

To that end, I urge President Bush, Secretary of State Rice, and the Government to take a more assertive leadership role in rallying the international community to assist Pakistan. We can begin tomorrow at the International Donors' Conference in Islamabad. To date, the international community has only provided a quarter of the emergency relief that the United Nations requested for earthquake assistance in Pakistan.

Let me repeat that. The United Nations has appealed for \$550 million in assistance for Pakistan, but donor nations have pledged only one-fourth of that amount.

In contrast, 1 month after the Indian Ocean tsunami, the U.N.'s emergency appeal was 99 percent filled. Now it is only a quarter filled.

Some good things are happening. For example, as I pointed out, the International Labor Organization has set up an emergency cash-for-work program in the earthquake region. People are being put to work making infrastructure repairs, removing debris, improving sanitation.

This is a picture of the International Labor Organization and their emergency employment and what they are doing.

The aim of this program is to inject cash back into the local economy, while helping people get back to work to support themselves.

According to my former staff member, Mr. Afribi, one of the participants in this program said to him, "For every rupee we get for this work, it feels like 10 because we have earned it."

So clearly these are people of pride and dignity and they are willing to work hard. They are looking for a handup, not a handout. It behooves us to be more generous and forthcoming than we have been to date. We need to continue to provide immediate emergency humanitarian relief. But we also need to tend to the longer term needs of the survivors.

Many children, as I have shown, have had amputations. They need to be cared for. Safeguards need to be put in place to ensure that their disabilities do not get in the way of their education. Past experience tells us that such children are vulnerable to being exploited in the workplace. In closing, we have an important mission here—to come to the aid of the Pakistani people in their moment of maximum need.

I have many good friends in the Pakistani-American communities. I have many good friends in Pakistan. I was privileged to visit there this September, the third time I have been to Pakistan. I traveled quite extensively in the country. The Pakistani people are wonderful. They are highly educated and skilled. The Pakistanis in America, who have come to make a better life for themselves, are doctors, surgeons, engineers, and so on. Many of them have called me, eager to get involved in the relief in Pakistan.

We ought to be looking for ways for the USAID to provide a way for these people to go to Pakistan, under the American flag, for a period of weeks or months so they can put their talents to use in assisting the earthquake victims.

This would send a powerful message of friendship and good will of the American people to the Pakistani people.

I urge my colleagues to remember the pictures I have shown and to remember, this Thanksgiving week coming up, the millions of poor people in Pakistan whose lives were shattered in only a few minutes, one of the most devastating earthquakes to ever hit our planet. They are struggling to put their lives back together. We need to do more—again, both in terms of short-term relief and long-term reconstruction. Time and again, Pakistan has been there for us. Time and time again, from the beginning of the Cold War, when they allowed our U-2 flights to fly from Peshawar over the Soviet Union, all through the Cold War, the Korean war, the Vietnam war, Haiti, everywhere we have been, the Pakistanis have been by our side. Now it is our turn to be there for the people of Pakistan in their hour of need. During this Thanksgiving week, let us resolve to do better than we have done in the past.

I urge the President and the Secretary of State at the Donors' Conference tomorrow in Islamabad to step forward to lead the international community to do better than they have done in the past.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. COLEMAN). The Senator from West Virginia is recognized.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the Chair.

IRAQ

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, as we look out the window in most of our great country, we can witness the season change, the change in the season, and we can feel it. The air has become crisp with autumnal chill. The leaves on the trees change their color; from the exuberant, green lushness of the summer months to the tired, brown, yellow, and red of the autumn, much like the graying hair of a man advancing in age.

Nature can sometimes mimic human events with a subtlety that no words can quite convey. As our country heads into the season that is celebrated with the love of family and the love of home, Americans should also look across the landscape of America and reflect upon the loss of so many young Americans in the 12 months since autumn last fell upon us.

Think about it. In the past year, more than 820 servicemembers have lost their lives in Iraq.

The evening news features pictures of American troops who have perished in

service to our flag, in service to our country. I am struck by these colorful mosaics of these troops, amen; the green and blue of their uniforms set against the background of the bold colors of our flag, Old Glory, Old Glory. Each of these proud troops holds an expression of pride and courage, even though many of them appear to be so young. Note their ages—18, 19, 20, 21—just starting out in life, having one full glance of what is around them.

I can only imagine the grief of their loving families during this time of the year, as the somber tones of fall contrast with the joy of being with family during the upcoming holidays. I pray that God, Almighty God, will comfort those who have suffered losses, that He will bless the fallen in their everlasting life, and that His hand will protect those who still serve in harm's way.

That so many have sacrificed during this war in Iraq is reason enough to ask questions about our Government and about our Government's policy in that faraway land. Our troops continue to shed their blood, and our Nation continues to devote enormous sums of our national wealth to continue that war.

The Constitution protects the American people from unjust laws that seek to stifle the patriotic duty to question those who are in power. But it is the courage of the American people that compels them to actually speak out when those in power call for silence. If anything, attacks on patriotism of freedom-loving Americans may result in even more Americans fighting against attempts to squelch the constitutional protections of freedom.

Since our country was sent to war on March 19, 2003, 2,073 American men and women have been killed. Yes, 2,073 Americans have died. Nearly 16,000 troops have been wounded.

Our military is straining under the repeated deployment of our troops, including the members of the National Guard. They come from all walks of life. They are lawyers. They are teachers. They are preachers. They are coal miners. They are farmers. More than \$214 billion has been spent in Iraq and the end is not in sight. More than \$214 billion spent in Iraq and the end is not in sight. Urban combat takes place each day, every day, in Baghdad, all day long. Every day and night.

Veterans hospitals in our own country are threatened by budget shortfalls, and yet Americans are still left to wonder, when will our brave troops be coming home? When?

I opposed this war in Iraq from the outset. From the beginning I spoke out against our entry into this war. I pleaded with my colleagues. I pleaded with the White House. I asked questions that have not been answered. I spoke out against the invasion of a country which did not pose an imminent threat to our national security. I said so then—and I was right. I opposed the war in Iraq from the outset. From the word go, I opposed it. But our troops were ordered to go to Iraq and they went.

The question is, now, when will they come home? The administration has so far laid out only a vague policy, saying our troops will come home when the Iraqi Government is ready to take responsibility for its country. When our troops are no longer needed, when the job is done, they will come home. We will not stay a day longer than we are needed.

That sort of political doublespeak is small comfort to the mothers and the fathers of our fighting men and women, the mothers and fathers who turn and toss upon their pillows, whose tears wet the pillows, whose prayers break the silence of night. Oh, when will they come home? Bring my boy home. Oh, God, this awful war.

Wednesday evening the Vice President of the United States, even claimed that criticism of the administration's war in Iraq was dishonest and reprehensible. Did you hear that? Hear me, now; let me say that again: On Wednesday evening the Vice President of the United States, the man who is within a heartbeat of being the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States even claimed that criticism of the administration's war in Iraq was "dishonest and reprehensible."

Since when are we not to lift our voices? Are the American people not to lift their voices in criticism of the administration's war in Iraq? Is it dishonest on the part of the American people to do that? Is it reprehensible on the part of mothers and fathers of sons and daughters who were sent to that most dangerous country in the world? Is it reprehensible? Did the Vice President measure his words? The Vice President's comments come on the heels of comments from President Bush, who said:

What bothers me is when people are irresponsibly using their positions and playing politics. That's exactly what is taking place in America.

Listen to that. The President and the Vice President need to reread the Constitution, take another look at that inimitable document. Asking questions, seeking honesty and truth, and pressing for accountability is exactly what the Framers had in mind. What would George Washington say? What would Alexander Hamilton say? What would James Madison say? What would Gouverneur Morris say? What would James Wilson say?

Questioning policies and practices, especially ones that have cost this Nation more than 2,000 of her bravest sons and daughters, is the responsibility of every American and is also a central role of Congress as our duty as the elected representatives of a free people. We—you, you, you and I—we are the elected representatives of the American people, the people all over this vast land, its plains, its prairies, its mountains, its valleys, its lakes, its rivers, its seas. Yes, we are the men and women who are tasked with seeking the truth. Is that irresponsible to seek the truth?

But instead of working with the Congress, instead of clearing the air, the White House falls back to the irksome practice of attack, attack, attack; obscure, obscure, obscure; attack. The American people are tired of these reprehensible tactics. If anything is reprehensible, it is these tactics.

Circling the wagons will not serve this administration well. What the people demand are the facts. They want the truth. They want their elected leaders to level with them. And when it comes to the war in Iraq, this administration seems willing to do anything it can do to avoid the truth, a truth I believe will reveal that the Bush administration did, indeed, manipulate the facts in order to lead this Nation down the road to war. War. War.

The administration claims that the Congress had the same intelligence as the President before the war and that independent commissions have determined there was no misrepresentation of the intelligence. But neither claim is true. The intelligence agencies are under the control of the White House. All information given to the Congress was cleared through the White House. And the President had access to an enormous amount of data never shared with the Congress. There was a filter over the intelligence information the Congress received. That filter was the administration, which is actively engaged in hyping the danger and lusting after this war, this terrible war in Iraq.

Remember the talk of weapons of mass destruction? Remember the talk of mushroom clouds? Remember? Remember the talk of unmanned drones? The so-called proof for war was massaged before it was sent to Congress, to scare Members, and leaked to reporters to scare people.

No independent commission has stated that the case for war was indisputable. Commissions have looked at how the intelligence fell short, but none have yet examined possible political manipulation.

Even the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence slowed its examination, stalled its examination of possible White House manipulation. My colleague from West Virginia, the ranking member of the Intelligence Committee, Senator Jay Rockefeller, is rightly pressing for answers.

Right now we are engaged in a mission with no definition. That is troubling because without a clearly defined mission, it is impossible to determine when our effort is truly accomplished.

This week, the Senate had the opportunity to establish some very basic benchmarks for progress in Iraq, benchmarks that would have clearly outlined goals and provided accountability in meeting those goals. The proposal, offered by the senior Senator from Michigan, Senator Carl Levin, was a modest, flexible approach that would have given our troops, their families, the American people, and the Iraqi people some basic guidepost. Unfortunately, the Senate turned its

back. It could not see the wisdom of this approach. It could not bring itself to see the wisdom of the approach.

So, my fellow Senators, it is vital that we have benchmarks against which to gauge our progress. That is how we can measure effectiveness and, most importantly, how we know when the job is done. The administration's strategy of keeping our troops in Iraq for as long as it takes—have you heard that before? Keeping our troops in Iraq for as long as it takes—that is the wrong strategy. Who knows how long it will take for the Iraqi Government to institute order in that fractured, unhappy, miserable country?

Unfortunately, the questions that the American people are asking about the missteps and the mistakes in the war in Iraq are not being answered by this White House, not being answered by the administration. Vice President CHENEY has dismissed these important questions as "making a play for political advantage in the middle of a war."

Now, listen to that. The Vice President of the United States has dismissed these important questions as "making a play for political advantage in the middle of a war." How about that?

Perhaps the Vice President should question White House aides about using war for political advantage. For example, on January 19, 2002, the Washington Post reported that Karl Rove—get this—advised Republicans to "make the president's handling of the war on terrorism the centerpiece of their strategy to win back the Senate and keep control of the House in this year's midterm elections." Does the Vice President have anything to say about that?

Let me say that again. On January 19, 2002—I read about it at the time; I did not miss it—the Washington Post reported that Karl Rove advised Republicans to "make the president's handling of the war on terrorism the centerpiece of their strategy to win back the Senate and keep control of the House in this year's midterm elections." That was said on January 19, 2002. That was quoted in the Post on that date. Yes, does the Vice President have anything to say about that?

The Vice President also lashed out at those who might deceive our troops:

The saddest part is that our people in uniform have been subjected to these cynical and pernicious falsehoods day in and day out.

Now, listen to that. Was the Vice President trying to clarify some of his past statements on Iraq? Was he?

On March 24, 2002, the Vice President said that Iraq "is actively pursuing nuclear weapons at this time." There was no doubt about it, to listen to the Vice President—no doubt.

On August 26, 2002, the Vice President said:

Simply stated, there is no doubt that Saddam Hussein now has weapons of mass destruction. There is no doubt that he is amassing them to use against our friends, against our allies, and against us.

Let me go back and read the quote. Let me repeat it.

On August 26, 2002, here is what the Vice President said:

Simply stated, there is no doubt—

Get that—

Simply stated, there is no doubt that Saddam Hussein now has weapons of mass destruction. There is no doubt that he is amassing them to use against our friends, against our allies, and against us.

That is the end of the quotation.

On March 16, 2003, the Vice President said:

We will, in fact, be greeted as liberators.

Do you remember that?

On March 16, 2003, there it is, the Vice President said:

We will, in fact, be greeted as liberators.

Are these the “pernicious falsehoods” that the Vice President believes our troops have been subjected to? That is, of course, a rhetorical question. Far from questioning his own statements about the war in Iraq, the Vice President’s comments are a ham-handed attempt to squelch the questions that the American people out there are asking about the administration’s policies in Iraq. The American people should not be cowed. They should not be intimidated. And Senators should not be intimidated by these attempts to intimidate. The American people should not allow the subject to be changed from the war in Iraq to partisan sniping in Washington.

Instead, the American people must raise their voices—hear us—the American people should raise their voices—hear us, listen to us—the American people must raise their voices even louder to ask the administration the same simple questions: What is your policy for Iraq? Answer that. What is your policy? Is it stay the course? When will the war be over? How many more lives will this war cost? When will our troops return home?

Mr. President, the holiday season is almost upon us. Americans will soon sit down at their Thanksgiving tables. They will gather together to give thanks to Almighty God, give thanks to Him for the blessings that have been bestowed upon America’s families. As we gather, there will be an empty seat at many tables. Some chairs will be empty because a service member is serving his or her country in a faraway land. Other seats will be empty as a silent tribute to those who will never, never return.

Each of these troops has fought to protect our freedoms, including the freedom of Americans to ask questions—yes, the freedom to ask questions. Our troops have fought for that freedom—people back home, their families, might ask questions, their friends might ask questions—the freedom to ask questions of their Government, the people’s Government.

The whole picture, the truth is that the continued occupation of Iraq only serves to drive that country closer to civil war. They do not want us there. They do not want us there.

How would you feel, Senators, how would you feel if our country were invaded by another country? You would want them out. You would do anything you could to get them out. American troops are now perceived as occupiers, not as liberators. The longer we stay, the more dangerous Iraq becomes, and the more likely it is we will drive the future government further from a democratic republic and closer to religious fundamentalism and, not insignificantly, the more American and Iraqi lives will be lost—forever.

I, for one, believe that it is time to say “well done”—“well done”—to our brave fighting men and women. May God bless them one and all. Let us say, job well done, and start to bring the troops home.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BURNS). The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

TRIBUTE TO LILY STEVENS

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, last night, as the Senate was working into the late hours of the night and tensions were running high, our esteemed and beloved colleague, the former chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, took me by the arm and pulled me aside. There was something he wanted to show me. There was something that my esteemed and beloved colleague, TED STEVENS, wanted to say to me and wanted to show me. There was something he wanted to show me. It was an article that his daughter Lily Stevens had written about the U.S. Capitol, and he wanted to share it with me.

I was touched by this. I know Lily. What a prodigious memory she has. Ah, what a rose in full bloom, what a lovely woman, Lily. She adores her father. He adores her.

With everything that was going on in the Senate at the time, Senator STEVENS was showing a father’s pride in his daughter’s accomplishment.

I have literally watched Lily grow up. In her article, she points out that her father was already a Senator when she was born, and while she was a baby, her father would bring her to the Capitol—I have seen him many times—and carry her around in a basket. I remember that, just as I remember how she attended a number of my parties, and I attended a number of hers.

I watched her grow into the remarkably—talented person she is today. She is a graduate of Stanford University and is currently a law student at the University of California at Berkeley. Lily is not only prodigious and intelligent, but she also is a polite, courteous, gracious, and charming young

lady. Senator STEVENS is so proud of her, and he has a right to be.

The article his daughter wrote is an outgrowth of her senior thesis at Stanford University, and as I read it, I understood why Senator STEVENS was so excited about it and why he wanted to share it with me. Titled, “The Message of the Dome: The United States Capitol in the Popular Media,” the article explores the ways in which the Capitol has served and communicated with the general American public over the years. It discusses the Capitol as a symbol to the American people and how the meaning of that symbol has changed over time.

This beautifully written article skillfully conveys the sense of wonder that awaits every first-time visitor to Capitol Hill. With a trip to the Capitol, Lily points out, a visit to Washington goes well beyond “a vacation in the leisure sense.” It becomes “an education journey, one in which the visitor can learn more about the government and the history of the United States.”

And Lily’s article makes fascinating and intriguing points about this building in which her father, Senator TED STEVENS, and I work. Visitors to the Capitol, Lily Stevens writes, while sharing certain common experiences, still find their own individual interests. As she quotes one author: “The Capitol means many things to many people.”

Lily Stevens makes the point about how the Capitol functions as a “national shrine,” a place for appreciating our democratic form of government and for praising our Nation, our history, and our national leaders. And she explains how, over the years, the Capitol has functioned as a church. Indeed, religious services were once held in this building. And the Capitol still performs many functions that are religious in nature, like funeral services for certain national leaders. Statuary Hall, she points out, can be seen and interpreted as “an American Westminster Abbey.” How about that?

There is so much fascinating reading in this article, I could speak long about it. I am asking that it be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and I urge all my colleagues to read it. I promise you, you will enjoy it.

Senator TED STEVENS is also entitled today to his own personal congratulations. Why? Today, November 18, is Senator STEVENS’ birthday. How about that? Senator STEVENS’ birthday, today. A wonderful man, a great legislator. Today Senator STEVENS is 82 years young. Oh, to be 82 again. Just to be 82 again, oh, my. I said to Ted: “The next 5 years are going to be the heaviest, Ted.” I know. Five years ago I didn’t need those canes, no. My feet and legs were still good.

Senator STEVENS and I have worked together in the Senate since 1968, and we have been on the Senate Appropriations Committee together since 1972. In all this time together, I have always known Senator TED STEVENS to be an