

the Senate about accountability. We want schoolteachers and public employees to be accountable. But we must look beyond that at why our civilian military should also be held accountable.

Our Founding Fathers believed that the civilian leaders of our military should be held accountable. I share that belief. I hope the President does.

The time has been allocated to my friends. Senator KOHL has 5 minutes; Senator FEINGOLD, 8 minutes; Senator KENNEDY, 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin.

#### RESTORING JUVENILE JUSTICE FUNDING

Mr. KOHL. Madam President, I rise today to discuss juvenile crime and juvenile crime prevention programs. We must remember that a strategy to combat juvenile crime consists of a large dose of prevention programs as well as strong enforcement. Juvenile justice programs have proven time and time again that they help prevent crime, strengthen communities, and give children a second chance to succeed and lead healthy lives. It is no secret that robust funding for these programs in the 1990s contributed to a 68 percent drop in juvenile crime from 1994 to 2000. Most importantly, investment in our at-risk children will help prevent a life marred by crime and wasted in prison.

For these programs to succeed, however, they must be priorities for this Congress and for this administration. We fear that we are failing to live up to our responsibility on this essential issue. A little more than 3 months ago, President Bush released his fiscal year 2005 budget proposal. In it, juvenile justice and delinquency programs will receive only about one-third of the funding they received 3 years ago. This is at a time when recent statistics indicate an uptick in juvenile crime and an increase in school murder rates.

We understand that other priorities compete with juvenile justice funding and local crime prevention programs. Yet the amounts we are discussing are so small in the grand scheme of the budget, and the results from the programs so immense, that they mandate our attention.

When the Senate considered the budget resolution, we began to address the shortfalls in juvenile justice funding. I was pleased to work with Senators HATCH and BIDEN on an amendment to restore cuts made to juvenile justice programs and local law enforcement funding. Our amendment represents a step in the right direction by restoring juvenile justice funding to last year's levels, and reversing the trend of ever-diminishing appropriations for these programs. It is essential that the Kohl-Hatch-Biden amendment that restores juvenile justice funding remain in the final Budget Resolution.

These programs are a wise investment. For every dollar spent on pre-

vention, we save \$3 to \$4 in costs associated with juvenile crime. Furthermore, law enforcement officials strongly support prevention efforts. A recent poll shows that 71 percent of police chiefs, sheriffs and prosecutors believe that crime prevention efforts would have the greatest impact in reducing youth violence and crime. So for those who may fear that a crime prevention strategy is not "tough" enough on juveniles, we suggest that these programs make sound economic sense and are overwhelmingly endorsed by law enforcement. We must do a better job of funding them.

Let me tell you about two essential programs. In 1992, we established the Title V Local Delinquency Prevention Program. Title V was and remains unique in that it is the only source of federal funding solely dedicated to juvenile crime prevention efforts. More importantly, Title V has proven to be a very successful program that encourages investment, collaboration, and long-range prevention planning by local communities.

Title V programs include preschool and parent training programs, youth mentoring, after-school activities, tutoring, truancy reduction, substance abuse prevention and gang prevention outreach. Through these initiatives, large cities like Milwaukee to small communities like Ladysmith, WI are creating environments that strengthen families and help children avoid crime and develop into productive adults.

Enforcement is an important part of the overall strategy, but the administration cuts those programs as well. Positive intervention and treatment at this early stage of delinquency can prevent further violent behavior and steer a young person in the right direction before it is too late. Realizing this, Congress created the Juvenile Accountability Incentive Block Grant Program, JAIBG, in 1997 and provided it with healthy funding levels of \$250 million. Congress reauthorized Title V and JAIBG in 2002 at even greater levels. And we improved JAIBG by adding substance abuse and mental health counseling, restitution, community service, and supervised probations to the list of program options. The reauthorized program also ensures State and local accountability for proper and effective uses of funds.

We have a choice in this Congress of where we want to invest our money. We can choose to address the roots of crime and invest in our children by preventing a life of criminal behavior. We can choose to intervene in a positive manner to work with those teens that have fallen through the cracks and have had a few scrapes with the law. We can turn many of those kids around. I urge my colleagues to make the right choice this year and boost funding for the Title V program, the Juvenile Accountability Block Grant program, and juvenile justice programs overall. We can and must do better.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized.

#### SUDAN

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I rise today to join my colleagues in calling attention to the horrifying crisis in Darfur, a part of western Sudan where over a million people have been displaced by a brutal campaign of ethnic cleansing perpetrated by government-backed militia forces and official Sudanese forces.

Human Rights Watch has documented massacres, widespread rape, massive forced displacement, and indiscriminate aerial bombardment of civilians in Darfur. Amnesty International indicates that the ceasefire agreement signed on April 8 has not stopped the attacks against civilians on the ground, stating that "attacks on villages continue; indiscriminate and deliberate killings of civilians continue; looting continues and rapes continue." Doctors Without Borders, which is actually on the ground delivering services in parts of Darfur, warns of desperate malnutrition and tells us that the absence of food aid on the ground is especially alarming because measles have broken out among the displaced, and measles can seriously aggravate malnutrition.

Because so many homes and farms and mosques and entire villages have been burned and totally destroyed, and because normal life has been so thoroughly disrupted, because fear still dominates the lives of so many civilians, and because the rainy season is beginning—making much of Darfur completely inaccessible by road—literally hundreds of thousands could die of starvation. The humanitarian task before the world would be mammoth even if a major political breakthrough backed by what we have not seen to date—actual effective action taken by the government of Sudan to put a stop to the attacks on civilians. Without such action, the crisis deepens each day.

And even as the government of Sudan has failed to take effective action to stop the attacks and protect the Sudanese people, they also have denied humanitarian organizations and international investigators access to Darfur, deliberately undermining the world's efforts to help those who are suffering and starving. The government's aim appears to be to drive ethnic Africans out of Darfur, and to shield this abhorrent agenda from the eyes of the international community.

It is a disgrace that this same government was just elected to a third term on the United Nations Human Rights Commission. Africans have as great a stake in the commission's work and aims as any people anywhere in the world. They deserve far better representation.

Mr. President, crimes against humanity have been and continue to be perpetrated in Darfur, and the criminals responsible for these atrocities—the planners directing this horror at the highest levels—should be brought to justice.

I am proud to have joined with my colleague, Senator BROWNBACK, who is deeply committed to Sudan, in introducing S. Con Res. 99. And I am so pleased to have been able to work as part of a bipartisan group, including Senators FRIST, DASCHLE, BIDEN, LUGAR, ALEXANDER, KENNEDY and DEWINE on Sudan issue over the years. I mention as well that Senator DURBIN has been enormously helpful at this time, issue, and discussion possible. I hope that today, by calling for urgent action to implement a humanitarian response plan that does not bow to the constraints imposed by the wishes of the Sudanese Government, we can encourage those working to respond to the needs on the ground. And by calling for a Security Council resolution addressing the situation in Darfur, this resolution will make it crystal clear to the Sudanese government that the current situation is simply unacceptable.

Mr. President, I applaud the efforts of the State Department and the White House to bring an end to Sudan's long and tragic north-south conflict. But the hopes that we all harbor of achieving a just and lasting end to that crisis simply cannot be meaningfully realized in the context of the kind of brutality we see in Darfur.

At the same time, any hopes that the government of Sudan harbors of an easing of economic pressure or isolation stand no chance—no chance at all, Mr. President—of being realized until the situation in Darfur changes, the attacks are stopped, and the international community—from humanitarian aid agencies to cease-fire monitors to U.N. investigators—has full, unfettered access to the region. We need to see real change—not rhetorical change, not change on paper, not change on some days not more of the same on others. And we need to see it right away.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ENSIGN). The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I commend Senator FEINGOLD and Senator BROWNBACK and our colleagues for raising this issue not just on the floor of the Senate but also across our Nation, because it is an issue of enormous importance and consequence, as it should be for all Americans and for people all over the world.

It has been 10 years since the Rwanda genocide. A decade ago, 8,000 Rwandans were being killed every day. Yet the international community was silent. We did not stop the deaths of 800,000 Tutsis and politically moderate Hutu, in spite of our commitment that genocide must never again darken the annals of human history.

Sadly, we may now be repeating the same mistake in Sudan.

Over the past few weeks, reports of severe ethnic violence have come from Darfur, a region of western Sudan. We have heard accounts of thousands or even tens of thousands of people murdered, of widespread rape, and of people's homes burned to the ground.

The Sudanese government has refused to allow full access to western Sudan. International monitors and humanitarian workers have been prevented from reaching the area. We need immediate access to gather more information on what is happening and to provide urgent humanitarian relief to the one million people the United Nations reports have been displaced internally in Sudan or across the border to Chad.

Many of us hoped that the humanitarian ceasefire and agreement earlier this month between the Sudanese government and rebel forces in western Sudan would end the many months of violence against entire communities. It has not.

The burning of homes and crops of desperately poor villagers has left in its ashes a humanitarian disaster. Without immediate relief, experts predict deaths in the hundreds of thousands. The cruelty of the Government of Sudan and its paramilitary allies against other ethnic groups raises the very real specter of genocide.

The United States and the international community need to act now, to stop this brutality, to save lives. If we fail to act—and to act now—the consequences will be dire.

United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan was eloquent in his statement at the commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the Rwanda genocide. He said that he would not permit Darfur to become the first genocide of the 21st century.

There will be discussion in Washington and around the world about whether the ethnic violence in Darfur is, in fact, genocide, but we cannot allow the debate over definitions obstruct our ability to act as soon as possible.

It is a matter of the highest moral responsibility for each of us individually, for Congress, for the United States, and for the global community to do all we can to stop the violence against innocents in Darfur. We must act, because thousands of people's lives will be lost if we do not.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I applaud both the Senator from Wisconsin and the Senator from Massachusetts for what they have said. Obviously, I agree completely.

#### ABUSES AGAINST IRAQI PRISONERS

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, this is a troubling time in America. Yesterday I spoke on this Senate floor about the despicable abuses perpetrated against Iraqi prisoners. The damage done to every American and to the reputation of our great Nation as a whole as a result of these barbaric acts is incalculable. It has severely tarnished our image as a nation of laws, a nation that for more than two centuries has

been a beacon of hope for oppressed people around the world.

Every day, quite rightly, we pride ourselves on our Constitution and our Bill of Rights. After all, they were the template for the universal declaration of human rights. We often criticize other nations for violating those rights, for engaging in torture and other crimes, and it is right that we do. We should speak out when human rights and liberties are violated whenever and wherever it occurs.

But today we see our own faces in the mirror. Until recently, it was beyond our ability to contemplate that we would become the subject of such universal ridicule and scorn for the actions of a handful.

The reputation of our Armed Forces, certainly since the First World War, has deservedly been the finest in the world. As the father of a former marine, I can attest that the training of our troops and the outstanding performance of the vast majority of them should make every American proud. They conduct themselves professionally. They treat others with respect. They perform bravely. And 138,000 men and women are courageously wearing America's uniform in Iraq today. Now they are endangered there and around the world.

At the heart of this problem is a failure of leadership, not "followship." We have heard from the Secretary of Defense. He was appalled by what happened, so appalled that he did not bother to read the report that described the horrific conditions at Abu Ghraib prison even though he had been aware of the concerns for months; so appalled he forgot that it was he who decided, apparently on his own, that the U.S. military would no longer be bound by the Geneva Conventions, an astounding decision when one considers its implication; so appalled that his Department has treated those of us who have asked questions and sought information about the interrogation practices at U.S. military detention facilities after reports of torture and even homicide as a nuisance; so appalled that for days he treated this whole episode as though he could not quite grasp what all the fuss was about. After all, these are terrorists, and we are fighting a war.

I have known Secretary Rumsfeld for 30 years. I like him. He is highly intelligent. He has served his country with great devotion. But I believe that he and the Deputy Secretary bear ultimate responsibility for this catastrophe.

The post-war chaos in Iraq that has resulted from such miserably poor planning—and so many people warned them that it was miserably poor planning—has claimed the lives and limbs of hundreds of America's troops and civilians and thousands of Iraqis, including many civilians. It has caused deep divisions between ourselves and the Iraqi people and Muslims around the world. It has so damaged our image as a nation that stands for respect for