

BOXER), the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. BYRD), the Senator from New York (Mrs. CLINTON), the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. CORZINE), and the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY) are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SUNUNU). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 84, nays 4, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 321 Leg.]

YEAS—84

Akaka	Ensign	McConnell
Alexander	Enzi	Mikulski
Allard	Feinstein	Murray
Allen	Frist	Nelson (FL)
Baucus	Graham	Nelson (NE)
Bennett	Grassley	Obama
Bingaman	Gregg	Pryor
Bond	Hagel	Reed
Brownback	Harkin	Reid
Bunning	Hatch	Roberts
Cantwell	Hutchison	Rockefeller
Carper	Inhofe	Salazar
Chafee	Inouye	Santorum
Chambliss	Isakson	Sarbanes
Cochran	Jeffords	Sessions
Coleman	Johnson	Shelby
Collins	Kerry	Smith
Conrad	Kohl	Snowe
Craig	Kyl	Specter
Crapo	Landrieu	Stabenow
Dayton	Lautenberg	Stevens
DeMint	Leahy	Talent
DeWine	Levin	Thomas
Dodd	Lieberman	Thune
Dole	Lincoln	Vitter
Domenici	Lott	Voinovich
Dorgan	Lugar	Warner
Durbin	Martinez	Wyden

NAYS—4

Coburn  
Feingold

NOT VOTING—12

Bayh	Burr	Corzine
Biden	Byrd	Kennedy
Boxer	Clinton	McCain
Burns	Cornyn	Murkowski

The conference report was agreed to. Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. LEVIN. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION

Mr. LEVIN. I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Hawaii proceed in morning business for 5 minutes and then we would turn to the committee bill pursuant to the unanimous consent agreement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Reserving the right to object, and I will not object, I wish to inform Senators that when we return to the bill, I know the distinguished colleague from Michigan and I are going to debate the two amendments that are pending relating to Iraq, one submitted by this side of the aisle and one by that side of the aisle, and then such discussions as the Senator from South Carolina and the Senator from Michigan may have on the habeas corpus issue, will that be dealt with at all tonight?

Mr. LEVIN. I think that is going to be up to the Senator from South Caro-

lina as to what progress he is making on it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. We will continue to have a debate tonight on those amendments that are going to be voted on in the morning and such other matters as any Senator wishes to bring up relative to the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. LEVIN. We should again put our colleagues on notice that there is very limited time tomorrow morning under the unanimous consent agreement. There was an effort made to extend that time. The effort did not succeed. So there will literally be 30 minutes tomorrow morning equally divided between both Iraq amendments and the habeas corpus matter, which is a very small window of time tomorrow morning. We would urge, I think my good friend from Virginia would agree, that the Senators who wish to speak on either of those matters should make a real effort to get here tonight.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I would only say let us not leave the impression that this side of the aisle is rushing to judgment. This framework of votes and amendments were carefully worked out on Thursday evening. The Senate has been in session since 2 today. There has been quite a bit of activity and opportunity for Senators to speak. I repeat, we are going to continue on shortly after our two colleagues finish.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator from Hawaii will be recognized for 5 minutes as in morning business.

The Senator from Hawaii.

IN HONOR OF NATIONAL BIBLE WEEK

Mr. AKAKA. Mr. President, I rise today to celebrate one of the most important books in the history of mankind: the Bible. As the Senate cochairman of the 2005 National Bible Week, it is my honor to join the National Bible Association and our Nation's citizens in celebrating the Good Book and its teachings. During the week of November 20 to 27, I encourage everyone to participate in this fine tradition by reading and reflecting on the important lessons of the Bible.

As a child growing up in Hawaii, my parents introduced me to the Bible and it has always played an important role in my life. I turn to it on a regular basis in search of inspiration, guidance and strength. The Bible is a resource of profound but fundamental truths that retain relevance throughout the ages. They are the lessons that serve as the building blocks of good citizens, good families, good communities and good government.

One of my favorite scriptures in the Bible teaches us that God loved us so that He sent us His only begotten Son so that we might live through Him. Be-

cause God so loved us, we ought also to love one another and His love will be perfected in us. In this time of international strife, natural disaster, and political turmoil, this basic instinct of caring for our fellow man, of love for our neighbor, is a good place to begin.

The Holy Bible is one of man's greatest legacies. I congratulate and commend the National Bible Association for its efforts to promote the Good Book and to encourage better understanding of its universal truths among people of all faiths. Aloha ke Akua. God is love.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, it is the understanding of the distinguished Senator from Michigan and myself that the Senator from Minnesota has a period of time to speak with regard to the bill. Is that our understanding?

Mr. DAYTON. I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WARNER. Then the distinguished Senator from South Carolina desires to enter into a colloquy with the distinguished Senator from Michigan relative to the amendments by the Senator from South Carolina. Am I not correct on that?

Mr. LEVIN. If he is ready, I am happy to proceed.

Mr. WARNER. That will immediately follow the remarks of Senator DAYTON.

Mr. DAYTON. I don't want to deceive the chairman. My remarks are related to the remarks of last Veterans Day rather than the bill directly. I ask either that be accommodated or I speak as in morning business for a period of up to 12 minutes.

Mr. WARNER. We are in a period of morning business. The Senator is in no way restricted in what he wishes to address. We thought it was related to the bill, but whatever he desires.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota will be recognized to speak as in morning business.

IRAQ

Mr. DAYTON. Mr. President, last Friday, on Veterans Day, President Bush attacked those of us who questioned or criticized his conduct of the Iraq war. Once again, he tried to portray his critics as opposing our own troops or aiding their enemies. Once again, he was wrong. Once again, he tried to blame others for his mistakes and for the failures of his policies—mistakes and failures that have trapped 158,000 of America's best and bravest soldiers in Iraq for over 2½ years, since the fall of Saddam Hussein, with no end in sight.

Let's be clear that every person in this Senate supports our troops 1,000 percent. We provided every dollar requested for defense authorizations, appropriations, and supplementals with overwhelming bipartisan and often unanimous support. Some of us have tried to provide more funding than the administration would support for our

returning troops and veterans. We have never accused them of being against our troops or un-American.

Together, on the Senate Armed Services Committee on which I am proud to sit, Republicans and Democrats have repeatedly asked our civilian and military commanders: What more do you need to win this war as soon as possible? What do you need to bring our troops home as safely and quickly as possible, with the victory that they won in 3 weeks in the spring of 2003 secured, finally, by the Iraqis? Tell us what you need, and it is yours.

This Senate has not failed our troops. This Senator, a critic of your policies, has not failed our troops. You, sir, have failed our troops; and you, sir, have failed the American people by the failures of your policies in Iraq.

Last Friday, President Bush stood in front of a banner that said: "Strategy For Victory." Two and a half years ago, he stood on the aircraft carrier *Abraham Lincoln* before a banner: "Mission Accomplished." Unfortunately, he had the banners mixed up. If he had a "Strategy For Victory" 2½ years ago, we would have "Mission Accomplished" today.

The President accuses his critics of rewriting the history of this war. Nonsense. The history of this war was clearly enunciated by this administration and is available for all to reread. The President, the Vice President, and their top advisers repeatedly presented their rationales for this war and predicted its outcomes, and they were repeatedly wrong. On just about everything, they were wrong. I say that with sorrow because when the President of the United States is wrong, all Americans suffer the consequences.

There is no better or worse summary of the administration's prewar fallacies than the transcript of Vice President CHENEY's appearance on "Meet The Press" with Tim Russert the Sunday before the invasion began. I excerpted those remarks for brevity but without altering their meaning.

The Vice President said on the program, as he had said repeatedly during the past 7 months:

We believe Saddam Hussein has in fact reconstituted nuclear weapons.

We know he's out trying once again to produce nuclear weapons and we know he has a longstanding relationship with various terrorist groups, including the al-Qaida organization.

When Mr. Russert queried:

And even though the International Atomic Energy Agency said he does not have a nuclear program, we disagree?

Vice President CHENEY replied:

I disagree, yes. . . . We believe he has, in fact, reconstituted nuclear weapons. I think Mr. ElBaradei frankly is wrong.

Mr. Russert: If your analysis is not correct, and we're not treated as liberators, but as conquerors, and the Iraqis begin to resist, particularly in Baghdad, do you think the American people are prepared for a long, costly, and bloody battle with significant American casualties?

Vice President Cheney: Well, I don't think it's likely to unfold that way, Tim, because

I really do believe that we will be greeted as liberators. I've talked with a lot of Iraqis in the last several months myself, had them to the White House. . . . The read we get on the people of Iraq is there is no question but what they want to get rid of Saddam Hussein and they will welcome as liberators the United States when we come to do that.

Mr. Russert: The army's top general said that we would have to have several hundred thousand troops there for several years in order to maintain stability.

Vice President Cheney: I disagree. . . . But to suggest that we need several hundred thousand troops there after military operations cease, after the conflict ends, I don't think is accurate. I think that's an overstatement.

Mr. Russert: We have had 50,000 troops in Kosovo for several years, a country of just five million people. This is a country of 23 million people. It will take a lot in order to secure it.

Vice President Cheney: . . . There's no question but what we'll have to have a presence there for a period of time. It is difficult now to specify how long. We will clearly want to take on responsibilities in addition to conducting military operations and eliminating Saddam Hussein's regime. We need to be prepared to provide humanitarian assistance, medical care, food, all of those other things that are required to have Iraq up and running again. And we are well-equipped to do that. We have got a lot of effort that's gone into that.

Mr. Russert: Every analysis said this war itself would cost over \$80 billion, recovery of Baghdad, perhaps of Iraq, about \$10 billion per year. We should expect as American citizens that this would cost at least \$100 billion for a two-year involvement.

Vice President Cheney: I can't say that, Tim. . . . In Iraq you've got a nation that's got the second-largest oil reserves in the world, second only to Saudi Arabia. It will generate billions of dollars a year in cash flow if they get back to their production of roughly three million barrels of oil a day, in the relatively near future.

On every one of those key assertions, Vice President CHENEY was wrong. Whether he was misinformed, misguided, mistaken, or knowingly misleading the American people, I cannot say. I can say that he was consistently wrong. And because he and the President were wrong, over 2,000 of our best and bravest Americans have lost their lives in Iraq. Many thousands more have returned home wounded or maimed for life. Hundreds of thousands more have been separated from their families for years, with more separations for more years still to come.

Because the Bush administration's assumptions and expectations were wrong, because their preparations for post-Saddam Hussein Iraq were wrong, and because their predictions before and after the war began were wrong, America's standing in the world is worse than before. The terrorist organizations that hate the United States are stronger than before, and our national security is tragically and terribly weaker than before this war began.

When I voted against the Iraq war resolution in October of 2002, I said I hoped I was wrong and the war's proponents were right because the stakes were too high for partisanship. When I

disagreed with President Bush's decision to invade Iraq in March of 2003, I said I hoped I was wrong and he was right because the stakes were too high for anything but patriotism.

I deeply regret when he has been wrong. I deeply regret the mistakes of his policies and the failures of his practices because a President's mistakes and failures become America's mistakes and failures. And America, the greatest Nation on Earth, the leader of the world's hopes and opportunities for peace and prosperity, America cannot afford mistakes and failures in this difficult and dangerous world, and this world cannot afford America's mistakes and failures.

Two and a half years after our troops toppled Saddam Hussein is too long for 158,000 of America's soldiers, the world's best and bravest, to still be doing the patrolling, the policing, the fighting, the bleeding, and the dying in Iraq—too long, and there is no end in sight. It is because we support our troops, because they are our sons and daughters and we love them, that we want to bring them home safely as soon as possible with their military successes of 2½ years ago secured by Iraqis, not Americans.

The President and the Vice President could show their support for our troops by telling them and us what the strategy for victory in Iraq really is and how and when we will achieve it and what are the timetables and measures of that success or lack of it so our courageous fighting men and women and their families and their fellow Americans can know how they will win, when they will win. Those are the answers they and we deserve.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CORNYN). Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 2006—Continued

AMENDMENT NO. 2524 TO AMENDMENT NO. 2515

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. GRAHAM], for himself, Mr. LEVIN, and Mr. KYL, proposes an amendment numbered 2524 to amendment No. 2515.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows: