

Coming over here, looking at emissions of mercury from electric generators, we find the greatest cuts, the deepest cuts, come in 2010. They come from the Jeffords proposal, not surprisingly. The administration's proposals are right here—not much different from current law. The proposal that the three Republican Senators—CHAFEE, ALEXANDER, GREGG—and myself offered is somewhere in between. Actually our cuts are a little deeper than in the Jeffords proposal between now and 2010, and his mercury cuts are a bit further than ours in the subsequent years.

Right here, the third box here, let's look at nitrogen oxide emissions. Again, the deepest cuts are from the Jeffords proposal. The President's Clear Skies proposal—they are all sort of lumped together, and our bipartisan proposal does a little bit better with nitrogen oxide emissions. I think it is kind of interesting, for the nitrogen oxide emissions we are not that far apart. There is a considerable difference between us and the administration on sulfur dioxide and mercury, but we are pretty close together on nitrogen oxide.

Here are CO₂ emissions. The yellow line, the Jeffords proposals: some reductions between now and 2010, pretty level in the outyears. My proposal doesn't go as far, but it holds the CO₂ emissions pretty level until the end of the next decade. Under the President's proposal, under Clear Skies and current law, CO₂ levels continue to rise and emissions continue to rise.

The next chart we are going to look at actually lets us see what the price is of reducing CO₂ emissions. This for me was maybe the biggest surprise of all.

In order to reduce emissions of CO₂ by a ton starting in 2010, under the Jeffords proposal it is \$16 a ton—pretty expensive. By 2020, to get a ton of CO₂ reduction out of the Jeffords Clean Power Act—\$27 a ton. But look at this. The proposal that Senators CHAFEE, ALEXANDER, GREGG, and I offered, our proposal—one ton of CO₂ reduction in 2010 costs \$1. It is \$1 per ton in 2015. It is \$2 per ton in 2020.

Given that low cost, my question to my colleagues and the administration is, What are we waiting for? Let's get started.

We have a third proposal, a third chart here. The third chart actually looks at what we could get for our money, for our efforts on reducing areas of nonattainment for particulates, the microscopic stuff that gets in our lungs and causes all kinds of breathing disorders. Now we are looking at nondesignated areas that exist. There are about 40 of them around the country that are nonattainment for small particulate matter. Under the Carper proposal and under the Jeffords proposal, we reduce that almost by three-fourths, down to about 10 in each of those. The administration goes down about half. We continue to show considerably fewer nonattainment areas

for particulate matter by 2020 under the Jeffords proposal, which is the lowest, and our proposal, which is next to the lowest.

The second chart shows nonattainment areas for ozone. There are a lot of nonattainment areas right now—about 126. If you come up to 2010, there is a dramatic reduction. We go down to about 20. Frankly, the achievements are across the board. Each of the proposals is about the same with respect to reducing ozone.

This chart lets us look at annual monetary health benefits of reducing fine particles and ozone. We find in 2010 that my proposal has quantifiable—according to the EPA—health benefits of about anywhere from \$110 billion per year to almost \$130 billion. That is almost twice what we get under the Clear Skies proposal and under current law; not quite as much as is achieved under the Jeffords proposal. We find in each of the outyears—2015 and 2020—we also have considerably better health benefits that we can demonstrate, in the view of the EPA, between 2010 and 2020.

Let me wrap it up by saying that we can do better for our environment, we can do better for our health, and, frankly, I think we can do at least as well for our economy by taking this middle-ground approach that Senators ALEXANDER, GREGG, CHAFEE, and I have outlined.

In terms of health consequences alone, under our proposal, 10,000 fewer people will suffer from chronic bronchitis in 2010. Think about that—10,000 fewer people throughout this country in 1 year will suffer from chronic bronchitis. In 2010, we will see some 14,000 fewer hospital admissions and emergency room visits. In 2010, there will be about 160,000 people who will no longer have asthma attacks in this country. And in 2010, companies will have over 1 million fewer lost workdays. These benefits are real. They will have a dramatic impact on the quality of people's lives, and they will have a dramatic impact on worker productivity as well.

Since 2001, both Republicans and Democrats have been arguing over multipollutant legislation. Now with an apple-to-apple comparison of various proposals from EPA, I think we can have a process with not just meaningful legislation but that which will get us off the dime and get us to work on improving the quality of our health and doing it in a way that doesn't break the bank for consumers or the utility companies.

Over the coming months, I will continue to work with my colleagues, the administration, the utility industry, and environmental groups to develop legislation that has strong bipartisan support.

Early next year, we will reintroduce a new and I think improved Clean Air Planning Act, and soon after that I hope to sit down with my friend, Senator VOINOVICH, and others to develop a bipartisan compromise we can take

through the committee and bring to the floor, hopefully, for action.

There are five principles we should stick to if we want to get a clean air bill.

Climate change must be addressed. As we have seen from EPA, it can be addressed for \$1 a ton in reduction of CO₂.

We should start to improve the environment of people's health as quickly as possible. We can do that.

We should provide industry with the regulatory certainty they need and which they have been asking for—and some flexibility, too.

We should protect our economy.

We should pass stronger protections than those which we already have on the books.

I want to get legislation done. I came here to get things done, and I know my colleagues did, as well. I believe that together we can develop a proposal that will help us achieve just that. Again, we can do better. We shouldn't let politics get in the way of doing the right thing.

I yield my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. MURKOWSKI). The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Madam President, parliamentary inquiry: What is the time allocation?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is 15 minutes under the control of the majority in morning business.

Mr. WARNER. I thank the Presiding Officer.

I shall take 7 minutes, and my distinguished colleague from Alaska will follow.

IMPROVISED EXPLOSIVE DEVICES

Mr. WARNER. Madam President, the Committee on Armed Services has been working very conscientiously, as we should—and, indeed, all Senators should—on the question of the IEDs in Iraq and in Afghanistan.

Yesterday, our committee invited over from the War College 10 young officers, each of them having commanded a battalion of U.S. Army, U.S. Marines, and, in some instances, some Navy as the Navy is taking a very significant role in the ground operations in Iraq.

I have had the privilege of being associated with men and women of the U.S. military for many years, but I never saw 10 finer individuals. I sat in awe of how they, in a very confident and calm and professional manner, recounted their experiences over the last 18 months—different periods of time, ranging from 6 to 12 months—when they had command of the most magnificent troops, the most magnificent, dedicated military we have had in the contemporary history of America.

We owe those troops a high debt of gratitude. No matter what our political affiliation is, no matter what our philosophical approach is, we owe them and their families a tremendous debt of gratitude. I think that was expressed by this body when 98 to 0 we passed the

annual Armed Forces authorization bill. There was not one single dissenting voice. I went back and searched the RECORD. Indeed, during the Vietnam period when I was in the Pentagon, there was always a cadre that would vote against it. But I think it was a recognition in this Chamber—and I salute each Member of the Senate who voted for that bill and expressed on behalf of the men and women of the Armed Forces our gratitude.

But much more remains to be done. In the judgment of this Senator—I am just speaking for myself—I believe the next 4 to 6 months is absolutely the most critical period of this conflict in Iraq. How and why we got into that conflict is debated. It has been taking place, but I urge colleagues to look forward to the future to see how we can best support our forces as each one of the volunteers fulfills the orders of the Commander in Chief and carries out the mission.

During the course of the deliberation of our bill, the distinguished Senator from Connecticut, a member of the Armed Services Committee, Mr. LIEBERMAN, gave an eloquent speech regarding that classic statement at the conclusion of World War II by Arthur Vandenberg: "Politics should be checked at the water's edge."

I say to my colleagues with great respect for all, now is the time. The next 60, 90, 120, 180 days is most critical. I urge us to put aside our political differences, put aside our philosophical differences, and look forward and seize the opportunity to support the Iraqis in their forthcoming elections on the 15th of December and the formation of that government in the ensuing 30 days thereafter.

We should be very strong in our efforts to impress upon this new government the urgency of time and the need to show a greater measure of strength and determination than ever before by the various transitional governments that have preceded this government. Now is the time for the Iraqi people and their new government to show determination, quadruple their efforts in forming their new ministries, standing them up so they can assume the full burden of that measure of democracy and freedom that they elect to have among themselves, and to rapidly try to bring this insurgency to a conclusion.

The ground situation as it develops in the ensuing months dictates any thoughts of how and when our forces can be deemed to have completed their mission and begin the return home.

Just days ago, this Chamber rejected an attempt again to set a timetable. We set no timetable. We are there in this critical period of the next 6 months to support the Iraqi people, to support this new government, but in return they must give us a full measure of support and equal effort to achieve these goals.

If I may return to the subject of the IEDs which was a principal part of our

discussion yesterday, I will be consulting with Members, but I believe the Department of Defense has to redouble its efforts to deal with this difficult situation of the IEDs. Each of these officers recounted the number of casualties they experienced in their units. This great Nation shows the magnificent compassion for the families of not only those who lost their lives but lost their limbs, and we are deeply indebted to them. We owe them no less than our full measure of support here at home.

Let us check politics at the water's edge.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

PRE-WAR INTELLIGENCE

Mr. STEVENS. Madam President, I am deeply disturbed by what I believe is an attempt to write a revisionist history of our involvement in Iraq and our pre-war intelligence.

Since 1981, I have served as the Chairman or Ranking Member of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee. As one who has watched over the Defense Department's Appropriations, I was impressed with President Clinton's position on Iraq. The President and his top advisers—Vice President Gore, Secretary of State Albright, National Security Adviser Sandy Berger, and others—consistently made the case we should take seriously the threat Iraq and its weapons, program posed.

I have come to the floor twice in the past to submit President Clinton's February 1998 Pentagon speech into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Before giving his speech, President Clinton was briefed by the generals who command all of our forces. Their briefing convinced President Clinton that he might have to take military action against Saddam Hussein, and he told the generals to be ready.

Those of us in Congress never doubted President Clinton's sincerity or truthfulness regarding this issue. In 1998, he said:

If Saddam rejects peace and we have to use force, our purpose is clear. We want to seriously diminish the threat posed by Iraq's weapons of mass destruction program.

Vice President Al Gore echoed this concern. He said:

Saddam's ability to produce and deliver weapons of mass destruction poses a grave threat . . . to the security of the world.

Secretary of State Madeline Albright told us:

Iraq is a long way from here, but what happens there matters a great deal here. For the risks that the leaders of a rogue state will use nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons against us or our allies is the greatest security threat we face.

And National Security Adviser Sandy Berger warned:

He (Saddam Hussein) will use those weapons of mass destruction again, as he has 10 times since 1983.

Many Members of the Senate agreed the threat was real and imminent. In 2002, Senator KENNEDY said:

We have known for many years that Saddam Hussein is seeking and developing weapons of mass destruction.

Senator ROCKEFELLER warned:

Saddam's existing biological and chemical weapons capabilities pose real threats to America, today, tomorrow.

And Senator KERRY said:

These weapons pose an unacceptable threat.

In October 2002, the Senate overwhelmingly supported giving President Bush the authority to use force in Iraq. We authorized the use of force in a vote of 77 to 23. The facts before us indicated Saddam Hussein posed a grave threat.

Let me be clear: At the time, the facts were undisputed and we were all provided the same information. These were the facts as we understood them. Saddam Hussein had used weapons of mass destruction against the Iranians, his own people and possibly some of our men and women in uniform during the first gulf war.

In 1998, the weapons inspectors were forced out of Iraq. When the inspectors left, the regime was capable of resuming bacterial warfare agent production within weeks. Iraq had not accounted for hundreds of tons of chemical precursors and tens of thousands of unfilled munitions canisters. Iraq had not accounted for at least 15,000 artillery rockets previously used for delivery of nerve agents or 500 artillery shells filled with mustard gas.

Saddam Hussein had been ordered by the U.N. to disarm 16 times, and 16 times he refused to comply. He engaged in a series of deceitful tactics designed to prevent U.N. inspectors from completing their inspections.

Our intelligence agencies gathered further evidence of his activities. This information was classified to protect our sources and methods. I received those intelligence briefings. I believe I received the same information as President Clinton. These intelligence reports were deeply disturbing, and phase I of the Intelligence Committee's investigations found this information was not coerced or influenced in any way. It was our intelligence agency's best assessment of what was going on in Iraq at the time. Had the President received those briefings and failed to act, he would have been negligent in his duty to keep Americans safe. Those in the Senate who voted for the resolution believed this, which is why we authorized the use of force.

I am now disturbed by the way some are twisting this history to suit their own political agendas. Why is anyone calling the people of this administration liars when the speaker shared their position? In many cases, those who accuse the administration of deception previously had made the case even more strongly than President Bush.

The Senate Intelligence Committee spent 2 years putting together a bipartisan report on our prewar intelligence.