

8 years I served in the House, Paul was here in the Senate for most of those years. We had occasion to talk by telephone at least once a week. We made it a point to visit about things that were happening both in our State as well as here in Washington.

He is a man with whom I also had the opportunity to talk about life and about how to not only set examples, as Paul did—and I have always subscribed to but have never reached the level that Paul did—but he is a man who also just gave you a great feeling about the direction in which our country was headed.

When I had the opportunity to talk with Nancy Coverdell this morning, I expressed my significant disappointment in not being there today but, thank goodness, she being a wife of a former Member of the Senate, understood that our life up here is not controlled by our wishes and desires but oftentimes by people on both sides of the aisle. I am really pleased that we are once again honoring the name and the memory of Paul Coverdell with the dedication of this building on the campus of the University of Georgia today.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, there has been a fairly lively debate. I ask unanimous consent I have such time as needed to make my remarks, should my remarks run more than 10 minutes, under the morning business rules. I need possibly 15 minutes.

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

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Thank you, Mr. President.

IRAQ

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, there has been almost a raging debate around here these last couple of days on evaluations of what is taking place in Iraq, where do we stand in this war—almost a war of attrition, as I see it.

And included in the reports on deaths, killings, this morning we heard about an explosion, with suicide bombers detonating a bomb in a mosque that killed around 40 people. It is almost a daily thing that we hear and see, the horror of families being torn apart by the loss of a loved one. Children, men, women, it does not matter. It is just universal killing and demolition. It is a terrible act to witness.

Now we have some different news that has come about to accompany those stories of horror from Iraq. Everybody now knows that the Vice President's former chief of staff, Scooter Libby, has been indicted as part of the investigation into the leak of classified material from the White House.

I remember when this controversy broke. President Bush acted incredulous that anyone would leak classified national security information. In fact, in September 2003, the President said:

There's just too many leaks, and if there is a leak out of my administration, I want to know who it is.

But now we find out—I think embarrassingly for the President, embarrassingly for the United States—we now find out that the President himself was ordering a leak of classified material. And he leaked that classified information for political reasons. He was trying to undo some of the political damage caused by the disclosure that the intelligence community did not believe Iraq was trying to purchase uranium. There it was: the reason we went to Iraq in the first place, and substantial doubts.

People who supported that view are now challenging the intelligence that led us there, or at least the intelligence reports we got. Now, here we are, still bogged down in Iraq, with no hope in sight to fix the mess we have caused there.

Yesterday, there was debate between two of our colleagues. One was Senator KERRY, who served in Vietnam, decorated for that service, the other was the Senator from Colorado, who was harsh in his criticism of Senator KERRY's speech on Iraq.

Now, Senator KERRY and I are both veterans. I am a veteran of World War II, and I served in Europe during the war. His, again, distinguished service in Vietnam is well known. So we are both veterans, and we are very interested in the military analysis of the Senator from Colorado.

The speech of the Senator from Colorado sounded much like White House talking points: short on facts, long on innuendo and fantasy.

While politicians in Washington sometimes wear rose-colored glasses and fantasize about the situation in Iraq, American troops are dying, American troops are wounded. One need only visit Walter Reed Hospital to see how serious some of those wounds are. People have lost limbs. People lose their sight. People suffer very severely from post-traumatic stress, invisible wounds that penetrate, nevertheless, very deeply.

I have gone to many memorial services and funerals for young people from New Jersey who died in Iraq. Seventy-three soldiers from my home State of New Jersey have died in Iraq and Afghanistan. As I mentioned, I have visited Walter Reed Army Hospital here in Washington several times, and I have been struck by the incredible resilience and dedication to our country of those young Americans, those who want to be able to pick up arms again so they can do their duty. And while these brave men and women put their lives on the line, the administration is simply ignoring reality.

Paul Eaton, a former commanding general of the Coalition Military As-

sistance and Training Team, wrote in the New York Times on March 19, recently, that Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld is—and here I quote the Times—"not competent to lead our armed forces."

Eaton further said that Rumsfeld "has shown himself incompetent strategically, operationally and tactically, and is far more than anyone else responsible for what has happened to our important mission in Iraq. Mr. Rumsfeld must step down."

This past Sunday on "Meet The Press," retired General Anthony Zinni, who just published a book, repeated the call for Mr. Rumsfeld to resign. General Zinni of the U.S. Marine Corps is a former Commander of the Central Command. He said Secretary Rumsfeld should be held accountable for tactical mistakes in Iraq.

I had the opportunity the other night to go to a testimonial for General Shalikashvili and saw films of him done with former Secretary of State Colin Powell, President Clinton—all kinds of testimonials. As I looked at General Shalikashvili, I recalled how splendidly he handled his assignment as the Chief of the joint members of the senior staff and recalled that he said that in Iraq we would need perhaps 300,000 troops or more. He was right. And we never delivered on that commitment. As a consequence, in many military circles it is believed that lack of force is responsible for some of the problems we currently see.

Several days after General Zinni spoke, President Bush dismissed calls for Rumsfeld to step down, saying he was "satisfied" with his performance.

How in the world can the Commander-in-Chief, President Bush, be satisfied with the situation in Iraq? It is chaotic. It is near a civil war. The definition of a "civil war" is that people within the same country are fighting one another. My gosh, it could not be clearer.

So how can he be satisfied with Secretary Rumsfeld's miscalculations, with his profound errors in judgment, with his stubborn unwillingness to admit mistakes?

These mistakes have had tragic consequences—tragic for the nearly 2,400 American men and women who have died in Iraq and Afghanistan, tragic for the families they have left behind.

To examine the incompetence a little bit further—I have not been in Iraq in the last couple of years. I was there then, and I met with troops, and they were asking for better body armor. They were asking for better Humvee armor. And it took 2 years to loosen up those products to protect our troops. How incompetent must one be for the President not to be up in arms?

After my visit, I said I was going to the Defense Department, and did, requesting expedited treatment for these articles that our troops needed to protect themselves and to fight the war fully.

We know that most of the claims of the Bush administration in the leadup

to war were simply false. The administration claimed there was a connection between Saddam Hussein and al-Qaida. Not true.

The Bush administration claimed that there were weapons of mass destruction there. Not true.

The Bush administration claimed that the war would cost “in the range of 50 to 60 billion dollars.” Not true. The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, including the next supplemental to be brought before the Congress in coming weeks, will total a half a trillion dollars, nearly \$7 billion a month spent just in Iraq.

The Bush administration said before the war the oil revenues from Iraq could bring “between 50 and 100 billion [dollars] over the course of the next two to three years.” Not true again.

President Bush announced, “Mission accomplished,” on May 1, 2003. He lulled the Nation into believing that it was all settled: Families, look forward to your kids coming home. Look forward to families restored. Look forward to fathers and mothers coming back to their children. He told the Nation that major combat in Iraq was over. Not true. Ninety percent of the Americans who have died in Iraq have died since combat operations had supposedly “ended.”

The Bush administration claimed that the Iraq insurgency was in its “last throes.” Not true. We know the insurgency has gained strength. General Abizaid recently said the number of foreign terrorists infiltrating Iraq has increased.

Since the last week of February, sectarian violence and death have reached new heights, while electricity production has dropped below prewar levels. Unemployment ranges from 30 to 60 percent.

The American people do not want their leader to deny reality. They want to hear the truth.

People on the floor of the Senate have heard me say it time and time again: I will never understand why the President of the United States refuses to let journalists, photographers, journalists who do photography, come in and take pictures of flag-draped coffins—flag-draped coffins. It is the country's last sign of honoring its dead. They are unable to take pictures of that because they do not want to tell the American people the truth about what is happening. It is, in my view, insulting to those families whose loved ones sacrificed their lives on the battlefield. Outrageous.

They do not want to tell us the truth. What they want to do is tell us untruths. Leaking information is inexcusable, when the penalties for anyone who leaks that information could be jail time.

The President of the United States, President Bush, under the guise of releasing the classification of sensitive material, had passed information, with Vice President CHENEY apparently being the person who furnished it, ac-

cording to Libby, who is now fighting for his freedom. So he is saying things that he can prove, I would imagine; otherwise, he would not dare say it.

We are sick and tired of this war. I am not saying what the date is that we have to leave there, but I am saying that the date has passed for the truth, for knowing what is really happening there, for knowing what our troops and their families can expect.

Last week, I went to a return-home function in New Jersey, people who have come back. They were away, some of them, 18 months—little kids running around who haven't seen their fathers or mothers for that period of time. It is outrageous. We are in a state of confusion that defies imagination, that we, this country, with all of its might and all of its wealth, can't figure out some way to deal with this problem, after having made empty promises about how easy it was going to be—“treats and sweets” was one of the expressions used—totally misunderstanding, not thinking about what it was going to take, not only to fight this war but how do you win it. And winning it means that you go home triumphant. Not so.

We see in front of us a situation that reminds us of the sad days of Vietnam, when we wanted to extricate ourselves and couldn't quite do it until the pain was so excruciating that the population could no longer stand it. We need a leader who sees clearly what is really happening and who speaks candidly—we can take bad news; we don't like it, but we can take it—about what is taking place in front of our eyes on television and newspapers in our homes. We can take the news. We will accept it and fight on to rebuild our strength and our moral conviction about what we are doing. But we need to know the truth on how to do that.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HAGEL). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MARTINEZ. Mr. President, before I speak on the subject of immigration, I would like to make a couple of brief remarks, having noted the comments of the distinguished Senator from New Jersey about the difficult military struggle we are in today in Iraq. I wanted to make the observation that the distinguished Senator talked about his very honorable and distinguished service at another time and in another struggle during World War II. He speaks with shock and dismay—and it is a subject of great dismay—about the fact that there has been death and there are family separations and there are injuries as a result of the great sacrifice our men and women are making

today in Iraq with great valor and distinction which we highly honor, just like he and others did in World War II.

The question is, Is it worth it? Are we in this matter of a war over there with a choice to do anything other than success?

What I didn't hear from the Senator was a solution, a plan, an idea of how he might extricate us from this effort differently. I believe the only way is to pursue it until its conclusion, when it is ultimately a peaceful and democratic Iraq. To do otherwise would do great harm to the honor of those who serve and those who have sacrificed.

IMMIGRATION

Mr. MARTINEZ. I turn now to a subject we have been involved in all this week, the subject of immigration. I am very pleased that Leader FRIST and Chairman SPECTER have chosen to utilize the product of the good work of Senator HAGEL for a number of years, for over 5 years, on this issue of immigration, an effort which I was glad to join in over the last couple of weeks and which now appears to be poised to be the basis of a sensible and reasonable compromise. I am pleased that this will be the vehicle which will be on the Senate floor when we return to this topic sometime in the next month. I am grateful to Senator MCCAIN and Senator KENNEDY for their leadership on this issue, for all the work they have done. Others who have worked with us on this—Senators BROWNBACK, GRAHAM, SALAZAR, and LIEBERMAN—have all been a huge help as we tried to put together a way in which we can deal better with this complicated and very much broken down system of immigration.

We approach this issue by securing the borders, by dealing with a guest worker program, and by recognizing that the 1 million people who are in this country living under the radar, in the shadows, need a way out, need a way for us to welcome them into the mainstream of American life where they have now been, many of them, living for years and years, contributing, working, making a difference.

It does not give them amnesty. It requires a number of steps for them to go through. For those who have been here 2 years or less, it does not provide for them a vehicle to remain. For those who have been here 5 years or less, it requires that they return to a port of entry and make a legal entry into the United States before they can then follow a path toward normalized and regularized status.

The provisions of this bill have the support and encouragement of a large majority of the Senate. I hope over the next several days the procedural issues which prevented this matter from being voted upon, where I believe—and I know Senator HAGEL believes—we would have had substantial majority support, will have a chance to be heard. I am still hopeful and optimistic. It is