

Senator's understanding that this revealing of the identity of a special agent has so enraged the CIA and its employees that even though there may be an attempted coverup of this in the White House, that it is likely this issue will continue to bubble to the surface; is that the understanding of the minority leader?

Mr. DASCHLE. I have not had any specific report to that regard. But the Senator from Florida has read many of the same news reports I have read, which indicate that CIA personnel take this very seriously, and that to make light of it, to minimize it, to ignore it, to do whatever may be now underway with regard to a questionable investigative effort, is a huge mistake and sets a dangerous and very troubling precedent as we consider situations similar to this in the future.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. I thank the Senator for his comments.

Mr. DASCHLE. I thank the Senator from Florida for his comments, and I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Madam President, parliamentary inquiry: Are we now beginning morning business that has been allocated to this side of the aisle?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We are in morning business and 21 minutes remain for the Senator's side of the aisle.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Madam President, I was under the understanding that was leader time?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Leader time had expired.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. I see. Then, in deference to my colleague, I will just make a couple of comments, and then I will certainly want to hear from my colleague who is one of the greatest orators in this Chamber, the senior Senator from Illinois.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida.

#### FUNDS FOR IRAQ

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Madam President, I have had a wonderful time this past week in my State of Florida, over the course of 4 days, having about 25 townhall meetings, many of those townhall meetings in the smaller communities and in some cases rural communities of our State. We have a State that has a wonderful blend of urban and rural. Indeed, the State of Florida, as we so well know in politics, is often a deciding factor in a Presidential race because Florida has become a microcosm of the country as a whole, with many people moving to Florida from other parts of the country. Indeed, people are moving to Florida from other parts of the world, particularly the Western Hemisphere.

There have been very clear messages that have come to this Senator from Florida from the people of that State as expressed in these townhall meetings in the past week. One of the clear

concerns is that people are uneasy with the fact that \$87 billion is going to be spent on the occupation in Iraq when there are so many needs here at home. As I would break down that \$87 billion for the people in these townhall meetings I would point out that \$67 billion will be relatively noncontroversial because that is money that goes to the support of our U.S. troops. What is at controversy is the \$20 billion requested for reconstruction in Iraq. The World Bank says \$70 billion will be needed. So this is the first downpayment on \$70 billion, and the administration is proposing that \$20 billion come from the United States right now.

What is it for? It is for building of roads and bridges, it is building schools, it is providing teachers, it is providing training of teachers, it is providing \$800 million for the restoration of wetlands. It is providing for all of the infrastructure such as water systems and road systems and electrical systems.

As I would explain this, I would see people get very restive in these townhall meetings, for they would say: Well, what about our needs for restoring wetlands in Florida? What about our needs for building roads and bridges and repairing roads? What about our needs for money going into education, just as the majority leader has talked about in the \$6.5 billion that is needed to fully fund the No Child Left Behind Act—the disadvantaged kids.

What about the superintendents of the school systems who came to every one of those townhall meetings and said not only did they need that kind of assistance in their schools, but need resources to take care of disabled kids, too?

What about the IDEA legislation, of fully funding it?

The clear message that came to me regarding the legislation we will be considering here today on the infrastructure needs in Iraq and the infrastructure needs of our people at home here in America.

We will be considering a number of amendments that do not have to be an either/or question because clearly it is in the interest of the United States to stabilize Iraq, and that we stabilize it politically and economically. But it doesn't have to be an either/or question. Iraq is sitting on the second largest deposit of oil reserves in the world. There is going to be a revenue stream once that oil is up and producing at maximum capacity. There is going to be a huge revenue stream coming from that oil. One of the amendments we are going to consider is the amendment to pledge future Iraqi oil revenue to pay back the \$20 billion the United States of America is going to provide for building up the infrastructure, including the \$800 million for wetlands restoration.

That is a clear message given to me from the folks who came to these townhall meetings.

I will close with this, because I want to hear from the Senator from Illinois.

There was another bombing just a few minutes ago in Iraq. It was the bombing of the Turkish Embassy in Baghdad. It is clearly at first blush my impression that this is an attempt at intimidation of the Turks because they have indicated they were considering in their Parliament the sending of troops to assist United States troops in Iraq.

There was another bombing yesterday. We are having, on average, one bombing a day, and/or the killing of U.S. and Iraqi civilian personnel. Iraq has become a magnet for terrorists.

It is clearly in America's interests to stabilize Iraq. Yet, where is the attempt of the White House and this administration to reach out to the international community at the behest of bipartisan voices in this Chamber? Many of those bipartisan voices come from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee saying you don't want just an American face as an occupier in Iraq; that what you want is an international face; that this is an international problem and not just America's problem; and we have to turn Iraq around from being a magnet for terrorists.

It is my hope the administration will finally start listening to Republicans and Democrats in this Chamber who have not only argued but who have pled for an international approach to stabilize Iraq.

Look at the experience in Bosnia. We are finally getting Bosnia stabilized. But it has taken 8 years. The United States had to go into Bosnia first. But then we were able to bring in the world community, including the United Nations. That can be a good model for us, but it is also a realistic model to realize that it is going to take a lot of troops and it is going to take a lot of time.

With that somber note, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DURBIN. Madam President, how much time is remaining in morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There are 12 minutes remaining.

Mr. DURBIN. Thank you very much, Madam President. I thank the Senator from Florida for his comments.

#### JOB LOSS

Mr. DURBIN. Madam President, as Senator NELSON did, I went back to my State of Illinois during the past week and really went from one end of the State to the other. I visited with the chambers of commerce, labor unions, community leaders, hospital administrators, and average people, and talked about things that are on their minds. What struck me was the agenda of America is not the agenda of Congress. I can't get over it. We return here to Washington to discuss important matters but, frankly, ignore the essentials

as far as families and businesses across America.

The number one issue, of course, is jobs. My State has been hit so hard by this recession. We have lost 3 million jobs nationwide under President Bush's administration. It is the largest loss of private sector jobs under any President since the Great Depression—the largest loss of jobs under the Bush administration since Herbert Hoover during the Great Depression. Clearly, there has been a lack of economic leadership by this President. Clearly, his plan for the economy of America has failed. Giving tax cuts to the wealthiest people in America certainly wins applause at the country club, but it doesn't create jobs on Main Street—not in Illinois, not in Florida, not in Maine, and not across America. We have seen such a dramatic loss of jobs in important sectors. Although the manufacturing sector in America only represents about 14 percent of the jobs in our country, 75 percent of the jobs lost under the Bush administration have been in this manufacturing sector—14 percent of the total manufacturing and 75 percent of the Bush job loss has been in manufacturing. It has hit my State particularly hard. Illinois has lost over 123,600 manufacturing jobs since President Bush was sworn into office, including 23,000 this year. Frankly, those are good-paying jobs—jobs people need to raise their families. They are not minimum wage jobs. These are jobs you count on to buy a home or to send a child to college. They are gone. They have gone overseas, primarily to China.

I have heard over and over as I traveled across my State that it is just the tip of the iceberg. A lot of people say, Senator, you talk about manufacturing jobs. As bad as that is, we are losing service sector jobs, too.

I came across an illustration in downstate Illinois in a medium-sized city, which I will not name for the sake of the hospital administrator who told me the following. If you come into my hospital in the middle of the night and need an x ray, we will take your x ray in the middle of the night in a downstate Illinois hospital. Then we will transmit it electronically to Australia for it to be read because there is no radiologist on duty. The x ray is read in Australia for people showing up at the emergency room in downstate Illinois. He said, When the doctors dictate the notes for the patients' records every day, those dictation tapes are sent electronically to India where they are transcribed. This is a downstate hospital.

Go to Florida, go to Maine, or go to Nevada, and ask the question, ask your people if they received a phone call last night about changing their long distance telephone services. Ask them to stop and ask the person where they are calling from. Do not be surprised if that person is calling from India.

We are seeing an outmigration of jobs from the United States—manufacturing jobs and service jobs. This ad-

ministration is oblivious. What they have suggested is to create one job in the Department of Commerce to try to figure out why America is losing jobs. I can tell you why we are losing jobs. It is because we have an economic policy that has failed—tax cuts for the wealthy. All it has done is give us a historic, massive deficit by taking money out of the Social Security trust fund—money that could be spent on education and health care which is just not there.

The second reason is this administration refuses to confront trade realities. I have voted to expand trade. I believe in trade but only if there are rules and the rules are followed. The rules aren't being followed in China. China today has a currency valuation that gives it a 15-40 percent advantage over any American manufacturer. Go around your State and ask these small manufacturers. They cannot compete because this administration will not confront China because of political realities: We need China; We need them to sit down with North Korea and avoid a nuclear war. So we are afraid to confront them when it comes to trade reality. We lose businesses and jobs permanently because of the lack of leadership of this administration. That is a fact.

The second issue which I have found to be overwhelmingly and completely ignored by this Congress and this administration is the cost of health insurance. I invite any of my colleagues to meet with any business leader in any State in America and ask them what their number-one problem is. It is not going to be the so-called "death tax." It is not going to be government regulation. It isn't going to be environmental regulation protection. It is going to be the cost of health insurance. It is killing these businesses. They cannot afford it any longer. They tell me over and over. You know what is happening? More and more Americans have been shoved off the rolls with no protection. Those who stay on are expected to pay more out of pocket and get less protection. What has this administration said about the cost of health insurance in America? Zero; nothing; nada. This administration has no response when it comes to the cost of health insurance.

There is one area, though, where they have been pretty vocal. They have stood up for the pharmaceutical industry, which is one of the main drivers in the cost of health insurance, to make sure they can continue to charge the highest prices in the world for the most vulnerable Americans here at home. That is their philosophy. Let the marketplace work this out.

I have news for them. The marketplace is working this out. Health insurance companies exist to make a profit. They make a profit by cutting costs and increasing profits. That is what is happening. They have cut their costs by taking sick people and pushing them off the rolls and reducing the cov-

erage of those already on the rolls and charging higher premiums. Businesses in America are getting nailed with health insurance premiums. But back to the trade issue: Every extra dollar in health insurance is embedded in the cost of the product that is sold. If it is a car or a computer, included in that cost is the cost of health insurance in America. And this administration, the Bush administration, and this Congress, dominated by the Republican leadership, refuse to even address this issue.

The third issue we will debate this week is the war in Iraq. Now, I will repeat—although it is now a cliché, it is true—we will stand behind our troops and give them what they need, but when we look at what this administration is proposing for the reconstruction of Iraq, it really does betray a lack of preparation and a lack of thoughtful reflection on what we are dealing with.

What is the nation of Iraq? Iraq is a nation, if we can use that term loosely, that was conceived in the mind of a British colonial empire. They drew a line on the map and said, We will call this spot Iraq. We will put within those borders two warring Muslim factions; and just for good measure, let's include hundreds of thousands of Kurds who do not want to be there. And we will call this Iraq. Because this situation, which they called a nation, was almost unruly and unmanageable, first they had a king, followed by a ruthless dictator. It took that kind of iron will to maintain this country.

Now this President says, with the \$87 billion, we are going to establish an economy, a civil society, and a democracy in Iraq.

Excuse me, this is a long-term undertaking. To take a group of people with no history of nation state, with no history of self-governance, and say to them, America can send enough money to make you a nation, perhaps we can, but it will be a great expense to the people of this country, a great expense to Americans who need help in their schools.

I heard the same thing the Senator from Florida heard—no child left behind, President Bush's great idea. I voted for it. Perhaps the Senator did, too. The money is not there. It is not there because the President says we cannot afford it. We have to send money to Iraq. We have to build schools in Iraq.

I am sorry, I am one who supports foreign aid. I voted for it. I believe in it. But I didn't support this war. I didn't give the President the authority he asked for on the use-of-force resolution. I said, and others did as well—23 Senators voted as I did—it is easier to get in a war than it is to get out of it. This President is learning this bitter lesson. He comes to us for \$87 billion, \$20 billion for the rebuilding of Iraq. And that is not even half of what we expect will be needed.

We are in for the long haul, to get up every single morning, to turn on NPR

and hear the news being led off by the story: Another American soldier killed and more wounded.

Just so people understand the gravity of this, a wounded soldier is not a flesh wound in all cases. Some of these soldiers, our best and brightest in America, have lost limbs. Their lives have been damaged and changed forever. They are just listed as "wounded." But those wounds go deep and those families and those soldiers will bear them for many years to come.

That is where we are in this war in Iraq: This President ignoring the economic realities of America with the loss of jobs, ignoring what has happened because of the economic policy that has failed, refusing to acknowledge the cost of health insurance and these astronomical profits of the pharmaceutical companies, caving in to the special interests on Capitol Hill, ignoring the real people, the small businesses, the families across America who ask us to stand up for them. Instead, we are going to send \$87 billion to Iraq to try to build an economy there.

Sadly, we should start here. Let's build America's economy. Let's try to make sure we focus on what we need as a nation. This administration has not done that. The American people will awaken to that. Congress should as well.

I yield the floor.

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

Mr. DURBIN. I am happy to yield.

Mr. REID. There are a number of strikes going on as we speak. The latest started in Los Angeles with all the transit drivers. That is a result of problems with health care. The problem with automobile manufacturers, the other strikes going on in America involve one issue: health care. So the Senator's statement regarding health care and this administration's total neglect is one of the most important domestic issues facing America today.

I appreciate very much the Senator's statement.

Mr. DURBIN. I say to the Senator from Nevada, through the Chair, this is a pervasive issue. It used to be you could separate on trade and health care, business on one side and labor on the other. If I took you into a room and did not tell you the origin of a group in a room and you listened to a business group on these issues of trade and health care, you would think you were in the labor group. If you went to a labor group, you would expect to hear some concerns about what trade policy in this country has done and what health care does.

I find over and over again that these people are despairing. They are despairing because they have been told by this administration, let the marketplace solve the problem. The marketplace has not solved the problem.

## CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

### EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN SECURITY AND RECONSTRUCTION ACT, 2004

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ENZI). Under the previous order, the Senate will resume consideration of S. 1689, which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill, (S. 1689) making emergency supplemental appropriations for Iraq and Afghanistan security and reconstruction for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2004, and for other purposes.

#### Pending:

Byrd amendment No. 1818, to impose a limitation on the use of sums appropriated for the Iraq Relief and Reconstruction Fund.

Byrd/Durbin amendment No. 1819, to prohibit the use of Iraq Relief and Reconstruction Funds for low priority activities that should not be the responsibility of U.S. taxpayers, and shift \$600 million from the Iraq Relief and Reconstruction Fund to Defense Operations and Maintenance, Army, for significantly improving efforts to secure and destroy conventional weapons, such as bombs, bomb materials, small arms, rocket propelled grenades, and shoulder-launched missiles, in Iraq.

Reid (for Stabenow) amendment No. 1823, to provide emergency relief for veterans health care, school construction, health care and transportation needs in the United States, and to create 95,000 new jobs.

Bond/Mikulski amendment No. 1825, to provide additional VA Medical Care Funds for the Department of Veterans Affairs.

Dorgan amendment No. 1826, to require that Iraqi oil revenues be used to pay for reconstruction in Iraq.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The democratic assistant leader.

Mr. REID. Madam President, Senator STEVENS is not here. I am covering the floor for Senator BYRD this morning. I am sure Senator STEVENS would have no objection to the Senator from New Mexico offering an amendment. I yield the floor for the Senator from New Mexico.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

#### AMENDMENT NO. 1830

Mr. BINGAMAN. I thank my colleague from Nevada.

Madam President, so there is no question about the opportunity for others to speak, I was asked if I would describe my amendment first and then at the end of my description I will ask to set aside the pending amendment and send my amendment to the desk. That is how I will proceed.

I intend to offer in a few minutes an amendment on behalf of myself, Senator LUGAR, Senator LIEBERMAN, Senator BAYH, Senator CLINTON, Senator DURBIN, Senator LANDRIEU, Senator LINCOLN, Senator SMITH, and Senator REID. This is an amendment to honor our service men and women in Iraq who are serving far from home, far from family, far from friends.

Let me indicate from the title of the amendment that I intend to send to the desk what it would do: to authorize the award of the Iraqi Liberation Medal as a campaign medal for members of the Armed Forces who serve in Southwest Asia in connection with Operation Iraqi Freedom.

These service men and women, as we all know, have left the security of this country and their home behind to provide freedom and security for those who have not known it for many years. The human cost has been substantial, over 300 American fighting men and women will never come home. There are over 1,200 who will return wounded, far higher than previous conflicts.

I have a chart that demonstrates the grim statistics, showing the casualties our military has incurred in recent conflicts. In Operation Desert Storm, with which we are all familiar, the casualties, total deaths were 382, killed in action, 143, and the wounded were 467. In the Kosovo campaign, there were 16 deaths. In Operation Iraqi Freedom, as of last week, there were 196 killed in action, 309 total deaths, and 1,268 wounds.

So the casualties have been significant. This is not a minor military activity. We have over 130,000 troops in the region. They remain to ensure that those who died and those who were wounded did not suffer and die in vain. They are also there to build a new Iraqi nation and to provide stability and freedom in that nation.

The liberation of Iraq is turning out to be the most significant military occupation and reconstruction effort, clearly, since the end of the Vietnam war and perhaps even before that. Despite their sacrifice and courage, these brave men and women will not, under current policy, be specifically recognized for their service in Iraq. Instead, the Department of Defense has decided to award them a Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal.

This issue was drawn to my attention by an article that appeared in the Army Times and the Navy Times and the Air Force Times called "One Size Fits All?" "The Pentagon plans to award one medal for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and for any future campaigns related to the war on terrorism."

I believe this is a mistake in policy, that our military personnel deserve better. Accordingly, my colleagues and I are offering this amendment to correct the mistake by ensuring there is authorized an Iraqi Liberation Medal in lieu of this Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal.

As all who have paid attention in the Senate know, some of us did not agree with the administration's decision to proceed in Iraq when it did, but clearly we have all been united in our support of the troops. Young men and women, both active-duty personnel and National Guard and Reserve, have come forward and done their duty. That is clearly the essence of patriotism, and we all respect that.