

came, said we were going to continue engaging the North as Mr. Kim wanted us to and thought we should, as our Japanese friends thought we should, and the President summarily stopped that. I think that was another mistake.

I make another point about Iran. The neoconservative view of why we should have gone into Iraq alone is it would teach a lesson to the other malcontents in the world such as the Iranians. They were going to say, My God, look at the unilateral use of force; we better behave. I point out what my friend knows well and we talked about. Prior to our invasion of Iraq, Iran had a genuine democratic movement—not prowestern, democratic movement. It was the Majlis, their parliament, 195 people. There was a genuine movement.

You had the mullahs and the apparatus and the clerics who controlled security and controlled the intelligence apparatus, afraid of world opinion if they crushed that democratic movement.

What did they do? If, in fact, the neocons are correct, and having 140,000 troops in Iraq was going to teach Iran a lesson, in the midst of our greatest show of force in Iraq, the clerics in Tehran would have been afraid to touch the democratic movement, for fear of world reaction.

Obviously they were not frightened by our show of force. There is no democratic movement left. For instead the clerics crushed it. They disbanded it.

So that is another example of the two most dangerous states for the United States of America today if they spiral out of control—Iran and North Korea. Both present a greater threat to America today than they did 3 years ago.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Mr. President, I further ask the distinguished former chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee with regard to nuclear weapons and the acquiring of nuclear technology and the ability to make a bomb in Iran, are we safer today than we were 4 years ago?

Mr. BIDEN. As we both know, the details of that are classified, but we are allowed to say, and I give you my opinion, and I believe it would be the consensus of the intelligence community: No. We are not safer.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Mr. President, I further ask my friend from Delaware, given the fact of what we have heard in the testimony in the Foreign Relations Committee over the last week, and also in the Senate Armed Services Committee; given the fact my friend from Delaware and I have had long conversations about not only do we not need to pull out of Iraq but we need to increase our troop strength in Iraq because the alternative would be unthinkable, for us to turn tail and run and create a vacuum which would be filled by terrorists, which would only give succor and encouragement to the other radical elements in the region, including Iran, does the Senator from Delaware think

we are safer now in our international diplomacy results than we were 4 years ago?

Mr. BIDEN. No, we are not. But we could be if the President is willing to not stay the course but change the course. There is an opportunity, if the President begins to listen to the correct voices in his administration, to internationalize this, to bring in the major powers, to actually leave Iraq in December of 2005 with a representative government which will have a positive impact on the region over time. It is still possible, but the President must quickly call a summit meeting of the major powers; quickly get them to agree to sign off on Mr. Brahimi's plan of a new government; quickly get NATO to agree to have a NATO-led multinational force, sanctioned by the United Nations; and quickly, quickly demonstrate he understands the breadth and depth of the damage done by the Abu Ghraib prison scandal, bulldoze that prison down, build a hospital in its place, release those prisoners who should not be there and keep the others in a different environment and open it up. He still can do this. But my friend knows, we can't do it. Only one man, because of the majesty of his office, can do it: the President of the United States. He can do it. I hope he does not squander this last opportunity. I am hopeful he will not.

I believe he understands more now. I hope he begins to listen to the uniform military and Mr. Powell, what they have been counseling along with you and I and Senators LUGAR, HAGEL, MCCAIN, and others all along here. There is still time. But I believe this is the last serious chance he has to get it right by June 30.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Mr. President, I certainly agree with the Senator from Delaware. I will ask a final question of him. Why does the Senator from Delaware, one of the most knowledgeable in this entire body on international affairs—

Mr. BIDEN. I thank my friend.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Why, in his opinion, does the administration continue to resist the outreach of building consensus in the international community, to help us with problems such as Iraq and Iran and North Korea? Why is there resistance to that, I ask the Senator from Delaware?

Mr. BIDEN. First of all, I thank the Senator for his compliments that are excessive and not accurate, but I thank him nonetheless. But let me say in a second, I took the time 4 years ago to ask my senior staff to go back and get every major work written by the Straussians, the neocons, I mean it sincerely, and Tony Blinken, former National Security Agency, my chief guy, got together 11 or 12 books, the most seminal volumes written in the last decade by the neoconservatives. These are honorable, bright, serious people—patriotic Americans.

If you read what they say, they mean what they say. What they say is the value of America—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. I ask unanimous consent it be charged to our time and that we have 1 additional minute so the Senator can finish his answer.

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

Mr. BIDEN. The bottom line is the neoconservatives believe our power is enhanced by leveraging power. Meaning if we go alone without any help, the malcontents of the world go: Oh, my God, look at them, they don't even listen to the rest of the world. They have this awesome power. We should listen to them.

It might work if we had an army of 12 million and a surplus of \$500 billion a year instead of an army that is one-twelfth and a deficit of \$500 billion a year. It doesn't work.

Now ideology has run head on into reality. For ideologues, like all honorable people, it is difficult to change. It is a little like me as a practicing Roman Catholic denying the Trinity. You can't deny the Trinity and be a Catholic. It is not possible. They cannot acknowledge they need the international community and stick to a thesis that has been theirs for the last 12 years. That is as quickly, succinctly, and as accurately as I can state it. As Samuel Clemens said: All generalities are false, including this one. I made a bit of a generalization, but I believe an accurate one.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Mr. President, what we have gotten in a few minutes is a short course of what, in the opinion of this Senator from Delaware, and in the opinion of this Senator from Florida, we need to do: Internationalize the effort, build a consensus, reach out, bring in an international force such as NATO, led by the American military, bring in a senior international diplomat, prepare Iraq for governing itself, and be prepared to be there for the long haul.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired. The Senator from New York.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York.

NATIONAL SECURITY

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I thank my colleague from Florida for his persistence to get to the truth, and my colleague from Delaware, who succinctly described our problem brilliantly in terms of the ideology of the neocons running into reality. I could not agree more.

Ever since I was in college in the late 1960s, I would say to my colleagues, ideologues have bothered me. Anyone who thinks they have a monopoly on truth, and there is only one way to see the world, always gets us into trouble. They can be ideologues of the far left, they can be ideologues of the far right, they can be ideologues just on one issue. America is a place where we all

come together. It is a place of consensus.

I tend to believe in a strong and muscular foreign policy. I think the war on terror is real. But by being so blind to the realities of the world, those who are hawks should be more angry at some of the things that have been done, as my colleague from Delaware outlined, than those who are doves because we are going to need strength and fortitude to continue this war for decades.

I thank both my colleagues. I was privileged to listen to their erudite and illuminating explanation.

Over the last few days, we have been discussing the question: Are we better off than 4 years ago? We have been discussing mainly domestic issues the last few days. Today we are discussing it on national security; are we better off than we were 4 years ago. I guess this means our safety. And there are pluses and minuses.

Certainly in the wake of September 11 and the horrible attacks—and now that the September 11 Commission was in my city yesterday, I am living them all over again and it shakes my insides to remember what happened, to remember going the day after with my colleague, Senator CLINTON and Mayor Guiliani and the Governor, and seeing what happened—certainly we have responded. It is good we have responded. Some do not want to respond or find every response wrong, and you get caught in a quagmire of no response, which would be the worst response, in my opinion.

Having said that, I focus on two areas where we should be a lot better off than we were 4 years ago, where there is a large deficiency. One I will touch on is Iraq. Again, as somebody who supported the President going into Iraq and supported the \$87 billion, I am troubled, deeply troubled, by the lack of planning, not just in the prisons but in the whole way the peace has been managed.

No one knows what is going to happen on June 30. We set a June 30 deadline and then we have to fill in the blanks. What do we want to do? How long does it take? The lack of planning has been troubling. It is taking the great military victory we had in Iraq, a justified victory, and turning it into certainly less than a complete success in terms of what happened afterward.

So this inadequate planning, the “go it alone” attitude which my colleagues discussed, means we should be a lot better off than we were.

The place I want to focus on in my remaining few minutes is homeland security. It is a truism that has been stated before, but it is not irrelevant still. To win a war, to win a game, you need a good offense and a good defense. My colleagues talked about some of the problems on our team's offense. Let me talk about our problems on our team's defense. We are better off than we were 4 years ago in terms of homeland security. No question. Our guard

was down, we know that. But we are not close to where we should be.

What has happened is basically this: While this administration is willing to fully fund the war on terror overseas—and we will get repeated requests for more dollars, which we will support, provided they are planned out and we see what they are doing with the money—we are totally short on homeland security. There are so many areas where we are weak: Port security, rail security, computer technology, the borders, who is coming in and who is not.

What is frustrating is, we can solve all these problems. They are not technologically beyond our reach. We can have foreigners cross our borders free and clear and yet keep bad people out if we have the right computer systems and the right cards that we can give to foreigners before they come in.

We can make our rail and our ports far more secure. We can develop devices that can detect explosives and biological and chemical weapons. We can detect nuclear devices so, God forbid, if one is sent over here, we will get it at the borders.

And why is the pace so slow? I will tell you why. Somehow the priorities in the White House are not to spend money on homeland security. It is to talk about it. It is to do some photo opportunities. Let me share with the American people somebody who has been deeply concerned and ahead of our task force on this side on homeland security. Every time we ask for the dollars that are needed to tighten one area—we say \$10 is needed, and they say, We will give you \$1.50.

An example, shoulder-held missiles. We know the terrorists have them. God forbid, they smuggle 10 of them into this country, and on a given moment take down a plane in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Houston, Seattle, Denver, Boston, Miami. The mayhem. Of course, all the progress we are trying to make on the economy would go right down the drain. No one would fly for 6 months or a year.

We can arm every one of our commercial planes so they can avoid these shoulder-held missiles. Our military planes have them. Air Force One has them. People on their own private jets, wealthy people, have them. We are not doing it on our commercial planes. It is a slow walk.

We said take \$8 billion to do the whole thing in 2 years out of the \$80 billion we are spending on the missile defense system—which was designed to fight Russia and now Russia, thank God, or the Communist Soviet Union, is no longer our enemy. And they said no. They do not say let's not do it, but they say let's spend \$50 million and study it.

We know what is going on. I have spoken to people in the White House who will talk to me privately and say they will not spend a nickel on homeland security. Between the military and the idea of cutting taxes, cutting

taxes, cutting taxes, you cannot do it all. And it seems to me homeland security should be just as high a priority as helping our troops overseas fight the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Yet there is nothing.

It hurts our localities. It is not just New York City, my city, where, obviously, we have a real problem. In Buffalo, Rochester, and smaller places, Watertown, Jamestown, talk to the police and fire departments, and they are trying to do their job. They do not have the dollars to do it. So they stretch and do their best. But it is not being done right.

In place after place after place, we are only inspecting 2 percent of the containers that come in on our ships. Two percent? Do you want there to be a 2-percent chance that we stop someone from smuggling in something terrible? We have the technology to do it. It costs dollars. We cannot do homeland security without the necessary resources to make it happen.

And every single time, the one place where we have done a good job is on air security, to prevent people from smuggling weapons on the planes. Even there we are not doing enough, but we have done better.

I give credit in one other place: In the biological area, we are doing a B. It is not an A—it should be an A—but we are doing B. In almost every one of the other areas we are at C's, D's, and F's.

Who in America would not spend dollars to make us safe so that, God forbid, another September 11 does not happen? No one. But, once again, it is the ideologues in the White House who say they hate spending money on domestic things. It is not just education or health care, it is homeland security.

So we are not as well off, we are not close to as well off as we should be. We can do a lot better.

The bottom line is this: In area after area we should be far more secure than we are. We have taken some steps in every area, but who wants to wake up one morning and say: What if? God forbid, there was a terrorist incident the day before, and we say: What if we had put the detectors on the cranes and ports to avoid nuclear? What if we had made our ports secure?

Mr. President, I hope the administration will change its view on homeland security and spend the dollars that are necessary.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 2005

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume consideration of S. 2400, which the clerk will report.