

Iraqi Liberation Act, where Congress, in a unanimous vote took a position at that period of time that we considered Saddam Hussein a threat and that he ought to be removed from office, from the leadership of his country.

If President Clinton, while he was in office, using that intelligence, saw Saddam Hussein as a threat, the same way President Bush did, I do not see how any Democrat can be on the floor of the Senate and say the President of the United States is deceiving the American people.

Also, last night I happened to hear a 2- or 3-minute speech by Senator CLINTON, made in 2002, how horrible Saddam Hussein was and how he was somebody to fear and a threat and the inclination of doing something about it.

It is intellectually dishonest for any Democrat to come to the floor and accuse our President of misleading the American people. They ought to be ashamed of themselves. Have they no shame?

I have something I want to refer to because we have had people outside the Congress, outside the administration, look at some of these very issues. We had the Robb-Silberman commission report. Senator Robb is a former Democratic Member of this body. Judge Silberman is a Republican, served on the DC Circuit. They gave a report about Presidential daily briefings versus what is in the National Intelligence Estimate. There is no significant difference between the two reports, the Presidential daily briefing and the National Intelligence Estimate. Quoting from the report:

It was not that the intelligence was markedly different. Rather, it was that the PDBs and the SEIBs, with their attention-grabbing headlines and drumbeat of repetition, left an impression of many corroborating reports where in fact there were very few sources. And in other instances, intelligence suggesting the existence of weapons programs was conveyed to senior policymakers, but later information casting doubt upon the validity of that intelligence was not.

That is shortcomings of our intelligence community, the same shortcomings that President Clinton probably experienced during his time in office, when he was making estimates of the threat of Saddam Hussein, the same way that President Bush was making those estimates.

The Robb-Silberman commission found Presidential daily briefings to contain similar intelligence in "more alarmist" and "less nuanced" language. Continuing to quote:

As problematic as the October 2002 [National Intelligence Estimate] was, it was not the Community's biggest analytic failure on Iraq. Even more misleading was the river of intelligence that flowed from the CIA to top policymakers over long periods of time—in the President's Daily Brief and in its more widely distributed companion, the Senior Executive Intelligence Brief. These daily reports were, if anything, more alarmist and less nuanced than the [National Intelligence Estimate].

That is what one former Democratic Senator and a Republican judge, ap-

pointed to a commission to look into this, have reported. When you take all of these things into consideration, plus the quotes of Senator CLINTON that I referred to in the year 2002 that I saw on television last night, or the statements by President Clinton in 1998 when he was President that I saw on television last night, it seems to me it is absolutely wrong and misleading to come up here and say the President of the United States and the Vice President were deceiving the American people, particularly when Senators can have briefings if they want them.

FREEDOM IN ASIA AND BURMA

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I want to take a moment to commend President Bush for his superb remarks regarding freedom and democracy in Asia. It is fitting that these comments were made in Japan, a key strategic ally of the United States.

I will not recount the entire speech—which I encourage all my colleagues to read—but will highlight two paragraphs. The President said:

Unlike China, some Asian nations still have not taken even the first steps toward freedom. These regimes understand that economic liberty and political liberty go hand in hand, and they refuse to open up at all. The ruling parties in these countries have managed to hold onto power. The price of their refusal to open up is isolation, backwardness, and brutality. By closing the door to freedom, they create misery at home and sow instability abroad. These nations represent Asia's past, not its future.

We see that lack of freedom in Burma—a nation that should be one of the most prosperous and successful in Asia but is instead one of the region's poorest. Fifteen years ago, the Burmese people cast their ballots—and they chose democracy. The government responded by jailing the leader of the pro-democracy majority. The result is that a country rich in human talent and natural resources is a place where millions struggle simply to stay alive. The abuses by the Burmese military are widespread, and include rape, and torture, and execution, and forced relocation. Forced labor, trafficking in persons, and use of child soldiers, and religious discrimination are all too common. The people of Burma live in the darkness of tyranny—but the light of freedom shines in their hearts. They want their liberty—and one day, they will have it.

These words should ring loudly and clearly throughout the region. I commend President Bush for these comments and for the solid leadership he provides in supporting freedom in Burma. Moreover, I applaud the efforts made by President Bush and Secretary Rice to put Burma on the U.N. Security Council's agenda.

SUPPORT FOR JAILED JOURNALISTS DAY

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, today is "action day" to support jailed journalists around the world, as declared by the independent organization, Reporters Without Borders. I rise today to express my support for this cause and to emphasize that our country has long

believed that a free press is a cornerstone of democracy, both here and abroad. Last year, at my urging, Congress created a free press institute at the National Endowment for Democracy to promote, as part of our democracy-building efforts, free, independent and sustainable news media organizations overseas. This year, I introduced the Free Flow of Information Act to allow journalists in this country to protect the identity of their confidential sources. After I introduced the legislation, a reporter for one of America's most respected media organizations, Judith Miller of the New York Times, was jailed for 85 days for failing to disclose a confidential source, while another, Matt Cooper of Time magazine, was also threatened with jail for the same reason. I believe that in order for the United States to foster the spread of freedom and democracy globally, we must support an open and free press at home.

According to Reporters Without Borders, 112 journalists are currently jailed in 23 countries, including places like China, Cuba, Eritrea, and Burma. This is not good company for the United States to keep. I urge the administration and our diplomats overseas to do everything they can to gain the release of these jailed journalists, who were doing nothing more than trying to keep their fellow citizens informed. I ask unanimous consent that the following information from Reporters Without Borders be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

16TH JAILED JOURNALISTS' SUPPORT DAY, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 2005.

Reporters Without Borders calls on the media to demonstrate their solidarity with imprisoned journalists. We were exceptionally active when journalists were being held hostage in Iraq, and our challenges may seem less urgent now. But that is not the case. A total of 186 media people (112 journalists, 3 assistants and 71 cyber-dissidents) are imprisoned in 23 countries. What crimes have they committed? They have revealed sensitive issue, called for democracy and greater respect for individual freedoms, refused to give in to censorship or to an enforced line of thought. In short, they simply tried to do their jobs.

In an appeal for solidarity with imprisoned journalists, Reporters Without Borders is organizing the 16th consecutive annual day of action. We are urging the worldwide news media—throughout the world—to acknowledge the fate of those who have to struggle every day for the right to report the news.

To break the silence concerning their plight and to bring it to the public attention of the public, Reporters Without Borders calls on the news media to highlight the case of an imprisoned journalist on this year's "action day", Thursday, November 17.

The jails of three countries alone are holding more than half of the world's imprisoned journalists. The three countries that constitute the world's biggest prisons traps for the press are China (with 31 journalists behind bars), Cuba (23), and Eritrea (13).

Mobilization is needed to ease the harsh reality of prison conditions. Denied contact with their families and even proper nourishment, most of these journalists live within

poor or non-existent sanitary conditions. They are frequently isolated from fellow prisoners and left to cope in terrible isolation.

The purpose of this Day is above to free these journalists from yet another prison, that of silence and oblivion. Unless their cases are regularly brought before international public the guilty governments will retain impunity. They will have no reason to worry about the fate of prisoners in their jails. Publicity thus becomes a sort of "life insurance" contributing directly to the protection of the prisoners.

It also allows a furtherance of the struggle begun by the imprisoned journalists. Articles that media write about them underscore the reasons and the circumstances of their arrest as well as the issues the journalists were working on before they were imprisoned. In speaking about their case, the sponsor circumvents the censorship they suffered and exposes the unfairness of their imprisonment.

A media's decision to cover the plight of a journalist demonstrates its commitment to defend the right to freely inform and to be informed. It allows journalists to show their solidarity with colleagues with whom they share their passion for a job that is so crucial to ensuring democracy. Since this campaign was launched in 1989, more than 100 journalists have been sponsored by media all around the world. Some media outlets decided to cover their plight without endorsing one particular case. Almost half of them have been released and in part as a result of the support from their sponsors. Several journalists sponsored by International media have been released like Fatimah Nisreen (The Maldives) amnestied on 9 May 2005 or Raul Rivero (Cuba) released on 30 November 2004.

On the day of their release, many journalists stressed the value of not feeling "utterly forgotten". It gave them the courage to continue to bear their imprisonment.

The struggle the news media undertake alongside Reporters Without Borders to defend the existence of a free press is not hopeless. Even when those steps appear to have been in vain, we know that international backing for a prisoner brings essential psychological support and often protects his or her life. This achievement alone represents a victory over authoritarianism and repression carried out by so many governments.

Please find below:

—a few examples of cases of jailed journalists

—press freedom barometer—Key statistics
—the list of 112 journalists imprisoned worldwide (as of November 2, October 2005)
—the list of the current sponsors

Yu Dongyue—CHINA

A journalist and art critic with the Liuyang News, he was arrested on 23 May 1989 during student demonstrations in Tienanmen Square in Beijing. He was convicted on 11 July that year of "sabotage" and "counter-revolutionary propaganda" and jailed by the Beijing intermediate municipal court for 20 years, with five years deprivation of civil rights. His sentence was cut by two years in March 2000 but he is not due to be released until 21 May 2007. Yu is suffering from psychological problems as a result of long spells in solitary confinement.

Miguel Galván Gutiérrez—CUBA

Journalist with the independent news agency Havana Press, he was accused of being "a mercenary in the pay of a foreign power" and convicted to 26 years in jail. As with other dissidents arrested at the time, his arrest reportedly came after a long search of his home and seizure of papers and equipment such as a typewriter, fax machine

and phone. He appeared last August before the prison disciplinary council for sending information to Miami radio stations. He was then put in solitary confinement, without electricity, and was not allowed to use the phone.

His health has steadily worsened in prison. His frequent spells in solitary confinement (73 days in his first 11 months) aggravated his ailments, including frequent diarrhea, stomach and joint pains, swollen feet and a paralyzed arm and, in April 2005, high fever, urinary problems and back pain. He does not get the medicine he needs.

Win Tin—BURMA

Win Tin, one of the political mentors of Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi, continues to serve his 20-year prison sentence. He is regularly offered freedom in exchange for a signed promise to give up all political activity. But "Saya" (Teacher), as his friends call him, has always refused to cut such a deal and break his ties with the National League for Democracy, which was cheated out of its landslide victory at the 1990 general elections.

He was convicted of "subversion" and "anti-government propaganda." In 1996, he was held for five months in a dog-kennel at Rangoon's Insein prison. He has since had two heart attacks and lost most of his teeth. Now 75, he has been shuttling back and forth between his cell and the spartan prisoners' wing of Rangoon hospital for the past few years.

These days, Burma's military rulers treat him with a little more respect and he now has his own cell. But he is still not allowed to write anything.

Akbar Ganji—IRAN

This Iranian journalist with the reformist daily Sobh-e-Emruz, Neshat and Asr-e-Azadegan was arrested on April 22, 2000 when he returned from a conference in Berlin that the Iranian authorities considered "anti-Islamic" and "anti-revolutionary." In January 2001, he was sentenced to 10 years in jail and to banishment.

He had to answer 10 charges, based on complaints filed by the ministry of intelligence, the police and a former minister of intelligence. The prosecutor accused him of "acting against national security", "circulating propaganda against the Islamic system", and "insulting religious figures." He was also accused of publishing articles accusing senior officials of involvement in the murder of regime opponents and intellectuals in 1998. In May 2001, his sentence was reduced from 10 years to six months. In July 2001, the Supreme Court increased it to 6 years.

Akbar Ganji was held in Evin prison in Tehran, where he was able to continue reading and writing. But he was not able to telephone his family or receive medical treatment despite suffering from acute asthma. He began a hunger strike on June 11 and lost 44 kilos in the course of the next month. Akbar Ganji finally calls off his hunger strike after more than 60 days. He was sent back to Evin prison in early September.

Pham Hong Son—VIETNAM

Medical doctor and local representative of a foreign pharmaceutical company. He has been in prison since March 2002 for translating and posting online an article from the local US embassy website called "What is democracy?" and an essay called "Encouraging signs for democracy in Vietnam." He had earlier written and posted on Vietnamese online discussion groups several articles advocating democracy and human rights.

He was sentenced to 13 years imprisonment in June 2003 for "spying," followed by three years of house arrest, by the Hanoi People's Court. The prison sentence was reduced on appeal to five years on 26 August that year.

He has a groin hernia which could kill him if he does have an operation.

Dominique Makeli—RWANDA

Dominique Makeli, a Radio Rwanda commentator, has been in prison in Rwanda since 18 September 1994. After being moved several times, he is now in the main prison in Kigali.

The public prosecutor told Reporters Without Borders in October 2001 that he was accused of "incitement to genocide in his reporting." He had reported on an apparition of the Virgin Mary in Kibeho (west of Butare) in May 1994 and had quoted her supposed words: "The parent is in heaven."

The prosecutor said people would have understood this as divine support for President [Juvenal] Habyarimana and, by extension, for the policy of exterminating Tutsis. This was disputed by Makeli and many witnesses. His case-file was sent in August 2004 to a gacaca (a village court system revived by the authorities).

Complete biographies of these journalists and others are available upon request. Please contact Lucie Morillon, Reporters Without Borders Washington Director, (202) 256-5613 or lucie.morillon@rsf.org

PRESS FREEDOM KEY STATISTICS AS OF
NOVEMBER 2, 2005

Reporters Without Borders has been defending the public's right to news and information for 20 years. It intervenes as soon as possible when the freedom to inform and be informed is under threat is at risk, or as soon as a journalist somewhere in the world is imprisoned anywhere just for doing their job. Journalists are still being routinely targeted in more than half the world's countries represented at the United Nations.

By paying for defense lawyers when to assist journalists are tried at their trial, giving financial aid to the families of murdered or imprisoned journalists who have been killed or imprisoned, waging public awareness campaigns and taking care offering help to of journalists who are forced to flee their country, Reporters Without Borders takes action every day to combat censorship.

PRESS FREEDOM BAROMETER

Worldwide, more than 684 journalists have been killed since 1992.

More than 1,450 journalists were arrested, beaten, threatened, kidnapped or otherwise harassed and more than 320 media were censored in 2004.

53 journalists have been killed since the start of 2005.

5 media assistants have lost their lives since the start of 2005.

73 journalists have been killed in Iraq in March 2003, making it the deadliest war for the press since World War II.

Worldwide, 112 journalists and 3 media assistants are currently in prison for doing their job.

71 cyber-dissidents are currently in prison, 62 of them in China. 112 journalists are currently in prison just for trying to report the news.

The jails of three countries alone are holding more than half of the world's imprisoned journalists.

The three countries that constitute the world's biggest prisons traps for the press are China (with 31 journalists behind bars), Cuba (23), and Eritrea (13).

Their crimes? Revealing embarrassing facts, demanding more respect for civil rights, or refusing to submit to censorship or adopt a particular set of views. Physical and psychological harassment, intimidation and permanent surveillance are also used routinely.

The 112 journalists imprisoned worldwide (as of November 2, October 2005)

Afghanistan (1): Ali Mohaqiq Nasab: sentenced to two years in prison.

Algeria (1): Mohammed Benchicou: sentenced to two years in prison.

Burma (6): Lazing La Htoi: arrested on July 27 July, 2004, and still awaiting trial.

Ne Min: sentenced to 15 years.

Monywa Aung-Shin: sentenced to 7 years.

Than Win Lhaing: sentenced to 7 years.

Thaung Tun: sentenced to 8 years.

Win Tin: sentenced to 20 years.

China (31): Asia continues to be the world's most repressive continent for journalists. In East Asia, China is ranked 159th in the Reporters Without Borders Worldwide Press Freedom Index (October 20, 2005), making. That puts it among one of the world's 10 worst countries. Some media have been privatized, but the government's propaganda department is watchful scrutinizing the media and the banned media has been banned from covering dozens of sensitive subjects in the course of the pover the last year. Crack-downs by the authorities and violence against journalists by armed groups prevent are keeping the media from expressing themselves freely.

Ching Cheong: imprisoned in jail since April 22, 2005. Still awaiting trial.

Tashi Gyaltzen, Lobsang Dhargay, Thoe Samden, Tsultrim Phelgay, Jampel Gyatso: imprisoned since January 14, 2005. Awaiting trial.

Shi Tao: sentenced to 10 years in prison.

Zhao Yan: awaiting trial.

Li Minying: sentenced to 6 years.

Yu Huafeng: sentenced to 8 years.

Zhang Wei: sentenced to 6 years.

Zuo Shangwen: sentenced to 5 years.

Ou Yan: his release date has yet to be announced. Although he has already completed a 2-year prison sentence.

Wang Daqi: sentenced to 1 year in prison, he was not freed after completing serving his sentence.

Lu Wanbin: arrested on December 22, 2001. Awaiting trial.

Ma Linhai: arrested on November 24, 2001. Awaiting trial.

Feng Daxun: he was never released after completing a 3-year prison sentence.

Jiang Weiping: sentenced to 9 years.

Xu Zerong: sentenced to 13 years.

Li Jian: arrested in November 1999. No news about his trial.

Zha Jianguo: sentenced to 9 years.

Gao Hongming: sentenced to 8 years.

Yu Tianxiang: sentenced to 10 years.

Gao Qinrong: sentenced to 13 years.

Qin Yongmin: sentenced to 12 years.

Fan Yingshang: sentenced to 15 years.

Zhang Yafei: sentenced to 11 years.

Hu Liping: sentenced to 10 years.

Yu Dongyue: sentenced to 20 years.

Chen Renjie and Lin Youping: sentenced to life imprisonment in July 1983.

North Korea (1): There has been no news of Song Keum Chul since he was jailed in 1996.

Cuba (24): 161st place in the Worldwide Press Freedom Index. Two journalists have just joined the 21 others who have been imprisoned since the March 2003 crackdown. One of them, Oscar Mario González Pérez, is awaiting trial and faces up to 20 years in prison under Law 88, which that protects "Cuba's national independence and economy."

Lamasiel Gutiérrez Romero: sentenced to 7 months in prison.

Albert Santiago Du Bouchet Fernández: sentenced to 1 year in prison.

Normando Hernández González: sentenced to 25 years.

Omar Moisés Ruiz Hernández: sentenced to 18 years.

Juan Carlos Herrera Acosta: sentenced to 20 years.

Alejandro González Raga: sentenced to 14 years.

Alfredo Felipe Fuentes: sentenced to 26 years.

Mijail Barzaga Lugo: sentenced to 15 years. Mario Enrique Mayo Hernández: sentenced to 20 years.

Pablo Pacheco Ávila: sentenced to 20 years.

Fabio Prieto Llorente: sentenced to 20 years.

Adolfo Fernández Sainz: sentenced to 15 years.

Héctor Maseda Gutiérrez: sentenced to 20 years.

Julio César Gálvez Rodríguez: sentenced to 15 years.

Alfredo Manuel Pulido López: sentenced to 14 years.

José Ubaldo Izquierdo Hernández: sentenced to 16 years.

Victor Rolando Arroyo Carmona: sentenced to 26 years.

Miguel Galván Gutiérrez: sentenced to 26 years.

Pedro Argüelles Morán: sentenced to 20 years.

Omar Rodríguez Saludes: sentenced to 27 years.

José Luis García Paneque: sentenced to 24 years.

Ricardo González Alfonso: Reporters Without Borders correspondent, sentenced to 20 years.

Ivan Hernández Carrillo: sentenced to 25 years.

Egypt (1): Abd al-Munim Gamal al Din Abd al Munim has been subject to serving out an indefinite internment order since October 30, 1993.

Eritrea (13): 166th in the Worldwide Press Freedom Index-, is a "black hole" country for news. Not one of the 13 journalists currently detained in custody has ever been given a trial. So therefore, none has received an official sentence.

Hamid Mohamed Said, Saleh Al Jezzaeri and Saidia Ahmed have been in prison since February 2002.

Seyoum Tsehaye, jailed since September 21, 2001.

Temesgen Gebreyesus and Said Abdulkader, since September 20, 2001.

Mattewos Habteab and Yusuf Mohamed Ali, since September 19, 2001.

Medhanie Haile, Emanuel Asrat, Dawit Isaac and Fessehaye Yohannes, since September 18, 2001.

Dawit Habtemichael, since September 2001.

Ethiopia (2): Neither of the two imprisoned journalists have been tried, and so neither of them have been officially sentenced.

Shiferraw Inermu and Dhabassa Wakjira: imprisoned prisoners since 22 April 2004.

Iraq (5): Five journalists are being held incommunicado by the US Army without any information being provided to them.

Hameed Majeed: detained since September 15, 2005.

Ali Omar Abraham Al-Mashadani: detained since August 8, 2005.

Samer Mohamed Noor: imprisoned behind bars since June 4, 2005.

Ammar Daham Naef Khalaf: detained since April 11, 2005.

Abdel Amir Younes Hussein: in prison since April 5, 2005.

Iran (6): Mohammad Sedigh Kabovand: sentenced to 18 months.

Madh Amadi: awaiting trial, in prison since July 28, 2005.

Masoud Bastani: awaiting trial, in prison since July 25, 2005.

Siamak Pourzand: sentenced to 11 years in prison. Thanks to international pressure, he was given leave to return home for an indefinite period in December 2002, but was sent back to prison on March 30, 2003.

Hossein Ghazian: sentenced to four-and-a-half years in prison.

Akbar Ganji: sentenced to 6 years in prison.

Laos (1): Thongpaseuth Keuakoun was sentenced to 20 years in prison.

Libya (1): Abdullah Ali Al-Sanussi Al-Darrat has been in prison since January 1, 1973 and, is by all accounts, has yet to have been sentenced.

Maldives (3): Jennifer Latheef: sentenced to 10 years in prison.

Colonel Mohammed Nasheed: awaiting trial.

Abdullah Saeed: awaiting trial.

Morocco (2): Anas Tadili: sentenced to 10 months in prison on a non-political charge dating back 10 years, and then was given an additional 6 months in a press case. The sentences were commuted to 1 year on appeal (on September 29, 2004) to one year. The Judicial authorities are investigating some 10 other accusations that have been brought against him.

Abderrahmane El Badraoui: sentenced to 4 years.

Nepal (2): Nagendra Upadhyaya and Tejnarayan Sapkota: detained under an anti-terrorist law, and awaiting trial.

Uzbekistan (4): Nosir Zokirov: sentenced on August 26, 2005 to 6 months in prison.

Sabirjon Yakubov: sentenced to 20 years in prison.

Jusuf Ruzimuradov: arrested on August 18, 1999. Sentenced to 8 years in prison.

Mohammed Bekjanov: sentenced to 15 years in prison.

Rwanda (4): Father Guy Theunis: imprisoned since September 10, 2005, pending trial.

Jean-Leónard Rugabage: detained since September 7, 2005, pending trial.

Tatianna Mukakibibi: detained since October 2, 1996. Has not yet been tried.

Dominique Makeli: imprisoned since September 18, 1994. Not yet been tried.

Sierra Leone (1): Paul Kamara: serving prison sentences totalling 4 years (two year sentences).

Tunisia (1): Hamadi Jebali: sentenced on January 31, 1991 to 1 year in prison for defamation. Given an additional 16-year sentence on August 28, 1992 for "membership in an illegal organization" and "wanting to change the nature of the state."

Turkey (2) Memik Horuz: sentenced to 15 years in prison on June 13, 2002 to 15 years in prison.

Sinan Kara: sentenced to 9 months in prison.

Working together to advance the cause of press freedom. Reporters Without Borders would like to thank the sponsors of imprisoned journalists for all they have done and will continue to do to achieve obtain the release of those they have their adopted colleagues.

Since 1989, we have been inviting the French and international news media to adopt journalists who are in prison just for doing their jobs. On November 17, sponsors are will be asked to take special initiatives specific actions to pressure authorities for releasing of their adopted journalists and to publicize their cases, so that they will not be forgotten and so that the publicity affords will offer them some protection from their jailers. By writing to journalists in prison, contacting their families, protesting to the relevant competent authorities, and getting viewers, listeners, readers and Internet users interested in their cases, the news organizations, festivals and city halls who are sponsors can help Reporters Without Borders to support these men and women whose only crime is was wanting to reporting the news.

Thanks to the media that support a journalist:

93.3 Radio Québec, Christian Action for the Abolition of Torture and Executions (ACAT), AGEFI, Agencia Cover, Agriculture Horizon,

Alternatives Internationales, Amiens Métropole—JDA, Amina, Antena 3 TV, Arte, Asociación de la Prensa de Cádiz, Assas/IFP, Avaldoci-Union Web periodistas, Azur FM, Bel RTL (French-language Belgian radio station), BFM, Cadena SER, Cambio 16 Aldateka Hamasei, Espacio de Informacion General (EIG), Cape Breton Post, Baden-Baden Press Club, Bordeaux Press Club, Clermont-Ferrand Press Club, Lille Press Club, Montpellier Press Club, Nimes Press Club, La Semaine de Nîmes, Press Club of Saint-Etienne and La Loire, UCPF, Strasbourg Press Club, Toulon Press Club, Pays Basque Press Club, Grenoble and Isère Press Club, Corriere Canadese, Coup d'oeil/Vers l'avenir, Courrier International, Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace, Diariocritico.com, Echo vedettes, Edmonton Sun, El Correo Espanol/El Pueblo Vasco, El Mundo, El Pais, El Periodico de Catalunya, El Punt, El Siglo, En Marche, Enjeux internationaux, Festival International du Scoop et du Journalisme, Flair/L'Hebdo, France 2, France 3 sud Languedoc-Roussillon, France bleu pays d'Auvergne, France Culture, France Info, France Inter, France Soir, Fun Radio, Genève Home Information (GHI), Grands Reportages, www.cubantrip.com, Ici, Il Manifesto (Rome)(Q), Institut Pratique de Journalisme, ISR Info, JHR McGill Newsletter, Kommunalarbetaren, L'Expansion, L'Express, L'Express.fr, L'Humanité, L'Union du Cantal, L'Union(s), La presse dans tous ses états CIBL, La Tribune, La Vanguardia, La Voz del Occidente, Le Courrier Picard, Le Devoir, Le Figaro, Le Journal du Dimanche, Le Ligeur, Le Maine libre, Le Monde, Le Mouv', Le Nouvel Observateur, Le Nouvelliste (Q), Le Peuple, Le Populaire du Centre, Le Quotidien Jurassien, Le Reflet, Le Républicain Lorrain, Le Semeur hebdo, Le Soir, Le Soir Magazine, Le Télégramme de Brest et de l'Ouest, Le Vif/L'Express, Les Clés de l'Actualité, Les Petites affiches, Lethbridge Herald, Libération, www.libération.fr, L'Indépendant, Maires de France, Mairie d'Arlanc, Mairie de Longeau, Mairie de Nancy, Mairie de Romans/Romans Magazine, Maison de la presse de Charleroi, Maison de la presse de Mons, McGill Daily, Mémoire de trame, Métro Belgique, Midi Libre, Milhistorias, Miljörapporten, Mirror, Mozaik Media, Nice Matin, NRJ, Okapi, Ottawa Citizen, Ottawa Sun, Ouest-France, Paca Informations économiques, Paris Normandie, Pèlerin magazine, Perfiles, Periodistas.es.org, Photographie.com, Plurimedias, "Points chauds" sur Telequebec, Pressens Tidning, Prix Bayeux des correspondants de guerre, Radio Classique, Radio contact/Contact Inter Radio Côte d'Amour, Radio Nostalgie, REE, RFI, RMC, RNE, RTBF, RTBF TV, RTL—TVI, Servimedia, Södermanlands Nyheter, Star Phoenix, SVM MAC, Télé Bruxelles, Télépro, Télérama, TF1, The Concordian, The Link, The Telegram, Tiempo, TV3, TV3 de Catalunya, TV5 monde, TVE-Television nationale, UDF, Vers l'avenir, Vlan, VSD, www.expotimes.net, www.press-list.com, Les Journalistes-écrivains pour la Nature et l'Ecologie.

SCIENCE-STATE-JUSTICE APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, yesterday the U.S. Senate approved the conference report to accompany H.R. 2862, the Science-State-Justice appropriations bill. I voted for this legislation because it provides critical funding for the Department of Justice, the FBI, and the Drug Enforcement Administra-

tion. However, I rise to explain that I am voting for this bill reluctantly because I feel that some of the funding priorities set forth in the bill will leave our communities more vulnerable to terrorist attacks traditional crime. In particular, this bill continues the wrongheaded trend of slashing Federal funding for State and local law enforcement and important criminal justice programs. This bill slashes funding for the Justice Assistance Grant and the COPS Program. And, for the first time, the Congress has decided to zero out the COPS hiring Program. I believe that this decision is a terrible mistake on so many levels, and I fear that our Nation's citizens will be less safe from traditional crime and terrorism as a result. Further, the bill slashes Federal assistance for the effective and cost-efficient drug court program by an astounding 75 percent.

Back in 1994 when we passed the legislation that created the COPS Program, our crime rates were at all-time highs. At that time, we made a commitment to our State and local law enforcement partners. During those years, we invested roughly \$2.1 billion for State and local law enforcement each year and substantially upgraded our ability to combat crime. We added over 100,000 officers to patrol our neighborhoods, and we expanded crime prevention programs such as community policing programs across the Nation. What was the ultimate result? Crime rates for violent crime, murder and rape were all reduced, and today they remain at all-time lows. Many law enforcement experts and local officials credit the COPS Program for helping to achieve these results. In fact, no one, to my knowledge, with law enforcement expertise has argued otherwise. The International Association of Chiefs of Police, the National Sheriffs Association, the Fraternal Order of Police, the National Association of Police Organizations, and other local law enforcement groups all support the COPS Program. Attorney General Ashcroft has stated that the COPS Program was a miraculous success, and Attorney General Gonzalez stated that the COPS Program put officers on the street and we reduced crime. Moreover, a recent report by the Government Accountability Office concluded that COPS hiring grants had an impact on reducing crime rates.

Why would the Congress eliminate a program that is strongly supported by local law enforcement officials and has been proven effective by statisticians at the Government Accountability Office? Well, it has its basis in ideology. Some of my Republican colleagues argue that local crime is a local problem and the Federal Government should not be funding these local efforts. I completely disagree. How can it be a local responsibility when roughly 60 percent of all the crimes committed in America relate to drugs, abuse of drugs, and the sale and trafficking of illicit drugs? These drugs are smuggled

across our national borders from State to State and city to city by sophisticated drug cartels and street gangs. How does a local sheriff prevent drugs that start out in a foreign country from being trafficked into his or her county? How does a police chief prevent the recruitment of local kids into international street gangs? In my opinion, crime is a national problem, and it requires a national response. The COPS Program demonstrated the Federal Government's commitment to approach crime as a national problem—and it worked.

I would also point out that State and local law enforcement forms our first line of defense against terrorism. Homeland security experts have pointed out the value that community policing programs can have in combating terrorism. This only makes sense—it is the local officer who knows the neighborhood who will be able to provide the types information necessary to help infiltrate a local terror cell. In addition, it will be a local officer walking the beat who happens to catch a suspect trying to pump sarin gas into the local mall air-conditioning ducts. It won't be a brave Special Forces agent with night vision goggles; it will be a local cop walking the beat. In this era of uncertainty, we need to be providing more support for our local police agencies to help make their efforts against terrorism and crime as robust as possible.

And by cutting the drug court program—one of the most effective programs to reduce substance abuse in the criminal population—we are sending a devastating message to the 16,000 individuals that graduate from drug courts each year. We are telling them that we don't care that diversion programs are successful at helping people overcome addiction to reenter society as productive citizens, holding down jobs, and regaining custody of their children. We are sending a message that we would prefer to revert to the bad old days of locking up nonviolent drug offenders in prisons where most will get no drug treatment and they will most likely just sink deeper into a life of crime.

And what message are we sending to the 70,000 people currently enrolled in drug courts who are working hard to live sober, crime-free lives? By slashing funding for the drug court program we are telling them that we are not invested in their recovery and we are putting their future in drug court programs in jeopardy.

It makes absolutely no sense to me that we are cutting this cost-effective program by 75 percent. By enrolling nonviolent drug offenders in drug courts, States save an enormous amount of money. One study showed that California's drug courts save the State \$18 million a year. Another study showed that every dollar spent on a drug court program saves the city of Dallas, TX, \$9.43 over a 40 month period. It is inconceivable to me that we would choose to cut this program. The