

of the most frustrating outcome of any war this nation has ever fought.

Unfortunately, the people who drove the engine to get into the war in Iraq never served in Vietnam.

Not the President.

Not the Vice-President.

Not the Secretary of Defense.

Not the Deputy Secretary of Defense.

Too bad. They could have learned some lessons.

First, they could have learned not to underestimate the enemy. The enemy always has one option you cannot control. He always has the option to die. This is especially true if you are dealing with true believers and guerrillas fighting for their version of reality—whether political or religious. They are what Tom Friedman of the New York Times calls the “non-deterables.” If those non-deterables are already home in their country, they will be able to wait you out until you go home.

Second, if the enemy adopts a ‘hit and run’ strategy designed to inflict maximum casualties on you, you may win every battle but the battles you fight (as Walter Lippman once said about the Vietnam War.) can’t win the war.

Third, if you adopt a strategy of not just preemptive strike but also preemptive war you own the aftermath. You better plan for it. You better have an exit strategy because you cannot stay there indefinitely unless you make it the 51st state. If you do stay an extended period of time, you then become an occupier, not a liberator. That feeds the enemy against you.

Fourth, if you adopt the strategy of preemptive war, your intelligence must be not just “darn good,” as the President has said, it must be “bullet proof,” as Secretary Rumsfeld claimed the administration had against Saddam Hussein. Anything short of that saps credibility.

Fifth, if you want to know what is really going on in the war, ask the troops on the ground, not the policy makers in Washington. The “ground truth,” as the soldiers call it, is always more accurate than the truth expounded through the mouths of those who plan the war and have a political, personal and emotional investment in their policy. They will bend any fact, even intelligence, to their own ends. If the ground truth and the policy truth begin to diverge, “Shock and Awe” will turn into what one officer in Iraq has described as, “Shock and Awe S !”

Sixth, in a democracy instead of truth being the first casualty in war, it should be the first cause of war. It is the only way the Congress and the American people can cope with getting through it. As credibility is strained, support for the war and support for the troops goes downhill. Continued loss of credibility drains troop morale, the media becomes more suspicious, the public becomes more incredulous and the Congress is reduced to hearings and investigations.

Instead of learning the lessons of Vietnam, where all of the above happened, the President, the Vice-President, the Secretary of Defense and the Deputy Secretary of Defense have gotten this country into a disaster in the desert. They attacked a country that had not attacked us. They did so on intelligence that was faulty, misrepresented and highly questionable. A key piece of that intelligence was an out-right lie which the White House put into the President’s State of the Union speech. These officials have over-extended the American military, including the Guard and the Reserve and expanded the United States Army to the breaking point. A quarter of a million troops are committed to the Iraq war theater, most bogged down in Baghdad. Morale is declining and casualties

continue to increase. In addition to the human cost, the funding of the war costs a billion dollars a week, adding to the additional burden of an already depressed economy.

The President has declared “major combat over” and sent a message to every terrorist, “Bring them on.” As a result, he has lost more people in his war than his father did in his and there is no end in site.

Military commanders are left with extended tours of duty for servicemen and women, told long ago they were going home, and keeping American forces on the ground where they have become sitting ducks in a shooting gallery for every terrorist group in the Middle East.

Welcome to Vietnam, Mr. President. Sorry you didn’t go when you had the chance.

#### HONORING OUR ARMED FORCES

Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. President, on Friday, September 19, 2003, Vermonters will gather in Proctor, VT, for a happy, yet solemn occasion. They will assemble on that day to reopen Proctor’s Marble Arch Bridge and to dedicate a memorial to SGT Justin Garvey, United States Army, 101st Airborne Division.

The joy will be in the celebration of the new bridge, a centerpiece of Proctor’s infrastructure. It is the town’s only bridge to span Vermont’s longest river, the Otter Creek. Originally constructed in 1915, the new bridge will re-establish an historic gateway between the east and west of Justin’s home community.

Proctor’s Marble Arch Bridge, adorned with Highland Marble quarried from beneath Vermont’s grand mountains, is an elegant example of artistry, craftsmanship and heritage, values that we Vermonters cherish and respect.

SGT Justin Garvey, Proctor High School Class of 1998, exemplified these values as well. Justin was, by all accounts, an outstanding young man. He was known as a strong competitor, a motivated student, and an avid outdoorsman. His friends knew him as being good hearted and good humored. Justin was a loyal brother, a dedicated son and a loving husband.

Justin Garvey loved and is loved by his family and community.

He crossed the Marble Arch Bridge innumerable times. When he last crossed this bridge, he was on a journey that would take him to serve in the United States Army 101st Airborne Division, one of America’s most elite defense forces.

Not every soldier has the “stuff” to make the 101st Airborne. But it was no surprise to those who knew him that Justin Garvey studied and trained and worked to become a top-notch soldier. A fellow soldier wrote that “He was a man who had no enemies . . . he is everything I want to be as a man. Everyone who ever met Justin was better for it. It was an honor to have served with him up to the end, that night. He taught me what a true hero is.”

From before its inception and throughout its history, America has

depended upon the willingness of men like Justin Garvey to put themselves in harm’s way for the sake of country and countrymen.

Indeed, this Nation has survived only because of such men and such women.

When Justin Garvey last crossed Proctor’s historic Marble Arch Bridge, he was already a hero to his family and friends in this community. Today, all of Vermont and all of America recognize Justin Garvey as an American hero.

Indeed, the world is in his debt.

It is fitting and proper that we should dedicate a memorial to SGT Justin Garvey, Proctor native, American hero.

May God Bless Justin and his family.

#### IN REMEMBRANCE OF THE VICTIMS OF THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE

Mr. CORZINE. Mr. President, I rise today to honor the memory of the victims of the Katyn Forest Massacre in 1940. Katyn Forest is a quiet wooded area near the Gneizdovo village, a short distance from Smolensk in Russia. It was at this site, on Soviet leader Joseph Stalin’s orders, that the Soviet NKVD shot and buried more than 4,000 Polish service personnel that had been taken prisoner when the Soviet Union invaded Poland in September 1939. Most of these victims were Polish army reservists—lawyers, doctors, scientists and businessmen, Poland’s elite and intelligentsia—who were called up to active service following the Nazi invasion of Poland.

On September 17, 1939, under the terms of a secret Moscow-Berlin treaty, forces of the Soviet Union invaded Poland through its eastern border. Polish troops, overwhelmed by the German invasion on its western border, surrendered to the Red Army on the pretense they would be protected. More than 15,000 Polish soldiers and civilians were sent to prison camps at Kozielsk, Starobielska and Ostashkov in the Soviet Union.

In an effort to eliminate potential threats to Soviet control of Poland and what Stalin described as counter-revolutionary espionage and resistance organizations, Soviet troops, carried out what many have called one of the most heinous war crimes in history. Prisoners in all three Soviet Camps were executed and buried in mass graves. One of these graves was discovered in Katyn Forest, where between four and five thousand Polish bodies were found. There were no trials; there was no justice for these innocent victims.

Although the Soviet Government originally denied their role in this unspeakable atrocity, on February 19, 1989 Soviet scholars released documents that revealed that Stalin had indeed ordered the mass execution. The following year Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev apologized to the Polish people for the killings. While this admission of guilt provided some closure, it certainly does not erase the