

a fitting location on the National Mall situated between the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial and flanked by memorials dedicated to the members of the Armed Forces of the United States who served and died in the Korean War and in the Vietnam era;

Whereas the National World War II Memorial is dedicated to the more than 16,000,000 individuals from the 48 States, the District of Columbia, and the territories and possessions of the United States who served in the Army, Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, and Merchant Marine in World War II;

Whereas on May 29, 2004, hundreds of thousands of veterans, and their families and friends, from across the United States will gather on the National Mall to join in the dedication of the National World War II Memorial and to pay homage to the memory of the more than 400,000 members of the Armed Forces of the United States who died while serving during World War II and the more than 10,000,000 veterans of the Armed Forces of the United States in World War II who have died since the end of World War II;

Whereas on May 29, 2004, the Nation will pay tribute to all the members of the Armed Forces of the United States who served in World War II;

Whereas on May 29, 2004, the Nation will remember the duty, sacrifices, and valor of the members of the Armed Forces of the United States who served on land and sea and in the air in the more than 89 campaigns conducted in the European and Pacific theaters of operations in World War II;

Whereas on May 29, 2004, the Nation will acknowledge that the men and women who served in the Armed Forces of the United States in World War II came from all the States, the District of Columbia, and all the territories and possessions of the United States and represented men and women of all races, religions, ethnic groups, professions, educational attainments, and backgrounds, all united in the goal of serving their Country and preserving freedom; and

Whereas construction of the National World War II Memorial would not have been possible without the donations of hundreds of thousands of individual Americans, as well as corporations, foundations, veterans groups, professional and fraternal organizations, communities, and schools, who all acknowledged that a memorial should be constructed in the National Capital to recognize and pay tribute to the duty, sacrifices, and valor of all the members of the Armed Forces of the United States who served in World War II: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate—

(1) to express the grateful thanks of the Nation to the more than 16,000,000 individuals who served in the Army, Army Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, and Merchant Marine in World War II and to the millions of Americans on the home front who contributed to the war effort during World War II; and

(2) to recognize the dedication of the National World War II Memorial on the National Mall in Washington, District of Columbia, on May 29, 2004, as an occasion to acknowledge and pay tribute to the duty, sacrifices, and valor of all the members of the Armed Forces of the United States who served in World War II, a group known collectively as the "Greatest Generation".

Mr. WARNER. Madam President, I will address briefly these resolutions. I ask unanimous consent that I be made a cosponsor of H. Con. Res. 409.

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

Mr. WARNER. This particular resolution and preamble, in part, states as follows:

Recognizing with humble gratitude the more than 16,000,000 veterans who served in the United States Armed Forces during World War II and the Americans who supported the war effort on the home front and celebrating the completion of the National World War II Memorial on the National Mall in the District of Columbia.

Whereas, the National World War II Memorial on the National Mall in the District of Columbia will be the first national memorial to both recognize the courage, bravery, and unselfish dedication of the members of the United States Armed Forces who served in World War II and those who served on the home front and acknowledge the commitment and achievement of the entire American people in that conflict;

Whereas, World War II veteran Roger Durbin of Kerkey, Ohio, first proposed the construction of the National World War II Memorial, and Congresswoman Marcy Kaptur of Ohio introduced the legislation to establish the memorial in the District of Columbia to honor members of the Armed Forces who served in World War II and to commemorate the participation of the United States in that war;

Whereas, in Public Law 103-32, approved May 25, 1993, Congress authorized the American Battle Monuments Commission, an independent Federal agency, to design and construct the memorial.

The resolution goes on in great detail and lays out the legislative history of how this magnificent memorial came into being. Of course, it will be in the RECORD. The last resolving clause is:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That Congress recognizes with humble gratitude the more than 16,000,000 veterans who served in the United States Armed Forces during World War II and the Americans who supported the war effort on the home front and celebrates the completion of the National World War II Memorial on the National Mall in the District of Columbia. And then action now by the Senate.

I make these remarks on behalf of those Members of the Senate who served in World War II—Senator INOUE, Senator HOLLINGS, Senator STEVENS, Senator LAUTENBERG, Senator AKAKA, and myself, all of whom with humble pride have participated in this legislation through these many years and joined with our former distinguished colleague, Senator DOLE, who showed absolute extraordinary leadership in this entire sequence of legislative steps, and particularly raising the needed funds. I will address that momentarily.

Resolution 362 expresses the sense of the Senate on the dedication of the National World War II Memorial, May 29, 2004, in recognition of the duty, sacrifices, and valor of members of the Armed Forces of the United States who served in World War II. The resolution goes on to lay out, again, other aspects of the legislative history and the role of the Congress and others in this magnificent memorial.

AUTHORIZING USE OF THE CAPITOL GROUNDS

Mr. WARNER. Madam President, lastly, the other matter that is before

the Senate is H. Con. Res. 423, a resolution authorizing the Capitol Grounds to be used for a public event providing additional space in conjunction with the dedication of the National World War II Memorial on May 29, 2004, and such other dates that the Speaker of the House and representatives of the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate may designate.

It is a very wise step to try to help in some way the extraordinary turnout in response of veterans who will be coming to the Nation's Capitol to be present at the memorial dedication, but for reasons of shortage of seats and other reasons, we are trying to accommodate them. I commend the Senate and the House for working on the means by which to make the Capitol Grounds available.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of H. Con. Res. 423, which is at the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the concurrent resolution by title.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 423) authorizing the use of the Capitol Grounds for activities associated with the dedication of the National World War II Memorial.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the concurrent resolution.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the concurrent resolution be agreed to, the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, and that any statements relating to the concurrent resolution be printed in the RECORD.

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

The concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 423) was agreed to.

Mr. WARNER. Madam President, I also ask unanimous consent to print in today's RECORD some historic information about the memorial and a partial schedule of the many events that are occurring in connection with the dedication. I hope this record, which will be printed today in the proceedings of the Senate, will serve as a useful tool to Senators as they are working with their constituents on this matter.

I would like to conclude, again reflecting on Senator Dole's role. Again, he is national chairman of the World War II Memorial campaign. I recall when he undertook this assignment, working together with Fred Smith, the cochairman of the national campaign, Senator Dole said their goal would be approximately \$100 million and that they wanted to raise it from the people of the United States, individuals.

Over 600,000 individuals came forward. Also, 400 veterans groups, and over 1,400 schools took up contributions. All 50 States and Puerto Rico contributed \$1 for every citizen of that State who participated during World War II. The breadth of this campaign, envisioned by Senator Dole and others and the Battle Monuments Commission, and, of course, his cochairman,

Mr. Smith, was extraordinary, and the outpouring from all across America was equally extraordinary. They set a goal of around \$100 million, but it is my understanding they are approaching \$200 million, showing the depth and feeling and gratitude of all citizens of our Nation.

With the greatest humility I compliment Senator Dole, Mr. Smith, and others who undertook this task and achieved beyond all possible dreams. The dedication is just shaping up to be one of the great moments in the contemporary history of the United States of America.

Stop to think: It took 11 years to get the legislation through. Hostilities ceased with the surrender of Japan. It is my recollection—I was but a young sailor then in training in the United States—it was in the summer of 1945, August, is my recollection, and the surrender of Germany, I think, occurred previously in that year, if my recollection is correct, May 8 or 9.

That extraordinary chapter and struggle of mankind to preserve freedom came to a quiet and reverent conclusion with extraordinary losses. Over 400,000 Americans alone gave their lives and probably in the millions who were wounded, including our distinguished colleagues, Senator Dole and Senator Inouye.

I am at a loss for words to express the gratitude of this country. We are here today exercising the right of free speech because of those sacrifices and elsewhere in the world, exercising various levels of democracy and freedom of speech solely because of the enormity of the sacrifices of that generation referred to now as “the greatest generation.”

Madam President, I, at this time, again acknowledge the participation of our former colleague, Senator Dole, and the participation of all Members of the Chamber today and those who served in the 11 years preceding who participated in the legislative steps to bring about and fulfill the role of the Congress as it relates to this magnificent chapter in American history.

Madam President, I see another colleague, a very valuable member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, seeking recognition. Having spoken briefly before, my understanding is that the Senator will be speaking on the bill; is that correct?

Mr. DAYTON. That is right, matters related to the bill.

Mr. WARNER. The Senator may speak for whatever time he wishes.

Mr. DAYTON. Fifteen minutes, if I may.

Mr. WARNER. Whatever the distinguished Senator desires.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 2005—Continued

Mr. WARNER. Madam President, I ask at this time that we return to the pending bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is the pending question.

Mr. WARNER. And that the distinguished Senator be recognized.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. DAYTON. I thank the distinguished chairman of the committee, Senator WARNER, and I certainly want to join in his remarks commending the husband of the Presiding Officer, the distinguished Senator Dole—both distinguished Senators DOLE—and also to recognize Chairman WARNER, who has been superb in his quest for the truth of what has happened in Iraq that has come to light in recent days.

I know it has been very difficult and there has been a high amount of pressure on him, but he and our ranking member, Senator LEVIN, have led us well on that committee, as they have throughout my 3½ years of service.

We are very fortunate that he has continued his distinguished leadership to our Senate and to our Nation throughout these years and continues to do so now.

This week we are debating the Defense Authorization Act for 2005 and will return to it after the Memorial Day recess. I thank the majority leader, Senator FRIST, for not trying to rush us through this important legislation, because it is complex, and it is also very costly.

This bill authorizes \$422 billion of taxpayer money and borrowed funds for our national defense purposes in fiscal year 2005. That does not count the \$25 billion supplemental that the President has requested, and it does not count the additional supplemental that we know soon after the November election will also be requested for the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq during the rest of that fiscal year, probably another \$35 billion to \$50 billion. That means a total of almost \$500 billion authorized for military operations in the year 2005.

When I arrived 4 years ago, in fiscal year 2001, that comparable figure was \$309 billion. That is an increase of over 60 percent in just 4 years.

Obviously, a lot has happened since then. There was 9/11, the war in Afghanistan, the war in Iraq, the war against terrorism, homeland security, costs most of which are not included in this bill. I have supported every defense, homeland security authorization, and appropriations bill during my 3½ years in the Senate, and I sit on both authorizing committees. I will support this bill, as I did in committee. I will support the \$25 billion supplemental appropriation, as I have all of the previous supplemental requests.

I want to ask for some answers from our Commander in Chief, President Bush: In return for this \$500 billion of taxpayers' money, what is your plan in Iraq? What must be accomplished, and by whom, before we declare victory? How long will that take?

I spent 5 hours in the Senate Armed Services Committee hearings this

week, 1 hour yesterday with approximately 40 of my colleagues, with the Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the generals in charge of the war efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq. I did not get answers to those basic questions. I heard generalities but not answers.

General Abizaid, the excellent general in charge of that region of the war, said it is vital that we “stay the course.” OK. But what course are we on? Where does it lead us? Where are you leading us, Mr. President?

I voted against the Iraq resolution in October of 2002 for three reasons. I thought it was unconstitutional for Congress to give up its constitutional responsibility to declare war and give the President that authority 6 months before he himself made his decision. Second, I was not persuaded that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction that threatened our national security. Third, I believed the invasion and occupation of an Arab nation would weaken, not strengthen, our national security. I believe I was right on all three.

Now that we are there, I want us to succeed. We must succeed. The stakes are too high for failure or defeat. But what constitutes success? We have already successfully achieved our stated objectives. Our Armed Forces smashed Saddam Hussein's army and toppled his regime in 3 weeks. We won that military victory overwhelmingly. We determined that Iraq had no weapons of mass destruction to use against us or anyone else. None were used, thank God. None were found on the battlefields or in caches or in sheds or caves or anywhere else. None were even in production.

For the last year, our Armed Forces have heroically protected the country, helped to rebuild it, and trained and equipped some 200,000 Iraqis as police and militia. On June 30, some measure of authority will be transferred to an Iraqi government, selected by a representative of the United Nations, along with a blueprint for developing a national constitution and holding democratic elections. Success, success, success—a grand slam.

What else must we do? Madam President, 794 heroic Americans have given their lives to achieve that success, and I join with my colleague, Senator COLEMAN, who cited each of those Minnesotans by name. They are truly, like their fallen comrades, American heroes. Thousands more American heroes have been wounded. There are 134,000 American heroes risking their lives every day and every night over in Iraq for some indefinite period of time. And for what? For what, Mr. President?

We can do no more for the people of Iraq than give them back their country. What they decide to do with it is up to them. That is democracy. It is their country. They should administer it, patrol it, police it, and defend it—not us. If we are doing any of that, we are still running their country. We still get blamed for whatever is going