

memory of Frank Sinatra every time he hears his songs. This new awareness of the image that Bin Ladin has become gives shape to the resting areas and stops for every Arab revolutionary. It is the subject of our admiration here in Iraq because it shares with us in a unified manner our resisting stand, and just as he fixes his gaze on the Al Aqsa we greet him. We hail his tears as they see the planes of the Western world taking revenge against his heroic operations by bombing the cities of Iraq . . .

To Bin Ladin I say that revolution, the wings of a dove and the bullet are all but one and the same thing in the heart of a believer.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Then on August 15, just prior to September 11 of last year, we had Moussaoui arrested in Minnesota. He wanted to know how to fly a plane, but not how to take off in a plane. And the FBI's Coleen Rowley, from Minnesota, testified before the Congress that she had written a memo, and the way she summed it up, they could crash the plane into the World Trade Towers.

Again, Mr. President, I could continue to go down the list, but we have this USA Today article of September 2 of this year, where the hijacker allegedly bragged what they were going to do on September 11. The year before the attacks, the Germans reported the particular terrorist saying that was exactly what they were going to do.

And there is a Time magazine article of May 27 of this year that sums up how the United States missed all of the clues. We have seen all the particular articles, and now we have the amendment in to fix the problem.

Let me just say a word about, and not in any criticism of our distinguished Director of the National Security Council, but Condoleezza Rice is about as steeped in domestic security as I am in foreign policy.

You can't find anyone more qualified in foreign policy. This young lady graduated at 20 years of age Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Denver. Then she earned her master's at the University of Notre Dame a year later, when she was 21. At the age of 27, she received her doctorate from the School of International Studies at the University of Denver, and then in 1981 became a faculty member of Stanford University in foreign policy.

So she has been steeped in that particular discipline all her life. Let me quote from her particular biography:

The Bush administration has substantially restructured the National Security Council during its first three weeks in office, providing an early indication of how the new White House plans to handle foreign policy.

She cut the NSC staff by a third, reorganized it to emphasize defense strategy, national missile defense, and international economics.

In a White House first, Rice has expanded her regular meetings with Secretary of State Colin L. Powell and Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld to include Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill.

It also indicates:

. . . Bush's desire to decrease U.S. involvement in the Balkans and signal to Russia "that this administration is not going to

treat Russia as a special case." Other notable changes have been the elimination of the divisions handling international environmental and health issues, and of the NSC's communications and legislative offices.

The reason I point this out is that prior to coming on board, the previous Director of the National Security Council, Sandy Berger, had a one-on-one meeting, telling Dr. Rice: Look, you are coming on board, and most of your time is going to be taken up with counterterrorism. There isn't any question about it. But what does she do? Instead, she takes action on everything that she knows about and she is absolutely authoritative in, but is not the need of the moment.

My problem with this bill is that it doesn't include any of the agencies that had a failure on 9/11 in the proposed Department. The CIA failed. The FBI failed. The National Security Agency failed. On September 10, the NSA got a message in Arabic: Tomorrow is zero hour. But they didn't translate it from Arabic into English until September 12. And then the National Security Council, limply standing there, not being informed of anything, just said: Well, they didn't give us anything specific.

It is the National Security Council's function to bring all the elements together, the gathering of intelligence, the analysis of intelligence, the joining of dots, the fixing of responsibility. The buck stops here. That is what this simple amendment does.

It puts the FBI Director on the Council. Now we have a domestic intelligence effort, something we never had. I met immediately with Bob Mueller. I have his particular budget. I gave him some \$750 million to up-date his computers and synchronize them with the FAA and the Immigration Service, the Border Patrol, and everything else, so that we could have one-stop shopping on knowledge of any kind of a terrorist threat.

We also gave him the money transfer of the funds last fall to institute his new Department of Domestic Intelligence. Now the Domestic Intelligence is supposed to give that over to the Department of Homeland Security. But the Homeland Department does not gather any intelligence. It only takes what it is given, and it only analyzes what is given and, in a sense, doesn't know what to ask for because they are not in the game. It is the same with the CIA. I can see right now a breakdown continuing between domestic and foreign intelligence.

I have talked to Director Mueller on this particular score. He has hired experienced CIA personnel at the FBI to help him set it up as a Department of Domestic Intelligence. He says he is talking with the CIA. But he hasn't really gotten all the way down to his agents and directors talking at the State level. They have yet to talk to the chiefs of police. I know because we have had meetings with respect to port security. It will take time. It may take

5 years for this new Department to really get in gear and work correctly.

But let me say here and now that we have to have this fixed. The only place I know to be able to fix it is with the President himself—and we have that type of President. That President is no nonsense. He wants to have on his desk timely reports on intelligence, just like he gets from Carl Rove, timely reports on politics. Let's give the emphasis and time—a little bit at least—to intelligence. Give me those timely reports. And that timely report has to be fused not just from the Department of Homeland Security, or the office, or the bureau, or whatever else they call Governor Ridge over there, but it has to be fused at the National Security Council level, with foreign intelligence.

I am not for the President having to get his director over here confirmed by the Senate. I would favor the Thompson amendment. We don't want the National Security Council Director to come here and be confirmed. I think Governor Ridge, in contrast to Condoleezza Rice, knows law enforcement. He has been a Governor, been in Congress, been chief law enforcement officer of Pennsylvania. He knows domestic security, which is something that Dr. Rice has never been into until 9/11. She will have a hard time learning at that level, unless she gets help.

So I think Governor Ridge is an excellent individual in that White House, or wherever they put him, to help her begin to report. But she has to ultimately, as Director, fuse domestic with foreign intelligence, and all the other intelligence you might get from places like the Drug Enforcement Administration. The financing of terrorism is drugs. We know it. They have to follow the banks. She has to get intelligence from the Secretary of the Treasury. She has to work with all these particular entities, and the President doesn't have to take this volumes and volumes of intelligence reports and sit down and read all day. It has to be not only analyzed but prioritized. So it is right in front of him, what he has to give his attention to at that moment and throughout the day, each day, on our homeland security.

I yield the floor temporarily.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I was going to ask the Senator a question.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Yes, sir.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia is recognized.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, as our highly esteemed colleague knows full well, he occupies a position in this Chamber almost second to none by virtue of his long experience and as a chief executive officer of his State, a Governor. In listening very carefully to what he said, it occurs to me that there is merit in this amendment.

However, my question to our colleague, given the rather dramatic points he makes here, is: Should we not allow the current President the opportunity to communicate with the Senate his views on this? It seems to me