

Medicare. We can do better for businesses that are desperately asking us for help. We can do better for our families, for every worker being asked to pay more for health care, or losing their job because the company cannot keep their health care plan and their jobs. There is more we can do, much more. I urge my colleagues to join with me in one step, S. 2780, Keeping the Promise of Medicare Act. We can, at minimum, start by saying to our seniors we are going to make sure you are not burdened with the costs of paying for these policies to privatize. We will keep you whole by capping this increase at the same level as the cost of living for Social Security. I hope we will vote on this bill before we leave and have the same sense of urgency about it that those paying their bills have every day.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DAYTON. Mr. President, I commend my colleague from Michigan. I am a proud cosponsor of her legislation. She has been a true champion for seniors and affordable prescription drugs, and she continues that leadership today.

#### IRAQ

Mr. DAYTON. Mr. President, yesterday Senator JOHN KERRY told the American people the truth about Iraq, the truth about the past, the truth about the present, and the truth about the future. President Bush, Vice President CHENEY, and other administration apologists complain he did not show enough optimism. Senator KERRY decided that honesty was more important than false optimism.

President Bush and Vice President CHENEY have not been honest about Iraq from the beginning. They have not been honest about Iraq with this Senate, not with the House, nor with the American people. JOHN KERRY gave us yesterday what we need: honesty about Iraq.

He was not alone in the last few days. I salute my Republican colleagues—five of them—for their honesty about the situation in Iraq. It cannot be easy to tell the American people the truth and to stand up to an administration of their own party which is not telling the truth. They are remarkable American patriots who recognize, as Senator ROBERT C. BYRD, the great senior Senator from West Virginia, has reminded us, that we serve with Presidents of the United States, not under them.

We are elected separately to serve independently and to exercise our own best judgments about what is best for our respective States and for our United States.

Listen to what five of our Republican Senators have said recently. One said that President Bush's rosy pronouncements about the situation in Iraq "are not as straight as we would want them to be."

Another stated:

A crisp, sharp analysis of our policies is required.

A third, upon noting that of the \$18.5 billion Congress appropriated for Iraq's reconstruction a year ago, only \$1 billion has been expended, called this "the incompetence in the administration."

A fourth Republican Senator stated the other day that he may not vote for President Bush in November, to which another Republican Senator replied:

What I like about him is that he can be a Republican Senator and, at the same time, he is unsure about our Republican President. He is a breath of fresh air in politics.

As he is. And we need also a breath of fresh air in the White House, along with fresh words of truth which we received yesterday from Senator KERRY.

The response of the Bush White House to these honest assessments by Senator KERRY and by our Republican Senate colleagues has been to attack them and blame everyone else. President Truman said when he was President, "The buck stops here." With this President, it is "the blame starts here"—blame those who opposed this war from the beginning, as I did; blame those who question his bungling of the running of Iraq after our courageous Armed Forces won the country in 3 weeks and still die daily because Iraqis will not take responsibility for their own country. And now he blames his political opponent for telling the American people the truth about Iraq, the truth that he has consistently withheld.

I am not clear exactly about what we are supposed to be optimistic. Certainly not the report of the President's own National Intelligence Council which, according to an Associated Press story last week, "presented President Bush this summer with three pessimistic scenarios regarding the security situation in Iraq, including the possibility of a civil war there before the end of 2005.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. DAYTON. Mr. President, how are we to view the continuing violence in Iraq, the murders of American soldiers as they stand guard in a country that its own citizens are unwilling or unable to guard for themselves, or the American citizens hired to work there who are being kidnapped and beheaded? Tell the 138,000 American soldiers who are courageously serving their country, risking and some losing their lives, and wondering when are they coming home. I say to those who tell patriotic dissenters that they are not supporting our troops—the printable part is, if you want to support our troops, bring them home alive soon, not in 10 or 20 years, as Senator MCCAIN has recently predicted.

Make Iraqis protect and defend their own country. That is what people do in a democracy. That is what people do in

any form of stable national government: They impose law and order in their own cities. They provide public safety on their own highways. They defend their own national borders.

Over a year ago, in August of 2003, the Bush administration claimed that 95 percent of Iraq was peacefully occupied and operating normally. Now we see daily reports that violence is spreading and becoming more murderous. The Iraqi Prime Minister claims that "foreign terrorists are still pouring in," a common cry to rally Americans behind the fallacy that their sons and daughters must die in Najev and Baghdad so we will not die in New York and Boston. He says more troops are needed to win. Following the party line, he says: We need more participation from other countries.

We needed more participation from other countries 2 years ago when Congress was stamped as part of the 2002 midterm election strategy to vote a blank check for warmaking based on completely false information from the Bush administration, including the President and the Vice President themselves.

We needed more participation from other countries when the United States and Great Britain bilaterally invaded Iraq in 2003. Or when the operation of that country failed to begin 3 weeks later. We need it now. Now that President Bush has made a mess of the situation in Iraq, are there any international volunteers?

How about participation from the people of Iraq against the supposedly "5,000 to 10,000" insurgents, 95 percent of whom we are told are Iraqis who do not like the presence of the United States there. On paper, we were told over almost a year ago by the Secretary of Defense that there were 206,000 Iraqi militia and army military personnel who were being trained or had been trained—206,000 we were told. Last week, the Secretary of Defense admits that only half of that number have actually been trained.

We are told that less than \$1 billion of the \$5 billion that Congress appropriated 1 year ago for security training has been expended. And that is why the Republican chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee said over the weekend that this is the incompetence of this administration. The buck stops there.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may have 2 minutes to complete my remarks.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Democratic time remains—3 minutes 43 seconds.

Mr. DAYTON. I ask that I may have 2 minutes of that time to complete my remarks.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DAYTON. Mr. President, the buck stops in the White House. The blame starts there and it ends there. Senator JOHN KERRY is not responsible

for this war. Congress is culpable to some extent, but is not responsible for it. President Bush is responsible. Now that things are going badly and getting worse—and I say that not because it is pessimism, I say that because it is the truth. JOHN KERRY told the American people the truth. President Bush should start doing the same.

I thank the Chair. I yield the floor.

EXHIBIT 1

[From AOL News]

INTELLIGENCE REPORT OFFERED BLEAK VIEW OF IRAQ

(By Katherine Pfleger Shrader)

WASHINGTON (Sept. 16).—The National Intelligence Council contemplated President Bush this summer with three pessimistic scenarios regarding the security situation in Iraq, including the possibility of a civil war there before the end of 2005.

In a highly classified National Intelligence Estimate, the council looked at the political, economic and security situation in the wartorn country and determined that—at best—a tenuous stability was possible, a U.S. official said late Wednesday, speaking on the condition of anonymity. The document lays out a second scenario in which increased extremism and fragmentation in Iraqi society impede efforts to build a central government and adversely affect efforts to democratize the country.

In a third, worst-case scenario, the intelligence council contemplated “trend lines that would point to a civil war,” the official said. The potential conflict could be among the country’s three main populations—the Sunnis, Shiites and Kurds.

It “would be fair” to call the document “pessimistic,” the official added. But “the contents shouldn’t come as a particular surprise to anyone who is following developments in Iraq. It encapsulates trends that are clearly apparent.”

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. There is 2½ minutes still under the control of the Democrats.

Mr. DAYTON. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DAYTON. I yield back the remainder of our time.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Pennsylvania.

CHARITABLE GIVING ACT

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Minnesota for yielding back his time.

Shortly, I will be making a unanimous consent request to move certain legislation to conference, the Charitable Giving Act that passed the House, or the CARE Act that passed in the Senate. These two bills, very similar in nature, were passed earlier in this session, actually last year—both

were passed last year—to try to help those organizations that are out on the front lines meeting the needs of our society. These are nonprofit organizations across America. The President refers to them as “arms of compassion,” those who meet human service needs, those who meet educational needs, our not-for-profit sector, which are a vitally important part of what makes America tick and what makes our country the great envy of the world in the sense that we have such strong communities, we have such strong voluntarism, we have such strong commitment to our neighbor.

These community organizations have seen, particularly in light of the decline in the stock market in the early part of this decade, with some of the problems we have had with our economy early in the decade, the amount of charitable giving decline. So as a result, to respond to these pressing needs, and actually to make the Tax Code, I would say, more equitable, we put forward a bipartisan bill offered by Senator JOE LIEBERMAN and me that passed 95 to 5. Support for this bill is pretty overwhelming. In the House, it passed 408 to 13, and in the Senate it passed 95 to 5. So there is strong support to try to help these charitable organizations meet the needs of those in our society.

Unfortunately, we have run into a roadblock. The roadblock is there are differences between the House and Senate bills. We would like to sit down and work out those differences in conference and move to a final solution to help these nonprofit organizations. We have been blocked repeatedly on the Senate floor from appointing conferees on a bill that is virtually non-controversial, that has almost passed unanimously in both Houses, different versions, but we have not been able to do so.

On eight occasions I have come to the Senate floor and asked for consent to do what we do as a normal course of record, which is to sit down with the House in a conference and come up with a bill to be voted up or down by both the House and Senate. We have had objections to it. In fact, we have had eight objections by the Democratic leadership; 7 times Senator REID objected, and the most recent one Senator DASCHLE objected. I am going to offer another one today.

We are approaching the end of the session. We are approaching a point where all the work that has been done on this legislation is going to come to an end. There are 1,600 groups supporting this legislation. There are 1,600 national nonprofit organizations that have come forward and said: We want this to be passed.

Not only that, Senator DASCHLE himself said in an op-ed—which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Rapid City Journal, Feb. 15, 2002]  
COMPROMISE GOOD FOR SD., AMERICA

(By Senator Tom Daschle)

WASHINGTON—Sept. 11 filled all of us with an overwhelming sense of grief. But like other human tragedies, Sept. 11 also taught us something important about ourselves. It reawakened in Americans a sense of generosity and civic duty. There was a heartfelt outpouring of altruism across the country as Americans united to provide assistance to the victims of Sept. 11.

It is important to continue building on this generous spirit by creating living memorials to the victims of September 11—not just in New York and Washington, but in Sioux Falls and Rapid City, in Newell, Faith, Elk Point and every community across South Dakota and America. We can do this by embracing President Bush’s call to build on the important partnership between the federal government and community-based and faith-based organizations.

President Bush has been working with Democrats and Republicans in Congress to promote charitable giving and encourage community and faith-based groups. On Feb. 8, the president and a bipartisan group of Senators unveiled the Charity Aid, Recovery and Empowerment Act—or CARE Act—that will harness the goodwill of Americans and turn this goodwill into good works.

I strongly support this faith-based initiative, and commend President Bush and Sen. Joseph Lieberman for their joint leadership on an issue that is so close to their hearts and so important to our nation.

Community and faith-based organizations do not seek to replace government. There will always be a need for programs like Social Security, Medicare or Head Start. What this proposal seeks to do is strengthen the partnership whereby charities and government can work side-by-side to meet some of the great unmet needs of our nation.

South Dakotans know the good works charities perform. They have seen success stories. Sioux Falls Promise works with community and religious leaders and educators to meet the needs of children and young people. In Rapid City, Catholic Social Services provides adoption services and family counseling, while in Sioux Falls Lutheran Social Services runs one of the best immigrant assistance programs in the country. In other communities in our state and across the country, religious-based charities tutor and mentor children, give shelter to battered women and children, help young people find jobs, and feed the hungry by running soup kitchens and food pantries.

The bipartisan faith-based initiative announced by President Bush will help meet unmet needs in our communities by providing tax incentives to businesses and individuals to give money to charities, by simplifying the process by which charities can qualify for tax exempt status, and by providing technical assistance for community and faith-based groups.

In the wake of Sept. 11, it will provide a framework and incentives for Americans to take up arms against enemies here at home, including poverty, illiteracy, hunger and homelessness.

The CARE Act isn’t a Republican or a Democratic plan. It is a bipartisan proposal that strikes the right balance between harnessing the best forces of faith in our public life without infringing on the First Amendment. It reflects a broad concept of public service and builds on programs sponsored by presidents from John F. Kennedy to President Bush’s own father. Most importantly, it is representative of what we can accomplish in Washington when we put partisanship and politics aside and focus on what matters. I