

the United States Government owes for land the tribes surrendered reluctantly more than a century ago. America has never even come close to meeting those obligations. You can see the legacy of this neglect in the harsh realities of life in Indian Country today: houses with no electricity, plumbing, or telephones. On some reservations in South Dakota, people live in homes with no running water; they have to haul water from 15 or 20 miles away. It is not unusual on reservations in South Dakota for 20 members of an extended family to share one small, three-bedroom home. Three hundred families on Pine Ridge are living in homes that are contaminated with black mold. The Pine Ridge Reservation needs 3,000 new houses just to meet the current demand.

During the depths of the Great Depression, 25 percent of Americans were unemployed. Today, on many reservations in South Dakota and other States, the unemployment rate is twice that high—or higher.

Native Americans live sicker and die younger than other Americans as a result of inadequate health care. Their higher rates of diabetes, heart disease, sudden infant death syndrome, tuberculosis, alcoholism, and many other serious health problems are the direct result of our Government's long history of dramatically underfunding Indian health. Our Government spends twice as much per person on health care for federal prisoners as it does on health care for Native Americans. I am still baffled by that statistic. We spend twice as much per person on health care for Federal prisoners in this country—\$3,800 per capita—as we do on the children on Indian reservations—\$1,900 per capita this year. The rationing of health care at Indian Health clinics and hospitals is so severe that sick and injured people who are not in immediate danger of losing their life or a limb are routinely turned away and denied any care. This is immoral.

Tribal roads make up two-and-a-half percent of Federal roads in this country, yet tribes receive only one-half-of-one-percent of Federal road funding. The poor condition of many tribal roads is a significant reason that the rate of fatal traffic accidents on tribal roads is four times higher than the national average. It is also a major obstacle to economic opportunity in Indian Country.

These are just a few of the ways the Federal Government is failing to meet its trust and treaty obligations to Native people and tribes. Unfortunately, President Bush's proposed budget for next year would make things even worse. Dozens of programs serving Native Americans and Alaska Natives are flat-lined, reduced, or simply eliminated.

According to the National Congress of American Indians, the President's proposed budget cuts Indian hospital and clinic construction by 56 percent; Indian school construction by 19 per-

cent; and tribal college funding by 11.5 percent. The tribal COPS program is slated to be cut by 20 percent, the tribal courts program by 26 percent, and the Indian Housing Loan Guarantee Program by 83 percent. The President's proposed budget also cuts \$52 million from the BIA for tribal law enforcement, tribal roads, and Indian child welfare programs.

Earlier this month, BIA Assistant Secretary Dave Anderson shocked tribes with an announcement that BIA programs will be slashed another \$79 million in fiscal year 2006.

The president of the National Congress of American Indians, Tex Hall, has said, "Asking us to somehow prioritize which programs in the BIA should be cut is like asking Indian Country to decide which child should go hungry, which elder should go unprotected, and which of those who need medical help should go untreated."

Rather than do that, the National Congress of American Indians and BIA's Tribal Budget Advisory Council met recently with BIA officials in Washington over 2 days to develop an alternative budget. A tribal leader from my State, John Steele, president of the Oglala Sioux Tribe, is a member of that advisory council.

Assistant Secretary Anderson visited South Dakota reservations recently, so I know he is familiar with the staggering unmet needs of Indian Country. He surely must know that cuts such as those recommended by the White House will do real harm to people and communities that have already suffered greatly because of the policies and neglect of the Federal Government.

I hope Assistant Secretary Anderson will consider carefully the recommendations of the Tribal Budget Advisory Council as he prepares his budget request for fiscal year 2006. If he will take a strong stand for this government to meet its trust and treaty obligations, I know he will find many allies in Congress. I am one of them.

But Assistant Secretary Anderson and Interior Secretary Norton do not have to wait until the department completes its fiscal year 2006 budget proposal. They can do something today that will not cost a dime and will make a significant difference in the lives of thousands of Native Americans, especially children.

Three times now, the Federal judge hearing the Cobell v. Norton Indian trust case has had to order the Interior Department to shut down its computer system to protect individual Indian money accounts from hackers. Every time BIA has shut down computers in the Office of Special Trustee, it has shut down the computers serving Indian schools as well. The last time, the shutdown lasted for 5 days. Such disruptions cause serious problems for teachers, students, and school administrators.

In response to a recent letter from me, Interior Department officials said

they did not choose to shut down the BIA school computers; they were forced to do so when the judge ordered the Indian trust computers shut down.

I have been told there is a simple solution: All Interior Department officials have to do is properly certify and verify to the court hearing the Cobell lawsuit that the BIA school computers are separate from the trust fund computers and protected from intrusion. Based on the department's certification and verification, if the trust fund computers ever have to be shut down again, BIA school computers will be spared. It is a simple step that can make a difference in the education of Indian children, and I urge the Interior Department to do it as soon as possible.

I also ask the Interior Department, the White House, and our Republican colleagues to work with us to come up with budgets that honor America's trust and treaty obligations to Indian people and tribes—next year, the year after that, and every year. This should not be a partisan issue.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Democratic leader's time has expired.

#### RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Republican leader's time will be reserved for future use.

#### MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order there is a transaction for the period of morning business for up to 90 minutes, with the first 30 minutes under the control of the Democratic leader or his designee, the second 30 minutes under the majority leader or his designee, and the final 30 minutes equally divided between the assistant minority leader and the Senator from California, Mrs. FEINSTEIN.

The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I yield myself 10 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### IRAQ

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, a year ago this Saturday, President Bush dressed up in a flight suit, flew out to the aircraft carrier *Abraham Lincoln*, and declared "Mission Accomplished" in Iraq.

Our mission was far from accomplished then, and it is far from accomplished now.

At his press conference in the White House earlier this month, the President was asked if he knew of any mistakes he had made, and he said he couldn't think of any. It is too much to expect that he would have mentioned Iraq, but he might at least have mentioned the trip to the carrier. The trip was nothing more than a photo op tailored for the 2004 election.

Then, as now, the President had no plan and no strategy about how America can stabilize Iraq, bring our soldiers home with dignity and honor, and accomplish the mission. Then, as now, we are muddling through day by day, hoping for the best, fearing the worst.

Iraq was the big mistake. There was no urgent need to go to war in Iraq. Saddam Hussein was a brutal dictator. But he did not pose the kind of immediate threat to our national security that could justify a unilateral, preventive war without the broad support of the international community.

It is clear that the Bush administration manipulated, misrepresented, and distorted the available intelligence in order to justify the war in Iraq. They put a spin on the intelligence and a spin on the truth. They said Saddam was acquiring nuclear weapons. He wasn't. They said he had close ties to al-Qaida. He didn't. Congress would never have voted to authorize the war if we had known the truth.

Our military had a brilliant plan to win the war. Our soldiers performed brilliantly during the 3-week initial military operation. But the President had no plan to win the peace. He said we would be treated as liberators, and in the first day or two after the statue of Saddam fell, we were. But then the massive looting began. Resentment by the Iraqi people began, and the liberation quickly turned into an occupation.

Iraq has become a quagmire. It may well go down as the worst blunder in the entire history of American foreign policy.

Iraq is George Bush's Vietnam. By going to war in Iraq, President Bush squandered the immense good will of the world community we had won in the wake of 9/11, and we are paying a high price in the lives of our troops and the respect of other nations.

By going to war in Iraq, President Bush has made the real war on terrorism harder to win. We left the war in Afghanistan unfinished. We should never have given al-Qaida precious time to recover and regroup and expand their reach. By doing so, we made future terrorist attacks on the United States more likely.

Before the war, Pentagon officials assured Congress that firm plans were in place to secure Iraq and rebuild it. The reality is that the administration had a plan on paper, but not a real plan—and precious little paper at that.

The administration's post-war planning was based on a quagmire of false assumptions. It has been hamstrung by blunder, after blunder, after blunder. The continuing arrogance of the administration has blinded it to the cold, hard facts about the immense challenge of post-war reconstruction in Iraq.

Based on our experience in Bosnia, in Kosovo, in East Timor, and in Afghanistan, we knew security could be a profound problem, with major challenges from a restless population. Yet we had no broad security plan, as the early

looting quickly showed, and a dangerous security situation still exists today.

The administration assumed that we would be able to draw on thousands of Saddam's police force to protect security—but in the critical early weeks that followed the war, they were nowhere to be found, and too many of their officers turned out to be thugs and torturers.

The administration assumed that Iraqi exile leaders could return to Iraq to rally the population and lead the new government, but they were—and still are—strongly resented by the Iraqi people.

Today, with the transfer of sovereignty scheduled for the end of June, the administration still has no idea about who should run the country. They assumed that after a few hundred of Saddam's top advisers were removed from power, large numbers of local officials would remain to run the government—but the government crumbled. Today, it remains in shambles.

Wrongly, we continue to rely primarily on a military solution for politically inspired violence. Look at Fallujah. Let us hope we don't have to hear Secretary Rumsfeld say, "We had to destroy Fallujah in order to save it."

It is painfully clear that the President and those who advocated the war have lost all credibility on Iraq. They did not understand the situation going into the war. They do not understand the situation now. And they have no plan to extricate us from the quagmire they created. The result has been chaos for the Iraqi people, and continuing mortal danger for our troops.

We cannot cut and run. Our soldiers deserve a genuine strategy to deal with the continuing crisis.

All of us who have concerns about the administration's past policy welcome the reinvigoration of the United Nations in Iraq and the administration's openness to a new U.N. resolution. The question is whether the administration's efforts will provide any significant relief for our troops.

There is no sign of that yet. The Bush administration has poked its finger in the eye of almost every other nation in the world, and they have little incentive or interest in coming to our rescue.

Our military has been bearing a disproportionate share of the burden. We have 80 percent of the troops on the ground, and we have suffered 80 percent of the casualties. That burden is increasing, with Spain, Honduras, Nicaragua, and El Salvador pulling troops out of the country, and others threatening to do the same.

Very little will change after the transfer of sovereignty and under the administration's plan to work with the international community. It is not even a genuine transfer of sovereignty. We'll still be running the show in Iraq. A U.S. occupation by another name is still a U.S. occupation.

We need a real change in our foreign policy, not a cosmetic change. Only a new administration that has the trust and confidence of the rest of the world will be able to bring in the international community to provide international police, provide international financial resources, achieve a workable political solution, and, relieve the burden on our military and bring them home with dignity and honor.

Mr. President, our mission in Iraq is far from accomplished. Our men and women in uniform know it. The Iraqi people know it. And the American people know it too.

I withhold the remainder of my time. The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Who yields time?

Mr. KENNEDY. I yield 15 minutes to the Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts.

#### MISSION NOT ACCOMPLISHED

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, a year ago the President of the United States harkened back to his days as an aviator for the Texas Air National Guard to deliver a dramatic made-for-television speech. Eager to experience the thrill of a carrier landing, the President donned a flight suit, strapped into a jet, and rocketed off into the wild blue yonder for a 30-mile journey.

This flight of fancy concluded with the dramatic landing of that speeding plane onto the deck of an aircraft carrier, the USS *Abraham Lincoln*—so named for the stoic leader who guided our country through one of its most troubled times.

Such was the scene on May 1, 2003, under the warming rays of the California sun. The President delivered to the sailors on that ship a welcome and long overdue message: He commended the men and women on their outstanding service to our country during the trials of the war in Iraq, and welcomed them back to the United States of America.

While the President delivered those words of appreciation, every television viewer in the country—and, indeed, the world—could see in the background a banner with the words "Mission Accomplished"—"Mission Accomplished"—superimposed upon the Stars and Stripes.

In contrast to the simple humility of President Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, President Bush's speech was designed from the outset to be remembered right up until November 2, 2004.

The President announced unequivocally that "major combat operations in Iraq have ended," and that "in the battle of Iraq, the United States and our allies have prevailed." Now, 1 year later, combat deaths are more than five times that of a year ago when our President celebrated "mission accomplished."

Since that time, Iraq has become a veritable shooting gallery. This April