

I have a few clarifications of items in the committee report that I would like to have printed in the RECORD.

I ask unanimous consent those corrections be printed in the RECORD.

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

CLARIFICATIONS OF COMMITTEE REPORT

On page 28 of the Committee report, the table includes \$3 million for "Independence Square site rehabilitation". The \$1.25 million provided in addition to the budget request is for landscaping improvements to Independence Mall.

On page 40 of the Committee report under "Other Recurring Programs", the reference to the "Dry Prairie Rural Water System" should have been to the "Assiniboine and Sioux Rural Water System."

On page 52 of the Committee report, the amount provided for Forest Health Management is \$82,073,000, as displayed in the table on that page.

Mr. BURNS. I remind Senators to get their amendments down here. We want to complete this bill by noon tomorrow so we can watch the rain. Those folks are worried about forest fires. I don't think anyone on the East Coast has to worry about that.

Mr. DORGAN. I am tempted to talk about the intelligence of sheep and enjoying munching on leafy spurge, but I will not do that.

My colleague describes the real serious problem with spurge and nap. We have known in North Dakota when you put sheep on the land, baby spurge and leafy spurge is gone and the sheep seem happy.

Having said that, I go back to make a point on this issue of, we, the people. We have Lewis and Clark money to celebrate the bicentennial in a number of different places in legislation in several different appropriations bills. It was a wonderful expedition, perhaps the greatest expedition certainly in the history of this country, perhaps ever. The greater the education and the bigger the celebration of that, the better for our country and the better for our children to understand the richness of that history, as well.

My only point is, as we think through this in the longer term, this money is in the bill and I would like to see if we can find a way with the administration to put it where I think it really belongs, and that is education.

The other point I would make in terms of priorities, if we have \$15, \$20, \$25 million here and there, we have urgent priorities, especially dealing with Indian health, that we need to find some additional resources for.

I did not mention in my opening statement something my colleague from Montana mentioned, and that is the forest fire issue. Fire suppression money has been borrowed from every account. It is the wrong way to do business. What we should do—and we talked about this in the spring when we received the budget request; we traditionally get a budget request that does not ask for the money that all of us know will be necessary and then

when the need comes for fire suppression money, they take it from virtually every corner and come back with a request for emergency funding.

We ought to understand that forest fires are events that cause a lot of television cameras to record them, and cause a lot of angst for people who are in the way, but they happen every year. This isn't like some big typhoon some place that happens every 10 or 15 years. We know we are going to have forest fires every year. We know about what it is going to cost us if we have a moderate season of forest fires, or more forest fires than a moderate season, and we just as well ought to begin to plan for it. Both the administration and the Congress should; frankly, neither have.

I fully support the comments made by my colleague from Montana. We need to find a way to come at this up front, in the spring of the year each year, to put in sufficient money. In some cases, it may not be enough, if we have an extraordinary season of massive forest fires, but in most cases we could put money in to cover the kind of year that we would have in most situations in this country. So I hope we can do that.

Let me also say, we have some folks on this side of the aisle who will have amendments. As my colleague has indicated, I would prefer if they would just bring them over and offer them. And let's deal with them quickly. We do have a little rain coming to the east coast. It would be nice to be able to finish this bill. The bill is going to be open for amendment, and I would ask colleagues to come over and work with us, offer the amendments, and let's work through them today.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BURNS. 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. BURNS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that amendment No. 1724, the pending substitute amendment, be agreed to and considered original text for the purpose of further amendment, provided that no points of order be waived by virtue of this agreement.

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

The amendment (No. 1724) was agreed to.

Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, I again say to my colleagues, we are going to try to finish this bill before this storm hits tonight. We are working now on a managers' package of known amendments, and if there are some unknown amendments, I suggest Senators come to the floor, submit their amendments, and let us deal with them. If not, we are going to move right along in completing this legislation.

We understand the House is not going to be in tomorrow. So we do not want to be caught in that pickle. We want to complete action on this appropriations bill if we possibly can. I suggest my colleagues bring their amendments to the floor.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SUNUNU). Without objection, it is so ordered.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent we now go into a period of morning business with Senators being allowed to speak for 5 minutes therein until the hour of 2 p.m. this afternoon, at which we will return to the business of Interior appropriations.

Mr. DODD. Reserving the right to object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The unanimous consent request is for a period of morning business so Members can speak for up to 5 minutes on a topic of their choosing.

Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Connecticut.

IRAQ

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I would like to share with my colleagues a few thoughts on the subject of Iraq, if I may. I begin by thanking the President for speaking to the Nation on September 7. President Bush, my colleagues will recall, addressed the American people about the subject of Iraq. He happens to be one of the very few members of his own administration to begin to tell the American people the facts of life about our involvement in Iraq: That it is going to be very difficult for our troops and civilian personnel to be successful in standing up a democratic government out of the ashes of a crushed and totally discredited dictatorship, and it is going to be very expensive as well, the President pointed out—very expensive. In the President's own words, this undertaking is going to be "difficult and costly."

President Bush also explained in simple terms U.S. policy objectives. He said in that speech that our objectives are to destroy terrorists, enlist the support of other nations for a free Iraq, and help Iraqis assume responsibility.

He was far less clear on how he intends to achieve those objectives or to mitigate the cost to the American public—the cost in dollar terms and also in terms of human lives.

Our military has, I think all of us would agree, done an exemplary job in

winning the military conflict in Iraq. All of us extend our highest commendations to the men and women in uniform for the job they have achieved. But they also need help winning the peace, and I think all of us understand that as well.

Our forces are stretched thin. Our troops are very tired. There are questions as to whether they have been adequately equipped for the circumstances that they now confront. I believe they are involved in a guerrilla war. There is no other way to describe it. Their lives, as we all know, painfully, are in great danger from hostile irregular forces, if you want to call them that, and from a very hostile environment growing worse every day by growing civil dissent in the country.

Tragically, more than 280 American soldiers have now died in Iraq, and more than 1,200 are wounded; 159 of those deaths have occurred since the President declared the end of major military action on May 1 of this year. Every single day since then almost 10 Americans have been officially declared wounded in action.

Our troops are not the only ones at risk. Hanging in limbo is, of course, the future of the Iraqi people. Millions of innocent civilians suffered for decades under the brutal rule of Saddam Hussein. When our forces entered Iraq, we took on the mission of providing peace and security for all Iraqis. But during the past several weeks we have witnessed a surge of attacks with many Iraqis themselves victims, subject to the attacks of these hostile forces within Iraq.

Car bombings have claimed the lives of more than 120 people over the last number of weeks. The U.N.'s Iraqi headquarters were bombed and their top envoy, Sergio Vieira de Mello, was killed, as we all know. An attack at the mosque at Najaf killed more than 80 people, including a prominent moderate Shiite leader. Only a week ago, a track bomb killed an Iraqi police officer and wounded 27 others, including Baghdad's chief of police. On Monday, the chief of police of another community was gunned down in his automobile.

This goes on every single day. What does the situation tell us? I believe it tells us that the Iraqi people are far from secure. If they are not secure, it is a safe bet our forces will continue to remain in danger and our own security and the security we are trying to achieve as a result of a rise in terrorism is also at risk.

I listened last week as well to Vice President CHENEY and Secretary Rumsfeld, our Secretary of Defense, go over the old ground of defending the administration's justification for going to war in Iraq. And with all due respect to Secretary Powell, I do not believe his most recent remarks to the effect that the use of chemical weapons by Saddam Hussein in 1988 explains why this administration decided in the year 2003, some 15 years later, that Saddam

Hussein had to go. Frankly, I believe the administration should spend far less time trying to justify past decisions or explain away errors of judgment and far more time should be spent figuring out what to do next about this difficult and costly challenge our troops are facing every day, day in and day out, in Iraq.

I hope the recent rhetoric is simply a diversion, because the administration doesn't have a plan, in my view, for restoring security—a comprehensive strategic plan for the eventual draw-down of U.S. forces, a comprehensive strategic plan for turning political control of the country of Iraq over to the Iraqi people where it belongs. We need a strong strategic plan, a concrete plan and a timetable for these events. We need a comprehensive strategic plan and timetable for establishment of an Iraqi government and for the preparation of a constitution for the holding of free elections. We need to stick to that plan so the Iraqi people can have a sense of confidence that the end goal remains an independent Iraq governed by Iraqis.

The Congress of the United States, of course, supported President Bush last year when he sought authority to use all necessary means to secure Iraq's compliance with United Nations resolutions. I was one who voted for Senate Resolution 1441 which empowered the President to forcibly remove Saddam Hussein from power. And I would do so again, because I believe Saddam Hussein posed a threat to our security and to the security of our allies in the region.

At the time I voted for that resolution, I expressed concern that the administration may not have adequately prepared for winning the peace once military options had deposed Saddam Hussein. I think the concern I expressed, as well as many others, clearly has been well placed. The time has come for our President and his top advisors to listen to the Congress and, more importantly, to the American people, when we say our current policy is off course. If they don't heed the concerns being expressed by Democrats and Republicans in both this body and in the other, then they risk an even more costly and far more difficult engagement in Iraq, and they risk the administration losing the support of the American people for this policy which is absolutely critical for the long-term success.

The \$87 billion emergency appropriations request the President will soon transmit to the Congress of the United States presents a very important opportunity for us to consider a mid-course correction on our Iraqi policy. It will require all of us in this Chamber and the administration and others to work very hard to effectuate that kind of change.

I will say here and now I am prepared to support all of the funds the President has requested to equip and protect our military troops in Iraq and Afghan-

istan. So long as they are in harm's way, they need whatever military commanders deem necessary to get the job done as safely as possible. The resources ought not be the subject of our corrections.

However, I do not believe we can or should continue to give the administration a blank check with respect to the reconstruction money. This is a ripe opportunity now for us to work together in common purpose and common cause to offer some new ideas and new direction to get this policy on track. We simply cannot afford to continue the road we are following. Even before the administration's supplemental request, the Congressional Budget Office calculated the annual budget deficit would reach some \$480 billion—the largest in our history. Over the past 3 years, 3.2 million Americans have lost their jobs—44,000 alone in the month of July.

I don't need to remind my colleagues of these statistics. They know them in their own States. We are facing a tremendous problem in our own country. Layoffs are continuing as Americans lose their jobs. And they are losing something equally important—the ability to provide for their families. Neither are the schools receiving the funds necessary to ensure our children receive the education they deserve. Many are cutting back on the school week and on critical services and programs.

Thus far, U.S. funds have been expended to open and equip Iraq's 12,000 primary and secondary schools, to return 240,000 telecommunications lines to operation, and to begin the process of vetting and training some 30,000 Iraqi police officers. The job is far from done. Baghdad's International Airport remains closed to commercial traffic. Many key bridges and roads are in desperate need of major repairs. That nation's rail system will need significant capital infusions to make it operational again.

The American people, in my view, are facing their own difficulties here at home, and those kind of pressures in the absence of a clear policy are going to create the kind of pressure-cooker environment which will place the policy in Iraq in jeopardy, our soldiers' lives in jeopardy, and the Iraqi people's security in jeopardy. The great effort that was undertaken to change a brutal dictatorship and bring peace and democracy to those people is clearly in further jeopardy. In the midst of all of this, we need to come together and change the course of directions.

I remember the administration's mantra some months ago that "Iraq is a rich country" and its oil revenues would be available to rebuild Iraq's infrastructure. Just weeks ago, Ambassador Bremer amended that statement to say that "tens of billions of dollars" in additional financial assistance will be needed to accomplish that task.

It now appears that oil revenues once thought to be more than sufficient or

of sufficient magnitude that they could finance the rebuilding of the country of Iraq are now expected to barely cover the operating costs of Iraq's government ministries and the expenses of the Interim Council.

What more evidence do any of us need to be convinced that the time has come for other governments to be welcomed as participants in rebuilding Iraq and to reach out and to ask them to join in that effort?

I strongly believe it is time for the Congress to weigh in and to require the administration to address two basic questions: How do administration officials plan to minimize American death and casualties? How do they intend to minimize the expenditures of American tax dollars that will have to be diverted to this cause at the expense of other critically important programs in our own Nation, such as to assist first responders in keeping us secure at home, programs to provide for prescription drugs for our seniors, and programs to improve our schools so no child is truly left behind?

If history is any guide, the only way the administration will feel compelled to come up with answers is if we in the Congress—the coequal legislative branch of Government—place some conditions on the \$20 billion in reconstruction moneys.

To me it seems pretty straightforward what needs to be done to lower the risks and costs of current participation in Iraq. It is called the United Nations. It is called the international community. We need to invite them to be a part of this effort. That is why I believe the Congress should link the provision of reconstruction moneys to the passage of a United Nations resolution that places responsibility for rebuilding Iraq where it belongs—on us and the international community as a whole. To get such a resolution, obviously the administration must approach other member states with a credible proposal, one that gives the United Nations some measure of authority over the civilian administration of the country while also charging it with mobilizing more resources from member states. Clearly, the United States should retain command of any ongoing military operations in Iraq. But on political, economic, and civic reconstruction, we better involve other nations fairly quickly. We cannot do this alone. The American people will not support this over the long term. If we don't invite them to participate and to help us, we are going to find it very difficult with each passing day to find anyone who will join us in this effort.

I don't understand the reluctance on the part of the administration to turn over the civilian administration of the country to an international body. There is certainly ample precedent for doing so. Not only would it lower the profile of our presence in that country, but it would also likely unleash additional resources and cooperation both regionally and internationally, bring

Iraq around to the kind of nation we would like to see, and truly deal with the problems of terrorism globally.

The Congress has to do it unless the administration decides on its own to change course. If we don't speak up in these coming days, if we just provide a blank check and a vote for \$87 billion with nothing further to be said, we will not have anyone to blame but ourselves in the coming days if this present policy continues to collapse. And I believe it will.

It is time for us to stop sitting on the sidelines. Under the able leadership of Senator LUGAR, the Foreign Relations Committee has been carrying out careful oversight in Iraq. The Foreign Relations Committee now has the responsibility to develop some legislative proposals—perhaps along the lines I have outlined for people to bring to the table—in order to influence the contents of the legislative package we will be asked to vote on in the coming days. I look forward to working with my colleagues—Democrats and Republicans—because I know very deeply the concerns I am expressing publicly are shared by many in this Chamber regardless of party, regardless of ideology, and regardless of which States we represent.

There is a growing concern that we have this wrong and that we have to get it right soon. Here is an opportunity that may not come again to us for many months to try to set this on a different course.

We are at a very special and historic moment. We cannot and must not sit idly by when we know multilateralizing the reconstruction and democratization of Iraq is the right thing to do. It is the right thing for Iraq. It is the right thing for the United States of America. But it is time we in the legislative branch, the coequal branch, step up and act in the interests of our people and other like-minded people around the globe.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

DETROIT SHOCK WIN WOMEN'S NATIONAL BASKETBALL ASSOCIATION CHAMPIONSHIP

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, last night the Detroit Shock won the Women's National Basketball Association Championship, defeating the two-time defending champion Los Angeles Sparks 83-78. This tremendous accomplishment is all the more special because the Shock rose from the worst record in the league last year to champions this year.

Over the course of this year's season, the Shock won a league-best 25 games,

a year after losing a league-worst 23 games. The Shock's victory is also the first time in the WNBA's 7-year history that neither Houston nor Los Angeles won the championship.

The enthusiasm and support for the Shock by the people of Detroit and Michigan was clearly demonstrated by the fact that last night's game was attended by a WNBA record crowd of over 22,000 people.

The Shock completed their incredible run from last to first with the leadership of Coach Bill Laimbeer, finals Most Valuable Player Ruth Riley's career-high 27-point performance, as well as the strong play of Swin Cash, who finished with 13 points, 12 rebounds, and 9 assists. These performances were supported by Deanna Nolan's 17 points, and Rookie of the Year Cheryl Ford's 10 points and 11 rebounds.

It was a tremendously exciting game throughout. The Los Angeles Sparks erased a 14-point deficit in the first half, and an 11-point deficit in the second half, and even had a 3-point lead with less than 4 minutes to go. But with less than a minute left, Deanna Nolan, from Flint, MI, secured the Shock's lead when she hit a 3-point shot to give them a 75-73 lead. Then Cheryl Ford hit 2 free throws, and it was a 4-point game with 43 seconds remaining. In the end, the Shock were victorious in what was the highest-scoring WNBA finals game in history.

The 2003 WNBA champion Detroit Shock will celebrate its first-ever WNBA championship with fans tonight at The Palace of Auburn Hills. This is Detroit's first professional basketball championship since our Pistons won back-to-back championships in 1988 and 1989. Shock Head Coach Bill Laimbeer was actually cocaptain of those Pistons teams, and in 1988 it was the Los Angeles Lakers—the Los Angeles Sparks' NBA counterparts—that Detroit defeated to win the championship.

I know our colleagues will join me and Senator STABENOW in congratulating the Detroit Shock on their championship and looking forward to their drive to repeat next year.

Mr. President, it is also my fervent hope that the Shock's worst-to-first season will be an inspiration to the Detroit Tigers next year.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HAGEL). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business.

Mr. REID. Will the Senator withhold for just a brief minute?

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I withdraw my request.