

Thank you very much, Mr. President.

I just wanted to say that as far as I am concerned we will work with you to ask Senators on our side if we could have time agreements on amendments on Healthy Forests. We need to give a message of hope to people that their communities will have more help than they had in the past.

I thank you very much for your expressions here in the hope we can work together and get through that bill and move on to the global warming bill which, of course, is very important in its own right.

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The minority leader is recognized.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I will comment briefly on the schedule. I think that the majority leader has set exactly the right tone. We have to recognize the days for this session are numbered. We have a lot of work to do. I agree with his prioritization in terms of his urgency in bringing up the forest health bill, given our circumstances now in California, particularly.

Senator REID and I have had conversations with Members of our caucus and have expressed our strong desire to keep amendments to the forest health bill relevant. Now, "relevant" is loosely interpreted, but it is important they stay relevant. We can give the assurances to the majority leader that we will maintain relevancy in that loosely structured definition in order to complete the work on the bill. I am hopeful, as he is, if we cannot complete it today, or certainly completing it by tomorrow, recognizing that we may move to the climate bill tonight.

I also think it is critical we keep our emphasis on the appropriations process. We have a lot of work there to do and, frankly, I must say, through no fault of the majority leader, we are in a real dilemma right now with completion of the work on the foreign operations bill. We made such progress yesterday and everyone worked to try to bring it to closure. We have an AIDS amendment that deserves a vote. With that vote we could go to final passage. There is no reason we cannot complete our work on that and move to Agriculture appropriations and all the remaining bills that are to be considered.

I hope all Senators will recognize, given the plethora of work we have to do, we cannot afford to delay indefinitely appropriations amendments. We will work on this side to try to expedite consideration of these bills. But it has to be a cooperative effort on both sides. Right now that is not the case.

So I thank the majority leader for outlining the schedule. We will work with him to see if we can complete our work on time.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, just one final response.

As I think our colleagues can see, we are working together in trying to move the schedule forward. I, too, am committed to the appropriations process. On foreign operations, I think we ought to work over the next hour and see if we can resolve the differences on the outstanding amendments. Indeed, my objective is to complete that bill as soon as possible.

I will say, if we get to where we are really locked up, because Healthy Forests is important, the other issues are important, we are going to have to have some flexibility. But again, I think we ought to start working right now to resolve the outstanding amendments on foreign operations and try to finish it by midday today.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the leader desire that we have 30 minutes of morning business now?

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, let's continue with the 30 minutes of morning business.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, there will now be a period for the transaction of morning business for up to 30 minutes. The first 15 minutes is under the control of the Senator from Texas, Mrs. HUTCHISON, or her designee, and the second 15 minutes is under the control of the Democratic leader or his designee.

The Senator from Missouri.

Mr. BOND. Mr. President, I claim the time that has been set aside for the Senator from Texas.

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. BOND. Mr. President, I begin by thanking the Chaplain for his prayers for our brave fighting men and women in Iraq, as well as in Afghanistan, as well as for the first responders and law enforcement personnel who are putting their lives on the line every day for us. In California, we pray for those who are fighting the fires. Certainly our hearts and sympathies go out to them.

I also note, Mr. President, as you well know, that we are working hard to complete the Iraqi supplemental, which will provide the support that our troops need to be safe in Iraq, as well as the reconstruction money, which I hope we can pass quickly so we can bring the troops home.

Having said that, let me share with you an experience I had this weekend. It came as a great surprise to hear on the news this weekend that newspapers were reporting that the Intelligence Committee was preparing a report saying that the distinguished chairman of the Intelligence Committee was trying to do something with a report that was

uncalled for and that would whitewash the administration, and purporting to outline material in that report.

That caught me by surprise, No. 1, because I am on the Intelligence Committee. As reported by Chairman ROBERTS, we have not completed a report. We have not started a report. We have worked very diligently with our staff to interview a hundred witnesses from the intelligence agencies. They have reviewed tens and perhaps thousands of documents, and they are continuing to do so. As Chairman ROBERTS said, there will be information sought from the Director of the CIA, Director George Tenet. So whatever was leaked was not based on fact.

The second thing that bothered me is that what was supposedly a work in the classified confines of the Intelligence Committee had been somehow shared with the press. Now, that is a problem. The President has come down very strongly in saying that he absolutely abhors leakage of classified, sensitive material, as he should. We all should. He said he will not tolerate it in the administration, in the White House, or even in Congress. But it appears to me that somehow in the Intelligence Committee it is leaking like a sieve, and people are saying things that are not true.

So I would caution those who are listening, when you hear about something that is going on in the Intelligence Committee, perhaps you ought to take it with a great big grain of salt.

Chairman ROBERTS and Vice Chairman ROCKEFELLER are conducting these hearings, and all Members of this body can come to Hart 219 and have access to the material if they want to find out what we are working on. But what you hear being discussed is not necessarily relevant to anything that is going on.

What is relevant, and what many people have cited—and I am afraid they have not read—is the work of Dr. David Kay, the Interim Progress Report of the Iraqi Survey Group, the ISG. This is a declassified report from this distinguished person who is heading the intelligence gathering in Iraq. He has been cited as saying: Well, we have found no weapons of mass destruction; therefore, there must not be any.

Well, I would say, by that same reasoning, we have not found Saddam Hussein; so by that reasoning, maybe Saddam Hussein did not exist. But we have seen in the tragedies that have occurred in recent days and weeks in the Sunni Triangle and in Iraq and elsewhere that the protégés, the adherents to Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden, continue to carry on their war of terrorism. They are attacking our troops. They are attacking Iraqi civilians. They have attacked the U.N. They have attacked the Red Cross. They are very dangerous, and we know that the battle on terrorism goes on. That is why we have to complete work on the Iraqi supplemental appropriations.

But what has David Kay found? Why hasn't he found any weapons of mass destruction? I might note that it was only this summer, after we had been there several months, that we found a squadron of Russian-made MIG airplanes hidden in the desert. They were buried in the sand.

Well, weapons of mass destruction, chemical or biological weapons, which we know Saddam Hussein has had in the past and has used in the past, could be hidden in a two-car garage, and they could be hidden in much smaller samples.

There is speculation in the media that they could have been taken out of the country, which should really worry us. There is speculation elsewhere as to what may have happened.

But Dr. Kay said, talking about the extensive program of denial and deception engaged in by Saddam Hussein's regime:

From birth all of Iraq's WMD activities were highly compartmentalized within a regime that ruled and kept its secrets through fear and terror and with deception and denial built into each program;

Deliberate dispersal and destruction of material and documentation related to weapons programs began pre-conflict and ran trans-post conflict;

In other words, they were concealing, they were denying they had it before the war, during the war, and even after the war.

Post-OIF—

In other words, after Iraqi Freedom—looting destroyed or dispersed important and easily collectible material and forensic evidence concerning Iraq's WMD program. As the report covers in detail, significant elements of this looting were carried out in a systematic and deliberate manner, with the clear aim of concealing pre-OIF activities of Saddam's regime;

Some WMD personnel crossed borders in the pre/trans-conflict period and may have taken evidence and even weapons-related materials with them. . . .

In other words, what Dr. Kay is saying is, the people involved with Saddam Hussein, his loyal thugs, could have taken the material out of the country. But he says what we have found and what we have discovered are: dozens of WMD-related program activities and significant amounts of equipment that Iraq concealed from the United Nations during the inspections that began in late 2000. The discovery of these deliberate concealment efforts have come about both through the admissions of Iraqi scientists and officials concerning information they deliberately withheld and through physical evidence of equipment and activities that ISG has discovered that should have been declared to the UN.

He then goes on to cite many of the things they have found and also discussions and reports on interviews he has had.

For those who wonder what has happened to Saddam Hussein's WMD program, the information already prepared and presented by Dr. Kay should be a good example.

But, Mr. President, I would say that the ISG's progress report is not final.

They have made an extensive investigation of Saddam's biological and chemical weapons program, and the work that was going on to restart the nuclear program. But unless we accept the fact that Saddam is somehow reformed, his track record of not just developing but actually using weapons of mass destruction stands as a brutal and tragic fact of history.

It is clear that Saddam Hussein actively deceived the international community and was in clear violation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1441 and was actively pursuing WMD programs.

That Saddam may have redesigned programs around concealment activities is something this body should find deeply troubling, certainly not grounds, as some would say, to acquit him of any accusation of WMD use or pursuit. Our troops are doing an outstanding job under difficult conditions. They are away from their families in harsh conditions, and they are in harm's way, risking everything. Yet they complain less and bicker less than many here in Washington.

Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden-like terrorists know they cannot defeat our brave military men and women on the ground. The only chance they have is to create division here at home in the hope that we will cut and run. They cannot conceive of retaking Baghdad from our troops, so their only chance of victory is here in Washington.

Yesterday we had a very interesting discussion with Tom Friedman of the New York Times, a very seasoned observer, one who doesn't share my political views on a lot of issues. But he has been in Iraq. He knows what is going on, and he believes we did what we had to do. He said it is clear that Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden are the motivating forces, the leaders behind these attacks, and that they know that if they can create enough division here at home, that is their one chance of winning. It is almost unthinkable in this day and age that someone would attack the Red Cross, the ultimate humanitarian institution, to try to drive them out of the country so they cannot minister to the suffering of the Iraqi people.

The Iraqi people share our goal, which is to create a free, stable Iraq, independent of Saddam Hussein or the rule of ayatollahs or others who do not tolerate human rights, freedom, and the rights of women. We cannot leave this country in chaos. If we do, Saddam and Osama bin Laden win.

Those who would say pack up and leave would turn over all of the fruits of victory and turn them into the spoils of those who have wreaked such havoc on the country. I believe Mr. Friedman said that when we got into Iraq, we discovered a country that had been devastated back to the stone age. We are working hard to restore security and to bring them out of the stone age. The President has outlined a clear

plan. He is asking for our help, \$87 billion.

I hope today we can complete efforts on the conference report on the Iraqi supplemental. We need the \$66 billion to make sure our troops are protected and adequately well served. We need the other \$21 billion as a grant, not as a loan, to go to rebuilding the security forces, the military, the police, to assure that they can maintain stability. We need to turn on the lights and turn on the water so they can get back to making a productive country. We have to pass this bill to give them support, to show Congress is behind them. We need to continue to work to see that Iraqis can control their own destiny.

We have some 55,000 Iraqi policemen. We have 700 Iraqi Army trained. We are training more every day. What we need to do is provide them the resources so they can be the eyes and ears because they, the Iraqi people, and their police and military are the ones best suited to go into the dangerous parts of Baghdad and Fallujah and elsewhere in the Sunni triangle and identify those who are Saddam adherents and Osama adherents and drag them out in the middle of the night and bring them to justice or stop their terrorist activities before they continue to strike innocent Iraqis and international institutions such as the U.N. and the Red Cross, the U.S. Army, and the military who are there.

Hospitals are open. We have people going back to school. Progress is being made. But we have to complete action. We have to provide the assistance to bring Iraq out of the stone age to the point where, with the help of the donations from the U.N. conference in Madrid, they can have the basic infrastructure that will support loans that will enable them to rebuild their oil-producing facilities, to rebuild what was a very fruitful agriculture.

There is hope not only for the Iraqi people but for people throughout the Middle East. If we will translate the victory over the Saddam Hussein government into a victory over the Saddam and Osama bin Laden terrorists who continue to carry the battle to Baghdad, there is hope for freedom for people in the Middle East. That is in our best long-term interest. We are battling against terrorism in Baghdad. Far better we battle in Baghdad than in Boston or Ballwin, MO, or Belton, MO. That is our choice.

The President has outlined a consistent and coherent plan that led to peace, avoided the problems we thought could occur, and now we have to secure the peace.

Make no mistake about it, today, I feel no differently about Saddam and his regime and the threat it posed as the day I voted with 77 of my other colleagues to remove Saddam. The threat he posed was real. There is no question that the world is better off without Saddam, his henchmen, and his two despicable sons who were poised to sustain the legacy of Saddam for another half century.

The key lesson of September 11, 2001, is that in a world of proliferating weapons of mass destruction, we cannot afford to wait until threats become actual attacks. The stakes and risks are just too high and the brutal track record of Saddam is clear.

And clearly, as demonstrated recently by David Kay's interim report, we have seen unequivocally, that Saddam remained a danger to the world up to the last day of his regime.

Mr. Kay stated "his WMD programs spanned more than two decades, involved thousands of people, billions of dollars"—(billions of dollars, I might add, that belonged to the Iraqi people and should have been reinvested in Iraq's infrastructure) "and was elaborately shielded by security and deception operations that continued even beyond the end of Operation Iraqi Freedom."

For months after the passage of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1441, Saddam Hussein continued to violate his obligations to the international community by filing false declarations deceiving the inspectors and terrorizing the Iraqi People.

Mr. Kay stated in his interim report that dozens of WMD-related program activities and significant amounts of equipment that Iraq concealed from the U.N. during the inspections in late 2002 were discovered. According to his report, the discovery of these concealment efforts was learned primarily through the admission of Iraqi scientists and officials. Some of the examples he cited were:

A clandestine network of laboratories and safehouses within the Iraqi intelligence service existed that contained equipment subject to U.N. monitoring and suitable for continuing CBW research;

A prison laboratory complex, possibly used in human testing of BW agents, that Iraqi officials working to prepare for U.N. inspections were explicitly ordered not to declare to the U.N.

Reference strains of biological organisms concealed in a scientist's home, one of which can be used to produce biological weapons;

A line of UAVs not fully declared;

Documents and equipment hidden in scientist's homes that would have been useful in resuming uranium enrichment by centrifuge and electromagnetic isotope separation;

New research on BW-applicable agents, brucella and congo crimean hemorrhagic fever and continuing work on ricin and aflatoxin were not declared to the U.N.

The ISG has also uncovered thus far the first documented link between Iraq and North Korea, with documents detailing Iraq's attempt to buy equipment from North Korea to make missiles with ranges of up to 1,300 km.

The Iraqi Survey Group's progress report is not final. Extensive investigation of Saddam's biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons programs remains

to be done, but unless we accept that Saddam was reformed, his track record of not just developing but actually using wmd stands as a brutal and tragic fact of history. It is clear that Saddam Hussein actively deceived the international community, was in clear violation of UN Security Council Res. 1441 and was actively pursuing wmd programs.

Mr. President, that Saddam may have redesigned programs around concealment is something that this body should find deeply, deeply, troubling—certainly not acquitting, as some seem to be suggesting.

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Our enemies perceive that our failure to respond to the Khobar Towers and the USS *Cole* and our withdrawal from Lebanon and Somalia shows a lack of conviction and a weakness of our resolve.

The terrorists working for Saddam and Osama, who are trying to thwart our efforts by targeting not only our service men and women, but also Iraqi civilians, humanitarian workers, and recently the Red Cross, are trying to break our will and believe that Americans are weak and lack the will to win the peace.

Cowardly terrorists are shooting at our soldiers and innocent civilians, but are aiming at American public opinion and our resolve to complete the mission.

If we leave the country in chaos, Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden win. This would not only prevent us from seizing a tremendous opportunity to create a stable, representative government in the heart of the Middle East, but it also would send a signal to terrorists around the world that America is weak and invite future acts of terror against the United States and our allies.

Most all know that we cannot afford to retreat. We must strengthen our resolve and complete the mission in Iraq, with self-governance of that nation as our ultimate end.

Through joint United States/Iraqi operations, we have captured hundreds of foreign fighters and killed a number of them in combat. With each passing day, we are witnessing more and more Iraqis assuming responsibility for the safety and security of their nation. Currently, there are over 85,000,000 Iraqis working to provide security for

their country with: 6400 Iraqi border patrol forces that will eventually replace coalition forces at checkpoints along the border; 55,000 Iraqi police that will contribute to a stable society; 18,700 facilities protection service members that will secure power lines, refineries and other key infrastructures that are targets for sabotage; 700 new Iraqi army soldiers that will be a professional force for maintaining peace and stability versus Saddam's instrument of terror and repression; and lastly, over 4,700 Iraq civil defense citizens that will remain in their communities providing valuable local intelligence to coalition and Iraqi forces while receiving on the job training in security patrolling.

The men and women of the U.S. Armed Forces serving so dutifully in Iraq represent America's finest. As the most highly trained, best-equipped fighting force ever assembled, they are executing their mission and achieving success. I recently visited with some of these incredible patriots at Walter Reed to thank them for their patriotic and heroic service. What they and their fellow service men and women still in Afghanistan and Iraq need from us is our support, not just in the form of equipment and supplies, but support and affirmation that Washington believes the mission they are carrying out—the one we voted to authorize by a three to one margin—continues to be necessary to promote peace, stability, and democracy in a world less threatened by terror.

Our service men and women are helping the Iraqi men, women, and children establish a foothold of peace and stability in the region, which will be a catastrophic blow to the terrorists who have joined the fight in Iraq. Our people on the ground get to see first hand the extent to which Saddam destroyed a society—a society of people whom have never until this day had the opportunity to be safe and free. Murder and mass graves are headlines in Washington but they were a way of life under Saddam.

After 9/11, we vowed to stick together and we have. The President asked for our support in a sustained effort which will be measured in years, not months.

He told us that the world had changed and that we would have to change with it. No longer would be in the mode where we would fire one shot then fall back. He realized that the war on terrorism had to be carried to the terrorist—we could not just wait for the next attack.

He has asked Congress and the people to support a sustained effort and he warned that it would be a fight like never before. It will have its ups and its downs. Mistakes will be made and measures will be taken that may not always be popular.

We are fighting an enemy that wears no uniform and swears an allegiance to a radical ideology, not to humanity or a country. One who is willing to kill innocents without the slightest remorse.

It is an unconventional war without borders—and it requires unconventional methods to win it. By taking the fight to the enemy, we have more opportunity to fight on our terms but on their ground—using our best soldiers and spies. So we fight in Baghdad and Bagram so the war is not fought in Boston, Boise, or Bolivar, MO.

I believe that it remains instructive to note that there are two major investigations ongoing in Washington. One, in relation to 9/11, asks why the Government did not act based on imperfect information. The other, in relation to Iraq, asks why the Government did act based on imperfect information. This helps us understand the predicament that any President faces in a hostile world where lives and freedom at stake with intelligence that can almost never be perfect and sometimes can be wrong.

In Afghanistan and Iraq, our people are facing hardship and death. Yet they are getting the job done. We have seen reenlistment ceremonies that are taking place in Iraq by our dedicated service men and women who are committed to staying until their mission is complete.

A central bank and Iraqi currency have been established months ahead of schedule. We went from 0–60,000 trained Iraqi security and military personnel in less than 5 months. Schools, which were formerly weapons storage depots, are open. Electricity has been restored to prewar levels and is delivered not just to Saddam's Bathist friends as before, but to the population at large. Hospitals are open, working, and caring for patients; and the political leadership of the country has begun coalescing. In Afghanistan, where there were once 800,000 boys in school, there are now 2.5 million boys and 1.5 million girls in school. Baghdad, which once got its news only from Saddam, Aljazeera and CNN, now may have more news sources than Washington, DC.

The Marshall Plan after World War II cost almost \$80 billion, in 1998 dollars, and we had roughly 100,000 troops in Germany for 4 years after the war. Who at that time asked after Pearl Harbor, how much was it going to cost to defeat the Japanese; who asked how much was it going to cost to defeat the Germans after they sank the Lusitania? The cost of the war on terror is great but it must be weighed against the human tragedy and economic costs of 9/11.

The supplemental appropriations bill that the Congress needs to pass out of conference is necessary to help protect our troops, win the peace and create conditions so that our troops can return home safely and victorious. The same resolution that the Senate voted 77–23 to authorize war almost 1 year ago expressly stated the need to restore a stable, peaceful Persian Gulf. Lets honor that commitment today and pass the supplemental appropriations bill.

We need to let our service men and women complete their mission so they can come home.

I say to our men and women serving here and abroad, to their families at home, and to those Saddam loyalists and terrorists who doubt our will; don't equate public discourse in a free society with weakness. We voted overwhelmingly to authorize to take the fight to the enemy and we have voted overwhelmingly to support our troops in the field and to help the Iraqi men, women, and children, who were until now, hopeless of living with peace and freedom.

We will not cut and run. We will not let those who have already paid the ultimate price die in vain. We will not turn our backs on the commitments we have made.

Some doubted our ability to turn back Nazism and communism but collectively, we did. Doubters that we can overcome terrorism will be just as wrong now as doubters were then.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GRAHAM of South Carolina). The Senator from Arkansas.

HONORING OUR ARMED FORCES

Mrs. LINCOLN. Mr. President, I have risen on numerous occasions over the last several months to pay tribute to our Nation's troops serving in Iraq, Afghanistan, and across the globe in support of the war on terrorism. Today I would like to add to that ongoing tribute by honoring the troops of the 39th Infantry Brigade or "the Arkansas Brigade," as we know it at home. The 39th was recently mobilized for action in Iraq with troops pulling out this week for training in Fort Hood before a 12-month deployment in the Middle East.

Last weekend I had the honor of attending a send-off ceremony for the 39th Brigade in Little Rock. That ceremony brought together soldiers, families, friends, and loved ones to commemorate the occasion and to wish them the best in their mission. The send-off was not a celebration. In fact, it was a sober occasion. After all, no one relishes the prospect of traveling halfway around the world, far from family, friends, and home, to take on a dangerous but necessary mission.

But along with the sense of sobriety at the ceremony, there was an enormous sense of duty, honor, and pride among these individuals. These men and women recognized that they were taking on a great personal risk, but they also recognized that, in so doing, they are part of a long tradition of American soldiers taking up arms to defend our freedoms and to bring security and stability to the world. As their fathers and grandfathers and great grandfathers fought in the First and Second World Wars, in Korea, Vietnam, the gulf war, and in countless other conflicts in the last century, these men and women are embracing a new historic mission.

The 39th Infantry Brigade is the largest combat command in the Arkansas Army National Guard, with nearly 3,000 troops comprising 47 units from across the State. While this is the first time since World War II that the entire brigade has been activated for overseas service, the 39th has been remarkably active within Arkansas for decades.

At the Governor's behest, the 39th has been quick to respond in the event of State emergencies. When floods, tornadoes, forest fires, ice storms, and drought have struck Arkansas, the members of the 39th have been there to offer their expertise and to lend a hand to communities in need. The 39th has offered assistance to law enforcement in missing persons cases, anticrime efforts, and counterdrug programs. Members of the 39th have offered themselves for countless hours of leadership and volunteer service in their communities, in schools and churches, civic organizations, private businesses, law enforcement, and even elected office.

Consider, for example, the small town of Bradford just a few miles northeast of Little Rock. This town of 800 people is preparing to lose their mayor, their police chief, and the school librarian, all of whom are leaving for Iraq. While these temporary losses may bring temporary hardships, I have every confidence that these communities, Bradford and many others, will pull through.

I am happy to report that Bradford is already coping—Grebe Edens, a 78-year-old former school teacher who serves as the town's recorder and treasurer, will be serving in the mayor's place until he returns.

I ask unanimous consent that an October 24 Washington Post article about how the town of Bradford is coping be printed in the RECORD following my remarks.

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

(See exhibit 1.)

Mrs. LINCOLN. Mr. President, this is but one example of the effect this deployment will have on my home State of Arkansas. Many communities in Arkansas will no doubt be able to share similar stories of losing key personnel in the next 18 months.

Furthermore, let us not lose sight of the impact of this deployment on the families of these troops.

I was standing in that auditorium on Sunday visiting with mothers, aunts, daughters, as well as wives and children, and watching their faces with a sense of not knowing what is coming down the pike and yet being so incredibly proud of their loved ones who are serving this great Nation.

I have an October 27 newspaper story written by Stephen Ziegler, editor of the Searcy Daily Citizen in White County, AR.

Mr. Ziegler's story focuses on the troops of the Second Battalion, 153rd Brigade, and their families. Some are newly married, or have young children.

The stories illustrate the mixed emotions that many Arkansans experience