financial Times did a study of the 25 largest bankruptcies in America. Here is what they discovered: Of the 25 largest corporate bankruptcies in America, the year and a half before bankruptcy, 208 executives of those corporations took \$3.3 billion out of the company. Then they went bankrupt.

My belief is, when executives are taking a company to bankruptcy and filling their pockets with gold, there is something fundamentally wrong. Investors lose their savings, employees lose their jobs, everybody else loses their shirt, and the top executives of the largest bankrupt companies in the country walk away to their homes behind gated walls someplace and count their money. They walked off with \$3.3 billion in the 25 largest bankruptcies. Shame on them.

I wanted to offer an amendment that recaptures and disgorges those ill-gotten gains. Does anybody here believe that anybody, as they take a company into bankruptcy, the year before it goes to bankruptcy should be getting incentive payments and bonus payments for a company that is going down the tubes? Does anybody believe that? That is unfinished business, and there are other pieces dealing with this corporate issue to which we must respond.

The other unfinished business deals with health care, for example, and prescription drugs. We have not passed a prescription drug bill and put a prescription drug benefit in the Medicare Program despite all of our best efforts. That also deals with economic security because when someone needs lifesaving medicine and cannot afford it, it means that medicine saves no lives.

We have people in this country who desperately need prescription drugs to provide the miracle cures and the opportunities for a better life and cannot afford them. We believe putting a prescription drug benefit in the Medicare Program is the right thing to do. No, not some shell, not some phony gimmick by saying, as the House did, just cobbling up a little effort. By the way, let's call this a prescription drug benefit and let the managed care organizations handle it. That does not make any sense. They know it. We know it. They are just trying to create a defensive position to say they did something when, in fact, they did nothing.

We are going to do something, and we should, with respect to prescription drugs for senior citizens. We ought to do it right and do it well. That is another piece of unfinished business that deals with security—economic security and family security.

In Dickinson, ND, a woman went to her doctor with breast cancer and had surgery for breast cancer, and the doctor said to the woman on Medicare: In order to prevent a recurrence of breast cancer, the best chance to prevent a recurrence, you need to take these prescription drugs I am going to prescribe for you.

She said: Doctor, what does it cost? And he told her.

She said: Doctor, there is no way I can afford to buy those prescription drugs. I am just going to have to take my chances.

That is how the doctor testified at a forum I held at home in North Dakota. That is why it is important to complete the undone business dealing with economic security, security for American seniors, to put a prescription drug benefit in the Medicare Program that really works. We have not been able to do that because we are blocked by people who do not want that to happen.

Mr. REID. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. DORGAN. I am happy to yield.

Mr. REID. The Senator has served in the House of Representatives and now in the Senate and understands, as well as anyone, the procedures that take place in both bodies. We have been on homeland security for the 4th week. I was told yesterday they had 30 people who wanted to speak on this amendment. As I mentioned earlier this morning, that is a code word for "filibuster."

Is it not unusual that a President, who says he wants this bill so badly, has not helped move the bill in 4 weeks, and now the majority leader has arranged a procedure where they can have a vote on the so-called Gramm amendment and they are not taking yes for an answer? Do you think they are really serious about moving homeland security?

Mr. DORGAN. There is no evidence of that in the last 3 or 4 weeks. If ever you have seen an example of slow walking, this has been it.

We can, should, and will pass a homeland security bill. We are going to need help to do it. Those who say they want to pass this bill but have their heels dug in and are preventing action by the Senate, in my judgment, are delaying the inevitable. We will pass homeland security because we should.

We have an amendment on which we ought to vote. We do not need 40 speakers after 4 weeks. Have a vote on the amendment. That is the way to deal with this. I understand there are people who oppose the amendment. The opposition comes from people who either want it their way or they do not want it at all. They think, If we cannot get our way, we do not want legislation to move.

Mr. REID. If the Senator will yield, I have learned a lot from the Senator from North Dakota on agricultural matters because the State of North Dakota depends heavily on its agricultural base for everything in the State. As a result of that, I was 1 of 79 Sen-

ators who supported—because the case was made so clearly—farmers all over America who were in desperate need of help because of the drought that has struck the country. We have in the Interior appropriations bill, which is also part of what we have been doing for 4 weeks, a provision to give that aid.

I ask the Senator, would it not be better to do that now than to have this legislation hung up on how money will be distributed to fight fires?

Mr. DORGAN. There is an urgent need to get this bill completed. The Interior bill, as well, has been on the floor. For those who are listening to this discussion, we are working on two issues simultaneously. They call it dual tracking. We have homeland security and the Interior appropriations bill. Both have been on the floor for weeks.

With respect to the Interior bill, the 79 votes cast for the issue of providing disaster aid for family farmers demonstrates the strong support of this Senate for doing that. Yet it is part of an Interior bill that is being held up.

There is an urgent need to get this done. We have family farmers, and the families are sitting around their supper tables talking about their hopes and dreams, whether they are going to have to have an auction sale. Will they be able to make it? Or get through the winter? Or raise cattle in the spring? Or plant seed in the spring? They do not know. If we provide disaster help, they will. If we do not, many will not make it.

I have been pleased, and will always be pleased as a Member of this body, to support, in every circumstance, those around this country who suffer disasters. When Florida is hit by a devastating hurricane, or California by a devastating earthquake, or a dozen other natural disasters I could name, I am the first to say we ought to help. I always want to vote for it. I always want our country to say to those people affected by the disasters, you are not alone; the rest of the country is with you.

That is why I was so pleased with what the Senate did, by 79 votes, saying we need a disaster bill to deal with the devastating drought. In some areas it is as bad as it has been since the 1930s.

In answer to the question, there is urgent business in the Interior bill. We ought to get it done. Those who are blocking it ought to stop blocking it.

Mr. REID. Finally, because of the need to pass homeland security and certainly this drought assistance, and we are spending so much unnecessary time on it, I have said this is an effort to divert attention from all the issues of the economy, and I have heard the Senator from North Dakota ask on many occasions: Why are we not doing something about passing appropriations bills? Why are we not doing something to stimulate the economy? Why are we not doing something with bankruptcy reform? Election reform? Why

aren't we doing something with generic drugs? The Senator talked about the Patients' Bill of Rights, terrorism insurance—on all the domestic issues, we have heard not a word and are getting no help from the majority in the House or the minority in the Senate, and certainly not from the White House.

Does the Senator acknowledge we are not spending much time on economic issues?

Mr. DORGAN. I talked about the issue of security and I said it is deadly serious business, national security, homeland security. But there is another area very important for the country. That is economic security. We are spending virtually no time on that. We ought to. The American people deserve to have a Congress that, yes, is concerned about national security, concerned about homeland security, but that is willing to tackle during tough economic times the economic security issues as well. This Congress has not been willing to do that.

Let me end as I began, because this is important. I will never minimize the importance of the security issues. In my judgment, the President and the Congress need to act and speak as one when we talk about the security of this country. No one will never, ever hear me say any Member in this Chamber does not believe in the security of this country or does not act to support the security of this country. I will never say that. I don't want to hear the President say it. I don't want to hear anyone else say it. I believe every Republican, Democrat, conservative and liberal, believes in their heart that whatever they are doing represents the security interests of this country. They love this country and believe in the country, and that goes for everyone serving this country. I don't want anyone to suggest in any way under any context there are those who believe in security more than others. We all love this country. We all want to do what is right and best for this country. I will strongly support the security of this country. It is national security. It is homeland security. It is economic security.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the second half of the time shall be under the control of the Republican leader or his designee.

The Senator from Pennsylvania.

HOMELAND SECURITY

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I have sought recognition to encourage my Senate colleagues to pass legislation on homeland security and to send it to conference. There are many more agreements, much more agreement than disagreement, and the disagreements are relatively minor.

Last week, I said the Senate was dysfunctional because we had not passed a budget resolution. For the first time since the Budget Act was passed in 1974, the Congress has not passed a

budget resolution. The Senate has not passed a budget resolution. Thirteen appropriations bills have not been passed. We have been on the Interior bill for weeks now and homeland security for weeks. Long speeches. Not getting to the point. Not voting. Not moving ahead with the legislation.

Last week, it was an accurate characterization to say the Senate was dysfunctional. This week, the Senate has become a chamber of rancor. It is plain that President Bush did not intend to impugn anyone's patriotism. He was commenting on two provisions of the homeland security bill related to labor-management relations. Even on those matters, the differences are relatively minor. The relationship between Republicans and Democrats is better characterized by the embrace between President Bush and the majority leader at the joint session of Congress shortly after September 11, 2001.

The current controversy may well be giving encouragement, aid, and comfort to Osama bin Laden, deep in some cave, and Saddam Hussein, in the bowels of some bomb shelter. However, we know who the enemies are. The enemies are the terrorists and the enemies are those who pose the risk of using weapons of mass destruction.

I believe it is vital to move ahead with the homeland security bill to correct major deficiencies which have been disclosed in the intelligence agencies in the United States. We had a veritable blueprint, prior to September 11, 2001, and if we had connected all of the dots, I think the chances were good that we could have avoided September 11. The Congress of the United States and the administration have a duty, a solemn duty, to do everything in our power to prevent another terrorist attack. We lost thousands of Americans and the official word from the administration, articulated by a number of ranking executive department officials, is that there will be another terrorist attack. It is not a matter of if, it is not a matter of whether, it is a matter of where or when.

I am not prepared to accept that conclusion. I believe the United States has the intelligence resources and can muster the intelligence resources to prevent another September 11.

When I served as chairman of the Intelligence Committee in the 104th Congress, I introduced legislation which would have brought all of the intelligence agencies under one umbrella. There have been repeated efforts to accomplish that, not just the legislation I introduced in 1996. There is on the President's desk a plan submitted by former National Security Adviser, General Scowcroft, to accomplish a coordination of all intelligence agencies. However, it has not been done because of the turf battles between the various intelligence agencies. Those turf battles regrettably are endemic and epidemic in Washington, DC. They have to come to a conclusion.

We have the mechanism now, the homeland security bill, to make those

corrections. We knew prior to September 11, from the FBI Phoenix memorandum, about men taking flight training who had big pictures of Osama bin Laden. The report was disregarded. We knew prior to September 11 that there were two terrorists in Kuala Lumpur. The CIA knew about it, but did not tell the FBI or INS, and they turned out to be two of the pilots on September 11.

We know from the efforts made by the Minneapolis Office of the FBI to get a warrant under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act as to Zacarias Moussaoui, which would have given us a veritable blueprint of al-Qaida's intention, that certainly it would have led us to the trail and could have prevented September 11.

Then we have the famous, or infamous, report coming to the National Security Agency on September 10 about an attack the very next day, which was not translated.

There is much more I could comment about, but the time is limited.

Mr. REID. Will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. SPECTER. OK, on your time.

Mr. REID. We don't have any time, but I am sure if we need any time—

Mr. SPECTER. Senator DOMENICI, who is the only Senator waiting, says it is OK, so I will be glad to respond to the question.

Mr. REID. The reason I want to have an exchange with the Senator is I think maybe what the Senator said here today could resolve this homeland security matter.

I believe, as the Senator from Pennsylvania does, that if there are differences we have here in the Senate version of the bill, it will go to conference with the House. The House and the Senate will sit down, the White House people will be involved, as they always are in important conferences, and we will come up with a product. I think instead of scrumming, as we are here, I think we would be better off, as the Senator has suggested, to get a bill out of here, get it to conference, and get something to the President's desk.

So I fully support, as I heard him, the Senator from Pennsylvania. I think that is the way to resolve this matter. Get a bill out of here, get it to the conference, and, as the Senator said—how much difference is there between the two versions of this amendment that is creating so much controversy? There are differences, but I am not sure they are as big as some think.

The labor-management issue, which seems to be a big problem, if that matter is as close as what the Senator from Pennsylvania said, I think it could be resolved in conference.

Mr. SPECTER. I thank the distinguished Senator from Nevada for that question, and I am glad to respond. I had intended to talk a little later about the differences. Let me take them up now to emphasize the point that the Senator from Nevada has made, that the differences are not very big.