

Senate of the United States on energy, for the first time, acted responsibly; instead of kowtowing to an environmental community or to another community of interests, it put it all together, it did the right things, and S. 2095 does, in my opinion, all of the right things and it puts us on a path of getting back to the business of producing, being more self-reliant on our own ability, less reliant and less dependent on nations elsewhere in the world that have become the primary producers of crude oil for the whole of the world.

That is the mission we ought to be about, but somehow politically we just cannot get there. So pick up your phone, call your Senator. I have called mine. I am talking to my Senator, who is the Presiding Officer. He and I agree that it is time this country get back into the business of producing energy, and it is important that the Senate respond.

I have one request of my colleagues this weekend when they are home. Take your car out, drive up to a gas pump at the local service station and fill it up and watch the face of the gas pump. Then watch your wallet because, if the tank is empty and you are filling it, it will drain your wallet, as it is draining the wallets of the working men and women of America.

Shame on us for having allowed that to happen, but it is this Senate and its inability to get a policy together that has in large part caused the problem our consumers now face.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida is recognized.

Mr. GRAHAM of Florida. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. GRAHAM of Florida pertaining to the introduction of S. 2420 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. GRAHAM of Florida. Madam President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. COLLINS). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant 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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.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 (Mr. CHAMBLISS). Without objection, it is so ordered.

IRAQ

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, all of us in the Senate, and in the Government generally, are terribly upset with the events of these last days and weeks because the shock and awe that we all experienced in the beginning days has been diminished when compared to what we are seeing now.

Now we are seeing the ultimate degradation of human conduct. Unfortunately, some part of it comes from us, from Americans. We are embarrassed,

apologetic, humiliated by what we have seen.

I, like all of my colleagues, had a chance to view the pictures the Pentagon sent to Congress yesterday. They were sick, perverted images from the Abu Ghraib prison. Shameful, perverted, degraded images that made Members feel ill. But we could tell from the images there were many soldiers present at these scenes. This was not a soldier or two; there were many. The photographs demonstrated complete disintegration of discipline. Unfortunately, while it would be a lot easier if this were just the case of a few bad apples, it indicates a breakdown in leadership.

I am a World War II veteran. I experienced the stress of being in a combat zone. I understand the psychological wear and tear. I also know it is the responsibility of a soldier's leaders all the way to the top of the chain of command to supervise, to manage as best they can the conduct of the troops.

Regarding the current case of prison abuse, it is premature to rush to court-martial individual soldiers before all of the facts are known. I understand the administration seeks a public, visible court-martial trial to demonstrate the United States commitment to justice, but before we simply lay all the blame on the soldiers at the bottom of the chain of command, we need to understand where the directives were and what they were when they came down from the top. How clear is it now that well-dressed men in charge have let the soldiers in uniform down?

The top civilian leadership at the Pentagon has failed. In my view, replacing Secretary Rumsfeld will change little at the Pentagon if his discredited team of advisers remain in their high-level position. A series of bad decisions by the top civilian leadership at the Pentagon has severely undermined our operations in Iraq. In my view, the Pentagon's trio of civilian leaders needs to be replaced. I am speaking specifically of the Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld, Deputy Secretary Paul Wolfowitz, and the Under Secretary for Policy, Douglas Feith. All three of those officials ought to be replaced. They all work very closely together, and I am sure not one, not even the Secretary himself, made all of the decisions. The trio's poor planning and miscalculations have undermined the troops serving on the ground in Iraq.

We are proud of those who have served so generously and nobly. That does not mean we cannot have some bad actors, but it also does not mean those at the top are free of responsibility. Their negligence regarding reports of prisoner abuses which were alleged to take place as early as last October is the last straw in a record of missteps and miscalculations that have compromised the safety and effectiveness of our military operations.

These civilian leaders have dismissed the views of people in uniform numer-

ous times. For example, in early 2003, Four Star General Eric Shinseki disagreed with Secretary Rumsfeld's plans for a light battlefield force for Iraq. He said—and it was a courageous statement—that at least 300,000 troops would be needed during the war, particularly in the aftermath of the war. Now we know that General Shinseki was right. The security situation in Iraq is deteriorating in exactly the way he said it would if there were not enough troops.

So how was General Shinseki handled by the trio of civilian leaders at the Pentagon? He was fired. Fired for telling the truth. It tells us something about the character of those decision-makers who said, no, no, we can get this done in much easier fashion. He was fired for knowing what he was talking about.

That is just one of the many miscalculations and mistakes made by this trio at the Pentagon. Despite the urging of the Joint Chiefs of Staff not to do so, the Pentagon civilian leadership disbanded the Iraqi army after the invasion. We left 400,000 armed and trained Iraqis unemployed—I am not trying to give them jobs—and resentful, and now these men are contributing significantly to the massive security problems American troops are facing.

The civilian leadership at the Pentagon also ignored postwar plans drawn up by the Army War College and the State Department Future of Iraq Project, which predicted most of the security and infrastructure problems that America faced in the early days of the Iraq occupation.

We have heard plenty of speeches from Secretary Rumsfeld and Deputy Secretary Wolfowitz and Under Secretary Feith. They talk tough about supporting the soldiers, sailors, marines, air men and women, but in reality they fail to provide adequately for our U.S. commanders as they requested in Iraq such things as sufficient interceptor body armor or adequate protection from Humvees.

I learned that on my trip to Iraq last month when I asked a young soldier—a captain, as a matter of fact—what it was he needed to better conduct his soldiers in our Army there. He said: Senator, the flak jacket you are wearing is the latest. It is the most protective. I don't understand, he said to me, why we do not have them when I have seen those in the coalition wearing those vests.

He said to me: You see this rifle? This big, heavy rifle is bigger than the one I carried in World War II; I carried a carbine. He said: There are better weapons out there with better sighting mechanisms, lighter to carry. He said: We do not have them, and I don't understand why, Senator. He said: We have seen those in coalition hands.

Recently, Acting Secretary of the Army Les Brownlee and Army Chief of Staff GEN Peter Schoomaker recently told Congress that the Army currently

only has 2,000 armored Humvees even though it needs at least 5,000 to adequately protect our troops. And the sight of those vehicles burning leaves out what happened to those people who were in those vehicles.

When asked why the Army did not have enough of these vehicles, General Schoomaker said the Pentagon policymakers had not foreseen the need for these standard fighting vehicles.

Despite their academic credentials, Wolfowitz and Feith horribly misjudged the post-invasion situation in Iraq, and it has cost American lives.

Under Secretary Feith dismissed all dissent to his view that U.S. forces would be greeted as liberators and quickly win the lasting gratitude of the Iraqi people. Despite the current quagmire, he continues to cling to his delusional view of the situation.

In addition, before the invasion, these civilian leaders also told the American people that Iraq would pay for its own reconstruction through oil revenues. As we now know, not only has that not happened, but U.S. taxpayers are paying virtually all of the costs of the reconstruction of Iraq.

We cannot pass a highway bill in this Congress for America, but we are unloading U.S. taxpayer dollars to rebuild Iraq's highway system. Why do we have to go to our taxpayers over and over again for billions of dollars for Iraq? Why does the President need to take another \$25 billion that could be used for Medicare, education, and American highway construction?

The reason is the administration marginalized the international community before the war, and Pentagon civilian leaders refused to cede any control of post-invasion Iraq to the international community. As a result, we have paid more than 80 percent of all of the reconstruction funds in Iraq.

I want to make it perfectly clear, I do not think we can cut and run. I think we have a responsibility there that we have developed through our own decisionmaking and through the fate that war has brought us. So I do not say cut and run. But I do say it would help us an awful lot if we were not, at this point in time, arguing to give people who have been successful in business or in life greater tax breaks when we desperately need the money.

Furthermore, there is little hope that European allies or international donors will cough up the over \$30 billion that Iraq still needs for rebuilding, according to World Bank estimates.

U.S. taxpayers will have shelled out almost \$200 billion by the end of 2004. As a result of this unilateralism, we barely cobbled together a meager coalition of the willing, but our men and women make up over 87 percent of the troops fighting in Iraq.

Secretary Rumsfeld, Deputy Secretary Wolfowitz, and Under Secretary Feith all have to be replaced. We need new leadership at the Pentagon, leadership that will listen to the military experts, leadership that will not cling to discredited ideologies.

Perhaps the best illustration of the ineptitude of this team was their gross underestimate of the length of the Iraqi operation. They created false hopes for troops and their families, especially the reservists, many of whom are now facing more than a year's worth of duty away from their homes, away from the ability to pay their mortgages, away from the comfort children need from a father. They created the false hopes, especially of the reservists, who expected much shorter battlefield tours of duty.

In February 2003, Secretary Rumsfeld said the war "could last six days, six weeks." And he said: "I doubt [that it could last] six months."

It is well over a year from the beginning of this war, and now our own generals are publicly questioning whether we can win. We have to win. We have no choice. But in order to win, we have to make sure our troops have the tools to do the job with, and that we have sufficient help from other places. We have to make sure we pursue that mission.

I am not sure the current Pentagon team has the ability to direct our needs now. We need new leadership. Secretary Rumsfeld, Deputy Secretary Wolfowitz, and Under Secretary Feith need to resign. And if they do not do so, then the President would be wise to ask them to go.

I yield the floor.

AAA AWARD WINNERS

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I am proud to announce to the Senate today the names of the young men and women who were selected to receive special awards from the American Automobile Association. Eight safety patrollers will receive the 2004 AAA School Safety Patrol Lifesaving Medal Award, the highest honor given to members of the school safety patrol. Another safety patroller will receive the special honor of the AAA National Patroller of the Year. They will receive their awards this weekend and I want to say how proud we are of them.

There are roughly 500,000 members of the AAA School Safety Patrol in this country, helping in over 50,000 schools. Every day, these young people ensure that their peers arrive safely at school in the morning, and back home in the afternoon.

Most of the time, they accomplish their jobs uneventfully. But on occasion, these volunteers must make split-second decisions, placing themselves in harm's way to save the lives of others. The heroic actions of this year's recipients exemplify this selflessness.

The first AAA Lifesaving Medal recipient comes from Centereach, NY. His name is Shawn Rooney.

On the afternoon of November 18, 2003, Shawn, age 13, was on patrol in front of St. Joseph School. A 9-year old boy, Zachary Chase, ran into the street to catch up with his class as a mini school bus was approaching. Shawn no-

ticed that Zachary was in danger, grabbed his backpack, and pulled him back. Zachary was only one step away from the front of the bus.

This year's second AAA Lifesaving Medal honoree comes from Manassas, VA.

Josh Wampler, age 11, of Weems Elementary School, was approaching his bus stop on October 9, 2003, when he heard a woman yelling to a young body. Josh saw that a 3-year-old, Isaac, was standing in the middle of the street as a car was approaching. Josh carefully checked the traffic and met Isaac in the middle of the street. The driver of the car saw the patroller and child and was able to stop in time. Josh escorted Isaac safely to the side of the road and out of harm's way.

The next AAA Lifesaving Medal winner comes from Bristow, VA.

On the afternoon of October 14, 2003, Andrew Deem, age 11, was at his patrol station at Bristow Run Elementary School, when he saw a 2-year-old, Anthony D'Areagelis, walking with his mother. His mother was pushing a small child in a stroller, and Anthony ran away from his mother, down a hill, and into the busy street. Andrew quickly saw that Anthony was in danger, grabbed him, and brought him back to safety. Andrew also stopped Anthony's mother from running out into the street after her child.

The fourth AAA Lifesaving Medal recipient is also a student at Bristow Run Elementary School in Bristow, VA.

On October 14, 2003, John Hickey, age 10, witnessed the event that took place with Patroller Andrew Deem. As Mrs. D'Areagelis ran after her 2-year-old, Anthony, the stroller that she had been pushing with Patrick D'Areagelis aboard began rolling into the street. John Hickey acted quickly and placed his foot into the street to stop the stroller from rolling any further. As he did this, an SUV drove by at a considerable speed, grazed Anderw's shoe, and did not stop.

The next AAA Lifesaving Medal honoree comes from Culpepper, VA.

Vincent Verardo, age 10, is a patroller at Epiphany Catholic School. On a morning in April, 2003, Vincent was at his patrol station in the school's parking lot, when he saw 4-year-old Paul Thomas run back to his car to retrieve something he had left behind. Paul ran in front of a car leaving its parking space, and Vincent quickly ran to the car, took Paul by the arm, and brought him back to safety. The driver of the car attested that they had not seen the 4-year-old until Vincent was present.

The sixth AAA Lifesaving Medal winner is from Harrah, WA.

Martay Gunnier, of Harrah Elementary School, was at her post on the afternoon of October 28, 2003, when she saw Raymond James, age 7, run out into the street to meet his mother on the other side without stopping to wait for a clear crossing. Martay acted