

had from the intelligence community were not consistent with Secretary Rumsfeld.

I am going to put that exchange in the RECORD, and that will stand in terms of 3 weeks ago.

I want to draw attention to this letter. "The American intelligence community has provided extensive intelligence"—extensive intelligence. It does not say "all" or "complete intelligence." It says "extensive intelligence." That is what my letter says.

Mr. WARNER. Go on to the second paragraph.

Mr. KENNEDY. I know, but why do they say—I will be glad to read this and go through it, Mr. President, but I want to stick with the facts I know about. The facts I know about are the testimony of the Secretary of Defense and the exchange that he had with Senator LEVIN in open session in the Armed Services Committee where Senator LEVIN had been told the evening before, and it was represented that a complete list of these sites had been provided, and he had the materials that demonstrated it had not been complete. Those are security matters, as the Senator well knows. That was 2½ weeks ago.

The point is, as to the intelligence given to the inspector, whatever has been given, is it the Senator's statement now as chairman of the Armed Services Committee that all of the information the intelligence agency has in terms of weapons has been given to the inspectors? Is that what the Senator is telling us?

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I think this letter answers Senator KENNEDY's first statement: We have just begun to provide information.

Mr. KENNEDY. I did not say "just begun." No, the Senator is not correct. There was a provision, there was a filtering out of this material.

It was very slow in January. We are getting close to classified. I remember the briefing we had from the deputy of the CIA at that time. It was clear they were cooperating. It was also clear there were a limited number of inspectors and they were going to provide more, and it would be soon. I think the Senator would remember that briefing. I remember it clearly. This has been a process of filtering out.

The authority I have, I sat right next to Carl Levin, 2½ weeks ago, when he looked in the eyes of the Secretary of Defense and they reviewed documents, and the Secretary of Defense leaned over and shared various documents. At the end of that, he had to agree with the position Senator LEVIN had, that all of the information had not been provided. I will put that in the RECORD.

My point is, if we still, 2½ weeks ago, had a ways to go with intelligence information that would be advantageous to the inspectors, it strengthens those who believe we should make sure our inspectors have all of the relevant material that will help them do the job which we all agree should be done.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, in fairness, this letter is part of a very complex and long dialog between Senator LEVIN and various members of the administration. Were he here today, he would say he is still not satisfied with regard to this issue.

At one point I recognized that one member of the administration said to him, Senator, I gave you incorrect numbers at one time and I am now correcting them. I think a good-faith effort has been made by the administration to resolve such differences as Senator LEVIN has had.

Having been in most, if not all, of the discussions with Senator LEVIN at the time he raised these important questions, the preponderance of the facts shows unequivocally our Nation has cooperated fully on the matters of intelligence. I stand by that. I heard the National Security Adviser state that, the Director of Central Intelligence state that, and others. We have cooperated.

Have there been some disjoints of timing and perhaps numbers? I cannot say it is perfect, but there has been overall sincere cooperation.

We have had an excellent debate today. I thank my colleagues for joining me on the floor, both on my side of the aisle and the other side of the aisle. We have met the test of the Senate addressing this question.

I suggest the absence of a quorum. The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SUNUNU). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to a period of morning business.

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

IRAQ

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, on this day in the halls of the United Nations Security Council and in the distant lands of the Middle East, the United States is making a stand for the causes of freedom and democracy, for order and peace.

The President and the Congress have made clear that we will no longer tolerate Saddam Hussein's production or possession of weapons of mass destruction. Further, it is our solemn belief that the people of Iraq deserve to live in freedom. They have suffered long enough under the tyranny and the oppression of the day.

As is so often the case, challenging the status quo is not easy even if that status quo is a dictator pursuing and possessing weapons of mass destruction that are explicitly prohibited by the United Nations Security Council.

We are fast approaching that moment of reckoning with Saddam Hussein. If he were to voluntarily disarm, it would be welcomed. But he will not. If he flees his country, the chances for peace are much better. But he will never flee unless he is absolutely convinced that there are no other options for his survival.

If individuals within Saddam's regime rise up and overthrow him, there will be an opportunity for a new beginning in Iraq. But none will take this brave step if they doubt the fortitude of the United States and the international community.

Let there be no mistake about our Nation's purpose in confronting Iraq. Saddam Hussein's regime poses a clear threat to the security of the United States, its friends and its allies. And it is a threat that we must address, and we must address now.

Recall that in 1991 we were concerned Saddam would use weapons of mass destruction to further his expansionist desires in the Middle East. Now, a decade later, we live with the reality—the reality—that terrorists may acquire and use such weapons on our soil.

I have no doubts that terrorists seek such weapons to use against this Nation. I am equally certain that Saddam Hussein possesses such weapons and would provide them to terrorists, if he has not already. And it is this nexus of a tyrannical dictator, those weapons of mass destruction, and terrorists who seek to inflict harm—grievous harm—upon the American people that compels us to act now.

The Senate—this body—and the House of Representatives voted overwhelmingly last fall to authorize the President to use force, if necessary, against Iraq if Saddam Hussein did not disarm. In those votes, the Congress stated unambiguously that the United States will not tolerate the pursuit and possession of weapons of mass destruction by Saddam Hussein.

Nothing has fundamentally changed. I guess one could say the possible exception to that statement would be we have even further evidence, because of the passage of time, that Saddam Hussein will not voluntarily disarm.

Last fall, to reaffirm the broad international commitment to disarm Iraq, President Bush successfully pursued a United Nations resolution that offered Saddam Hussein a final chance to meet the demands of the world community or face the consequences. Saddam has missed his final chance.

Now we are told the United States must pursue a second resolution before Iraq can be disarmed. The United Nations Security Council, on 17 separate occasions, over a 12-year period, demanded the disarmament of Iraq. For the record, this will not be a second resolution, but this will be an 18th resolution over this 12-year period. Nothing in history has been made more meaningful by repeating it 18 different times.

In the end, it is not a multilateral approach our opponents seek—for the