S. 2194. A bill for the relief of Ilya Shestakov.

Whereas Ilya Shestakov has been an exemplary employee of the Alaska community, and they should not be punished due to an error by their former attorney. I would like to see this family reunited in Alaska, so that they can continue to contribute positively to our community.

**SUBMITTED RESOLUTIONS**

**SENATE RESOLUTION 349—CONDEMNING THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN, IN NOVEMBER 2004, INTO THE TERMS OF THE 2004 PARIS AGREEMENT, AND EXPRESSING SUPPORT FOR EFFORTS TO REFER IRAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL, FOR ITS NON-COMPLIANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY OBLIGATIONS**

Mr. SANTORUM (for himself and Mr. KYL) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. RES. 349

Whereas the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) reported in November 2004 that Iran had been developing an undeclared nuclear enrichment program for 18 years and had covertly imported nuclear material and equipment, carried out over 110 unreported experiments to produce uranium metal, separated plutonium, and concealed many other aspects of its nuclear facilities;

Whereas the Governments of the United Kingdom, France, and Germany entered into an agreement with Iran on its nuclear program (commonly known as the “Paris Agreement”), which was successful in securing a commitment from the Government of Iran to voluntarily suspend uranium enrichment operations in exchange for discussions on economic, technological, political, and security issues;

Whereas Article XII.C of the Statute of the IAEA requires the IAEA Board of Governors to report on the noncompliance of any member of the IAEA with its IAEA obligations to all members and to the Security Council and General Assembly of the United Nations;

Whereas Article III.B—4 of the Statute of the IAEA states that “if in connection with the activities of the Agency there should arise questions that are within the competence of the Security Council, the Agency shall notify the Security Council, as the organ bearing the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security”;

Whereas, in September 2005, the IAEA Board of Governors adopted a resolution declaring that Iran’s many failures and breaches constitute noncompliance in the context of Article XII.C of the Statute of the IAEA;

Whereas, on January 3, 2006, the Government of Iran announced that it planned to restart its nuclear research efforts in direct violation of the Paris Agreement;

Whereas, in January 2006, Iranian officials in the presence of IAEA inspectors, began to remove United Nations seals from the enrichment facility in Natanz, Iran;

Whereas Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom Jack Straw warned Iranian officials that they were “pushing their luck” by removing the United Nations seals that were placed on the Natanz facility by the IAEA 2 years earlier;

Whereas President of France Jacques Chirac said that the Governments of Iran and North Korea risked “irreparable error” by pursuing nuclear activities in defiance of international agreements;

Whereas Foreign Minister of Germany Foreign Walter Steinmeier said that the Government of Iran had “crossed lines which it knew would not remain without consequence”;

Whereas Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice stated, “It is obvious that if Iran cannot be brought to live up to its international obligations, in fact, the IAEA Statute would indicate that Iran would have to be referred to the U.N. Security Council.”;

Whereas President of Iran Mahmoud Ahmadinejad stated, “The Iranian government and nation has no fear of the Western ballyhoo and will continue its nuclear programs with decisiveness and wisdom.”;

Whereas the United States has joined with the Governments of Britain, France, Germany and China in calling for a meeting of the IAEA to discuss Iran’s non-compliance with its IAEA obligations;

Whereas President Ahmadinejad has stated that Israel should be “wiped off the map”;

Whereas the international community is in agreement that the Government of Iran should not seek the development of nuclear weapons:

Now, therefore, be it Resolved that the Senate—

(1) condemns the decisions of the Government of Iran to remove United Nations seals from its uranium enrichment facilities and to resume nuclear research efforts;

(2) commends the Governments of Britain, France, and Germany for their efforts to secure the 2004 Paris Agreement, which resulted in the brief suspension in Iran of nuclear enrichment activities;

(3) supports the referral of Iran to the United Nations Security Council under Article XII.C and Article III.B—4 of the Statute of the IAEA for violating the Paris Agreement;

(4) condemns actions by the Government of Iran to develop, produce, or acquire nuclear weapons.

**SENATE RESOLUTION 350—EXPRESSING THE SENSE OF THE SENATE THAT SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 23 (10TH CONGRESS), AS ADOPTED BY THE SENATE ON SEPTEMBER 14, 2001, AND SUBSEQUENTLY ENACTED AS THE AUTHORIZATION FOR USE OF MILITARY FORCE DOES NOT AUTHORIZE WARRANTLESS DOMESTIC SURVEILLANCE OF UNITED STATES CITIZENS**

Mr. LEAHY (for himself and Mr. KENNEDY) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary:

S. Res. 350

Whereas the Bill of Rights to the United States Constitution was ratified 214 years ago;

Whereas the Fourth Amendment to the United States Constitution guarantees to the American people the right “to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures”;

Whereas, in September 2005, the IAEA Board of Governors adopted a resolution declaring that Iran’s many failures and breaches constitute noncompliance in the context of Article XII.C of the Statute of the IAEA;

Whereas, on January 3, 2006, the Government of Iran announced that it planned to restart its nuclear research efforts in direct violation of the Paris Agreement;

Whereas, in January 2006, Iranian officials, in the presence of IAEA inspectors, began to remove United Nations seals from the enrichment facility in Natanz, Iran;
Whereas the Fourth Amendment provides that courts shall issue "warrants" to authorize searches and seizures, based upon probable cause;

Whereas the United States Supreme Court has consistently held for nearly 40 years that the monitoring and recording of private conversations constitutes a "search and seizure" within the meaning of the Fourth Amendment;

Whereas Congress was concerned about the United States Government unconstitutionally spying on Americans in the 1960s and 1970s;

Whereas Congress enacted the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, and specified provisions of the Federal criminal code (including those governing wiretaps for criminal investigations), as the "exclusive means by which domestic electronic surveillance may be conducted pursuant to law (18 U.S.C. 2511(2)(f));"

Whereas the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 establishes the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court (commonly referred to as the "FISA court"), and the procedures by which the United States Government may obtain a court order authorizing electronic surveillance (commonly referred to as a "FISA warrant") for foreign intelligence collection in the United States;

Whereas Congress created the FISA court to review wiretapping applications for domestic electronic surveillance to be conducted by any Federal agency;

Whereas the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 provides specific exceptions that allow the President to authorize warrantless electronic surveillance for foreign intelligence purposes (1) in emergency situations, provided an application for judicial approval from a FISA court is made within 72 hours; and (2) within 15 calendar days following a declaration of war by Congress;

Whereas the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 makes criminal any electronic surveillance not authorized by statute;

Whereas the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 has been amended over time to include monitoring with respect to persons located within the United States; and

Whereas President George W. Bush has confirmed that his administration engages in warrantless electronic surveillance of American citizens located within the United States and that he has authorized such warrantless surveillance more than 30 times since September 11, 2001; and

Whereas Senate Joint Resolution 23 (107th Congress), as adopted by the Senate on September 14, 2001, and House Joint Resolution 64 (107th Congress), as adopted by the House of Representatives on September 14, 2001, together enacted as the Authorization for Use of Military Force (Public Law 107–40), to authorize military action against those responsible for the attacks on September 11, 2001, did not authorize warrantless eavesdropping on American citizens.

As Justice O'Connor underscored recently, even war "is not a blank check for the President when it comes to the rights of the Nation's citizens."

Now that the illegal spying of Americans has become public and the President has acknowledged the 4-year-old warrantless surveillance programs, the President's lawyers are contending that Congress authorized it. The September 2001 Authorization to Use Military Force did no such thing. Republican Senators also know it and a few have said so publicly. We all know it. The liberties and rights that define us as Americans and the system of checks and balances that serve to preserve them should not be sacrificed to threats of terrorism or to the expanding power of the government. In the days immediately following those attacks, and I continue to believe, that the terrorists win if they frighten us into sacrificing our freedoms and what defines us as Americans.

I well remember the days immediately after the 9/11 attacks. I helped open the Senate to business the next day. I said then, on September 12, 2001: "If we abandon our democracy to battle them, they win... We will maintain our democracy, and with justice, we will use our strength. We will not lose our commitment to the rule of law, no matter how much the provocation, because that rule of law has protected us throughout the centuries. It has created our democracy. It has made us what we are in history. We are a just and good Nation."

I joined with others, Republican and Democrats, and we engaged in round-the-clock efforts over the next months in connection with what came to be the USA PATRIOT Act. During those days the Bush administration never asked us for this surveillance authority or to amend the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act to accommodate such a program.

Just as we cannot allow ourselves to be lulled into a sense of false comfort when it comes to our national security, we cannot be lulled into a blind trust regarding our freedoms and rights. The Framers built checks and balances into our system specifically to counter such abuses and undue assertions of power. We must retain our vigilance against those who pose real threats, while precluding the use of such efforts and that they reportedly included monitoring Quakers in Florida and possibly Vermont. I wrote to the Secretary of Defense demanding an answer. That was a month ago. So far he has refused to provide that answer. Now we have learned that President Bush has, for more than four years, secretly allowed the warrantless wiretapping of Americans inside the United States. And we read in the press that sources at the FBI say that much of what was forwarded to them to investigate was worthless and led to dead ends. That is a dangerous diversion of our investigative resources away from those who pose real threats, while precious time and effort is devoted to looking into the lives of law-abiding Americans.

The United States Supreme Court has consistently held for nearly 40 years, since its landmark decision in Katz v. United States, that the monitoring and recording of private conversations constitutes a "search and seizure" within the meaning of the Fourth Amendment. Congress enacted the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, FISA, to provide a legal mechanism for the government to monitor and record private conversations of Americans in connection with intelligence gathering. The Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, along with
Spying on Americans without first obtaining the requisite warrants is illegal, unnecessary and wrong. No President can simply declare when he wishes to follow the law and when he chooses not to, especially when it comes to the hard-won rights of the American people.

The resolution I submit today is intended to help set the record straight. It is an important first step toward restoring checks and balances between the co-equal branches of government. I urge all Senators to join me.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, what is past is prologue. Today, we see history repeating itself. In 1978, President Carter signed into law the “Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act,” successfully concluding years of debate on the power of the President to conduct national security wiretapping.

As a result of lengthy hearings and consultation, Congress enacted that law with broad bipartisan support. Its purpose was to give the President and executive branch the authority to conduct warrantless surveillance of American citizens.

The Bush administration is now arguing that when Congress authorized the use of force in September 2001 to attack al Qaeda in Afghanistan, it authorized warrantless searches and eavesdropping on American citizens. I voted for that authorization, and I know that Congress did not sign a blank check. The notion that Congress authorized warrantless surveillance in the AUMF is utterly inconsistent with the Administration’s admission that Congress was not asked for such authorization because it was assumed that Congress would say no.

Former Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle, who helped negotiate the use of warrantless wiretaps, has confirmed that the joint resolution did not seek to amend FISA to authorize the NSA to conduct warrantless surveillance of American citizens.

If the Bush administration believed that the law was inadequate to deal with the threat of terrorism within our boundaries, it should have come to Congress and sought to change the law. It did not. Indeed, Attorney General Gonzales admitted at a press conference on December 19, 2005, that the Administration did not seek to amend FISA to authorize warrantless wiretaps, and that he is “confident the Joint Resolution of 2001. The bipartisan 9/11 Commission made clear that the Executive Branch has the burden of proving why a particular governmental power should be retained—and Congress has the responsibility to see that adequate guidelines and oversight are made available.

The Executive Branch has failed to meet the 9/11 Commissioners’ burden of proof. The American people are not convinced that these surveillance methods achieve the right balance between our national security and protection of our civil liberties.

These issues go to the heart of what it means to have a free society. If President Bush can make his own rules for domestic surveillance, Big Brother has run amok. If the President believes that winning the war on terror requires new surveillance capabilities, he has the responsibility to work with Congress to make appropriate changes in existing law. He is not above the law.

Congress and the American people deserve full and honest answers about the Administration’s domestic electronic surveillance activities. On December 22, 2005, I asked the President to provide us with answers before the Senate Judiciary Committee began hearings on Judge Alito’s nomination to the Supreme Court. We got no response. The Senate Judiciary Committee is scheduled to begin separate hearings on President’s actions. Instead of providing us with the documents the Administration relied upon, the Justice Department continues to circulate summaries and white papers on the legal authorities it purports to have under the law. It now appears that the President did so on at least thirty occasions after September 11th. There is no legitimate purpose in denying access by Members of Congress to all of the legal thought and analysis that the President relied upon when he authorized these activities.

Every 45 days, the President ordered the use of force “in the United States,” but Congress refused to grant the President such sweeping power. Maybe that was the Administration’s covert way to seek the authority to spy on Americans, but Congress did not grant any such authority.

its constitutional authority to eavesdrop on any person within the United States—without judicial or legislative oversight and it claims that the Congress implicitly granted such power in the Joint Resolution of 2001.

But that Joint Resolution says nothing about domestic surveillance. As Justice O’Connor has said, “A state of war is not a blank check for the president when it comes to the rights of the nation’s citizens.”
or times of war, which is why we established a secret court to expedite the review of sensitive applications from the government.

Now, the administration has made a unilateral decision that Congressional and judicial oversight can be discarded, in spite of what the law obviously requires. We need a thorough investigation of these activities. Congress and the American people deserve answers, and they deserve answers now.

SENATE RESOLUTION 351—RESPONDING TO THE THREAT POSED BY IRAN’S NUCLEAR PROGRAM

Mr. BAYH submitted the following resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. RES. 351

Whereas Iran is precipitating a grave nuclear crisis with the international community that directly impacts the national security of the United States and the efficacy of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, done at Washington, D.C. on September 27, 1968, and entered into force May 5, 1970 (commonly referred to as the “Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty”);

Whereas the United States welcomes a diplomatic solution to the nuclear crisis, but the Government of Iran continues to reject a peaceful resolution to the matter;

Whereas, the Government of Iran agreed to suspend uranium enrichment activities and to sign and ratify the IAEA’s Additional Protocol on extensive, intrusive non-notice inspections in 2003, it has repeatedly failed to live up to its obligations under this agreement;

Whereas the Government of Iran broke IAEA seals on some centrifuges in September 2004, converted uranium to a gas needed for enrichment in May 2005, limited IAEA inspectors to a few sites, and said it would refuse to sign an expanded Additional Protocol;

Whereas the Board of Governors of the IAEA declared in September 2005 that Iran was in non-compliance of its Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Obligations;

Whereas Iran announced on January 3, 2006, that it would resume uranium “research” activities at Natanz and invited IAEA inspectors to resume the breaking of IAEA seals at the facility;

Whereas the Government of Iran has acknowledged deceiving the IAEA for the past 18 years for not disclosing an uranium enrichment facility in Natanz and a heavy water production plant in Arak;

Whereas the Government of Iran’s human rights record and its strict limits on democracy have been consistently criticized by United Nations reports;

Whereas the Department of State stated in its most recent Country Reports on Human Rights Practices that Iran’s already poor human rights record “worsened” during the previous year and deemed Iran a country “of particular concern” in its most recent International Religious Freedom Report;

Whereas the Government of Iran funds terror and rejectionist groups in Gaza and the West Bank, Lebanon, Iraq, and Afghanistan and is providing material support to groups directly involved in the killing of United States citizens;

Whereas Iran has been designated by the United States as a state sponsor of terrorism since 1984, and the Department of State said in its most recent Country Reports on Terrorism that Iran “remained the most active state sponsor of terrorism in 2004”;

Whereas President of Iran Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has made anti-American and anti-Semitic statements, including denying the occurrence of the Holocaust and Israel’s right to exist, and called on people to imitate the United States after September 11, 2001;

Whereas Iran’s recent acquisition of new anti-ship capabilities to block the Strait of Hormuz at the entrance to the Persian Gulf and the decision by the Government of Russia to sell the Government of Iran $1,000,000,000 in weapons, mostly for 29 anti-aircraft missile systems, is most regrettable and should dampen United States-Russian relations;

Whereas the behavior of the Government of Iran does not reflect that country’s rich history and the democratic aspirations of most people in Iran;

Whereas the people of the United States stand with the people of Iran in support of democracy, the rule of law, religious freedom, and regional and global stability;

Whereas, although Iran is subject to a range of unilateral sanctions and some third country and Governmental sanctions, these sanctions have not been fully implemented;

Whereas Iran remains vulnerable to international sanctions, especially with respect to its large investment in its petroleum sector and oil sales, few foreign nations have joined the United States in attempting to isolate the regime in Iran and compel compliance with Iran’s international obligations;

Whereas, although Iran may be one of the world’s largest exporters of oil, it does not have the refining capacity to make the gasoline necessary to make its economy run and currently imports 40 percent of its refined gasoline from abroad;

Whereas the recent implementation of United States sanctions laws and the adoption of additional statutes would improve the chances of a diplomatic solution to the nuclear crisis with Iran;

Whereas President George W. Bush has for 4 years given too little attention to the growing nuclear problem in Iran beyond rhetoric and rhetoric and has carried out an Iran policy consisting of loud denunciations followed by minimal action and ultimate reference of the case to Europe, a policy that has been riddled with contradictions and inconsistency and damaging to United States national security;

Whereas, had President Bush effectively marshaled world opinion in 2002 and not wasted valuable time, diverted resources, and ignored the problem in Iran, the United States would not have faced with the full extent of the current nuclear crisis in Iran;

Whereas action now is imperative and time is of the essence; and

Whereas the opportunity the United States has to avoid the choice between military action and a nuclear Iran may be measured only in months: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that—

(1) the United States should cut assistance to countries whose companies are investing in Iran’s energy sector, including pipelines to export Iranian heavy oil to the United Kingdom, Germany, and France (the “EU-3”) only months after the agreement was signed, its unilateral violation of the EU-3 agreement with the EU-3 to suspend its enrichment program (commonly known as the “Paris Agreement”), its failure to provide IAEA inspectors access to various nuclear facilities, and its refusal to answer outstanding questions related to its nuclear program;