

after a lot of dying, you realize: Wait a minute, we have to go forward, not backward. The deBaathification law is a huge step toward reconciliation.

A \$48 billion budget was passed.

Politicians in the Congress can relate to one thing: money. We are always fighting to get our fair share for our State and our districts. The \$48 billion budget that was passed has money allocated to every region of Iraq, and reconstruction can now go forward. And the ministries delivering the money are better than they have ever been but with a long way to go.

The fact that Sunnis, Shias, and Kurds would share the wealth of the country with each other seems to me to suggest that they view Iraq as a country. And to give money to someone who may have been involved in trying to kill your family just months ago is very difficult to do. But they have overcome, I think in great measure, the biggest impediment that every country eventually has to overcome—and that is forgiveness. There is a long way to go in Iraq, but we are a lot closer to getting there than we were last year. And the only way we are going to lose is for Washington to screw it up.

The provincial powers law, it passed the Parliament and went to the Council of Presidents. It will allow local elections in every province beginning in October. And I predict if that law becomes reality, Sunnis will vote in large numbers, and they boycotted in 2005.

The central government run by the Shias came to the conclusion that we are going to decentralize power; we are going to let each province elect their local leaders, instead of trying to micromanage everything from Baghdad. You know what that means? Democracy.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MENENDEZ). The Senator is advised by the Chair that there is a preceding order to recess at 12:30.

Mr. GRAHAM. To be continued. I yield.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, with the indulgence of the Chair, I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business on another subject for up to 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GRAHAM. May I have 2 minutes to finish my thoughts?

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

Mr. GRAHAM. The provincial election law was vetoed by Abdul Mahdi, a Shia Vice President, over the issue of whether governors elected to the province can be replaced by a majority vote in the Parliament. That is going to their Supreme Court. It is a unique and novel issue, and, to me, it gives great hope because they are resorting to the law rather than the gun. It is constitutional democracy playing out in front of us. It is something we should celebrate.

Amnesty: There are thousands of people in the jails of Iraq now, mostly

Sunnis, who have been tied to the insurgency. The Parliament passed a law that will allow a community of Sunnis, Shias, and Kurds to go through the files of the people in jail and say to some of those who have taken up arms against the Government: Go home, my brother, and let us build a new Iraq. That is a stunning development.

Now, how did all this happen? Iraq is war weary. People are tired of living in fear. We have given them better security; we put al-Qaida on the run, which has been trying to stir up trouble ever since Baghdad failed; and people have a sense of economic and political hope they have never had before. Oil revenues are up, have doubled. Oil production is up 50 percent. The economy is moving forward at a very fast pace. All of this is due, in my opinion, to resolve, to the surge, to the bravery of the Iraqi people and the American military and coalition forces who brought it about.

To my friends and colleagues in Congress: We are going to win in Iraq. Finally, we have a model that will lead us to a stable and functioning government rejecting terrorism and aligning with us in the war on terror. And the only way we will lose now is for Washington to lose its will and undercut this model. I hope we understand what this debate is about. It is about winning and losing a battle that we can't afford to lose.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Again, I thank the Presiding Officer for staying in the chair for a period of 10 minutes.

TRIBUTE TO WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, this morning we learned of the death of William F. Buckley, Jr. I wanted to come to the floor and reminisce a bit about Bill Buckley, whom I have been privileged to know for more than 40 years, and to pay tribute to a devoted and patriotic American, a remarkably creative and eloquent man of letters, a person with an extraordinary sense of humor and a kind of spirit to him that infused anyone around him.

He was a person who believed in the power of ideas and loved the exchange of ideas. He lived a remarkable life, with great effect for this country that he loved, and a tremendous impact on people who read his novels, his books, and his columns in the National Review, or watched him for so many years on that wonderfully thoughtful, cerebral, provocative TV program "Firing Line," which was open not just to conservatives such as Bill Buckley, but to people with all shades of opinion who were willing to engage him—Bill Buckley, WFB—on the field of ideas. A remarkable man.

I was privileged to get to know him more than 40 years ago when I became the editor—at Yale, of course, editor

wasn't a good enough title. I was called the chairman of the board of the Yale Daily News. And there was a gentleman at the Yale Daily News named Francis Donahue—Tackie Donahue—and he had been there forever as the permanent business manager. I remember the day after I was chosen, he told me he had informed Bill Buckley of this in one of his regular memos back and forth to Buckley. I was fascinated by this and began a communication with Bill Buckley at that time, and he took a wonderfully warm, kind of brotherly interest in those who were at the Yale Daily News, as he had been in the early 1950s. He invited me and a couple of our friends from the news to come to his house in Stamford, CT, for a dinner or two, which were stimulating, thrilling evenings.

Our friendship went on, and I will come back to that, but Buckley's life is an extraordinary life. He came out of Yale, became very well known for a book he wrote about what he thought was the hostile environment at Yale toward people of faith, toward people who were conservative, et cetera, et cetera, "God and Man at Yale." He went from that to starting the National Review in the mid-1950s. I believe it was 1955. I remember reading once that he had said in the founding issue that the publication would derive from original ideas of the moral order.

Bill Buckley was a person who studied history, studied literature, learned from it, and also was infused with a deep and profound commitment to his Roman Catholic faith. That, I think, was the origin of the moral order which he gave expression to in all that he did in writing for the National Review and speaking out and conducting himself as a provocative, loving American. He believed that ideas mattered, and they did.

The National Review, in some sense, gave birth to the modern American conservative movement. But it wasn't always a Republican movement. His was a matter of ideals and ideas and philosophy—conservatism. Incidentally, he rejected extremism. To his everlasting credit, he took on the extremists of the John Birch Society, which wasn't popular for him to do at the time he did it.

I am just remembering words of Buckley. He said he was a conservative ideologically, not always favorable to Republican candidates. I remember reading about an editorial he wrote in the National Review endorsing General Eisenhower for President. While everyone else was echoing the slogan "We Like Ike," Buckley's editorial said, "We Prefer Ike." So it was a relative judgment that he made.

He was thrilled, of course, much more by the candidacy of a former Member of this body, a distinguished Member, Senator Barry Goldwater, and most of all by the candidacy of President Reagan. At one point, in the mid-1960s, he ran for mayor of New York. And again as a kind of joyous, thought-

provoking, elegant, eloquent exercise in being involved in the marketplace of public ideas, perhaps most famous, though perhaps not the most substantive thing he said in that campaign, is when they asked what he would do when he was elected. Bill Buckley famously said: I will demand a recount. And that is a good message for all of us when we approach campaigns.

Well, I continued to be involved with him in communication in many ways. My wife and I had the privilege of spending wonderful evenings with him and his late wife Patricia at their home in Stamford, CT. These were classic evenings of great food, some drink, and good spirited conversations—cigar and brandy to follow—but always open to ideas and always with a ready willingness to laugh. In fact, he passed away earlier today, apparently in his study in his magnificent home on Wallace Point in Stamford, CT, probably working on a column or some other piece of writing.

I was particularly grateful to him for all that I learned from him, all the good times I had with him, and in some sense, you might say I would not be a United States Senator were it not for Bill Buckley, although Buckley would not say that. When I ran for the Senate in 1988, let's just say with the diplomacy that marks this Chamber that Bill Buckley was not a fan of the incumbent Republican Senator, and he called me up and said—I wish I could impersonate him—Joe, I'm thinking of endorsing you. Do you think that will help?

I said: Well, now, that's very good of you. Then he interrupted and said: Please understand this is the only time I am likely to endorse your career. So I said that it probably would; what do you have in mind?

Well, he actually wrote a column, a very good column in the National Review, and I think in his syndicated column. He also, with the puckishness that was part of him, started something he called Buck PAC, which was, he said, a PAC open to anyone in Connecticut whose name was Buckley and who was committed to the defeat of the incumbent Senator at that time. He printed bumper stickers and the like and helped out in the campaign.

I said to him after I won that election—and I won it by very little—that I thought that in a close election—as the Presiding Officer of the Senate knows, there are so many reasons one is successful—but I said: You have reason, Bill, to take part of the credit. I won by less than 1 percent of the vote. And I said: You know, I would go so far as to say you played a rabbinical role for me in this campaign.

Well, what do you mean by that? So I said: Your endorsement of me and the columns you wrote said to Republicans in Connecticut who really didn't like the incumbent Senator, it is kosher to vote for LIEBERMAN. And he laughed. I remember that well.

There is so much I could say about his contribution to our country, to his

openness to ideas, to his civility. One could disagree with Bill Buckley, as I did quite frequently, and never lose respect or affection, dare I say love, for a wonderful human being. We would all benefit from that.

I perhaps would close this impromptu tribute to Bill Buckley, mourning his loss today, by offering condolences to his family: Chris Buckley, his son, who is a wonderful writer and confuses me as well as others with the multisyllabic words that he uses just as his father did; his sisters, Priscilla L. Buckley of Sharon, where the family has longed lived; Patricia Buckley Bozzell of Washington; Carol Buckley of Columbia, SC; his brothers, Judge James Buckley of Sharon, CT, and F. Reid Buckley of Camden, SC; and a granddaughter and grandson.

I pray that they will be strengthened by their faith and comforted by good memories and pride and the extraordinary person in Bill Buckley.

I think most fitting of all, I will end with a quote from President Reagan on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the National Review in 1985. Reagan says when he first picked up his first issue of National Review, he received it in a plain brown wrapper and still anxiously awaited his biweekly edition but no longer in a plain brown wrapper.

But this is what Reagan said of Buckley:

You didn't just part the Red Sea—you rolled it back, dried it up, and left exposed, for all the world to see, the naked desert that is statism. And then, as if that weren't enough, you gave the world something different, something in its weariness it desperately needed, the sound of laughter and the sight of the rich, green uplands of freedom.

I thank the Chair for giving me the opportunity to bid farewell in this Senate Chamber to a great American and a dear friend, William F. Buckley, Jr. I pray with confidence and the faith that Bill Buckley had that his soul will be taken up truly in the bonds of eternal life.

I yield the floor.

RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands in recess until 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 12:47 p.m., recessed until 2:15 p.m. and reassembled when called to order by the Acting President pro tempore.

PROVIDING FOR THE SAFE REDEPLOYMENT OF UNITED STATES TROOPS FROM IRAQ—MOTION TO PROCEED—Continued

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, another day in Iraq. Today American taxpayers' dollars will be spent in Iraq, almost a half a billion dollars. More than \$400 million will be spent today in Iraq.

Here is what we get from it as seen by—you pick about any newspaper—

the Washington Post, which was at my doorstep this morning: "Suicide Bomber Hits Bus in Iraq's North, Killing at Least Eight."

A suicide bomber detonated his explosive belt outside a bus in Northern Iraq on Tuesday, killing at least eight people, injuring at least eight others.

You drop down, it tells about all of the violence.

The Tall Afar bombing followed a bloody weekend of attacks against Shiite pilgrims, the deadly incident taking place Sunday when a suicide bomber killed at least 63.

As we learned yesterday, that one blast injured more than 100. You drop down in this news article:

Even as overall violence has fallen, the recent attacks underscore the tenuous security environment and the resiliency of the insurgency.

In volatile Diyala Province, it goes on to explain how 21 people were kidnapped yesterday. At the bottom of the page, it has the names of three of our soldiers who were killed. And then, of course, we have General Casey. General Casey, the Army Chief of Staff, said yesterday in testimony before the Armed Services Committee:

The cumulative effect of the last 6 years plus at war have left our Army out of balance, consumed by the current fight and unable to do the things we know we need to do.

We have had some good debate. My Republican colleagues think the war is going great. I think they are certainly entitled to their opinion. But it has been a good debate. We, of course, have spent time on Iraq on this side of the aisle, but also on how the war has done so much to damage our security and our economy.

There is a book coming out tomorrow or the next day that talks about—it is by Mr. Stiglitz, who is a Pulitzer Prize winner—maybe Nobel; I think Nobel. It is called "The \$3 Trillion Mistake."

The book is on the war. Now, in actual numbers that I understand, in about a year they will be up to \$1 trillion. Mr. Stiglitz, an economist, far smarter than I am, says it is \$3 trillion. That is what we have talked about. This war that will soon be going into the sixth year has been devastating to our country.

We had a meeting that just took place about the budget. The President's budget cuts virtually everything. One of the victims in his budget is Public Broadcasting, cut by 70 percent. I talked to Senator CONRAD as we were leaving. I said: What did you do with Public Broadcasting?

We restored the money.

And even restoring it takes into consideration some of the cuts the President has made in that program over the 7 years he has been President.

We do not have money to do the basics this country needs to do because we have borrowed \$1 trillion to take care of the war.

So we have had a good debate. Each side has spent a little over 3 hours discussing these issues. I believe there has