

human life means that threats lurk in numerous areas. That is why we in the Americas have opted for a multidimensional concept of security that the Caribbean states have promoted.

This is the defense of life, security, and peace, not only, as in the past, vis-à-vis the eventuality of a conflict between states, but also in the face of terrorism, drug smuggling, international crime, epidemics, and natural disasters that jeopardize the very existence of small states, such as the hurricanes whose painful toll in human and material loss is now faced—with a courage, dignity, and efficiency we admire—by Grenada, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Saint Lucia, Jamaica, Barbados, The Bahamas, and Haiti, with the solidarity and support of CARICOM, and by the Dominican Republic and Florida and several southern states in the United States of America. To those peoples and their governments, we extend our solidarity.

A vision of the Americas as a land free from terrorism, violence, and crime, from epidemics and the preventable effects of natural disasters, is a dream that unites us in this twenty-first century. It is a dream that requires us to develop national and inter-American policies that are effective and mindful of human rights. A vision that demands that we share knowledge and that our nations cooperate with one another in matters related to intelligence gathering, improvements in our police forces, and judicial, financial, health, and civil-defense systems. Current and future generations demand that we move resolutely ahead to make this dream a reality, and we have therefore immediately proceeded to adapt our organizational structure in line with that task. The part the OAS has played in these endeavors for over a century must be consolidated in the structure of its General Secretariat. To that end, we have created the Department of Multidimensional Security and the Office on Threats to Civil Society, in order to achieve an appropriate grasp and institutional memory of those activities.

Our vocation is to create an America at peace. Peace among the nations that comprise it, peace for its people, and peace with the environment.

To ensure that it lives up to the most noble cause it serves of democracy, human rights, security, and integral and shared development, this General Secretariat needs to be streamlined in its organization and procedures. For that it needs to focus on those priorities, to have a clear vision of where it wants to go, efficient management by objectives, accountability, team spirit, and teamwork. It also means that the helmsman must pursue the course charted by the member states, which in turn requires that the General Secretariat provide timely and efficient support to facilitate, in the Permanent Council and General Assembly, the development of a far-sighted hemispheric approach. These tasks are made easier by the considerable progress achieved by the OAS over the past ten years under the apt guidance of its Secretary General, former President of Colombia César Gaviria.

From the bottom of my heart, as a student and patriot of the Americas, I thank Their Excellencies, the Heads of State and Government, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, First Ladies, Former Presidents, Ministers, and Members of the Legislature and Judiciary, and High Officials who are with us here today for the extraordinary support they lend to the OAS by generously honoring us with their presence.

I realize that the burden is heavy and the challenge enormous. I shall devote myself to this task, asking God's guidance, to the utmost of my ability and conviction, as a token of gratitude to the peoples and govern-

ments that have honored me with their trust. Yet I place my trust in the goodness of Providence, the values that guide the governments of America, the abilities of my colleagues in the Organization, and the courage and dedication of the women and men of the Americas.

With our common values and tireless effort, together we will be equal to the challenge. Able to move from disillusionment to enjoyment of democracy. From frustration to hope for human development. From magical realism to idealistic pragmatism, in policies and specific programs. From the pursuit of freedom to the use of it as a tool for forging happiness, progress, and solidarity.

Building that vision, helping it to materialize, converting it into reality is the great task that, with all humility, I invite the OAS to accomplish. With the solidarity of us all, we will be able to build the America of freedom: the freedom and creativity that provide grounds for rational optimism, realistic hope, and a dream that can come true.

Mr. DODD. On behalf of all of us, I am sure my colleagues will agree when they read his remarks, we thank him for his leadership and look forward to working with him to strengthen the OAS, to make it a more viable and important organization as these wonderful friends and neighbors of ours grapple with the economic and natural disasters they face and as they do everything in their power to strengthen democracy and freedom throughout this hemisphere.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. 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. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, may I ask the Chair what the status is of our schedule right now?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is currently in morning business.

#### NEWS CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENT BUSH AND PRIME MINISTER ALLAWI

Mr. LAUTENBERG. I thank the Chair. I will take the opportunity to speak in morning business.

Mr. President, in the last couple of hours, a news conference was held with President Bush and Prime Minister Allawi, the interim Prime Minister from Iraq, in an attempt to clarify our Iraq policy. It was held in the Rose Garden.

What we heard was a peculiar use of words, when a reporter asked President Bush to explain some comments he made on Tuesday. Those comments are on this chart. President Bush—this was on September 21 at the Waldorf-Astoria. The quotation is that of the President when he says:

The CIA laid out a—several scenarios that said, life could be lousy, life could be OK, life could be better. And they were just guessing as to what the conditions might be like.

That is talking about Iraq. The reporter further asked President Bush

why, after faithfully relying on CIA intelligence estimates to justify invading Iraq, he now calls CIA intelligence “just guessing.” Once again I quote President Bush:

I used an unfortunate word, “guess”; I should have used “estimate.”

An unfortunate word? It was unfortunate, all right, because many of us in the Congress are taking the quality of our Nation's intelligence very seriously. It was unfortunate because the American people are trying to understand what has taken place, what took place on 9/11, what took place in the review of 9/11 with the 9/11 Commission. The demand is that we take intelligence seriously after the failures of 9/11.

Yesterday, we approved the appointment of a new CIA Director, Mr. PORTER GOSS. Although I challenged that appointment, the fact is he won the confidence of this body and, without any possible interruption, is going to be the head of the CIA. I think that is pretty darn important. There were hours of debate in the Senate, covered on TV channels, in newspapers, you name it; everybody must have thought it was pretty important. But President Bush said something else. President Bush said he was trusting the word of a foreign leader, and the statement is made like this:

And the CIA came—

Once again, he is talking about the situation in Iraq—

and said, “this is a possibility, this is a possibility, and this is a possibility.” But what's important for the American people to hear is reality. And the reality is right here in the form of Prime Minister Allawi. And he is explaining what is happening on the ground. That's the best report.

Are we hearing that President Bush is dismissing the word of the CIA, the comments of the CIA, to say they are just guessing or that might be a guess-timate, and what is really happening, the reality is right here in the form of the Prime Minister? Are we going to trust the Prime Minister of a foreign country to supply intelligence that is more reliable than the CIA? Lord willing, I hope not.

First the President says our intelligence data is just guessing, and then he says the word of a foreign leader is more valuable than U.S. intelligence. The entire purpose of our intelligence program is so we do not have to rely on the word of a foreign government for information. Would we take the word of a Prime Minister of a country to say I think this is the condition in a territory, that is the condition in that territory, and use that information to declare war and send over 1,000 people to their death? I hope not.

The President has finally admitted he uses unfortunate words. He certainly has. I remember some words that shocked me. I was a soldier once, a long time ago, and I never heard a commander, whether it was a lieutenant in charge of my platoon or the general of the army, Dwight D. Eisenhower, or any other world leader say,

"Bring 'em on," when they were talking about the enemy. The last thing I wanted to see was a German soldier, I can tell you.

But when President Bush said "Bring 'em on," it was unfortunate. There were tragic consequences. And now since we lost four more people than when I talked yesterday, the number is up to 1,041 troops killed and so many more injured.

On May 1, 2003, President Bush made another unfortunate statement. He said: "Mission accomplished." It was a grand presentation on the deck of an aircraft carrier with proud American sailors standing behind him, flags waving all over the place. He said: "Mission accomplished." That premature statement gave false hope to our troops and the families back home who were waiting for them now that it was all done, all wrapped up.

"Mission accomplished" says: Job well done, finished. This was not a job well done, not at all. Yes, our troops fought hard. Yes, there is plenty of bravery. Yes, there is plenty of courage out there. But for the Commander in Chief to say "mission accomplished," he could have said: "Pack your duffel bags; you are going home."

When I heard "mission accomplished" in World War II, I was on a ship headed for Japan, having served in Europe first. When President Roosevelt and President Truman at the time said, "mission accomplished," we came home. When it was said here, May 1, 2003, roughly 18 months ago, "mission accomplished," the mission was not at all accomplished. Ask the families of the 1,041 who perished in Iraq. Ask those families, more than 800 since the President declared "mission accomplished," ask them whether they think the job is done.

Then the President flip-flopped on whether we can win the war on terror, which is what he said. One day, he told Matt Lauer from NBC on national television:

I don't think you can win the war on terror.

The next day he said:

We will win the war on terror.

President Bush is speaking more and more unfortunate words, and flip-flopping on fundamental issues. I think that is what they accuse JOHN KERRY of, flip-flops. Maybe we ought to put up a chart that shows who did more flip-flops than the other. We can prove President Bush's flip-flops were accompanied by pain and grievous losses.

There was a "Hardball" interview last night by Chris Matthews. Bush supporters on that program, a man by the name of Ed Rogers, said Senator KERRY is like George McGovern. Anybody who served in this body understands that George McGovern fought in World War II heroically, and there is not anybody who served with George McGovern or who knows anything about him who is not proud of his accomplishments and his commitment to

the well-being of America. So that is a sarcastic way of saying something is wrong with those two men—JOHN KERRY was awarded the Bronze Star, Silver Star, and three Purple Hearts. George McGovern served in Europe during World War II—and that there is something sinister about their character.

Bush supporters say KERRY is like George McGovern. The real analogy that ought to be made is perhaps President George W. Bush is like Richard Nixon, campaign dirty tricks, misleading the American public. Maybe that is the right comparison.

We can continue to criticize and assassinate character, which seems to be the thrust of the Bush-Cheney campaign. This chart was shown on the floor by another Senator about JOHN KERRY's record. JOHN KERRY's record is three Purple Hearts. Those are awards for being wounded, confirmed by medical personnel. You cannot get a Purple Heart by writing a letter and saying: I am hurt here and hurt there. And you cannot get a Silver Star without the Secretary of a service signing on or you cannot get a Bronze Star without certification by someone of very high rank in the military.

Instead, we ought to look at a chart such as this: Bush rhetoric, and the reality in Iraq.

If the measure of your performance is to be the interim Prime Minister of Iraq, brave man though he may be, who insists Iraq is going to be ready to take over in January with an election and they will have 145,000 people in uniform ready to fight, and a year later up to 200,000—I hope that is not wishful thinking because if it is, it could turn into a nightmare.

No, we have to do better than that. We have to be able to tell the American people the truth. We have to be able to look at the record of both people. I know this: If I were being called into battle, I would sure as heck follow JOHN KERRY in because I know if I fall in the water he is going to turn around and pull me out. But I would not be able to find George W. Bush because he was not there in the unit to take up his part. No, he was absent, I think the record has established, and I am not getting into CBS's authenticity.

We have other records that say he did not show up for his physical and, thusly, could not qualify to fly any longer.

So I think it has to stop. When we look at the reality of the Bush-Cheney campaign and we see what Halliburton, a familiar tie to Vice President CHENEY in an earlier period, has done to defraud the American Government, the American people of their funds, overcharging here, bribery there, a Vice President with a financial interest in this company that is held up for such disregard, that is the record at which we have to look: what was their performance, not what were their words.

An irate, angry Senator spoke at the Republican convention. He said one thing you have to remember; it is not

what people say, it is what they do that counts. Let us judge Senator KERRY by what he did that counts. Let us judge President George W. Bush on where we stand in this conflict: 1,041 dead, thousands more wounded, many of them very seriously.

I visited some of them at Walter Reed Hospital.

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

Mr. LAUTENBERG. I would, indeed.

Mr. REID. Is the Senator from New Jersey aware that in the month of August alone more than 1,100 American soldiers were injured, wounded?

Mr. LAUTENBERG. I thank the Senator from Nevada. No, I did not know that, but I am not surprised. I am not surprised because there are several thousand wounded and we know that in war the wounded is a multiple of those who are killed.

When we look at what is happening, we talk about mission accomplished and we see a picture in the paper of the latest beheading—how dreadful, how horrible, how savage is our enemy—there is nothing I would rather do than to salute President Bush for ending the misery, for ending the war, for bringing the troops home. There is nothing I would rather do, but I do not see that in the picture, no, not if I look at the record, not if I look at what has been done, not what has been said. I do not see that. So I think we must be very careful.

In World War II, they had an expression that was kind of basic which talked about what we had to do to protect our troops. There were 16 million of us in uniform. They used to say "loose lips sink ships." They asked people not to talk about things. They asked other things of people, too, during World War II. I remember hearing President Roosevelt's broadcast about sacrifice, about turning out the lights in places so we could not be seen by an enemy bomber, a ship—sacrifice. I have not heard President Bush talk about sacrifice to the American people.

I have heard a lot of bragging about what has been done. I have yet to witness the accomplishments that accompany those boastful comments.

I hope it will not be too long before the thousands of people who we have in harm's way, those who are doing their best to fight the battle, will be able to come home and rejoin their families. There is terrible upset in the homes of reservists in particular across the country, a lot from my home State of New Jersey, where daddy is not there, where mom has to take care of the kids. In some cases, mom is away and dad is taking care of the kids, still trying to earn an income, saddled by indebtedness, mortgages, health care needs for parents or grandparents. They want those people home, and we all do. It does not have to be a Democrat or a Republican or otherwise who would not want to see a smiling face come walking through the door.

So let us not hear any more talk about mission accomplished. Let us

hear the truth about where we are. If it is a painful truth, as someone who has to go in for surgery has to know at times so they can get better, let us hear the truth, let us hear when it is that we are going to bring our troops home. Let us hear when it is that the fighting is going to end. Let us hear when it is that there is confidence to be restored in the Presidency. Above all, let us stop assailing the character of those who would challenge the positions that we are in, because I think that is the essential working of a democracy: Challenge, ask questions, instead of snide criticism that says they are unpatriotic if a question is asked about an appropriations bill or something such as that. Do not do that.

We have JOHN KERRY who served honorably, bravely, in Vietnam and had the courage to say: I disagreed with the policy but I had the courage, the guts, the backbone to go do what I had to do. Let his record speak for itself and do not try to color it with innuendo and insult.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, are we in morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We are.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for up to 10 minutes.

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

#### IRAQ

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, those of us who listened to Prime Minister Allawi today could not help being overwhelmingly impressed by the courage and the strength of this individual, as he outlined the hopes and dreams of his nation, which he is leading as an interim Prime Minister, and which nation is obviously going through tremendous strain and stress.

I heard the Senator from New Jersey just recently on the floor. I hope the Senator from New Jersey listened to Prime Minister Allawi, but maybe he had not, because much of what the Senator from New Jersey was saying about Iraq was starkly different than what Prime Minister Allawi said.

The points the Prime Minister made which I thought were so telling were, first, that the people of Iraq do want independence and they do want liberty and they do want freedom, that they will hold elections, and that they have overcome great odds, 30 years of despotism of the most horrifying kind—tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, potentially millions of their

citizenry being savagely treated and killed by Saddam Hussein. They have come through that. They have moved toward democracy, and they intend to hold elections in January. That is a statement of extraordinary strength.

Secondly, he made the point, which I think is a telling and appropriate point, that Iraq has become the front-line of the fight against terrorists. The way he phrased it is: It is the place where the forces of hope are fighting the forces of fear. There can be no question about that.

He made the third point, which I believe is critical: That to pursue a course of defeatism in Iraq will lead to an emboldening attitude amongst terrorists throughout the world and will cause us to face many more years of fierce, intense, and brutal attacks from terrorists, which might otherwise be undermined to some degree, hopefully, if we are able to set up a functioning free state of Iraq where liberty rules, where women have rights, where the strength of law exists. That sort of course is what we are on and what we should pursue there.

The personal courage of this individual cannot be understated. There can be no question but that the interim Prime Minister of Iraq, because he speaks for freedom and he speaks for democracy, is the No. 1 target of the terrorists within his nation, of which there are, obviously, a fair number functioning.

But the point he makes is that they represent the distinct minority of his people, and to a large extent they come from outside his nation, and the hangover from the Baathist Party which ran such a despot government which was so authoritarian and so destructive to human life and freedom, and that the vast majority of the Iraqi citizens seek freedom and seek liberty, and that right now, today, significant progress has been made. He made the point that 15 of the 18 provinces could today hold an election and will hold an election in January, obviously—a huge stride forward.

I was also interested to see the response of the candidate for President from the other side of the aisle, Senator KERRY, to the statements by Prime Minister Allawi.

When he was specifically asked how he reacted, he said: The President is saying one thing and being contradicted by the Prime Minister. Then he went on to say that things are disastrous in Iraq.

He had said earlier this week that Iraq is in chaos and that actually Saddam Hussein's administration was better than the chaos. I am paraphrasing him here, but essentially that was the purpose of his statement, that the way Saddam Hussein was replaced, the chaos which has succeeded him is worse than Saddam Hussein—a statement which I think and I hope he regrets making, and certainly which is, according to the Prime Minister, not credible because, as the Prime Minister

pointed out today, the people of Iraq are seeking and pursuing freedom and moving toward elections. And they have a government that has been formed through a constitutional process.

So it is really not the President and the Prime Minister who are speaking in opposite terms; it is Senator KERRY and the Prime Minister who are speaking in opposite terms. They, obviously, have significantly different views of what is happening in Iraq. The Prime Minister of Iraq maybe does not know as much about Iraq as the Senator from Massachusetts. But if he does know as much about Iraq as the Senator from Massachusetts, and I suspect he does, his view of Iraq is starkly different than basically the attitude of defeatism which is being pursued or presented by the Senator from Massachusetts.

It is also ironic that in his response at this press conference to what Mr. Allawi said, he basically said Mr. Allawi was wrong, that the "reports are pretty devastating," is the term Senator KERRY used, that "we are losing the peace," is a term Senator KERRY used, that "we are not getting the reconstruction aid out," and that "we are not training the Iraqi personnel to defend themselves."

Prime Minister Allawi disagrees with him on all those points. He thinks we are moving toward a policy of peace that is going to lead toward freedom for his people. He recognizes we are in a difficult time, and he said that very openly, and that there are those in his nation who, unfortunately, will use the horrific and barbarous tactics of beheading and car bombing and cowardly attacks on children and women as a way to try to disrupt the movement toward freedom.

He recognizes that, but he also says progress is being made, dramatic progress. In fact, as is pointed out today, 15 of 18 provinces could hold an election today. That is progress toward peace, which Senator KERRY says does not exist there. He says that the reconstruction money is not going out. That is not what Prime Minister Allawi said. Prime Minister Allawi went through a litany, a long list of schools that have opened, hospitals that have opened, books that have been supplied, businesses that have begun as a result of reconstruction aid. More is on the way, and it is in the pipeline. He talked about the excitement, really, of his nation coming back to being a nation of commerce.

When Senator KERRY says the troops are not being trained—and Senator KERRY mocked in this press conference Secretary Rumsfeld who got numbers incorrect on the issue of how many troops were being trained. It was a mistake, no question about it. The Secretary admitted to that. But as far as Senator KERRY was concerned that mistake, once admitted to, was still a mistake that deserved to be mocked. But the mistake Senator KERRY makes