

oversight of the intelligence community through this bill. I know my distinguished chairman, Senator ROCKEFELLER, has made those same efforts and shares the goal.

However, I have often said that no bill is better than a bad bill. Right now, with this provision in it, this is a bad bill because what it would do, according to the Director of National Intelligence, is to shut down the most effective interrogation program the CIA has to use to induce cooperation from those leaders of al-Qaida and other terrorist organizations who know about the plots to attack the United States and to attack our allies.

Mr. President, I urge my colleagues to support cloture so we can move forward on the process on this legislation, but the President has stated he will veto the bill and, regrettably, I must say that despite all the good things in the bill, he is correct. We cannot afford the risk to this country, to our personal safety, to our desire to avoid another 9/11, by saying we can no longer allow the CIA to use the acceptable techniques that are not published but that are very effective in assuring cooperation of high-value detainees whom we in this country capture through the CIA. Regrettably, while I urge my colleagues to support cloture, I cannot urge them to pass this measure.

I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MENENDEZ). The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, how much time do I have remaining at this time?

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 3 minutes.

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President and colleagues, I ask unanimous consent to have my time—you said I have 3 minutes; I see my friend on the floor—to have my time extended by 3 minutes so I would have a total of 6 minutes.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. BOND. That is acceptable. No objection.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for 2 additional minutes after that, if that could be part of the request.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, thank you, and I thank my friend from Missouri as well.

I especially want to express my appreciation for the outstanding work of Senator FEINSTEIN, my seatmate on the Intelligence Committee, who I think understands it is possible in this country to fight terrorism ferociously and still be sensitive to American values and the rule of law. That is what I want to spend a few minutes talking about because I think under the approach developed by Senator FEINSTEIN this legislation does that.

I start by responding to the point my friend from Missouri has made about

the most dangerous terrorists whom we are involved in interrogating. It seems to me these individuals are literally human ticking timebombs. They have information, for example, about operations we absolutely must have information on in order to protect the American people. But I have come to the conclusion it is possible to get this essential information we need from these human ticking timebombs—the time-sensitive threat information—without practices that violate our values and violate the rule of law.

The reason I have come to that conclusion—and why I so strongly support what Senator FEINSTEIN is doing—that is what some of our key officials tell us in the executive branch. For example, this week, I asked FBI Director Mueller about whether it was possible to use noncoercive techniques effectively in terms of getting this information from human ticking timebombs, and the Director said, to his credit, yes, it was possible to use noncoercive techniques to get the information necessary to protect the United States of America. The fact is, the military has said it as well.

It is that core principle Senator FEINSTEIN has picked up in her work. She believes, as I do, we will take no backseat to anyone in terms of fighting the terrorists relentlessly, but we can do it, as Director Mueller and the military have said, in line with the rule of law and in line with American values.

With respect to the role of the military, they already abide by interrogation rules that are flexible and effective. They have been used by professional military interrogators with many years of experience, and they are clearly effective.

Some have suggested, incorrectly in my view, that the military rules make better interrogators, follow the same rules as new recruits, but that is not right. The Army Field Manual actually makes it quite clear which techniques are authorized for all servicemembers and which require special permission to use.

It is my view that our country has paid dearly for this secret interrogation program. My friend from Missouri has indicated, in his view, you cannot torture, but the case was strong for the Feinstein amendment a couple months ago, and it is even stronger today because General Hayden has said that in the past, waterboarding has been used and, in fact, my view is that the need for this legislation, just on the basis of the developments over the last few weeks, is even more important than it was because these practices that have come to light in the last few weeks have damaged our relations, damaged our moral authority.

The tragic part of this, on the basis of the answers from Mr. Mueller in open session this week and the military is that these coercive techniques are not effective or even necessary. I share the view of my friend from Missouri about how important it is to get this time-sensitive threat information.

He and I have talked about this on many occasions. Of course, we cannot get into any of the matters that are classified. I share his view, but it is possible, I say to my colleagues, to get that information without breaching the values Americans hold dearly and the rule of law.

I hope my colleagues will support the important work by the Senator from California. This is an issue we have looked at. It has had bipartisan support in the past.

I am very appreciative of what Senator McCAIN, who knows a little bit about this, has had to say in the past about fighting terrorism relentlessly and protecting our values.

I hope my colleagues will support the efforts of the Senator from California. If her case was strong several months ago, I think it is even stronger today on the basis of what we have learned in open session.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I support the intelligence authorization conference report, which is so important to Congress's efforts to conduct oversight of the intelligence community. The administration's illegal actions and its relentless efforts to obtain vast new eavesdropping authorities make oversight more important than ever. I particularly support the provision limiting interrogation techniques to those authorized by the Army Field Manual. I was a cosponsor of this amendment when it was offered in conference, and I am pleased that it has the support of bipartisan majorities of both the Senate and House Intelligence Committees. It represents, at long last, an important step toward bringing this administration into conformity with the law and with our national principles. It also represents a clear decision by the very Members of Congress who have been briefed on the CIA's interrogation program that the use of so-called enhanced interrogation techniques is not in our country's best interests.

When the intelligence authorization bill was marked up by the committee in May, I made my position clear. I could not support the CIA's program on moral, legal, or national security grounds. When I was finally fully briefed on the program, it was clear that what was going on was profoundly wrong. It did not represent what we, as a nation, stand for, or what we are fighting for in this global struggle against al-Qaida. And it was not making our country any safer. I also concluded that if the American people knew what we in the Intelligence Committee knew, they would agree.

The program also cannot stand up to any serious legal scrutiny. To take just one interrogation technique that the administration has acknowledged using in the past, waterboarding is torture, pure and simple. Everyone knows this. The rest of the world knows this. And, in every other context, our own government knows this. What Orwellian