

should be." Family friend, William Owen described him as "a model soldier—a soldier others could count on, turn to, and laugh with."

This model soldier lost his life on June 5, 2003, when a rifle-propelled grenade hit his Humvee near the Sunni city of Fallujah, about 30 miles west of Baghdad. Branden and the rest of his Division were working to ensure the safety of U.S. peacekeeping forces on the ground in Iraq.

He was 20 years old.

As William Owen said at Branden's memorial service, "He has a Bronze Star, a Purple Heart, and the appreciation of all of us because he showed that Americans are not selfish, but selfless."

Branden Oberleitner was indeed selfless.

He defines honor.

He defines bravery.

He defines love of country.

As his father, Freeman Carmack said:

It was my honor to have watched him grow into the man he became: A loving brother, son, and proud member of the 101st Airborne Assault.

Branden Oberleitner grabbed a lot out of life in an all too short amount of time.

He lived life well. He it lived deeply. He lived it fully.

My thoughts and prayers remain with Branden's family—his mother, with whom he was especially close, Iris Oberleitner; his father Freeman; brothers Lawrence and Andrew; sister Grace; grandparents Mr. and Mrs. Frank Carmack; and grandmother Dora Fassler.

I thank the Chair. I yield the floor. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

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

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, are we now moving, under a previous order, to the Foreign Operations bill?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

FOREIGN OPERATIONS, EXPORT FINANCING, AND RELATED PROGRAMS APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2004

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now proceed to the consideration of H.R. 2800, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 2800) making appropriations for foreign operations, export financing, and

related programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2004, and for other purposes.

AMENDMENT NO. 1965

(Purpose: In the nature of a substitute)

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I have a substitute amendment at the desk, and I ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MCCONNELL], for himself and Mr. LEAHY, proposes an amendment numbered 1965.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be agreed to and considered as original text for the purposes of further amendment; further, that no points of order be waived by this agreement.

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

The amendment (No. 1965) was agreed to.

(The amendment is printed in today's RECORD under "Text of Amendments.")

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, my friend from Vermont and I come to floor today hoping we can dispose of the Foreign Operations bill in short order. That short order will not be today, but we believe we will have a limited number of amendments and, hopefully, an opportunity to wrap this bill up within a day or so—Monday or Tuesday.

Our respective staffs have been burning the midnight oil reviewing the amendments that we are aware of, and I strongly encourage all Senators to offer their amendments on Monday so we can wrap this bill up as quickly as possible.

Let me just say a very few words about the measure before us.

While the Senate's allocation is \$796 million below the President's request, it is also \$970 million above the House of Representatives. Unfortunately, our conference allocation will be closer to the House level, which will make conferring the bill that much more of a challenge.

This measure provides nearly \$1.4 billion for the President's new HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria initiative for those programs under the subcommittee's jurisdiction, which is \$10 million above that request.

Up to \$250 million is available for a contribution to the global fund, and \$150 million is provided for the President's International Mother and Child HIV Prevention Initiative. This amount includes \$700 million for the Global AIDS Initiative.

It provides \$1 billion for the Millennium Challenge assistance, which is \$300 million below the request, and \$100 million for the famine fund.

The bill fully funds the request for numerous accounts, including international disaster assistance; transition initiatives; international narcotics control and law enforcement; migration and refugee assistance; non-proliferation, anti-terrorism, demining

and related programs; international military education and training; and international organizations and programs.

The bill provides increased funding for the Child Survival and Health Programs Fund, development assistance, assistance for Eastern Europe and the Baltic States, and assistance for the independent states of the former Soviet Union.

Given the \$796 million cut we had to make, this bill is below the request in the Economic Support Fund, Andean Counterdrug Initiative, Peace Corps, debt restructuring, foreign military financing, peacekeeping operations, and international financial institution accounts—all of those below the request. Most of those accounts are still funded, however, at or above their respective fiscal year 2003 levels.

Despite the cuts in the ESF and FMF accounts, full funding for Israel, Egypt, and Jordan is provided.

Let me say a word or two about the ACI and the Peace Corps. While ACI is funded at \$660 million, we provide authority to transfer \$37 million from the international narcotics account, resulting in a funding level that is equal to last year's. For the Peace Corps, we provide \$310 million and authority to transfer \$20 million from the Global AIDS Initiative to the Peace Corps for their HIV/AIDS activities abroad. This results in a funding level that is \$29 million below the request.

Let me close by thanking my good friend from Vermont for his input to this bill. I know he does not agree with everything in it. Frankly, I don't either. But we have worked hard to craft a bill born of compromise. I thank him for the cooperation and courtesy he continues to extend as the ranking member of this subcommittee.

With that, Mr. President, once again let me say we hope to pass this bill very shortly after Monday.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I thank my good friend, the senior Senator from Kentucky, for his comments. I agree with him; I hope if people have amendments they will let us know right away. We will, of course, have the usual managers' package.

Like most appropriations bills, this is a work of compromise. My friend from Kentucky and I have worked together for many years. Sometimes he is the chairman, and sometimes I am. We find common ground and we write bipartisan bills, which is the tradition of the Appropriations Committee.

I thank Chairman MCCONNELL and his staff for working so cooperatively with me and my staff on this bill, and I urge all Members to support it.

I also thank Chairman STEVENS and Senator BYRD for the allocation that was given to us. While it falls short of the President's budget request, I know they did well by us under the circumstances.

Since the Senator from Kentucky has done a good job in summarizing the

bill, I want to mention a few high-lights.

First, it adds \$23 million for child survival and health programs. These are the programs that provide life-saving vaccines for diseases like polio and measles—diseases that we hardly ever see in this country but which kill or cripple millions overseas.

These programs help stop the spread of viruses like Ebola and SARS, reduce needless pregnancy-related deaths, and provide aid to blind children and orphans.

Second, the bill increases funding for development assistance by \$78 million. These funds pay for everything from education, to agriculture research, to democracy building. This is the core of our foreign aid budget. The bill adds \$20 million for Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Both Senator MCCONNELL and I feel strongly that the administration is reducing assistance to these regions too quickly.

The bill includes a very important provision to ensure greater transparency and accountability at the multilateral development banks.

As in the past, there are provisions which seek to promote human rights and the rule of law in Serbia, Central Asia, Latin America, and elsewhere.

I am concerned that much of the good work that Senator MCCONNELL has done on this bill could be undone by our conference allocation.

Even a split with the House allocation, which is \$17.1 billion, would lead to deep cuts in many programs that are important to the President and important to Senators.

Earlier this week, the memo from Secretary Rumsfeld reminded us all of the importance of foreign aid in combating terrorism.

In that memo he wrote:

Are we capturing, killing or deterring and dissuading more terrorists every day than the madrassas and the radical clerics are recruiting, training and deploying against us?

I suspect the answer to that question is no, and that should deeply concern each one of us.

Let me mention one example. In this bill we fund children's basic education. We use these funds to build schools and train teachers in countries such as Pakistan and Indonesia, to counter the influence of the madrassas.

One would think that a wealthy Nation like ours would spend billions on education, especially in Muslim countries. It is in our self-interest. But we could only provide \$220 million in this bill for education, which is a mere \$2 million above last year's level. It is also far less than most U.S. States spend, yet it is what we spend for the whole world.

There are many other examples of how this budget falls far short of what we should be doing to combat poverty and counter the influence of anti-American extremism.

Last wee, we passed a supplemental appropriations for Iraq. It included more than \$20 billion for reconstruction in that one country.

That is more than this entire foreign operations bill provides for the rest of the world.

If we are serious about building better relations with the Muslim world, and overcoming the hatred that is growing among the masses of impoverished people in those countries, we need to put our money where our mouths are.

The President's budget request for foreign operation is \$18.8 billion. This bill contains \$18.2 billion.

We have heard that our conference allocation may require us to cut hundreds of millions of dollars out of this bill.

If the President cares about this budget, he need to act now to protect it in conference. He needs to pick up the phone and call the Republican leadership in the House and Senate.

Without his help, deep cuts will be made to these programs. These cuts will not just hurt people overseas. They will hurt the United States.

I want to briefly mention the issue of AIDS. Chairman MCCONNELL and I did the best we could to increase funding for HIV/AIDS in this bill, but we simply did not have enough to get to the level that many Senators wanted.

We have to do more. This is the worst public health crisis in history. There will be an amendment on this issue later, and I will have more to say on it then.

Again, I wish all my jobs and assignments in the Senate were as easy as working with the distinguished senior Senator from Kentucky who is a close personal friend. While we come from different political philosophies, we join together in what we believe is in the best interests of the United States in this area.

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. MCCONNELL. 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. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I checked with the Democratic side. They have no objection to Senator DEWINE being able to send an amendment to the desk.

I ask unanimous consent that Senator DEWINE be permitted to send an amendment to the desk.

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

AMENDMENT NO. 1966

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Ohio [Mr. DEWINE], for himself, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. COLEMAN, Mr. WARNER, Mr. DASCHLE, Mr. LEAHY, and Mr. GRAHAM of South Carolina, proposes an amendment numbered 1966.

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To increase assistance to combat HIV/AIDS)

Insert where appropriate:

GLOBAL AIDS ASSISTANCE

SEC.—For an additional amount for "Global AIDS Initiative", \$289,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2006, for programs for the prevention, treatment, and control of, and research on, HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria, which may include additional contributions to the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria.

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, I rise this morning, along with my friends and colleagues, Senators DURBIN, COLEMAN, WARNER, DASCHLE, LEAHY, and GRAHAM of South Carolina, to offer an amendment that would increase this bill's current funding level for the global AIDS initiative by \$289 million. This additional funding would bring the total fiscal year 2004 allocation to \$2.4 billion. This \$2.4 billion would allow us to meet our goal of providing at least \$2 billion in bilateral aid, and it would also allow us to meet our current matching commitment to the Global Fund. This money in this amendment would be distributed by the new AIDS coordinator, Randall Tobias, for the prevention, treatment, control of, and research on HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria.

Mr. President, this clearly is the right thing to do. It is the right thing to do because AIDS is wiping out entire communities and, yes, we can truly say that AIDS has the potential to wipe out entire countries. It is the right thing to do because at least 8,000 people every single day—mothers, fathers, children, babies—are dying. And millions of others who are not on treatment, drugs, are suffering the painful effects of this disease.

It is the right thing to do because we, thank heavens, because of great medical science and research, now have the ability and the resources to fight HIV/AIDS. We need to do it, we cannot delay, and we must act.

We should be judged not just by what we do in society; I believe we should also be judged by what we don't do. We should be judged by what we are willing to tolerate. I say to my friends and colleagues in the Senate that we cannot tolerate inaction; we cannot, as a good and moral society, as a moral people, tolerate inaction. We, who have the ability to do something about this horrible crisis in the world today, must act.

With this amendment, we will be able to do so much good. So I say to my colleagues that we should not and we must not tolerate a world where so many people are suffering from HIV/AIDS. We must not tolerate a world where the suffering and dying occurs and we have the ability and the tools

to help make a difference and to save lives.

As we have discussed on the Senate floor before—and so many of my colleagues have talked about it—time is not on our side. People worldwide are dying this very moment. I have seen firsthand the devastation of HIV/AIDS. I know my colleague in the chair has, and I know so many of my other colleagues have as well.

My wife Fran and I have traveled to a number of the 14 countries that President Bush has named to be the primary recipients of the global HIV/AIDS fund money. I know many of my colleagues, such as majority leader BILL FRIST, Senators DURBIN, CHAFFEE, COLEMAN, ENZI, NELSON, WARNER, AL-EXANDER, and so many others, have also witnessed firsthand the effects of AIDS in these nations. I have seen it in Haiti many times. I have also seen it in Guyana, Mozambique, Botswana, South Africa, Namibia. I have held in my arms babies who were dying of the disease. I have met mothers who have lost their children through AIDS, and I have met children who have lost their parents to AIDS. When you do this, as other Members know, you then can put a face on it. It is no longer just statistics; it is real people.

When you come back home from those trips, you continue to see in your mind's eye those faces, and you see those children, and some of those children, after you get back home, in a few days or weeks are no longer on this Earth. When you put a face on it and you put names to this disease, the moral imperative in fighting it becomes very clear.

There are things we can do right now, at this very moment, to fight HIV/AIDS. Fighting this global AIDS crisis cannot be business as usual, and it cannot be bureaucracy as usual. We cannot treat this crisis the same way we have other problems. This is an emergency.

Truly, if there is anything that comes before us today on the Senate floor, this is an emergency. We don't have the luxury of time, as President Bush has said so eloquently. For each moment we delay, people die, and they die every moment.

In our travels, Fran and I have seen groups, organizations, and individuals who are ready now to receive our money and our assistance, and that is the good news for us. There are people out there ready to go to work and who are working now—organizations, doctors, and nurses who have the ability to take the resources we can give them and get the job done. They are ready to go into action to deal with the HIV/AIDS problem. It is heartwarming to see them and talk with them because they are already doing such good work. They have proven track records. They are ready to go, and we just need to get them the money and allow them to get about the business of saving lives.

As we do fight this disease, we cannot be timid. We cannot be afraid of failure. We need to take some chances.

In doing so, the reality is that there are going to be some mistakes made. This is a very big undertaking. No one has ever tried to do what we are doing in the world. The truth is, the world has not faced such a crisis. We probably have to go back in history to the bubonic plague or something in the Medieval period to see the world face such a medical crisis. The good news is, unlike those times, we have the ability to do something about it.

There will be some failures and there will be some foul-ups, but the fear of failure must not hold us back. We must move forward because lives are at stake.

There are several actions we can take now because we know they work. We talked about this on the Senate floor, but it is such a wonderful issue to talk about and such a wonderful thing to see in action, as I know the Chair and other Members have. We have the ability today to provide an HIV-positive pregnant woman with the care and drugs to ensure that she will not give birth to a child who is also HIV positive.

The statistics are very simple, the facts are very simple, and the remedy is so simple. If a woman today is pregnant and she is HIV positive, the odds are 30 percent she will give birth to a child who is HIV positive. In sub-Saharan Africa or in Haiti or in Guyana, there are programs today that will reduce those odds from 30 percent to 10 percent or as low as 5 percent or 4 percent. They can do that for as little as \$3 or \$4. I am not saying \$3 or \$4 a day, I am talking about the total cost of \$3 or \$4. That is phenomenal. For as little as \$3 or \$4 and for a little treatment and a little expertise and getting that mother in for treatment, we can save a child from being born HIV positive. We can save a child from being condemned to die a very tough and horrible death. We can do it. It is a miracle. So we must act.

These are some of the simple activities we can do, and do now, so long as the resources are available. This amendment will mean more people can be saved. It is as simple as that. More people will be saved by this amendment. In targeting health investments to fight HIV/AIDS, we can save lives. It is that simple. This amendment is an appropriate step, and I ask my colleagues for their support.

We will have the opportunity next week to further debate this amendment. As I conclude, I wish to thank all the cosponsors of this amendment. I thank Senator BILL FRIST who led our trip to Africa in August, which I think helped all of us fully understand not only the gravity of this crisis, but also it helped open our eyes to how many groups are out there, how many doctors are out there who have the ability to deliver the services and with whom we can work in the months ahead.

Yes, it is going to be tough. Yes, it is going to be difficult. We know the problems. We saw those problems. But

it also showed us good people are out there, organizations are out there, and it showed us there is a path to get this work done.

I thank Majority Leader FRIST for taking a number of Senators with him to Africa and helping educate all of us. In this work against AIDS, he is a medical doctor who truly understands this disease.

I also thank Senator RICK SANTORUM. Senator SANTORUM has been a true advocate of trying to increase the dollars we are spending on this AIDS initiative. It was his idea to come up with these dollar figures, to increase this bilateral support. He worked these numbers and worked these numbers. He and I have talked now for the last month, going back and forth. I thank him for his commitment, for his passion, and his work in this area. We would not be where we are today without Senator RICK SANTORUM.

Finally, I thank my colleague, Senator DICK DURBIN, who could not be on the Senate floor today but who will be back Monday. I talked with him just a few moments ago by phone. He is someone who cares very passionately. Senator DURBIN and I have offered two other amendments on the Senate floor in the past, both of which we have been able to adopt, and we have seen them make a difference.

I traveled with Senator DURBIN to Haiti. We worked on these problems in the past. He also cares passionately about this issue. He is someone who is very results oriented and someone who has made a difference in this field. I thank Senator DURBIN for his commitment to the children and his commitment to this issue.

I conclude by thanking my colleagues, Senator MCCONNELL and Senator LEAHY, for bringing a very good bill to the floor. This is a bill that a lot of people do not pay attention to, but it is a bill that does a tremendous amount of good around the world. It is an instrument of foreign policy, which is very important, but it is also a bill that saves lives every year, and it is a bill that spends U.S. money well to help our commitment to the children of the world, as well as making sure the United States is well represented around the world. I thank Senator MCCONNELL and Senator LEAHY for working in a bipartisan way to bring this bill to the Senate floor.

We will be back in the Chamber next week to talk further about this amendment. I thank my colleague from Kentucky.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, before the Senator leaves the floor, I wish to express my admiration to the Senator from Ohio for his passion and leadership on this issue, what is clearly the most important public health issue in the world today.

I listened carefully to his speech. It was quite moving, and I thank him for

what he is doing in this area. It is extremely important to the world.

Mr. DEWINE. I thank my colleague.

INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, the fiscal year 2004 foreign operations bill includes \$15,004,000 for a U.S. contribution to the International Fund for Agricultural Development, IFAD. Congress has been a strong supporter for IFAD since its inception, and these funds will enable IFAD to continue to expand its programs in the poorest countries.

Unfortunately, the Appropriations Committee report accompanying the bill neglected to address a concern which I suspect is shared by Senators on both sides of the aisle who support IFAD. IFAD is the seventh largest multilateral contributor to the enhanced Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Debt Initiative, HIPC DI. However, IFAD still does not have access to the core resources of the companion HIPC DI Trust Fund. Currently, IFAD has to absorb 87.2 percent of the cost for participating in HIPC DI, while other multilateral development banks with full access absorb much smaller percentages. For this reason, I urge the administration to work with other donors to enable IFAD to gain access to the core resources of the HIPC Trust Fund.

RULE OF LAW AND HUMAN RIGHTS PROGRAMS IN RUSSIA

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, page 45 of the committee report accompanying the fiscal year 2004 foreign operations bill, Senate Report 108-106, discusses rule of law and human rights programs in Russia. The report mentions the Russian American Judicial Partnership and the Russian American Rule of Law Consortium. The report failed to mention another important program, the American Bar Association's Central and East European Law Initiative, CEELI, which is involved in training Russian lawyers in the adversary system, law school curriculum development, and improvement of gender equity in the legal system. Each of these organizations is doing important work, and we want to be sure that despite the decline in our assistance program in Russia that funding for these types of programs are continued. There is no more effective way for the United States to contribute to the political and economic development of Russia than by strengthening the rule of law and respect for human rights.

COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH SUPPORT PROGRAMS

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, page 16 of the committee report accompanying the fiscal year 2004 foreign operations bill, Senate Report 108-106, discusses the Collaborative Research Support Programs. These programs, which involve 52 U.S. universities, have made immeasurable contributions in developing countries on a wide range of agriculture, environment, nutrition and development issues. USAID funds are leveraged with contributions from the universities and recipient countries.

For fiscal year 2003, the committee recommended funding for the CRSPs at a higher level than in fiscal year 2002. However, despite that recommendation, funding was essentially flat lined. For fiscal year 2004, the committee expresses its strong support for the CRSPs and recommends continued funding. I want to emphasize the importance of the CRSPs to the Congress, to the universities that participate, to the countries that benefit, and to U.S. foreign policy. We want USAID to expand its collaboration with U.S. universities that have research expertise on these issues. By that I mean that funding for the CRSPs should be increasing. An appropriate level for the CRSPs in fiscal year 2004 would be \$25 million. I also urge USAID to seriously consider allocating up to \$2 million to fund and establish a CRSP focused on water security.

AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I want to clarify a sentence in the committee report, Report 108-106, accompanying S. 1426, the fiscal year 2004 foreign operations bill.

On page 38 of the report, under the heading "Middle East Partnership Initiative," the committee expresses support for using a portion of MEPI funds "for scholarships for needy Muslim students at the American University of Beirut." We do support that, but we intended to also mention the American University in Cairo and the Lebanese American University. Their omission was purely an oversight. I ask my friend from Kentucky, the subcommittee chairman, Senator MCCONNELL, if he agrees with me about this.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I do. My friend from Vermont is correct that this was an oversight. We intended to express support for the use of MEPI funds for scholarships for Muslim students at the other American universities in the Middle East, as well as at the American University of Beirut.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there now be a period for the transaction of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each.

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

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

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

IRAQ WAR

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, this morning's Washington Post has a

front-page story entitled "Inquiry Faults Intelligence on Iraq." The sub-headline says, "The Threat From Saddam Hussein Was Overstated, Senate Committee Report Finds."

Many of us who voted against going to war against Iraq believed it was not in the national security interest of the United States to attack Iraq at this moment; that instead we ought to keep our eye on the ball and keep the pressure on al-Qaida and Osama bin Laden because it was al-Qaida and Osama bin Laden who attacked America on September 11, not Iraq.

I think this morning's report has increasing evidence that it was simply a misplaced priority to attack Iraq rather than keeping our full resources directed at taking down al-Qaida and holding Osama bin Laden accountable for his vicious attack on this country.

If we look across the evidence, I believe in many ways the United States simply made a mistake of judgment on what was most important. The President and his advisers believed—and I believe they sincerely believed—that the priority was to go after Iraq. They believed there was some link between Iraq and al-Qaida.

I think the evidence was always very thin for that and, in fact, the more we know, the more clear it is there really were not any strong linkages between Iraq and al-Qaida. In fact, it is unlikely that there would be because Saddam Hussein was secular, Osama bin Laden is a fundamentalist. In many ways, they are enemies; they are at odds.

It is very interesting that if one goes out and tries to ascertain what people of the country think, the polling shows 70 percent of Americans believe Saddam Hussein was behind September 11. Over half believe that Iraqis were the hijackers of the planes.

The fact is, not a single Iraqi was among the hijackers of the airliners that were turned into flying bombs. The vast majority of the 19 hijackers were Saudi Arabians, as, of course, is Osama bin Laden. I think 15 of the 19 were Saudis. Two were from the United Arab Emirates and there were other countries involved as well, but not a single Iraqi. That is the fact.

Another thing, we have now the President himself saying there is no evidence of a Hussein tie to September 11. It is very important we get the facts right when we make these judgments about going to war, especially when we are going to go on a preemptive war, when we attack first, something we have never done in the entire history of the United States. We have never attacked, without somebody attacking us first or attacking our allies first, but in this case we attacked first. As the Intelligence Committee report this morning suggests, we did so based on faulty intelligence and faulty evidence.

Another assertion that was made repeatedly was that there was a terrorist camp in Iraq that members of al-Qaida went to, but we knew then and we know now that that camp is in this