ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. KYL. If there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in adjournment under the previous order, following the remarks of Members of the other side of the aisle as under the earlier order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request? Without objection, it is so ordered.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I express my appreciation to my friend, the Senator from Arizona, for the dignified manner in which the debate was conducted today. We feel that certainly it has been fair. I now ask unanimous consent that on the Democratic side there be 5 minutes for Senator REID from Nevada, 15 minutes for Senator LEVIN, 30 minutes for Senator REED of Rhode Island, 30 minutes for Senator GRAHAM of Florida, and 20 minutes for Senator DAYTON.

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

CAMPAIGNING ON THE ISSUES

Mr. REID. Mr. President, there has been some conversation today about statements made by people running for President on the Democratic side. Today, we had the person who appears to be the frontrunner for the nomination at this time, Senator KERRY of Massachusetts, who came and spoke before the Senate. He did an extremely good job of articulating his feelings of the legislation pending before the Senate. At the same time, he also outlined in a very brief fashion those things he thought were wrong, in his view, as far as what was going on in America today.

I want the majority to know as the election proceeds toward November, we in the Senate are going to do everything within our power to protect our nominee. By that I mean anything that is said outside this Capitol or inside this Capitol that reflects upon our nominee we are going to be on this floor defending him.

We believe the issues are on our side, that they favor us, and we want this campaign to be on the issues.

What has transpired during this Presidential primary season has been extremely important and good for the American people because the Democratic candidates running for President have been able to place their views on the record, and the American people have accepted what they have said about what is wrong with this country.

There have been debates—I do not know the number of them but a significant number of debates—where the American people have been able to hear how those seeking the Democratic nomination feel about our country. I want again to say whoever our nominee is, that person is going to get all the protection that is needed in the Senate. There will be nothing said that is negative toward our candidate that will not be responded to.

We feel we have had a primary season conducted with dignity and we are going to do everything we can to make sure the final months of this campaign are conducted with dignity as far as the Democratic nominee is concerned.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from Michigan is recognized.

IRAQ INTELLIGENCE

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, the question of whether or not the intelligence was flawed which was used so forcefully by the administration prior to going to war as the reason for going to war is a question which is going to consume the time of this body and a number of our committees for some time to come. It is a critically important question as to whether or not the intelligence was flawed, not just in terms of the accountability—which is so important if mistakes were made, if exaggerations were undertaken in order to advance the decision to go to war—but also in terms of the future security of this Nation.

This country went to war, we were told, because Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. That was the reason that was given over and over again by the administration. Whether or not there were other reasons, and there surely were, for that decision, which could be argued as a basis for the decision, the facts are that the American people were told it was the presence in Iraq of weapons of mass destruction which was the basis for attacking that country.

When a decision is made to go to war based on intelligence, it is a fateful decision. It has ramifications and impacts way beyond the current months and years. If the intelligence is as flawed as this intelligence was, we should find out why.

Whether people are glad we went to war or are not glad we went to war, whether history will prove we should have waited until we had greater support through the United Nations in order to avoid the kind of aftermath which we have seen, or not—we don't know what history is going to show in that regard—but regardless of the arguments back and forth as to the timing of it, the way in which it was handled, the failure to galvanize the international community so we had a broad array of countries with us, including Muslim nations so we would not be there as a Western occupying power with other Western nations after the military success; whether or not there was adequate planning for the aftermath, and I think it is obvious that there was not adequate planning, but regardless of what position one takes on all of those issues, it is incumbent upon us to find out how in Heaven's name the intelligence could be so far off.

How could we have 120 top suspect sites for the presence of weapons of mass destruction that were high-level to medium-level sites, where there was confidence that there were weapons of mass destruction either being stored or produced, and we batted zero for 120? How could we be so far off?

How is it possible that the CIA could tell us, as they did in their assessments, that there were chemical weapons and biological weapons and that a nuclear program was being undertaken again when, in fact, that apparently is not the case? How is it possible that intelligence can be as flawed as is this intelligence?

Again, regardless of what the arguments are on any side or any issue, I don't think any of us should be in the position of arguing that it is irrelevant to the future security of this Nation whether or not the intelligence upon which the decision to go to war was based is important. It is critically important.

Does North Korea have nuclear weapons or doesn't it have nuclear weapons? Should we put some credibility in the intelligence community's assessment of that? Where is Iran along the continuum of obtaining nuclear weapons? What are their intentions? Should we put confidence in the intelligence community's assessment of that?

Whether or not we place confidence or make decisions based upon the intelligence community's assessment is critically important. The lives of young men and women, perhaps the life of this Nation, could be dependent upon intelligence which is being assessed by the intelligence community. Life and death decisions are being made by the President of the United States based on decisions and assessments and appraisals of the intelligence community. When it is as wildly off as this intelligence community's assessments apparently were, then it seems to me we better find out for the future health of this country, not just in terms of trying to assess the accountability for past assessments.

Something happened to the intelligence after 9/11. The pre-2002 intelligence assessments relative to nuclear programs and biological programs and chemical programs were different from the October 2002 National Intelligence Estimate. Some of this has been set forth in the Carnegie Endowment's recent report. There are so many examples of where the intelligence shifted on these critical issues after 9/11.

A few examples: On the reconstitution of the nuclear program after 1998, the pre-2002 intelligence assessment was that Iraq had probably not continued their research and development program relative to reconstituting a nuclear program after 1998. Yet in October 2002, the intelligence community said, yes, it has restarted its nuclear program after the United Nations left in 1998. What happened between the pre-2002 intelligence assessment and the post-9/11 assessment?