

I call on Senator FRIST to convene a meeting next week of the 100 Senators in our Intelligence Committee room so we can question and hear from the head of the CIA and the head of the National Security Council, Mr. Tenet and Ms. Rice. Mr. Tenet and Ms. Rice ought to present themselves, and we should begin this process of finding out what happened. Why did it happen. Who is accountable, and where does the buck stop.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CHAFFEE). The Senator from Florida is recognized.

#### NEW INFORMATION ON IRAQ'S POSSESSION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Mr. President, I express my appreciation to the Senator from North Dakota for the case that he has made, which has been very disturbing to us as two Senators, because the information we have received over the last several days causes us not only to scratch our heads but to shake our heads—that the intelligence we received in the secure rooms of this Capitol complex was either so faulty that we are in a considerable degree of vulnerability, that we are not getting accurate information upon which to defend this country, or that the information that was presented to us was faulty not because of the sources of that information and the analysis but there was some suggestion of coloring that information to reach a certain conclusion.

I think this is far beyond Republicans and Democrats. This is about defense of the homeland. This is about America. Just because this has come up in January of an election year, with Dr. Kay coming forth and telling us today in the Armed Services Committee that he concluded this last November, then it is sure time for us to get some answers for the protection of this country and its people.

I want to take this occasion to inform the Senate of specific information that I was given, which turns out not to be true. I was one of 77 Senators who voted for the resolution in October of 2002 to authorize the expenditure of funds for the President to engage in an attack on Iraq. I voted for it. I want to tell you some specific information that I received that had a great deal of bearing on my conclusion to vote for that resolution. There were other factors, but this information was very convincing to me that there was an imminent peril to the interests of the United States.

I, along with nearly every Senator in this Chamber, in that secure room of this Capitol complex, was not only told there were weapons of mass destruction—specifically chemical and biological—but I was looked at straight in the face and told that Saddam Hussein had the means of delivering those biological and chemical weapons of mass de-

struction by unmanned drones, called UAVs, unmanned aerial vehicles. Further, I was looked at straight in the face and told that UAVs could be launched from ships off the Atlantic coast to attack eastern seaboard cities of the United States.

Is it any wonder that I concluded there was an imminent peril to the United States? The first public disclosure of that information occurred perhaps a couple of weeks later, when the information was told to us. It was prior to the vote on the resolution and it was in a highly classified setting in a secure room. But the first public disclosure of that information was when the President addressed the Nation on TV. He said that Saddam Hussein possessed UAVs.

Later, the Secretary of State, Colin Powell, in his presentation to the United Nations, in a very dramatic and effective presentation, expanded that and suggested the possibility that UAVs could be launched against the homeland, having been transported out of Iraq. The information was made public, but it was made public after we had already voted on the resolution, and at the time there was nothing to contradict that.

We now know, after the fact and on the basis of Dr. Kay's testimony today in the Senate Armed Services Committee, that the information was false; and not only that there were not weapons of mass destruction—chemical and biological—but there was no fleet of UAVs, unmanned aerial vehicles, nor was there any capability of putting UAVs on ships and transporting them to the Atlantic coast and launching them at U.S. cities on the eastern seaboard.

I am upset that the degree of specificity I was given a year and a half ago, prior to my vote, was not only inaccurate; it was patently false. I want some further explanations.

Now, what I have found after the fact—and I presented this to Dr. Kay this morning in the Senate Armed Services Committee—is there was a vigorous dispute within the intelligence community as to what the CIA had concluded was accurate about those UAVs and about their ability to be used elsewhere outside of Iraq. Not only was it in vigorous dispute, there was an outright denial that the information was accurate. That was all within the intelligence community.

But I didn't find that out before my vote. I wasn't told that. I wasn't told that there was a vigorous debate going on as to whether or not that was accurate information. I was given that information as if it were fact, and any reasonable person then would logically conclude that the interests of the United States and its people were in immediate jeopardy and peril. That has turned out not to be true.

We need some answers, and I saw the ranking member of the Armed Services Committee ask the chairman for a further investigation into this matter. I

heard the chairman say: I will take it under consideration.

I hope that is a positive sign and not a negative sign. We need to get to the bottom of this for the protection of our country. It is too bad this is coming up in the year 2004, which happens to coincide with the Presidential election, because people are going to immediately say this is partisan politics.

The fact is, this is the politics of the protection of our country, and we need some answers. I don't want to be voting on war resolutions in the future based on information that is patently false when everybody is telling me, looking me eyeball to eyeball, that it is true.

I am hoping, as the Senator from North Dakota has suggested, that we have a convening of the appropriate intelligence officials in the secure room and that members of the intelligence community, as well as members of the administration, will come and explain, in addition to what Dr. Kay has explained on the public record—which is revealing enough in itself—what, in fact, happened and how we are going to correct the process and the analysis of information so that we never have this kind of miscalculation and misinformation again.

Either the intelligence community's self-examination, its analysis was hugely faulty, or there were the hints at taking information and coloring it, called stacking the news and coming out with a conclusion that was wanted. I think we have to find out what happened.

It is not a question of whether or not Saddam Hussein ought to be gone. Thank goodness he is gone. That probably had a very salutary effect on the United States in that part of the world, that the United States will back up its intentions with force. But when the United States makes decisions about a preemptive war, a war now that has claimed the lives of over 500 American men and women, then we have to have a much higher standard of accuracy of the information upon which we make the judgments to send America's finest on to the battlefield.

I can tell you about all the soldiers from Florida who are now laid to rest. There are plenty of reasons I am raising these questions, but if for no other reason than to raise the questions for the mamas and the daddies and the spouses and the children of those soldiers. That is plenty justification enough. But the justification is much greater, and that is the justification of making sure we can protect ourselves in the future.

In a war against terrorists, our defense is only going to be as good as the information we receive to stop the terrorists. We had a colossal failure of intelligence on September 11, 2 years ago. We can't afford that kind of failure again. Yet we have just found out that when we were given the reasons for going to war, that was faulty intelligence. America can't afford too many more of these, for the protection of ourselves and our loved ones.

This is something of considerable concern to me personally. I know it is of considerable concern to the rest of the Senate. I hope the majority leader of this Senate, Senator FRIST, is going to listen to those of us in this Chamber who say that this request has nothing to do with politics. Let's get to the bottom of what is the truth and how we make sure that information in the future is true.

Mr. President, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant journal clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

#### IMMIGRATION POLICY

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I rise to say a few words about our Nation's immigration policy.

Early this month, I applauded President Bush by talking about his principles which he believes ought to be embodied in comprehensive immigration reform. The President spoke courageously and forthrightly, and I urge Congress to heed the President's call.

We must acknowledge the truth. We need to be honest. The fact is, we have done far too little to repair a system that calls out—indeed, a system that cries out—for reform. Our homeland security demands an accounting of the identities of an estimated 8 to 10 million individuals currently living illegally in the United States, including their reason for being here and allowing an informed judgment on whether they pose a danger to us. For those who are deportable criminals, that judgment must be swift and sure.

The truth is the vast majority of undocumented immigrants in this country are not here as drug dealers, violent criminals, or terrorists. Rather, they are here doing the best they can to work hard so they can provide for their families. We can no longer deny the sheer number of undocumented individuals or the extent of our economy's dependence on the labor that they provide, nor can we ignore the horrible costs that many of these individuals pay when it comes to human smuggling.

In the wake of 9/11, much of the increased enforcement effort that we have made in terms of our border security has succeeded in blocking off the easiest transit points along our border, but that only means they resort to more remote and dangerous areas to cross, and sometimes with deadly results.

These individuals are also relying more on human smugglers, known as coyotes. Hundreds of undocumented individuals have died in the past 2 years. An immigration policy that ignores the reality of human suffering and death

cannot be tolerated in a humane society.

For too long, the political extremists have dominated the debate about immigration. There are those who say they want to build a wall around our country, and others, on the other end of the spectrum, who cry for unconditional, complete amnesty. But both of these extremist proposals are unrealistic, and they leave many problems unanswered. What America needs instead is a comprehensive and fundamentally strong immigration system that bridges the gap between our economic and security needs. I believe a comprehensive, commonsense guest worker program is a critical first step toward fixing our immigration policies and adapting to modern realities. That is why last summer I introduced the Border Security and Immigration Reform Act of 2003. I urge my colleagues to educate themselves about the contents of this bill and to recognize that we must act to bring our broken immigration system into the 21st century.

Here are the key elements of my proposal. We need immigration reform. I believe we need an immigration system that will put homeland security first. Any reform of our immigration laws must be able to distinguish between the benign and the dangerous. Our law enforcement resources, limited as they are, must be able to be focused and dedicated to hunting down the real threats to our Nation, whether they are the smugglers, the drug dealers, or the terrorists, not simply those who are merely looking for a better life for themselves and their loved ones.

Currently, the whereabouts of 80,000 criminal alien absconders, aliens who have been convicted of a felony and ordered deported, is simply unknown to our Government. They vanished and we don't know where they are. They are running free within our borders.

In addition, we don't know the whereabouts of hundreds of thousands of other undocumented aliens who are under final orders of deportation. They simply have no other appeal, they are under final orders to leave, and they simply, again, melted into America.

This must change. Our immigration authorities must be given not only adequate funding and resources but adequate priorities as well. They must be allowed to spend more time on those who are a threat to us and not just those who come here to perform work that Americans by and large will not perform. Ignoring the problem—something we have done for some time now—won't solve any of our border security or immigration problems, and it will not make our Nation any more secure. Identifying, detaining, and deporting real threats to our Nation and our families will.

Second, my bill will help bring millions of current undocumented immigrants out of the shadows and under the rule of law and onto the tax rolls. Under my proposal, guest workers will no longer fear the authorities but,

rather, will come to see the law as an ally and not as an enemy. This, in turn, will help protect immigrants from exploitation and violence and help end the death dealing of human smugglers. We must bring these workers out into the open, out of the shadows, out of the cash economy, and onto the tax rolls, which I believe will ultimately help restore respect for the rule of law.

Third, our immigration system must give a real incentive for undocumented workers who come to this country to work on a temporary basis. It must give them a real incentive to ultimately return to their home country. I believe my proposal is unique in this respect—something we call "work and return." My proposal gives undocumented immigrants a real reason to come out of the shadows, to work within the law, to be accounted for, and then to return to their homes and their families in their home country, with the pay and the skills they acquire as guest workers in the United States.

In my recent visit with government leaders in Mexico City, I was repeatedly told that Mexico wants, indeed Mexico needs for its young, energetic risk takers and hard workers ultimately to come back home, and particularly to come back home with the capital and savings and the skills that they acquire when they work in the United States. They need these people to come back to their home country and to buy a house, to start a business, so that these small business owners, these potential entrepreneurs, can help strengthen the middle class in countries like Mexico. But our current immigration policy fails to give undocumented immigrants any real incentive to make a return to their home country.

Of course, I have mentioned Mexico, but this would hold true for many other countries that would also be covered by this program.

The fact is, there will be no end to illegal immigration across our southern border without economic recovery south of the border. Those of us in America cannot afford for our southern border to remain a one-way street.

Guest workers should, yes, be allowed to come out of the shadows and register for a program that will allow them to transit back and forth across the border in a way that they do not have to turn their lives and their fortunes over to coyotes and human smugglers. But ultimately real reform would make sure that these guest workers, after working here temporarily in the United States, must return to their country of origin.

President Bush called us to this task in his State of the Union speech just a couple of weeks ago now. I believe we in Congress have a duty to confront this challenge. We should hide our head in the sand no longer. We cannot, in my view, simply ignore the fact that there are literally hundreds of thousands of people under final orders of deportation. There are 80,000 criminal