

service in September, 2002 of CIA's "reservations" about the inclusion of references to Iraqi efforts to obtain uranium from Africa in the British intelligence service's September 24 dossier?

Five, given the doubts of the U.S. Intelligence Community, why didn't the President say in his State of the Union speech not only that "The British Government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa" but that "our U.S. intelligence community has serious doubts about such reporting"?

Six, how and when did the U.S. Government receive the forged documents on Niger, and when did it become aware that they might be bogus?

And, seven, what role did the Office of the Vice President have in bringing about an inquiry into Iraq's purported efforts to obtain uranium from Niger? Was the Vice President's staff briefed on the results of Ambassador Wilson's trip to Niger?

These and many other questions underscore the critical importance of a bipartisan, open, and thorough inquiry into the objectivity and credibility of intelligence concerning the presence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq immediately before the war and the alleged Iraq al-Qaida connection, and the use of such intelligence by the Department of Defense in policy decisions, military planning and the conduct of operations in Iraq.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska is recognized.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask that the Chair lay before the Senate the Defense appropriations bill.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, morning business is closed.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2004

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the hour of 10:30 having arrived, the Senate will resume consideration of H.R. 2658, which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 2658) making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2004, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader is recognized.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I compliment the distinguished Senator from Michigan for his thorough and thoughtful statement involving many of the questions that need to be asked and need to be answered. His recommendation to the Senate and to our country that there be a thorough investigation, a bipartisan investigation, where these questions can be answered

and the information provided, in my view, is essential.

We have become more and more confused over the course of the last several days with regard to the conflicting information provided by the administration on these and other key questions. We must find a way with which each of these questions can be clarified and for the administration to come forth with a clear acknowledgement of the need for this clarification is essential.

The American people deserve a thorough, complete, open review of each and every one of these questions. The Intelligence Committee has begun its work, and I commend the distinguished ranking member for his efforts and his persistence in bringing it to this point. I think this has now gone beyond the matter of just intelligence, as the Senator from Michigan has pointed out with questions and the concerns he raised in his speech this morning.

We will address these questions both legislatively and rhetorically over the course of the next several days. But I have very fundamental questions with regard to the bill itself. Others have raised them.

Why is it that there is not one dime requested for the Iraqi operation in the Defense appropriations bill? Why is it that there is not one dime requested for the Defense Department's efforts in the war on terror? Not one dime. I am just baffled. It is sort of legislative never-never land for us to be involved in a war that we are already told by the Secretary of Defense—at least with regard to Iraq and Afghanistan—is costing this country \$5 billion a month, and there is not \$1 requested in this bill for that operation.

How in the world can we be on the Senate floor talking about something as consequential as this—not only to us but to the world—and not have a better appreciation of what the costs and implications and fiscal consequences are? So that, too, will be a matter that I hope will be the subject of great debate in the Senate Chamber.

We admire the work done by our military. We are grateful for the extraordinary effort and sacrifice made by the Armed Forces. Many of our National Guard and Reserve personnel have been in that country now for over 6 months. The sacrifice and the extraordinary effort they have made on behalf of their country ought to be commended. But another question comes to mind as we consider that sacrifice: Why are we doing it alone? And why is it the administration continues to refuse to request additional resources, officially, from NATO? Why is it they are unwilling to ask the United Nations to urge its members to provide military force and civilian police? Why is that not a part of the administration position?

We find ourselves in a very unusual set of circumstances. We are debating the single largest Defense appropriations bill in history but a bill that does not in any way reflect the cost of our

presence and the effort being made at this very moment in Iraq or in Afghanistan or the war on terror.

We know it is going to continue to cost this country billions of dollars each and every month, but we do not know why the administration refuses to ask others officially for help, especially NATO, and we certainly do not know the answers to the questions raised by the distinguished Senator from Michigan just moments ago.

We must have those answers, and I hope during the course of this debate we can find mechanisms and subscribe to procedures that will ensure that the American people have all the facts.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I do not mean to be disrespectful and interrupt the distinguished leader, but I wonder if the Democratic leader knows that I am responsible for not having more money for Iraq in this bill. We met with the President and the Secretary of Defense and pointed out the enormous amount of money we had provided in the supplemental passed earlier this year for that action in Iraq. We had to have money to meet some of the problems caused by my interpretation of the budget resolution in not having enough money for some of the other subcommittees.

We worked out the arrangement whereby we took \$3.1 billion out of this bill and allocated it to other subcommittees with the understanding that if additional moneys are needed in Iraq because of our actions there, beyond what we have already provided, that we will have a supplemental in the spring.

We anticipate the moneys we provided in the massive supplemental, \$62.6 billion, is sufficient to carry them forward. As a matter of fact, there are not only sufficient funds, but in this bill we actually rescinded about \$3 billion of the supplemental to make it available to other areas of defense, not having it totally earmarked to Iraq.

We are trying to manage this money. The distinguished Democratic leader is exactly right. The costs are running somewhere around \$4 billion to \$5 billion a month. We expect that to start tapering down as this involvement in Iraq continues. It is certainly not the same as when we were building up forces and transmitting personnel and material to Iraq. We have tried to manage this situation and keep a firm hand on the expenditures in Iraq. In doing so, we made more money available to other subcommittees because they have problems related to homeland security and other matters.

While I am honest in the fact that I do not think we have enough money yet for some of those subcommittees, I do think we have more money available for nondefense matters, for homeland security matters, than we would have had had we continued with the approach that was in the budget to start.