

conference is hardly unprecedented. In fact, it happens all the time. The Presiding Officer here for years was chairman of the Appropriations Committee, and I met with him when he was chairman and I ranking member on many occasions when we had the full Appropriations Committee there. It has happened with Armed Services. They typically send their entire membership to conference. The Judiciary Committee has done the same on prior occasions.

One way or another, it is crucial that this bill be the product of bipartisan consensus. This is how people feel around the country, not only Members of this Senate. Not many feet from here, on Friday, I was at a press conference in which Cardinal McCarrick and Cardinal Mahony participated. Cardinal Mahony said to everyone within the sound of his voice: There must be protections in conference.

I hope we can work together toward adequate assurances that the Senate's delicate compromise, bipartisan compromise, will not be filibustered by amendment or decided or blown apart in the dark of night without a real congressional conference.

Immigration reform is vital to America's national security. We have an obligation to act. I look forward to the Senate resuming this important debate as soon as possible and I would hope the minute we finish this supplemental appropriations bill. I look forward to the distinguished majority leader and I making a proposal to the body so that we can move forward on this issue.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

IRAQ REDEPLOYMENT

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, our country desperately needs a new vision for strengthening our national security, and I believe it starts by redeploying our U.S. forces from Iraq and refocusing our attention on the global terrorist threats that face us. I filed an amendment that requires the redeployment of U.S. forces from Iraq by December 31, 2006. Unfortunately, the Senate will not be given the opportunity to vote on this amendment if we invoke cloture on the emergency supplemental bill we will be considering shortly.

I am afraid this body has failed time and time again to debate the direction of our country's policy in Iraq. Three years ago, the President landed on an aircraft carrier and, as we all remember, declared "Mission Accomplished" in Iraq. Today, with thousands of lives lost and billions of dollars spent, we are still no closer to a policy that lifts the burden from our troops and taxpayers and actually makes our country safer from the terrorist networks that seek to hurt us.

By failing to discuss alternatives to the administration's failed Iraq policy, we have let down this institution and our constituents. We simply cannot continue to avoid asking the tough questions about Iraq. We should not be

appropriating billions of dollars for Iraq without debating and demanding a strategy to complete our military mission there, not when the lives of our soldiers and the safety of our country are at risk.

Our military has performed heroically in Iraq, but the continued and indefinite presence of large U.S. forces there significantly weakens our ability to fight the global terrorism networks that threaten us today.

That is why I filed an amendment requiring the Pentagon to draw up a flexible time line for redeployment of U.S. forces from Iraq by the end of this year. The President has repeatedly failed to spell out for the American people when we can expect our troops to redeploy from Iraq. He has refused to provide a vision for ending our military mission in Iraq, and as a result a growing majority of Americans have lost confidence in our purpose, our direction, and our presence in Iraq.

Last August, I proposed a target date for withdrawal when I suggested U.S. troops leave Iraq by the end of 2006. This amendment in part reflects the fact that the administration has made no progress—no progress whatsoever—in developing a clear vision for ending our military mission, redeploying U.S. troops from Iraq, and refocusing on the real national security threats that face our country.

My amendment spells out what an increasing number of military intelligence and diplomatic officials have been saying for a very long time: that a massive and seemingly indefinite U.S. presence in Iraq is destabilizing and potentially damaging to Iraqi efforts to rebuild their government and their country. Our presence in some ways is generating instability in Iraq, and the less we make it clear that our intent is to leave and to leave now, our presence can become more harmful than it is helpful.

More important, though, is the fact that our current Iraq policy is making the United States weaker, not stronger. We need to redeploy U.S. forces from Iraq because, as a result of our current costly and burdensome presence in Iraq, we are unable to direct our resources worldwide to defeat the wide and growing network of terrorist organizations that seek to harm Americans and America. This administration has compounded its misguided decision to wage war in Iraq by refusing to recognize the consequences of its actions, the tremendous cost to our brave troops and their loved ones, the drain on our financial resources, and the burden on our Nation's national security sources and infrastructure, which are unable to focus on new and emerging threats to our country.

I don't have to point very far to show how imbalanced and burdensome are our policies in Iraq. While we have spent, according to the Congressional Research Service, upwards of \$6 billion per week during Operation Iraqi Freedom and \$1.3 billion per week during

Operation Enduring Freedom, we are spending a little more than \$2 million—\$2 million—annually—not weekly, annually—in Somalia, a known haven for terrorists and criminals and a true threat to our national security. This supplemental appropriation, if passed, will increase the cost of this war to \$320 billion, and rising.

This is simply unsustainable, and because the President has failed to provide us with any semblance of a vision for when our troops will be redeployed, we can expect more of the same in years to come; that is, unless the Congress finally requires the administration to develop an Iraq strategy that includes a flexible time line for redeploying our troops by the end of 2006. My amendment recognizes the need to maintain a minimal level of U.S. forces in Iraq beyond 2006. Those forces will be needed for engaging directly and targeting counterterrorism activities, training Iraq in security forces, and protecting essential U.S. infrastructure and personnel.

It is time for Members of Congress to stand up to an administration that continues to lead us astray on what has become an extremely costly and mistaken war. We need to hold this administration accountable for its neglect of urgent national security priorities in favor of staying a flawed policy course in Iraq. We need to tell the administration that it can't continue to send our men and women in uniform into harm's way without a clear and convincing strategy for success.

Some have suggested that we should tie our military presence in Iraq to whether Iraqis are able to form a unity government. While I share their frustration with the status quo, I think the decisions about troop presence should be based on what is best for our country's national security. Making decisions about our troop levels contingent on a political solution in Iraq doesn't make sense. Our troops should not be held hostage to the failure to bring about a political solution in Iraq.

So here is the bottom line: We need to refocus on fighting and defeating the terrorist network that attacked this country on September 11, 2001, and that means placing our Iraq policy in the context of a global effort rather than letting it dominate our security strategy and drain vital security resources for an unlimited amount of time. The President's Iraq-centric policies are preventing us from effectively engaging serious threats around the world, including Iran, global terrorist networks, and other emerging threats. We must change course in Iraq, and we must change course now.

It is in this spirit that I filed this amendment to this supplemental spending bill. If I am not allowed a vote on my amendment to the supplemental, I can assure my colleagues that I will be looking for the next opportunity to bring this amendment to the floor for debate and a vote.

My colleagues are, of course, entitled to disagree with my approach. I welcome their suggestions and their advice. But what I really want is for the Senate to live up to its responsibility and engage in a serious debate about the topic that is on the mind of every American: how to put our Iraq policy right and our national security policy right.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, how much time is remaining on the minority side?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Twenty-two minutes.

FAILED ENERGY POLICY

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, this morning across America, people got up to go to work. Some of them had a very unsettling moment because they had to fill up their gas tanks. So people heading off to work pulled into a gas station across America—in Chicago, in Springfield, and all across our Nation—and saw again a reminder of the failure of our energy policy. They watched as those numbers rolled in front of them and saw a new, almost recordbreaking total, just for the gasoline for their trucks and their cars going to work.

Businesses face the same thing, businesses that are trying to keep their heads above water and that may be forced to lay off people. The farmers I represent across the State of Illinois, farmers who are out trying to plow for their corn crop this year, are paying more for their diesel fuel, paying more for the fertilizer they are going to ultimately need.

All of these are part of the cumulative impact of the increase in energy prices across America. The pain is being felt in every family of modest means in America. Money they have spent they know is going directly from their pockets and their credit cards to the biggest oil companies in America, the biggest oil companies in America, which have recorded record profits—record profits.

I took a look at the five major companies and how well they did. In the year 2005, they had \$111 billion in profits. That boils down to \$1,000 for every household in America. Every family of every home paid an additional \$1,000 last year that went directly to the profits of these oil companies. It didn't go for investment, investment in new oil opportunities and oil sources or gas opportunities, no. It went to profits, profits that were realized by the people who are running the companies.

One of them is the CEO of ExxonMobil. ExxonMobil has the largest corporate profits in the history of the United States of America, and they are on course to break that record again this year. They rewarded the architect of these profits, Mr. Lee Raymond, their retiring CEO, with a little farewell gift. No, it wasn't a gold watch. No, it wasn't a set of golf clubs. It happened to be \$400 million—\$400

million given to this man as a parting gift for realizing all these profits. What does that come out to? Well, every household in America donated \$3 so that Mr. Raymond would have a nice little going-away gift—\$400 million. And Lee Raymond didn't even have to buy a Powerball ticket; all he had to do was to be there in the corridors of power when the money came rolling in.

So who is to blame? Well, part of the blame is right here, right here in Washington where we have failed to develop an energy policy. Do you know that we signed—the President signed, I should say, and we passed—an energy bill last August, 8 months ago, that spelled out the energy policy for America, a policy to lead us forward into the future. No sooner had the ink dried on that bill than the cost of heating our homes across America went up 20 percent, our imports from overseas started reaching record levels, and the price of the gasoline we had to buy has broken all records. What an energy policy. What a failure. What a failure of leadership. Honestly, when you take a look at this failure of leadership, you can understand why people across America are calling for a change in direction. They are sick and tired of the policies that have brought us to this point, failed energy policies which do not protect the consumer, that do not punish the profiteer, and sadly they do not promote the kinds of things we need for our energy future.

On the floor of the Senate during the debate of this energy bill, Senator MARIA CANTWELL, of Washington, stood up and made a proposal. Here is what she said: We need to reduce our dependence on foreign oil. Let's set a national goal of reducing our dependence on foreign oil by 40 percent over the next 20 years.

It is ambitious, it is tough, it would require real leadership and cooperation on a bipartisan basis. She said this should be our national goal—Democratic Senator MARIA CANTWELL.

It was virtually rejected out of hand. The Republican side would have nothing to do with it, not even setting a goal of energy independence. Do you know why the administration said they opposed it? Because it would require oil savings; using less oil to reach that goal, conservation and efficiency. The administration said they would oppose the Cantwell amendment because it would force us to improve our CAFE standards, the fuel economy of the cars and trucks we drive. That was the administration 8 months ago, 8 months ago opposing the Cantwell amendment, 8 months ago opposing a clear way out of the crisis we currently face.

I think we understand the obvious: 60 percent of all the oil we import goes into the cars and trucks we drive. Unless they are more fuel efficient, we are going to continue to burn more oil every single year to go the same mileage we went last year. Burning more oil means more dependence on foreign sources, means more cost to families

and businesses, and sadly means more air pollution, more greenhouse gases, more global warming, more natural disasters, more hurricanes and storms. All of it is tied up in one sad package. But the administration opposed our efforts on the Democratic side to spell out a clear energy goal.

This morning the Republican leader of the Senate, Senator FRIST of Tennessee, appeared on a string of television shows to express his concern about gasoline prices. I saw one on CNN. I read a transcript of his comments on NBC. He is touting, among other things, a \$100 rebate; that we would send a \$100 check back to the people of America for the gas prices they are currently paying—\$100. One of the newspapers yesterday said that is chump change instead of real change. What does \$100 buy you, two tanks of gas if you are lucky? Is that the best we can do in Washington, DC? And then say, Adios, voters, see you in November, we have taken care of the problem? We certainly have not.

What the majority leader said on the show was what he was rebating to the consumers across America were the Federal taxes they paid on gasoline. Let me tell you, the cost of gasoline has gone up dramatically. Some of it is associated with Federal taxes, but most of it is associated with profit taking by the biggest oil companies in America, an issue and subject which most Republicans will not even touch.

Then, of course, the majority leader, Senator FRIST, returned to that good old saw of drilling for oil in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. According to Senator FRIST, that is the answer to America's prayers. If we could go up to this wilderness and wildlife refuge—set aside 50 years ago to be protected for future generations—if we could get the trucks and the equipment and the pipelines and the roads, then America could breathe easy. Then we could find ourselves relieved from this terrible burden of oil and gas prices.

But, sadly, the facts don't back him up. The United States of America has under its control in Alaska, offshore in the continental United States, 3 percent of the world's oil supply, all of it. If we could drill it, all we have, 3 percent. Each year we consume 25 percent of the world's oil supply. We can't drill our way out of this. We can't even if we invade every wilderness, every refuge, the Great Lakes, the national parks, and put a derrick down by the Washington Monument—we cannot drill our way out of this problem. But time and again, that is what the Republicans suggest is the answer.

Let me tell you the facts. If we decided to start drilling in the Arctic, if we decided to violate this land that we once promised to hold sacred for future generations, if we said America was so desperate that we have to turn to drill for oil to a wildlife refuge in Alaska, this is what we can expect: The first drop of oil would come out of that area in 10 years, and as we drill for that oil