

now they need the support, the resources, and the right troops to defeat the significant pockets of guerilla opposition that remain.

Unfortunately, unless we adjust our course, the management of postwar Iraq may well be viewed by history as the most consequential mismanagement of an international crisis by any U.S. administration since Vietnam.

Notwithstanding the deaths of Qusai and Odaï Hussein, the joint U.S.-UK mission is in deep trouble. Nine months ago, I called for the administration to enlist NATO in comprehensive planning for postwar Iraq. What we are seeing now is the costs of failing to plan and refusing to internationalize our approach.

The departure of Saddam Hussein from power is an opportunity to change the course of history in the Middle East. That is one reason I supported and celebrated Iraq's liberation. It could have been, should have been, and still might prove a victory for people everywhere who respect human rights, cherish freedom, seek to halt the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and believe that peace between Arabs and Israel is both achievable and essential.

To succeed, we will need all the help we can get—from NATO and other allies, the U.N., and friends within the Arab and Muslim communities. The President apparently believes that we can succeed largely on our own.

The American people are starving for some straight talk. There is no reason except failed Presidential leadership that 90 percent of the foreign troops in Iraq are American. As commander in chief, he should be able to assure the families of our Armed Forces in Iraq that absolutely everything is being done to help them achieve their mission and come home safely and soon. He could not honestly provide such an assurance today.

Our troops won't get the help or protection they need unless the administration offers to share authority and responsibility for reconstruction efforts in Iraq. The President should not let past disagreements or misguided ideology stand in the way. The administration has little patience for diplomacy, so they argue that a U.N. framework means a loss of American control.

That is simply untrue. Like we did in Kosovo, we should ask the U.N. to provide a mandate for a coalition-led force that will work in consultation with, but not under the control of, the U.N. civilian administration. That will preserve the absolutely essential American control of our forces, but create a framework in which many nations can participate comfortably.

The Bush administration must level with the world and with the American people. A new consensus must be built on the truth. Winning the peace in Iraq will require many months, probably several years. It will cost tens of billions of dollars more than can be accounted for by Iraqi oil revenues. It

will entail grave, ongoing risks to our Armed Forces. But it is a necessary, even noble, mission in which every law-abiding and freedom-loving country has a stake, and to which each should be invited to contribute not as a favor to America, but as a gift to our common future.

#### EXECUTIVE NOMINEES TO DOJ

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I rise today to state that I object to proceeding to the consideration of two executive nominees to the Department of Justice. The first nominee is Mr. Christopher A. Wray, who is nominated to be the assistant attorney general of the criminal division at the Department of Justice. The second nominee to which I object is Mr. Jack Landman Goldsmith III, who is nominated to be assistant attorney general, office of legal counsel at the Department of Justice.

I have placed holds on these individuals because I have numerous outstanding issues that have yet to be resolved by the Department of Justice. More specifically, I have several outstanding written requests before the Department of Justice. Some of these requests are more than 6 months overdue. In addition, I am presently working with the Department of Justice to overcome a number of procedural issues directly affecting my ability, as a member of the Judiciary Committee to, among other things, conduct oversight of the Department of Justice, and the Federal Bureau of Investigations.

#### DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY APPROPRIATIONS BILL

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I rise in support of the Fiscal Year 2004 Department of Homeland Security appropriations bill. As chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, I want to congratulate the members of the new Appropriations Subcommittee on successfully completing the first annual appropriations bill providing funding for the new Department of Homeland Security.

Just as the Department of Homeland Security has made momentous progress in protecting our citizens while simultaneously creating a new government agency, the members of the Homeland Security Subcommittee have moved expeditiously to recommend funding in a responsible manner. There is no bill more important to the citizens of Utah, and we recognize the committee's important efforts.

The bill's appropriation of \$28.5 billion accomplishes many things. One of the most important is continued support of the Office for Domestic Preparedness. This office, which awards grants to State and local agencies to assist them in preparing our first responders, has had a 1,500 percent increase in funding since September 11, 2001. Today's recommendation of \$3.6 billion will bring the total amount spent on first responder preparedness to \$8.8 billion since that fateful day.

Our Nation's airports are infinitely more protected than they were just one year ago. The bill continues this important work by providing \$4.5 billion for passenger and baggage screening and airport security. It also provides \$4.9 billion for securing our borders. The bill funds the US VISIT system development with \$380 million. This new system will allow our Nation to collect, maintain and share appropriate information in order to determine the eligibility of foreign citizens wishing to visit the United States.

I appreciate that the committee has decided not to earmark funding for specific Congressional requests and to leave these decisions to the appropriate agencies. The defense of our Nation and in particular the protection of our citizens will never be achieved by purely political decisions, but through diligent hard work and strategic planning.

However, I would like to bring to the Senate's attention a program that has already proven its effectiveness in protecting our citizens and was initiated by the Office for Domestic Preparedness. Last year, the Office for Domestic Preparedness asked Dugway Proving Ground to develop and teach a Ph.D driven chemical and biological emergency responder course. Dugway Proving Ground is our Nation's chemical and biological defense proving ground. The result of these classes has been an unparalleled success and the student responses were overwhelmingly positive. Participants in the class were unanimous in their praise and the Chief of the Chicago HAZMAT Unit categorized the program as "one that all first responders should attend." A student commented further that "This was the best use of time in my 25 year career." The courses focused on agent characteristics, sampling, protection, detection, decontamination and chem/bio production recognition, such as the difference between clandestine drug laboratories, industrial accidents or chemical/biological production capabilities. Students also learned to assess a situation in order to determine the proper course of action. Clearly, these first responder training courses at Dugway are a national resource and though the Committee did not recommend funding for individual programs, I hope that the Office for Domestic Preparedness will continue to sponsor this important program.

I congratulate the committee on its fine work and urge the Senate's approval of the bill.

#### CULTURAL BRIDGES

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, next week 54 high school students from the Islamic and Arab world will arrive in the United States for a year of study under a new exchange program to help bridge the cultural divide between America and the Islamic and Arab nations of the world. Secretary Powell will welcome the students at a ceremony at the State Department on Wednesday, August 5.