

changes that are made. I know some have said they are significant. With the Senator's legal skills and ability to analyze, I think he will find they are not nearly as significant as some say. As a matter of fact, most are very small. I believe he will feel comfortable in the end once again voting for this legislation.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I thank my friend from Alabama. I have, indeed, studied the version that has come back from conference. The differences are significant, indeed. They are very significant, so much so that some of the more conservative Members of this body have joined in a decision that we should have an opportunity to debate the PATRIOT Act conference report before it is enacted. We all want to extend it to give us that opportunity. But this is not a Democratic or Republican opposition; it is a bipartisan group of Senators who have studied the conference report and have significant differences with it, and I am one of those Senators.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I wish to talk about a different bill, a bill we thought was finally put to bed yesterday. When we say "put to bed," what we conferees mean is the conference is over and that all of the members of the conference have signed the conference sheets, the signature sheets which signify that document that is attached to those sheets is the final version and that then will be presented to both Houses for their consideration.

Senator WARNER came to the Chamber last night to express his dismay with what we understand now has happened in the House, and that is that the House leadership is apparently toying with the idea, considering the possibility of trying to insert in that conference report a totally unrelated bill that is not part of either the House or the Senate Defense authorization bill, which is totally unrelated to the subject matter of the Defense Authorization Act.

To me, it is not important what the substance of the bill is that the House Republican leadership wants to attach. The principle is important. The principle is one of the fundamental principles under which we operate in this body and in this Congress, and that is, once a conference report is agreed to, once those signature sheets have been attached, nothing can just be inserted, unless, of course, the conference report is rejected or the report is referred back to conference.

There are rules that the House gets the conference report first, and that allows that body to return a conference report for further consideration. But what is happening here is not that there was going to be a conference report taken up in the House with a mo-

tion to refer back to conference to consider other material. Here, apparently, from what we understand, the House leadership was attempting to find some way to add significant legislation to a conference report on which the signature sheet had already been signed by all of us.

Senator WARNER came to the Chamber last night to express his dismay with this process. As always, Senator WARNER is extraordinarily honorable. For him, it is not important what the subject matter of this added legislation is. It is the principle involved. It is the process involved. We cannot possibly operate under a procedure where after a conference is over and the signature sheets are signed that then there is an effort made without, I guess, the body reopening the conference by sending it back to conference for reconsideration but just simply looking for a mechanism to add legislation to a conference report which had already been signed.

Senator WARNER said something last night that I concur in 1,000 percent. In fact, everything he said last night I concur in 1,000 percent because he is a Senate man. He is an institution man. He loves this institution. And the idea that we could have a process where a conference report is signed and then, somehow or other, through some mysterious mechanism or means, additional legislation is added to it without that conference being reorganized and the House, the first body that receives this conference report, referring it back to conference, is a totally unacceptable process.

The chairman of our committee, Senator WARNER, last night said he was not going to accept this process. He would filibuster his own bill if it contained material we had not considered and was now showing up in a conference report. And I would join him in that filibuster. He would exercise the rules of this body to ask the Chair to rule that there is out-of-scope material in this conference report, and I would join him in asking the Chair to make such a ruling.

This is separate and apart from whether he or I agree with the material which was proposed to be added. By the way, for whatever relevance it has, I think probably both of us would be inclined to support the material which was intended to be added if it ever came to the floor in a proper way. I don't want to commit myself to that position because I haven't seen the actual material proposed to be added, but what I know of the subject matter, it would be the type of change in our law which I probably would support and, without speaking for Senator WARNER, I think he is probably inclined to support, too. That is not the issue. We can't treat our colleagues that way. This is a controversial matter which is proposed to be added. There is a very strong debate over the subject matter.

Regardless of what our position is, as the chairman and ranking member of this committee, we cannot bring back

from the conference a document which contains material which had never been discussed in conference, never the subject of debate in either the House or the Senate, was not in the House or the Senate bill, and is totally nongermane to the subject matter of the conference report.

We all know there are items added to conference reports that were not in either bill. That happens. But under our rule, the only way it now happens is if it is material to which everybody agrees. It cannot be material which is not in agreement by the Members of the two bodies. We cannot possibly, as a matter of principle, have a process where a conference report comes back containing material not germane, not relevant, not material to the conference, not the subject of either bill that passed either House, and which is added after the signature sheets have been signed.

I wanted to come to the Chamber and say what has happened because we heard this effort was being considered—just being considered—by the House Republican leadership. Senator WARNER and I asked our staff to go over to the House and retrieve our signature sheets.

Mr. REID. Will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. LEVIN. I will be happy to yield.

Mr. REID. Through the Chair to the distinguished ranking member of the Armed Services Committee, I already gave some remarks on the Senate floor last night about my admiration for the chairman of the Armed Services Committee. My admiration of the senior Senator from Virginia is a volume. I think JOHN WARNER is what a Senator is all about, and I said that last night.

I say to my friend from Michigan, I have served in legislative bodies a long time. I have been in public service for more than 40 years. And my respect for the ranking member of the Armed Services Committee is equal to that of the senior Senator from Virginia. There is no better Senator than CARL LEVIN from Michigan—not today or ever. He is one of the best ever.

The working relationship between Senator WARNER and Senator LEVIN is what the Senate should be. But I want to say that what is going on in this Congress is absolutely untoward. We have a Defense appropriations bill that will fund the military, some \$450 billion, that is being held up by sticking onto that bill drilling in Alaska, drilling oil wells in Alaska.

There is a place for that legislation, but it should not hold up this bill, as it has been. As Lord Acton said, "Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power tends to corrupt absolutely." That is what we have a study of in here: The absolute power of the Republicans controlling the White House, the House, and the Senate is leading to a corrupt Congress.

To think that the rules mean nothing, throw them aside, let us change them today, we are going to put something on the Defense appropriations

bill. The other aspect of the Defense authorization bill is taking care of our men and women who are fighting for us. It does things such as taking care of pensions, changes in pay and equipment that the appropriations bill funds, which is what the Senator from Michigan and JOHN WARNER have done.

I saw the chairman of the Armed Services Committee as I was leaving the House yesterday, the distinguished House Member from the San Diego, CA area, whom I served with, DUNCAN HUNTER. I asked, how are we coming on this? He said, it is done, it is just like this. One could not see the line between his fingers.

Then we come back over here and it is not done. They are trying to stick into this some type of campaign finance reform. Think about that. ANWR on the Defense appropriations bill and campaign finance in the Defense authorization bill. What is this Congress turning into?

It is almost Christmas and we cannot get our work done. The intelligence authorization bill—we have people giving these patriotic speeches about all the things that need to be done. We cannot do the intelligence authorization bill. That is the bill that directs our intelligence-gathering activities in America. Why? Because they will not let us talk about Abu Ghraib and what has gone on in the military prisons around the world. They will not let us do it, so they are not going to do the bill—they meaning the Republican leadership.

People complain about appropriations bills having stuff in them that they should not. Well, anybody who has any thought of an appropriations bill being pork, wait until the scope of conference changes.

The distinguished Presiding Officer of the Senate at this time has told me—and I have heard him give public speeches—about how he thinks there should not be extraneous things in appropriations bills. Well, I say to my distinguished friend, who is a medical doctor and extremely intelligent, if you cannot see the incongruity of allowing ANWR to be placed on an appropriations bill, then you are a lot less intelligent than I think you are. How could anybody allow this to happen?

Then the final thing I will mention briefly is the PATRIOT Act. The PATRIOT Act yesterday was brought to this Senate in the form of a conference report. A group of Democrats and Republicans felt the bill that passed the Senate Judiciary Committee unanimously, came to the Senate floor and passed unanimously and was taken to that place across the aisle, the House of Representatives, the other body, and came back here a different animal, is now a different bill. It was not the same thing. The Senate Judiciary Committee approved it unanimously and it was approved unanimously in the Senate. It was different legislation.

That is why human rights and civil rights groups on the right and the left politically opposed it. We did the right

thing. We want the PATRIOT Act to be extended for 3 months to see if Senator SPECTER and Senator LEAHY can work something out so that the problems with it—and there are significant problems—can be worked out.

I do not appreciate insinuations and intimations that those people who opposed cloture yesterday were unpatriotic. I am opposed to terrorists as much as anybody in this country. I voted for the first PATRIOT Act and I am glad I did. We sunsetted certain things in that first PATRIOT Act because we were pushed, because of the events of 9/11, to get the law changed so we could go after terrorists better than we did. So do not come and give lectures about someone being more patriotic than others and understanding the terrorists more than others. Everyone in this Senate, Democrat and Republican, is patriotic and opposes terrorists, these evil people around the world. We want to do everything we can to defeat terrorists, but we want to do it recognizing that we in America live by a document called the U.S. Constitution that directs what we do.

We can have security and we can have liberty at the same time. When we start saying security is more important than the liberties of the American people, this country is in trouble.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GRAHAM). The Senator from Alabama.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, I ask a question of the Senator before he yields the floor.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I reclaim my time to the floor if I have any time remaining.

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

Mr. LEVIN. In that case I will not reclaim my time.

Mr. SESSIONS. I ask the distinguished Democratic leader—he is a great and skilled advocate, and I know everybody is a bit frustrated at the end of the session, but I do not think he meant to accuse the distinguished Senator COCHRAN and the members of the Appropriations Committee, who have reached a little different conclusion than he would, of being corrupt. He used that word twice. Perhaps it is important for us to recognize that there are a lot of disagreements around here.

Mr. REID. I would be happy to respond to my friend. I respond this way: Corruption is more than money corruption. There is intellectual corruption. The point I was making with the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma, who I care a great deal about, is that people do not like the appropriations process because there is too much money being spent on extraneous matters that they feel are unimportant, such as a swimming pool in Sparks, NV, or something such as that. I am saying if you do not like that, then you are going to hate the process after this precedent is overruled and you can put anything you want in an appropriations bill. There would be no scope of conference and that is what I said and that is what I meant.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. COBURN. Mr. President, I want to respond. First, I think it is unfortunate when somebody is in the chair that such a statement was made without thankfully someone else being in the Chamber to allow me the opportunity to respond to it.

There is a lot wrong with the process in the Senate and I am sure the distinguished Senator from Nevada probably has an intellectual heads-up on me. I do not doubt that. But what is wrong is deception, not policy changes, and you have never heard this Senator say anything about problems with putting policy riders on appropriations bills.

What I have been very clear about from the day I arrived in the Senate is that there should not be earmarks that are used in politically beneficial ways for individual Members of the body because what that does, in fact, is put the country second and us first. It puts the next election ahead of the next generation.

To equate that with policy changes that go along and use my position as somebody who is fighting hard to change the appropriations process and to use me as an example, because you may not at this time be happy—I am not happy we are here, I am not happy that anything gets stuck on anything, but I also recognize the history of things that have gone on in this body and the other body and how at the end of a session things get tacked on to lots of things.

I will not be used, nor will I allow my position to be used, to wedge other people into thinking I am inconsistent, and I will defend that. My consistent criticism of the appropriation process is on earmarks and on earmarks alone and us living within the amount of moneys we have and not using the earmark process to advantage your own political career.

I want to make sure everybody in this country understands that what you are talking about is something wholly different than that. This is policy. I am not happy about any additional spending that is not paid for, I don't care what bill it comes through, and I have made it very clear to my leadership, on any bill that comes out of this end-of-the-year process.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, reclaiming my time, I say through the Chair to the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma, first of all, I thought I was complimenting the Senator from Oklahoma. If I did not, I apologize. I thought explaining—maybe some people watching this don't know that you are a medical doctor. I also would say to my distinguished friend that when someone is presiding and their name is mentioned, they always have the capacity to speak, not as a Presiding Officer but as a Senator. So you would have every right to respond if I said something with which you disagreed.

I would say this. The reason I think you should check out what I said is

that, under the present rules, you cannot put policy on appropriations bills. It is only for money matters. The Senator said he doesn't object to policy matters on appropriations bills. I do because right now it is not within the scope of the rules. That is what they are attempting to change here, and I think it is wrong.

I say, Mr. President, if I in any way embarrassed the Senator from Oklahoma or said something that offended him, I apologize because I certainly didn't mean to do that. I thought just the opposite, I was trying to compliment him. Maybe I need a lesson in how to compliment people, but that is what I was trying to do.

Mr. COBURN. Mr. President, I would tell the Senator from Nevada I take no personal offense but would also state there hasn't been an appropriations bill coming out of this body in 20 years that hasn't had policy changes directed and attached to it. They all do. If you seriously look at them, there are policy directions on every one of them because the Congress spends all its time appropriating rather than authorizing—the very issue the Senator from Michigan is talking about. Consequently, this year we are going to appropriate \$190 billion on items that are not even authorized.

The Senator from Nevada is gracious. I wanted to make sure my point was clear on my position in terms of earmarks and spending. I don't like this process any better than he does, but I am willing to do what we need to do for our country to get it done. I don't want us to corrupt the process, but I will tell you that the process needs to completely be revised in terms of appropriations. We should never be in this position that we find ourselves today.

With that, I yield the floor.

Mr. REID. Through the Chair to the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma, one reason I got on this subject is you were quoted yesterday—actually, it is now Saturday—you were quoted the day before yesterday saying:

It's wrong for members of Congress to use our troops as political cover for new spending. . . . If Senators want to pass additional funds related to hurricane relief or the avian flu, for example, those measures should be amendable and not attached to must-pass bills that cannot be amended.

That is my whole point. Why change the rules? I would further say that I will not raise the Senator's name again other than the quote I just read here.

I am going to read a letter indicating that I am not out in left field about complaining about what is happening to our defense legislation, appropriations and authorization. I have a letter here dated December 17. I think today is the 18th. It is written to me and Senator FRIST.

We are very concerned that the fiscal year 2006 Defense Appropriations Bill may be further delayed by attaching a controversial non-defense provision to the defense appropriations conference report.

It is ANWR.

We know that you share our overarching concern for the welfare and needs of our troops. With 160,000 troops fighting in Iraq, another 18,000 in Afghanistan, and tens of thousands more around the world defending this country, Congress must finish its work and provide them the resources they need to do their job.

We believe that any effort to attach controversial legislative language authorizing drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge . . . to the defense appropriations conference report will jeopardize Congress' ability to provide our troops and their families the resources they need in a timely fashion.

The passion and energy of the debate about drilling in ANWR is well known, and a testament to vibrant debate in our democracy. But it is not helpful to attach such a controversial non-defense legislative issue to a defense appropriations bill. It only invites delay for our troops as Congress debates an important but controversial non-defense issue on a vital bill providing critical funding for our nation's security.

The final sentence:

We urge you to keep ANWR off the defense appropriations bill.

Signed by:

General, U.S. Marine Corps (Ret.) Joseph P. Hoar; General, U.S. Marine Corps (Ret.) Anthony C. Zinni; Lieutenant General, U.S. Army (Ret.) Claudia J. Kennedy; Vice Admiral, U.S. Navy (Ret.) Lee F. Gunn; and Stephen A. Cheney, Brigadier General, U.S. Marine Corps (Ret.)

That is what we are facing here. We have to get real. The rules we have are rules that we should follow. The reason this body has worked so well for 216 years is that we have rules, and they are to be followed. The debate sometimes is arcane. It takes a long time. Sometimes it is difficult to stop people from talking too much. But those are the rules we have here, and we should follow them.

It does not take a rocket scientist to understand that on a Defense appropriations bill, we should not be debating ANWR. I say to anyone, anyone who is a Senator, we should not let this happen. I don't care who puts it on the bill, no matter how powerful the person may be, we should not allow that to happen. We should not allow that to happen. It is not good for this body, as seen by these senior military.

To put on Defense authorization campaign finance reform is absolutely wrong—wrong.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. COBURN). The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, first we thank the Democratic leader for supporting the fundamental principle that has been violated with this authorization bill. It is a very different principle from the one the Presiding Officer feels so passionately about. It is a principle which I have, I believe, never seen violated.

The Senator from Alabama, who is on the floor, and the Senator from South Carolina, who is on the floor—they signed a signature sheet, I believe, on our Defense authorization. I think every Republican and I think every Democrat signed the signature sheet.

The issue which the Presiding Officer feels so passionately about, which is

earmarks on an appropriations bill and items being added on an appropriations bill, raises a whole different issue under a different rule. I believe his passion on this issue is admired by many in this body. But the principle that Senator WARNER and I are talking about is a principle which is embedded, it is so fundamental—that once a conference report is signed there is no way that it can be or should be changed. No way can material be inserted in a conference report.

This is in all of our interests. If in the conference we decided to add material which had not been discussed by either body, that would then raise the issue in which the good Presiding Officer is very passionately involved. I share many of his concerns. That is not his issue. The conference did not add this material. This is not an earmark added by the conference, which had never gone through either body. This is material that apparently the Republican leadership in the House wants to add after the conference is closed, after we signed the signature sheets, without going through the process of sending the conference report to the House and having them refer it back to conference if they want to. None of us can accept that. As a matter of principle, we cannot accept that.

Mr. GRAHAM. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. LEVIN. I am happy to yield to my friend.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, this last hour is a good example of what we have come to as a Senate and a Nation. I come to the Senate to support Senator LEVIN's statement and Senator WARNER's statement. We have had a knockdown drag-out over the authorization bill. Everyone gave and we got a product the country can be proud of.

What has happened, as Senator LEVIN has described, we cannot survive politically if this is allowed to stand. A lawyer in private practice could get disbarred for doing something such as this.

My understanding of what has happened—and if I am wrong, I apologize, and I hope Senator LEVIN will correct me if I am wrong—there was a matter added to the conference report totally unrelated to defending our Nation that has a major policy decision—which I happen to support, by the way, but not under these circumstances—that basically changes the entire political process if it is allowed to stand. None of us are safe. Our word means nothing and our signature means nothing if you can change the document after everyone agreed to a certain set of facts.

This is a defining moment for the Senate and the House. If we do not fix this now, it is going to eat at us all and our country will suffer.

Mr. LEVIN. If the Senator will yield, my understanding is there is an effort being made to insert material. It has not yet been inserted because Senator WARNER and I, through our staff, asked our staffs to go over to the House and

withdraw our signatures before the material could be inserted.

It was the effort to insert it, the threat to insert it which was transmitted to Senator WARNER and transmitted to me through him and through Congressman SKELTON. This is not an effort on the part of Chairman HUNTER, by the way. As I understand it, it is the Republican leadership in the House that is determined to find a way to insert material into the conference report after the signature sheets have been signed. That is what I know about it.

Senator WARNER was so disturbed about it, I was so disturbed about it, we decided we were not going to take a chance. We cannot risk this.

Mr. GRAHAM. If the Senator will yield, I wish every American knew what was in the Defense authorization bill. In the Defense authorization bill are provisions to allow guard members and reservists to get health care for themselves and their families. They need it now more than ever. They are authorizing bonus programs for people who are serving worldwide now who are overtasked and underpaid.

To take this bill that will authorize much-needed relief to the troops in the field, that will keep our equipment modern, will allow us to aggressively deal with the war on terror, capture the moral high ground with the McCain language, do the habeas reform package we worked on—to have that come down by inserting something after the fact is a low blow. It will eat away at the heart of this body.

Mr. LEVIN. I thank my dear friend from South Carolina.

It is an effort we cannot allow to succeed. We are in bipartisan agreement on this issue. It is the deepest form of process where we must be able to rely upon each other's commitment and signature. We cannot let that shake. There are all kinds of differences in this Senate. Sometimes between Democrats and Republicans, sometimes between Democrats and Democrats, between Republicans and Republicans. There are differences between us and other Members of the Senate. When a signature is affixed, when a conference report is signed, we cannot possibly contemplate any change in that conference report even if we agree with it.

By the way, as the Senator from South Carolina said, I believe I am in agreement with the principle of the material which they seek to add. I know Senator WARNER told me he is in agreement with it in principle. It is bedrock principles. You do not go deeper than this.

We also have a rule—I know the Presiding Officer is focused on the issue I want to spend 1 minute on—we have a rule relative to legislating on appropriations, which the Senator made reference to in his remarks. We also have rule XXVIII which has to do with material in a conference report which is out of scope. That rule was abided by so that if anyone ever made a point of

order that material in a conference report was out of scope, if the Presiding Officer ruled, the body would not overrule the Presiding Officer.

But we made a mistake in the early 1990s when we overruled the Chair. There is material added to conference reports all the time, by the way, which has the agreement of conferees, which is out of scope that has the agreement of conferees. It might not have the agreement of everyone in the body, but everyone in the conference report agrees to it. That happens all the time. But what never happened until that one moment in the early 1990s, a point of order was made that there was material out of scope in a conference report and the point of order was sustained by the Chair. The Chair was overridden. That created havoc around here. So much so that a few years later we restored the rule and we wiped out the precedent which was created by overruling the Chair.

That is what the issue is in the defense appropriations bill. That is what this issue is going to be. That is different from legislating on an appropriations bill. Forgive me for getting into the details, but I spent a few days studying the difference and I don't want to waste my effort the last few days to try to understand this distinction. The issue on the appropriations bill, since all of us are friends and we are sitting here on a Saturday evening talking to each other this way, the difference on the appropriations bill and not legislating—I forget the number of the rule, but is not rule XXVIII—there is a different rule from the one that is at issue on defense appropriations.

The issue on the defense appropriations bill is whether we would overrule the Chair who will rule that the Arctic drilling issue is out of scope and out of order, and whether we are then going to override that ruling and put us back in the same morass we were in in the early 1990s, which caused us a few years later to reverse that precedent, undo that terrible precedent which actually made our rules into mush. We cannot have a rule which sometimes applies and sometimes does not, we override it every other day and restore it every other day. We cannot operate that way and hold our heads up as being legislators.

I thank my Chair and my friends for their patience. Let me close by confirming what the Senator from South Carolina said about the importance of the bill. It increases pay by 3.1 percent, which is half a percent higher than inflation. We have been fighting for that a long time. It increases the death gratuity to all active-duty deaths from \$12,000 to \$100,000, retroactive to the beginning of Operation Enduring Freedom. It authorizes a new special pay of \$435 a month during hospitalization. It authorizes new leave for up to 21 days when adopting a child. We can go on and on. The Senator from South Carolina mentioned a few of them and my friend from Alabama knows this be-

cause he works hard on these issues, too.

We are trying to put items in here in this bill which are good for the troops, good for their families, good for the Nation, good for our security. We cannot watch this effort go down the drain after it was such a tremendous effort made to finish this bill. We set a record, folks. We had the shortest period of time to do an authorization bill and we had the record number of amendments that we were able to resolve. We set two records on this bill. Those records go down the drain unless the House leadership decides they are not going to try to do something that, as far as I know, has never been done before, which is to insert material in a bill somehow after the signature sheets have been signed.

There is a process. If the bill goes to the House and they want to refer it back to conference to consider something, in scope or out of scope, that is their right. But when this threat came that they were looking for a way to insert other matter into this conference report, after we had signed the sheets, Senator WARNER—I cannot pay enough tribute to Senator WARNER—is taking a very strong stand against the leader of his own party and the House of Representatives. I commend him for it. I hope the leadership of the House will relent and allow us to move forward with this important bill.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, I will follow up on that. I think the House leadership and many on this side do feel the language would be good for the country and it is the right thing to do. And if everybody agrees, a lot of things happen around here. But if Senator LEVIN and Senator WARNER have concluded they do not want to discuss any additional additions, it is not going to happen; it is just not going to happen. Unanimously, if anybody agreed to add something, something that everybody likes, maybe it could occur. Sometimes one side has to push a little harder to make sure the other side understands how strongly they feel about it. But at some point, if Senators WARNER and LEVIN do not agree to this alteration, it is not going to be in the bill.

So as a legal principle, I know they used to always say: There ain't no harm in asking. So they have tried. But I am not sure it will work if we are not going to see their support for it.

ABU GHRAIB

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, I will say something about Senator REID's, the Democratic leader's, reference to Abu Ghraib, suggesting that this bill, the legislation in this Defense bill has been held up perhaps because nobody wants to do anything about what has been going on in Abu Ghraib. Once again, it deeply concerns me. Once again, we are having the suggestion, if