

to any disaster. In other words, re-directing these funds will enhance the effectiveness of every disaster relief fund dollar directed toward response and recovery and ensure we get the biggest bang for the buck when it comes to Federal disaster relief funding.

Again, there are some other funds in the Homeland Security appropriations. It was our best judgment that going after the disaster relief fund was the most logical way to pay and add this \$10 million to the EMPG program.

As I mentioned, this amendment is sponsored by both the chairman and ranking member of the Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee which has the oversight responsibility for homeland security, as well as 17 other Senators, including Senator GRASSLEY, chairman of the Finance Committee, which is significant.

In closing, we must prepare for terrorist attacks in addition to natural disasters. The EMPG program is a proven method of doing this. It is my strong belief that by enhancing the EMPG funding, we increase the capacity of State and local emergency management agencies to get the job done when the needs of our citizens are the greatest.

Once again I applaud the efforts of Senator GREGG and Senator BYRD, and I ask my colleagues to support increased funding for the EMPG program.

Mr. President, I was going to ask for the yeas and nays, but the fact is, we are negotiating now with Senator GREGG's staff and Senator GREGG and perhaps we can find some other language that might be more acceptable to them. I am not going to ask for the yeas and nays now. If we are unable to reach a compromise, then I will ask for the yeas and nays at a later date.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the Senator will withhold, does the Senator wish to request that the pending amendments be set aside so his amendment can be called up?

Mr. VOINOVICH. Yes, I do request that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment will be considered. The clerk will report the amendment.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Ohio [Mr. VOINOVICH] proposes an amendment numbered 1075.

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To increase funds for emergency management performance grants, with an offset)

On page 82, line 12, strike "\$180,000,000" and insert "\$190,000,000".

On page 85, line 17, strike "\$2,000,000,000" and insert "\$1,990,000,000".

Mr. VOINOVICH. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. REID. I ask unanimous consent that the pending amendment be laid aside.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### AMENDMENT NO. 1218

Mr. REID. Under the authority of the agreement pending before the Senate, I send an amendment to the desk on behalf of Senator BYRD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. REID], for Mr. BYRD, proposes an amendment numbered 1218.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To provide additional funding for intercity passenger rail transportation, freight rail, and mass transit)

On page 77, line 18, strike "\$2,694,300,000" and insert "\$4,025,300,000".

On page 78, line 13, strike "\$365,000,000" and insert "\$1,696,000,000".

On page 79, strike lines 1 through 4 and insert the following:

(D) \$265,000,000 shall be for intercity passenger rail transportation (as defined in section 24102 of title 49, United States Code) and freight rail and \$1,166,000,000 for transit security grants; and

Mr. REID. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### RECESS

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the Senate stand in recess until 4 o'clock.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 3:02 p.m., recessed until 4 p.m. and reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. COBURN).

#### DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2006—Continued

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, I will speak to the underlying bill for a moment. I find it interesting in debating this Homeland Security appropriations bill, there have been many colleagues come to the floor expressing the intention to amend the bill to add more resources here or there or someplace else. I think it is instructive that the chairman of this subcommittee has this year determined it is beyond the time that we need to begin fully funding some of the

particular accounts that enable us to better control our border and that my colleagues are now coming, I suggest in the case of some later than I would like, but at least to the realization that we have not begun to put the resources to controlling our border and some of our other homeland areas of need that we should have.

This is a good development in the sense that we are finally beginning to realize we have not done what we should do. But I am troubled a little bit that there still is not adequate funding available to do everything we need to do on the border that I am concerned about, and that is our southwest border.

Compliments to the subcommittee and to the Appropriations Committee for substantially increasing the funding for more Border Patrol agents, for more detention space for people whom we have to detain who should not be in the United States and who cannot be returned to their country of origin immediately, for the technology which is funded here, and for all the other things we are trying to do to secure our border. Congratulations to Chairman GREGG and to the other members of the committee for doing this. For my colleagues who would like to add more, I appreciate their efforts as well because we all know that whatever we are able to do this year, it is still not going to be enough to actually gain control of our border.

One of the problems that has arisen is the problem of what the border control calls "other than Mexican" illegal immigrants. As we all know, most of the people coming across our southwestern border are from the country of Mexico, but a lot of them are simply transiting through Mexico. This population is of increasing concern to us. In fact, we were recently informed that already this fiscal year over 119,000 third-country nationals, that is third country other than Mexico, have been apprehended crossing our borders. We know there is a rough rule of thumb that three or four are not apprehended for every one that is apprehended, so you get a situation here where it is pretty clear that we have a huge influx of people coming into the United States from countries other than Mexico.

What does this mean? We know most of the people coming in from Mexico are coming for work. Perhaps some have criminal backgrounds or other nefarious purposes, but at least we don't suspect most of them are coming here for purposes of harming us. In the case of these "other than Mexican" nationals, the same thing cannot be said because between 20 or 30 of these countries are countries of special interest to the United States; in other words, countries from which terrorists have come. The question is both on the southern and on the northern border, which is equally a problem here, how many of the folks coming into this country from countries other than Mexico mean us harm?

We all know, for example, that in the days of testimony from former DHS Deputy Secretary Loy, advising the Senate Intelligence Committee, that:

[r]ecent information from ongoing investigations, detentions and emerging threat streams strongly suggest that al-Qaida has considered using the southwest border to infiltrate the United States. . . . Several al-Qaida leaders believe operatives can pay their way into the country through Mexico, and also believe illegal entry is more advantageous than legal entries for operational security reasons.

Secretary of State Rice commented later that:

We have from time to time had reports about al-Qaida trying to use our southern border. . . . [it] is no secret that al-Qaida will try to get into this country . . . by any means they possibly can. . . . [t]hat's how they managed to do it before and they will do everything they can to cross the borders.

There is at least one specific case of a terrorist having been apprehended coming into the United States.

There is more we can discuss here, much of it involving intelligence, but on both the northern and southern border there is a threat that people could come into this country and we would not be able to stop them. We wouldn't even know they are here. And clearly because of that means of entry as opposed to coming, say, from an airplane from London or another city, you could at least be carrying contraband here that could be detrimental to us in the form of a chemical or biological agent. It is even conceivable you could bring nuclear material in as well.

So the security of our borders is critical to homeland security, yet up to this year we have not had the kind of appropriations necessary to begin making a dent in the problem. I am, again, exceedingly grateful to the chairman this year for seeing to it we are able to get that funding to begin this effort.

One of the concerns about these "other than Mexican" detainees I mentioned is that, unlike the case in Mexico where we can simply send people back to the border to be returned, to be repatriated to their country, it is not that easy in the case of people from other countries. Obviously Mexico will not take them because they are not Mexicans, even though they transited through Mexico. So you have to begin a long, drawn-out process of contacting the country of origin and trying to get the paperwork in order to see if you can get the country to take the individual back, to begin that repatriation process. Some countries will not even take their people back. Other countries take a long time. What do we do in the meantime?

Obviously we need to detain those people. So we detain them—right? Wrong. There is not adequate detention space. So we give them a piece of paper and say, Come back in 90 days or 30 days, whatever the time period is, and report in so we can remove you from the United States.

Guess how many of them voluntarily return for removal to their country of

origin? The percentages differ, but you get my drift. A very high percentage choose to simply meld into American society and become part of our illegal population here.

That cannot continue. We have called repeatedly on the Department of Homeland Security to come up with a plan to ensure that we can detain these individuals until their time for removal. It has yet to come to us.

One very worthwhile program is called "expedited removal." The chief of the Border Patrol, David Aguilar, testified before my Terrorism Subcommittee recently that it is their intention and hope to begin to expand this expedited removal program to all of the Border Patrol sectors on the southern and southwestern border. There are 20-some sectors, but only two have expedited removal today, the Laredo, TX and Tucson, AZ sectors. Here is why that is important. In most cases the average time to remove one of these detainees from another country is at least 3 months. It is about 90-some days. In the case of expedited removal we can actually accomplish this within less than 30 days, so at least you lessen the time for detention. You cut that in third, by one-third, and therefore if you have to put somebody in a detention space that is federally owned, you don't have to kick somebody else out in order to detain this person. If you have to rent the space from somebody else, it is going to cost you about one-third as much. It costs about \$90 a day to house one of these detainees, and you can do that in State and local detention facilities.

The bottom line is we don't have enough of that detention space, so even today people are not being detained. They are being released on their own recognizance, told to come back when the paperwork has been developed with their country of origin so they can be returned.

That is wrong. We have to get the money to detain these folks and make sure we have a policy to do so at the same time we are trying to expand the expedited removal. There is money in this bill for that detention.

Again, I thank Senator GREGG for his alertness to this problem and willingness to put money in against the problem. But I fear the Department of Homeland Security has still not got a plan in place to both pursue the expedited removal for all sectors and, in the meantime, detain those who need to be detained.

If we should have a situation arise, as arose in England recently, in Great Britain, where people have come into the country—in this case they appear to be indigenous to the country itself—but where they have decided to engage in some act of terrorism, and it has been our own fault that we have allowed them to meld into our society illegally, then obviously we have no one to blame but ourselves.

I am calling this to the attention of my colleagues in the hope we can con-

tinue to both provide the funding the administration needs and to encourage the administration to get onto the solution of this particular problem as well.

The problem here is multipronged. I think all of us have understood that with the event in Great Britain a week ago, it illustrates to us the kind of harm that can be caused by a conventional kind of attack of terrorists. It doesn't take a major 9/11 kind of attack to create this kind of chaos. Yet it calls into question what we could do to provide total security within our homeland, because a train station, a bus station, other places of public congregation—be they shopping areas, sports events or the like—all suggest it is a virtual impossibility before the fact to provide 100-percent security. It simply cannot be done. That is why you have to try to prevent the problem from arising in the first place.

I will close by noting that part of our effort, in this appropriation bill, in order to control the border itself, is to provide a thousand new Border Patrol agents at the border, also 300 new Immigration and Customs investigators, the new enforcement agents. This bill provides 460 of those. Incidentally, all of these are in addition to numbers provided in the supplemental appropriations bill. So we have added to the number that we already acted on at the end of last year.

We fund over 40,000 positions dedicated to protecting our borders and enforcing immigration laws. To break it down, over 12,000 Border Patrol agents, 18,000 Customs and border protection officers, nearly 6,000 criminal investigators, nearly 1,300 deportation officers, 2,700 immigration enforcement agents and detention officers. We also have money for more training of Border Patrol and immigration enforcement personnel.

We have money to support the deployment of the US VISIT Program, which will help us better track the people who both come into our country and leave the country. We have over a half billion dollars for air and marine operations, as I mentioned before, money for over 2,000 new detention beds for these apprehended illegal aliens, and with the supplemental, that adds about 4,000 new detention spaces for this purpose.

We more than double the number of ports that have our container security initiative, 41 that take part in that, and nearly \$1 billion for biological countermeasures. These things, by and large, are in place to try to prevent the capability of the terrorists from pulling off an attack in the first place. They are not responding to an attack after it has occurred. We have to have responses, but our primary goal here should be to take the fight to the enemy, to try to provide the protection going in, because there is no way, once they are in the United States, to protect every bit of this wide-open and liberty-loving society. So it is better to

try to stop them before they get here, and it is better to try to degrade their ability to attack us by taking the fight to them.

That is why later on we are going to get into things such as reauthorizing the PATRIOT Act, on which we just heard testimony, as a critical component in our war on terror and protecting our homeland and other ways in which we can take the fight to the enemy. For now, this appropriations bill provides us a significant capability to stop the terrorists at our border as well as providing some internal protection in those areas that have the highest priority and for which we can get the biggest bang for the buck in terms of protection.

Again, I compliment the members of the Appropriations Committee, particularly the chairman of the Subcommittee on Homeland Security, for their attentiveness to this issue, their willingness to make a significant effort to help fight this battle.

I urge my colleagues to support this legislation when we get to that point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that after I be recognized to speak for 10, no more than 15 minutes, Senator CLINTON of New York be recognized to speak at that time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DURBIN. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, I just returned from a week back in my State of Illinois traveling from Chicago through downstate southern Illinois meeting with many people at Fourth of July parades, the usual standard procedure in scheduling for many Members of the Senate and Congress. Many people came to say hello, but there were a couple who stand out in my memory of that week. One was a man in southern Illinois who pulled me aside and in very quiet tones said, "Bring our troops home." And another, a man standing at O'Hare Airport, as I walked by, recognized me and said, "Support our troops."

I think in those two brief sentences we really have a lot of the public sentiment of America. Support our troops. That is clear. These are our sons and daughters. If you have been there, as I was this last March, and seen them, in Iraq, in Baghdad, risk their lives, see those fresh-faced young people who are standing there so proudly on behalf of our country, you can't help but support these men and women. You must. And we have. We should continue to do so.

But there is a growing sentiment as well that they should come home. Some say bring them home right now. I am not one of those people. I do not believe we can just end our commitment today and leave Iraq. I am afraid what would be left behind would be chaos, a training ground for terrorism that would threaten not only the Middle East but the entire world. But yet I do believe all of us feel, even the

President, that we should be looking to the day when our troops do come home and how we will reach that day because every single day we wait in anticipation of those troops coming home we are losing soldiers.

This morning's Washington Post, as it does every day, published the number of American soldiers killed in Iraq to this moment: 1,755—1,755—and more than 13,000 grievously wounded. Many of them I have met and seen. Some of the Illinois families, I have been to their funerals, met their families, dropped notes to and spoken to them. It breaks your heart to think that they have lost someone they love so much.

How do we reach this point where we can bring these troops home and feel that we have achieved what we set out to do? Well, we came up with a way to try to measure this and set us on a course for it to happen. When Congress passed the supplemental appropriations bill, we authorized \$35 billion directly associated with U.S. operations in Iraq and \$5.7 billion on top of that to train and equip Iraqi security forces. That is the way we bring American soldiers home, by training and equipping Iraqis to take their place.

That same bill required the Secretary of Defense to provide a detailed report on how the training was progressing and what U.S. troop levels would likely be by the end of the year. The report that was mandated by that supplemental appropriations bill was due in 60 days after it was enacted. The due date was July 11. Today is July 13, and we still have not received the report required by law. Some media reports the Pentagon is still working on it. Others say the report is on Secretary Rumsfeld's desk. When we call the Pentagon, the answers are conflicting.

Congress has approved over \$200 billion for the war in Iraq. Although I have had serious misgivings about the initial invasion of Iraq as to whether we had a plan for success, not just for deposing Saddam Hussein but for building a peace, while I was concerned that we did not have allies to stand with our troops soldier by soldier—only the British came forward with any substantial numbers—and while I was concerned about the American burden of this war not only in human life but in treasure, I have decided, and I think most of my colleagues agree, we will not shortchange our troops in the field.

The last time we had a supplemental appropriations bill, \$82 billion for our troops passed unanimously in the Senate. Many of us who had voted against the war voted for that money. If it were my son or daughter, I would want them to receive every single penny they needed to perform their mission, to perform as they have, and come home safely.

Despite having voted for this money, I stand here today with my colleagues in the Senate uncertain as to our progress because this report from the Pentagon which we had asked for, one

which attempts to measure how we are progressing, how the Iraqis are progressing, has still not been delivered, and it is a concern to me because I think this report really goes to the heart of what we are trying to achieve. We are trying to finally learn where we stand in Iraq, how soon our troops are likely to come home. There have been a lot of claims—150,000 Iraqi soldiers ready to come into battle—and yet when it comes to the real battles it is American soldiers—American soldiers—risking their lives. That is why we have asked for the Pentagon to tell us what progress is being made.

The conference report to the supplemental stated that a new assessment is necessary because the Pentagon's existing performance indicators and measures of stability and security in Iraq are not adequate. We have heard about these claims, how many Iraqi soldiers and policemen are ready. Police have been recruited by the tens of thousands, according to reports from the Pentagon, but many are just missing in action.

The report that we require under law asks for a detailed assessment of Iraqi military, political and economic progress. Iraqi battalions must be able to operate on their own against the insurgency, and Iraqi forces must be able to secure their own borders.

The draft of the new constitution in Iraq is due next month. The Iraqis have made some progress toward creating a new political system of government, and they had an absolutely historical election with turnout evidencing a thirst for new leadership in their country, but Iraqi unemployment may be as high as 50 percent, and some of the most fundamental things of civilized life are not there, whether it is electricity, sewage treatment, water, security in your home.

The report we asked for demands an assessment on how far we progressed toward our goals. The fact that this report has not been filed is a source of real concern. Progress in Iraq is critical to bringing America's soldiers home with a victory. This report asks our Pentagon what U.S. force levels will be needed by the end of next year. We say that if there is any part of it that needs to be classified, do so. Don't disclose anything that could jeopardize the security and safety of our troops.

An amendment has been offered by Senator REID of Nevada and Senator KENNEDY and myself, an amendment to the Homeland Security bill before us, asking that this report be provided to Congress on a timely basis. It is long overdue. This is an administration which has measured many things in terms of performance and quality. So many different agencies of our Government were held to the standard of what are you producing for the money that is being provided. What we are asking is the same type of accountability and the same type of metric when it comes to our progress in Iraq.

I would agree with many who say setting a timetable for withdrawal may be

counterproductive, but it is not unreasonable to hold the Iraqis to a timetable, a timetable to develop their government and their security force and their defense so that American soldiers can come home. I think that is reasonable. It was passed overwhelmingly on a bipartisan basis by Members of Congress.

The fact that there has been such a delay in providing this information is troubling, but I am hoping that even as I speak here today, the Secretary of Defense is preparing this report and sending it so we can learn as quickly as possible how soon our soldiers can come home to their families and those of us who love them.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York is recognized.

Mrs. CLINTON. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the pending amendment be set aside.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 1105

Mrs. CLINTON. Mr. President, I would like to call up amendment No. 1105.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from New York [Mrs. CLINTON] proposes an amendment numbered 1105.

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To require an accounting of certain costs incurred by, and payments made to, New York City, the State of New York, and certain related entities, as a result of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001)

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. \_\_\_\_\_. (a) Not later than 15 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Homeland Security, acting through the Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (including the Emergency Preparedness and Response Directorate and all other staff under the direction of the Secretary) (referred to in this section as the "Secretary"), shall provide to the Subcommittee on Homeland Security of the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate—

(1) a detailed list that describes, as of the date of enactment of this Act—

(A) all associated costs (as determined by the Secretary) incurred by New York City, the State of New York, and any other entity or organization established by New York City or the State of New York, as a result of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, that were paid using funds made available by Congress; and

(B) all requests for funds submitted to the Department of Homeland Security and the Federal Emergency Management Agency by New York City and the State of New York (including the dates of submission, and dates of payment, if any, of those requests) that have been paid or rejected, or that remain unpaid; and

(2) a certified accounting and detailed description of—

(A) the amounts of funds made available after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, that remain unexpended as of the date of enactment of this Act;

(B) the accounts containing those unexpended funds; and

(C) a detailed description of any plans of the Secretary for expenditure or obligation of those unexpended funds.

(b) Not later than 15 days after the date of receipt of a request from the Subcommittee on Homeland Security of the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate for any information in addition to information described in subsection (a), the Secretary, and such staff located in a regional office of the Department of Homeland Security or the Federal Emergency Management Agency as the Secretary determines to be appropriate, shall provide the information to the Subcommittee.

Mrs. CLINTON. Mr. President, I send a modification to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the modification?

Mrs. CLINTON. Mr. President, I understand Chairman GREGG and Senator BYRD have agreed to accept this amendment as modified. I ask unanimous consent that this amendment be agreed to as modified.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment (No. 1105), as modified, was agreed to, as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. \_\_\_\_\_. (a) Not later than 15 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Homeland Security, acting through the Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (including the Emergency Preparedness and Response Directorate and all other staff under the direction of the Secretary) (referred to in this section as the "Secretary"), shall provide to the Subcommittee on Homeland Security of the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate—

(1) a detailed list that describes, as of the date of enactment of this Act, all associated costs (as determined by the Secretary) incurred by New York City, the State of New York, and any other entity or organization established by New York City or the State of New York, as a result of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, that were paid using funds made available by Congress; and

(2) a detailed description of—

(A) the amounts of funds made available after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, that remain unexpended as of the date of enactment of this Act;

(B) the accounts containing those unexpended funds; and

(C) a detailed description of any plans for expenditure or obligation of those unexpended funds.

(b) Not later than 15 days after the date of receipt of a request from the Subcommittee on Homeland Security of the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate for any information directly related to information described in subsection (a), the Secretary, and such staff located in a regional office of the Department of Homeland Security or the Federal Emergency Management Agency as the Secretary determines to be appropriate, shall provide the information to the Subcommittee.

AMENDMENT NO. 1106

Mrs. CLINTON. Mr. President, I call up amendment No. 1106 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from New York [Mrs. CLINTON] proposes an amendment numbered 1106.

Mrs. CLINTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To require the Secretary of Homeland Security to report to Congress regarding the vulnerability of certain facilities and measures to provide greater security, and for other purposes)

On page 100, between lines 11 and 12, insert the following:

SEC. 519. (a) Not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Homeland Security, in consultation with the Secretary of Transportation, shall assess and report in writing to the Committee on Appropriations, the Committee on Homeland Security and Government Affairs, and the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation of the Senate on the following:

(1) The vulnerability posed to high risk areas and facilities from general aviation aircraft that could be stolen or used as a weapon or armed with a weapon.

(2) The security vulnerabilities existing at general aviation airports that would permit general aviation aircraft to be stolen.

(3) Low-cost, high-performance technology that could be used to easily track general aviation aircraft that could otherwise fly undetected.

(4) The feasibility of implementing security measures that would disable general aviation aircraft while on the ground and parked to prevent theft.

(5) The feasibility of performing requisite background checks on individuals working at general aviation airports that have access to aircraft or flight line activities.

(6) An assessment of the threat posed to high population areas, nuclear facilities, key infrastructure, military bases, and transportation infrastructure that stolen or hijacked general aviation aircraft pose especially if armed with weapons or explosives.

(7) An assessment of existing security precautions in place at general aviation airports to prevent breaches of the flight line and perimeter.

(8) An assessment of whether unmanned air traffic control towers provide a security or alert weakness to the security of general aviation aircraft.

(9) An assessment of the additional measures that should be adopted to ensure the security of general aviation aircraft.

(b) The report required by subsection (a) shall include cost estimates associated with implementing each of the measures recommended in the report.

Mrs. CLINTON. Mr. President, I ask that Senators LAUTENBERG, CORZINE, and SCHUMER be added as cosponsors of this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mrs. CLINTON. Mr. President, this is a commonsense amendment regarding the potential threat that all of our cities and States face from the theft or misuse of general aviation aircraft by criminals or terrorists.

This amendment would require the Secretary of Homeland Security, in coordination with the Secretary of Transportation, to assess the dangers posed to high-risk, large population, and critical infrastructure areas should general aviation aircraft be stolen and used as a weapon by a criminal or terrorist.

This study would require the two Secretaries to assess the vulnerability of general aviation airports and aircraft and study what low-cost, high-technology devices could be available to better track general aviation aircraft.

Last month, a 20-year-old young man, while intoxicated and accompanied by two other individuals, breached a perimeter fence of an airport in Danbury, CT. He and his companions stole a small Cessna 172 aircraft, departed from the airport without detection, flew across the eastern border of New York, and eventually, thankfully, landed without incident at the Westchester County Airport in New York very near to my home.

What is alarming about this is that this happened, and it happened without detection. So far as we know, no one knew the aircraft had been stolen or that the joyride was taking place. This incident occurred very close to New York City, very close to Indian Point, the nuclear facility in the county. Thankfully, this particular incident ended without any damage, destruction, or death, and the individuals were eventually detained by law enforcement.

Following the incident, which, as you might imagine, happening so close to New York City involving stolen aircraft raised a great deal of concern among my constituents, I wrote to Secretary Chertoff and Secretary Mineta asking for an investigation into this incident, and I hope to hear back from them both soon. But this incident should be a forewarning of the types of threats we still face from aircraft. We have been very focused on the big commercial aircraft that many of us use on a regular basis, but we cannot forget that most aircraft are in private hands in local airports, many of them privately owned or privately leased, and that they still pose a potential danger to key infrastructure, to populated areas, and we need to be more aware of what that threat could be.

The 9/11 Commission, which looked at this, concluded:

Major vulnerabilities still exist in cargo and general aviation security. These, together with inadequate screening and access controls, continue to present aviation security challenges.

In addition, the 9/11 Commission told us that we needed to be imaginative, we needed to think outside the box. Unfortunately, we needed to think like those who wish us harm about what the new and emerging threats could be.

The Transportation Security Administration, known as TSA, issued security guidelines for general aviation airports in May of 2004, and they outlined some guidelines that general aviation airports should follow in order to secure the aircraft and the airfield. There are more than 19,000 landing facilities nationwide, including heliports, lakes, and dirt landing strips from which aircraft could be launched and more than 200,000 general aviation aircraft in our country.

Of course, it is impossible to avoid every threat that is posed to the public or that we can imagine, but we should be vigilant to make sure we have a partnership so that local communities, private individuals, and private businesses can all take necessary steps to be vigilant and protective.

My amendment requires the Secretary of Homeland Security, in coordination with the Secretary of Transportation, to conduct a threat assessment posed by security breaches at general aviation airports and to look at the potential impact such threats could pose to a number of potential targets if an aircraft were used as weapon or were loaded with explosives by terrorists.

The Department of Homeland Security would assess low-cost technologies to track general aviation aircraft, the feasibility of implementing additional security measures and background checks, an analysis of airports with unmanned air traffic control towers and what costs may be associated with implementing necessary additional security measures.

We have been very blessed that we have not suffered another terrorist attack. That is due to the hard work and vigilance of countless Americans who have responded not just heroically but in a very steadfast, daily way to prevent, detect, deter, and defend against potential threats.

In this building, we have experienced evacuations which, thankfully, were caused by either false alarms or as a result of errors by pilots. Recently, another general aviation aircraft breached the airspace over Camp David while the President of the United States was present.

It is important to evaluate the threats that could be posed. In its 2004 report, the TSA stated that as many vulnerabilities within other areas of aviation have been reduced, general aviation may be perceived as a more attractive target and consequently more vulnerable to misuses by terrorists.

I have flown in just about every little kind of plane you can imagine—medium-sized plane, big plane, crop dusters. I have had doors blow off, windows blow off, I have had emergency landings in pastures and cow fields and roads. I have been in so many airports at all hours of the day and night when no one was around except those getting into the airport or those just landing. I have a good idea how available these airfields are.

I appreciate the work the Aviation Security Advisory Committee Working Group did in advising the TSA. However, given the heightened vulnerability that we all are aware of, given some of the recent events—including the evacuations of our own Capitol involving general aviation aircraft—we need to roll up our sleeves and take another hard look at this. I hope we can do it hand in hand with the general aviation fixed-base operators, pilots, owners, airport managers, and others

who have been working hard to increase security measures at so many of these small airports.

I believe in general aviation. I take advantage of it practically every week. It is a significant and important contributor to our national economy. I want to be sure we do everything possible to make sure it is not in any way affected by any potential criminal or terrorist activity.

This amendment does not mandate any new costs for general aviation. It simply requires the study be conducted on vulnerabilities and a report made to Congress within 120 days. Most people who own these airports, most people who own these general aviation aircraft, want to be safe. They want to do what is necessary to protect their investment. But we need to have a good analysis of what the threats might be so we can be smart about how we address them. We certainly do not want to wait until an incident happens.

I appreciate Chairman GREGG and Senator BYRD who have agreed to accept this amendment.

I ask unanimous consent amendment 1106 be agreed to.

Mr. GREGG. I ask unanimous consent the amendment be agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 1106) was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

#### AMENDMENT NO. 1104

Mr. ENSIGN. Mr. President, I ask that the pending amendment be set aside to call up amendment 1104.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. ENSIGN] proposes an amendment numbered 1104.

Mr. ENSIGN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To require the Transportation Security Administration to implement the use of multi compartment bins to screen passenger belongings at security checkpoints)

On page 69, line 12, after "presence:", insert the following: "Provided further, That of the amount made available under this heading, an amount shall be available for the Transportation Security Administration to develop a plan to research, test, and implement multi compartment bins to screen passenger belongings at security checkpoints:"

#### AMENDMENT NO. 1104, AS MODIFIED

Mr. ENSIGN. I send a modification to that amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has that right.

The amendment will be so modified.

The amendment (No. 1104), as modified, is as follows:

On page 69, line 12, after "presence:", insert the following: "Provided further, That of

the amount made available under this heading, an amount shall be available for the Transportation Security Administration to develop a plan to research, test, and potentially implement multi compartment bins to screen passenger belongings at security checkpoints."

Mr. ENSIGN. I understand both sides have agreed to the amendment, as modified, and I ask unanimous consent this amendment be agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment, as modified.

The amendment (No. 1104), as modified, was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 1124, AS MODIFIED

Mr. ENSIGN. I call up amendment numbered 1124 for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is pending.

Does the Senator wish to call for regular order with respect to that amendment?

Mr. ENSIGN. Yes. I send a modification to the desk to that amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is so modified.

The amendment (No. 1124), as modified, is as follows:

On page 77, line 20, insert "of which \$367,552,000 may be transferred to Customs and Border Protection for hiring an additional 1,000 border agents and for other necessary support activities for such agency; and" after "local grants,".

Mr. ENSIGN. Mr. President; last year when the Senate was considering the national intelligence reform bill, we adopted several recommendations of the 9/11 Commission.

One of those recommendations was to hire an additional 2,000 new custom and border protection agents each year for the next 5 years.

This body agreed with the recommendation. We agreed that our national security depended on such an investment, and we enacted that recommendation into law.

We are now considering the Homeland Security appropriations bill. The bill that was reported out of committee includes funding for 1,000 new agents in the coming fiscal year. I understand there are problems with training 2,000 agents.

My amendment as modified would provide the Secretary of Homeland Security with the discretion to shift \$367 million to hire 2,000 new agents next year. This amendment is fully offset. I rise today to urge the Senate to adopt my amendment so that we can keep the commitment that we made to the American people last year. I thank JOHN MCCAIN for cosponsoring our amendment.

The threat of illegal border crossing by people who wish to kill us is very real.

The 9/11 Commission found that many of the 19 hijackers that attacked on 9/11 could have been placed on watch lists. But without adequate staff and coordinated efforts, the terrorists were allowed to enter the United States.

Once here they learned how to fly airplanes at American flight schools. They conducted surveillance to assess our weaknesses. And they attacked.

In order to prevent another terrorist attack on American soil, we must improve every aspect of our Nation's security. Our security is truly only as strong as our weakest link.

For too long, the lack of funding for border agents has been a weak link. By funding additional agents, we protect both our southern and our, often neglected, northern border. This will make it harder for terrorists to enter the United States and attack us.

There have been several news reports recently that I want to bring to my colleagues' attention.

A few months ago, intelligence officials confirmed that the terrorist Zarqawi plans to infiltrate America through our borders. He plans to attack targets such as movie theaters, restaurants, and schools. My amendment commits the resources to make sure that this does not happen.

Just last month, in Detroit, a Lebanese national named Mahmoud Youssef Kourani, who was in the United States illegally, pled guilty in Federal court to conspiring to raise money for a recognized terrorist group. He was in the United States raising money to fund terrorists. That is outrageous. But what is equally outrageous is how he came into the United States in the first place.

Kourani took advantage of our porous border. Kourani paid a Mexican consular official in Beirut \$3,000 for a visa to enter Mexico. Once in Mexico, he snuck across the U.S.-Mexican border in 2001 and settled in Michigan.

According to Federal prosecutors, Kourani and another member of his family are heavily involved with the same group that killed 214 marines in Beirut in 1983 and which is also responsible for bombing two U.S. embassies.

While in the United States, Kourani also helped harbor other illegal immigrants. Thankfully, he was prosecuted before he could inflict any direct harm on any American.

Given how easy it is for people like Kourani to enter the United States, I believe that my amendment is imperative to our national security.

My amendment does not require any additional spending. It gives the Secretary discretion which, if used, is completely offset. This amendment is paid for.

Homeland security spending must be based on priorities. The fact that terrorists would use our borders to gain access to the United States to attack is a real threat. So we must provide funds for customs and border protection.

Three and a half years ago it only took 19 people to change the course of this country. We must do everything that we can to prevent another terrorist attack on American soil.

The world has changed dramatically since 9/11 when the terrorists used our open and trusting society against us.

We cannot allow a repeat of that tragedy.

This amendment will help those who guard our frontiers by providing the necessary, and I stress necessary, tools to ensure the safety of our citizens.

In conclusion, I commend the chairman of the subcommittee, Chairman GREGG, for the job he has done prioritizing what we are doing in the area of Homeland Security. His is a very difficult job. We have limited resources. It is a question of where are we going to manage our risk with the limited resources we have in this global war on terrorism. Chairman GREGG has a huge, huge task ahead not only this year but in the years to come.

This year's bill is going a long way to reprioritizing what we need to do to defend ourselves against the terrorists. Although the bill goes in the right direction, our amendment takes the bill that much further toward protecting our national security.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GREGG. I appreciate the commitment of Senator ENSIGN and Senator MCCAIN on the issue of border security. They have been aggressive in their commitment and have done a lot of constructive work. I will leave it to the Senate to decide how to handle this amendment.

I make these points for the purpose of fair disclosure. First off, the amendment takes about \$360 million out of the first responder program and moves it over to the Border Patrol for the purpose of hiring 1,000 new border agents. That means first responder money would go from \$1.9 billion to \$1.4 billion.

In addition, the money that will be moved would be money that would go out under threat. In other words, there are two pools of first responder money. There is the money that is distributed on the basis of threat, and there is the money that is distributed on the basis of formula.

Now, the language of the amendment says "may." I respect the decision of the authors of this amendment to use the term "may" because that will leave it up to the Homeland Security agency to make the decision as to where the money should go, whether it should stay in the area of first responders or whether it should be moved over to the Border Patrol. That is probably good policy in many ways.

The second thing I think that needs to be noted, however, is the reason we arrived at the number 1,000 that we funded—myself and Senator BYRD—in this bill for new Border Patrol is because when you combine that number with the supplemental, where there were 500 new Border Patrol agents added, you are up to 1,500 Border Patrol agents, and we know, through efforts of our staff and requests of the Department, that because of the facilities' restrictions—we moved most of the training from South Carolina over to



New Mexico—we can only train probably about 1,300 agents a year right now.

Now, this bill has money in it to get those facilities up to a position where they can do a much more robust effort in the area of training. In fact, my hope is next year we can train upwards of 2,500 when we expand these facilities. But right now they have, basically, limits on the number of people they can train. So it is not clear these additional Border Patrol agents would be able to be trained should we want to bring them on line. We do want to bring them on line; it is just a question when we can bring them on line. So that is a concern I think Members should know about.

In addition, the physical effort of hiring Border Patrol agents has become a problem for the Border Patrol. One of the reasons they were not able to hire up to the 2,000, which was originally requested a few years ago, was because they could not find qualified people to meet the enlistment rolls. We are not sure whether they are going to be able to find 1,500 new Border Patrol people. We hope they will. It will put a lot of pressure on them to try to find 2,500 new people, which is what this number will be if this amendment is adopted.

But, again, this is an issue of policy. I think the body has the right to make a decision on this issue. I do not intend to make any points of order against it. I will leave it to the majority of the body to decide where they want to have this money spent and how they want to set the policy on this issue when the amendment comes up for a vote.

I yield the floor.  
The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the Chair.

AMENDMENT NO. 1218

Mr. President, the amendment that the minority leader offered on my behalf would provide an additional \$1.33 billion above the underlying bill for security funding needed for our transit systems, intracity buses, intercity rail, and freight rail.

Our thoughts and prayers are with the victims of the London bombings. For all of us, the pictures were all too graphic reminders of how quickly disaster can strike and how deadly terrorist strikes can be.

The horrific attacks in London a few days ago were eerily similar to the attacks in Madrid, Spain, in March 2004: targeted, coordinated, and timed bombings.

Sadly, crowded subway systems and trains have become inviting targets for terrorists. We have witnessed the hysteria and the chaos that these events can trigger. Could it happen here? Of course. Are our systems more secure? I wonder.

Last week, when asked if additional funding was needed to secure mass transit, Homeland Security Secretary Chertoff responded by saying:

I wouldn't make a policy decision driven by a single event.

Well, with all due respect to the Secretary, the alarm bells have been ringing for years.

On July 8, the Washington Post printed a chart that provides a chronology of bombings with al-Qaida links. This chart shows that, starting in 1993 at the World Trade Center in New York City, there have been 16 bombings worldwide linked to al-Qaida.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this chart be printed in the RECORD.

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

BOMBINGS WITH AL QAEDA LINKS

| Date     | City                               | Country      | Facility                                   | Attack type  | Dead  |
|----------|------------------------------------|--------------|--|--|-------|
| 2/26/93  | New York City                      | U.S.         | World Trade Center                         | Car bomb (some participants later became associated with al Qaeda) | 6     |
| 6/25/96  | Dhahran                            | Saudi Arabia | Khobar Towers housing                      | Truck bomb (some evidence of al Qaeda)                             | 19    |
| 8/7/98   | Nairobi                            | Kenya        | U.S. Embassy                               | Truck bomb   | 247   |
| 8/7/98   | Dar es Salaam                      | Tanzania     | U.S. Embassy                               | Truck bomb   | 10    |
| 10/12/00 | Aden                               | Yemen        | Destroyer USS Cole                         | Bomb on small boat   | 17    |
| 9/11/01  | New York, Washington, Pennsylvania | U.S.         | World Trade Center, Pentagon, Pennsylvania | Planes flown into buildings, field                                 | 2,973 |
| 12/22/01 | Paris-Miami                        | Airliner     | Attempted plane bombing                    | Richard Reid caught with shoe bomb                                 | 0     |
| 4/11/02  | Djerba Island                      | Tunisia      | Synagogue                                  | Truck bomb   | 21    |
| 6/14/02  | Karachi                            | Pakistan     | U.S. consulate                             | Suicide car bomb   | 14    |
| 10/6/02  | Mina al-Dabah                      | Yemen        | French supertanker Limburg                 | Bomb on boat   | 1     |
| 10/12/02 | Bali                               | Indonesia    | Two nightclubs                             | Suicide bombings   | 202   |
| 11/28/02 | Mombasa                            | Kenya        | Israeli-owned Paradise Hotel               | Suicide car bomb   | 16    |
| 5/12/03  | Riyadh                             | Saudi Arabia | Three compounds for Westerners             | Car bombs  | 23    |
| 5/16/03  | Casablanca                         | Morocco      | Five locations                             | Suicide bombings   | 45    |
| 8/5/03   | Jakarta                            | Indonesia    | JW Marriott Hotel                          | Car bomb   | 12    |
| 3/11/04  | Madrid                             | Spain        | Four trains                                | Bombs in satchels  | 191   |

Source: Washington Post database.

Mr. BYRD. The alarms do not stop there, Mr. President. According to the RAND Corporation, between 1998 and 2003, there were 181 terrorist attacks on rail targets worldwide. The Congressional Research Service has reported that passenger rail systems in the United States carry about five times—five times—as many passengers each day as do the airlines. Yet the administration has continuously opposed funding to increase security on our trains, subways, and buses.

Public transportation is used nearly 32 million times a day—think of that: 32 million times a day—which is 16 times more than travel on domestic airlines. According to the Government Accountability Office, nearly 6,000 agencies provide transit services by bus, subway, ferry, and light rail to about 14 million Americans each weekday. Amtrak carried an all-time record ridership of 25 million passengers in fiscal year 2004. Are these lives not worth protecting? How about it?

What about the dangerous and hazardous materials that are transported by rail? We simply are not doing enough. Without proper security measures in place, these transports are vulnerable to attack or sabotage. Many of these shipments travel to or through major urban areas, such as Washington, DC, and, frankly, only minutes down the road from where we stand today.

The Homeland Security Council released a report in July 2004 indicating that a chlorine tanker explosion in an urban area could kill up to 17,500 people. According to a New York Times editorial on June 20, 2005:

One of the deadliest terrorist scenarios the Department of Homeland Security has come up with is an attack on a 90-ton rail tanker filled with chlorine. As many as 100,000 people could be killed or injured in less than 30 minutes.

Yet only 2 out of every 100 transportation security dollars in this bill will be spent on rail and transit. What does this mean? This means that 98 percent of transportation security funding is

going—for what?—going for aviation security.

Since 9/11, I have offered amendments on seven different occasions—seven different occasions—to add money for transit and rail security. However, every time the administration opposed my efforts. So I regret the Secretary's comments last week that policy should not be driven by a single event.

I was astonished to learn that the \$150 million that Congress approved for mass transit and rail security last October is still sitting—where?—sitting in the Treasury.

Finally, on Tuesday, the Department notified Congress how they intend to allocate the funds. But an announcement does not make Americans safer. It takes time for transit and rail systems to actually put these security improvements in place, so there is no excuse for these bureaucratic delays in Washington.

Within very limited allocations, Congress has taken the lead by providing \$265 million between fiscal years 2003

and 2005 for transit security. Unfortunately, the administration has let the money sit in Washington far too long. It was all of 8 months before all of the 2003 funding was awarded, and 6 months before the 2004 funding went out the door. And here we are again, 9 months after the fiscal year 2005 transit funding was enacted, and what happens? Well, it is *deja vu* all over again. It is still sitting—where?—in Washington, right here in Washington. The administration must overcome the hurdles that have caused those delays.

Clearly, the administration is not taking this threat seriously. It certainly would not appear to be. So we must press the administration to do more. The horrific events we witnessed just a few days ago ought to serve as a call to action by this Government to protect our citizens from future attack. For far too long, the administration has put its head in the sand where rail and mass transit security are concerned.

We should be taking steps right now to improve deterrence in our transit and rail systems by investing in surveillance cameras, investing in locks, in gates, in canine teams, in sensors, and other tools.

Last October, the Senate passed two bipartisan rail security authorization bills, S. 2273 and S. 2884, that authorized additional funding for securing mass transit and rail systems, but the bills did not make it to the White House.

The bill that is before the Senate reduces funding from \$150 million in fiscal year 2005 to \$100 million. The amendment would increase the \$100 million to \$1.43 billion. That is the amendment that I offer. Let me say it again. The amendment would increase the \$100 million to \$1.43 billion. The \$1.43 billion includes \$1.166 billion for transit security and \$265 million for rail security. So we are taking care of both transit security and rail security. That seems to meet both needs, at least part way.

Our security efforts cannot be delayed, Mr. President, and must not be underfunded. The lives of the American people depend on strengthened security. And whose life is it? It may be your own. It may be your relative's. It may be your friend's. The time for hand wringing is over. It is time to act.

So I urge all Senators to support the amendment.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the following Senators have their names added as cosponsors to the amendment: Mr. INOUE, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. REED of Rhode Island, Mrs. CLINTON, Mr. SCHUMER, Mr. KENNEDY, Ms. MIKULSKI, Mr. ROCKEFELLER, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. DAYTON, and Mr. CORZINE.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### AMENDMENT NO. 1120

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, on behalf of Senator FEINGOLD, I call up amendment No. 1120. The amendment re-

quires the Department of Homeland Security to report to the Congress on the use of data-mining procedures.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the pending amendment is set aside.

The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD], for Mr. FEINGOLD, for himself, Mr. SUNUNU, Mr. LEAHY, and Mr. CORZINE, proposes an amendment numbered 1120.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To require reports to Congress on Department of Homeland Security use of data-mining)

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. \_\_\_\_ (a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) DATA-MINING.—The term “data-mining” means a query or search or other analysis of 1 or more electronic databases, whereas—

(A) at least 1 of the databases was obtained from or remains under the control of a non-Federal entity, or the information was acquired initially by another department or agency of the Federal Government for purposes other than intelligence or law enforcement;

(B) a department or agency of the Federal Government or a non-Federal entity acting on behalf of the Federal Government is conducting the query or search or other analysis to find a predictive pattern indicating terrorist or criminal activity; and

(C) the search does not use a specific individual's personal identifiers to acquire information concerning that individual.

(2) DATABASE.—The term “database” does not include telephone directories, news reporting, information publicly available via the Internet or available by any other means to any member of the public without payment of a fee, or databases of judicial and administrative opinions.

(b) REPORTS ON DATA-MINING ACTIVITIES BY THE DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY.—

(1) REQUIREMENT FOR REPORT.—The head of each department or agency in the Department of Homeland Security that is engaged in any activity to use or develop data-mining technology shall each submit a report to Congress on all such activities of the agency under the jurisdiction of that official. The report shall be made available to the public.

(2) CONTENT OF REPORT.—A report submitted under paragraph (1) shall include, for each activity to use or develop data-mining technology that is required to be covered by the report, the following information:

(A) A thorough description of the data-mining technology and the data that is being or will be used.

(B) A thorough description of the goals and plans for the use or development of such technology and, where appropriate, the target dates for the deployment of the data-mining technology.

(C) An assessment of the efficacy or likely efficacy of the data-mining technology in providing accurate information consistent with and valuable to the stated goals and plans for the use or development of the technology.

(D) An assessment of the impact or likely impact of the implementation of the data-mining technology on the privacy and civil liberties of individuals.

(E) A list and analysis of the laws and regulations that govern the information being

or to be collected, reviewed, gathered, analyzed, or used with the data-mining technology.

(F) A thorough discussion of the policies, procedures, and guidelines that are in place or that are to be developed and applied in the use of such technology for data-mining in order to—

(i) protect the privacy and due process rights of individuals; and

(ii) ensure that only accurate information is collected, reviewed, gathered, analyzed, or used.

(G) Any necessary classified information in an annex that shall be available to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, the Committee on the Judiciary, and the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate and the Committee on Homeland Security, the Committee on the Judiciary, and the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives.

(3) TIME FOR REPORT.—Each report required under paragraph (1) shall be submitted not later than 90 days after the end of fiscal year 2006.

Mr. BYRD. The amendment is cosponsored by Senator CORZINE. I urge adoption of the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate on the amendment?

If not, without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

The amendment (No. 1120) was agreed to.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the amendment was agreed to be reconsidered.

Mr. GREGG. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

#### AMENDMENT NO. 1155, AS MODIFIED

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, on behalf of Senator BOXER, I call up amendment No. 1155, with a modification which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the pending amendment is set aside.

The clerk will report the amendment. The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD], for Mrs. BOXER, proposes an amendment numbered 1155, as modified:

(Purpose: To provide oversight of homeland security spending)

#### SEC. . SPENDING OVSERSIGHT.

“None of the funds made available in this Act shall be used for items identified in the Inspector General's Report of March 2005 ‘Irregularities in the Development of the Transportation Security Operations Center’ as wasteful.”

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, does the modification need unanimous consent?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the modification? Without action, the amendment is so modified.

Mr. BYRD. The amendment, as modified, prevents funds from being used for wasteful expenditures. I urge adoption of the amendment, as modified.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate on the amendment?

If not, without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

The amendment (No. 1155), as modified, was agreed to.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I move that the vote be reconsidered by which the amendment was agreed to.



Mr. GREGG. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

## AMENDMENT NO. 1201

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I call up my amendment numbered 1201.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD] proposes an amendment numbered 1201.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To require State and local governments to expend or return grant funds)

On page 81, strike line 20 and insert the following:

award: *Provided further*, That any recipient of Federal funds granted through the State Homeland Security Grant Program, the Law Enforcement Terrorism Prevention Program, and the Urban Area Security Initiative Program, or any predecessor or successor to these programs, as appropriated in fiscal year 2004 and fiscal year 2005, shall expend funds pursuant to the relevant, approved State plan by September 30, 2007: *Provided further*, That any recipient of Federal funds granted through any program described in the preceding proviso, as appropriated in fiscal year 2006, shall expend funds pursuant to the relevant, approved State plan by September 30, 2008: *Provided further*, That any funds not expended by September 30, 2007 or September 30, 2008, respectively, as required by the preceding 2 provisos shall be returned to the Department of Homeland Security to be reallocated to State and local entities based on risk and in conformance with the assessments now being conducted by the States under Homeland Security Presidential Directive 8.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, this amendment would require that States and localities spend their first responder funds pursuant to approved State plans within 2 years of the end of the fiscal year that they received the funds. I urge adoption of the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate on the amendment?

If not, without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

The amendment (No. 1201) was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, we are in the process of trying to reach an understanding on votes. It is not clear what that understanding will be, but we do intend to have votes this evening, maybe as many as five. In addition, I understand the Senator from Nevada wishes to be recognized on an amendment. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

## AMENDMENT NO. 1219 TO AMENDMENT NO. 1124

Mr. ENSIGN. Mr. President, what is the pending amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending amendment is the Senator's amendment No. 1124.

Mr. ENSIGN. Mr. President, I send a second-degree amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. ENSIGN], for himself and Mr. MCCAIN, proposes an amendment numbered 1219 to amendment No. 1124: (Purpose: To transfer appropriated funds from the Office of State and Local Government Coordination and Preparedness to the U.S. Customs and Border Protection for the purpose of hiring 1,000 additional border agents and related expenditures)

Strike all after the first word and insert the following:

On page 77, line 20, insert "of which \$367,551,000 may be transferred to Customs and Border Protection for hiring an additional 1,000 border agents and for other necessary support activities for such agency; and" after "local grants."

Mr. ENSIGN. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. GREGG. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, I rise in support of the fiscal year 2006 Homeland Security appropriations bill. The first fundamental responsibility for our Federal Government is to protect the American people through a strong national defense and effective homeland security. Border security and immigration reform are essential elements of providing for a secure homeland. With that, I am here this afternoon to commend the chairman of the Appropriations Homeland Security Subcommittee, Senator GREGG, and the ranking member, Senator BYRD, for their aggressive and decisive steps forward that are being demonstrated in this legislation.

This bill continues to improve that which made our Nation and our people much safer than we were before and immediately after 9/11. I am proud to serve with the chairman and the ranking member and our colleagues on this subcommittee. We need to do more to improve our border security and immigration enforcement, however. It is important for Americans to understand that this Congress is making significant progress in this area.

Earlier this year, as a result of a Byrd-Craig amendment to the fiscal year 2005 emergency supplemental appropriations bill, we began the process of adding 500 new Border Patrol agents, 1,950 additional detention beds, and approximately 118 additional investigators, agents, and officers to the whole effort at Border Patrol. In fiscal year

2006, the bill that is before us continues to implement and build upon the progress that we have made in the Byrd-Craig amendment.

This bill, as reported by the committee, provides for 1,000 more Border Patrol agents. It increases the total number of beds at immigration detention centers by 2,240 to a total of 22,727.

It also adds 300 new immigration investigation positions and 200 new immigration enforcement agents and detention officers.

This bill, as reported, in combination with the supplemental bill we passed earlier, makes record increases to commit record resources to border security and immigration enforcement.

In total levels of key personnel alone, the Appropriations Committee has provided for 12,400-plus Border Patrol agents; 18,200-plus Customs and border protection officers; 6,000-plus criminal investigators for Customs and immigration work; 1,200-plus deportation officers; and 2,700-plus immigration enforcement agents and detention officers.

In other words, in these positions alone, this bill provides for literally an army of more than 40,000 agents and officers fighting on the front lines for border security and immigration enforcement.

The committee has made an earnest attempt to add resources and personnel as fast as the Department of Homeland Security can absorb them and use them effectively. The bill, as reported, makes available more than \$7.1 billion for Customs and border protection, and more than \$4.5 billion in immigration and Customs enforcement.

While those dollars and personnel numbers reflect something of our commitment to improve border security and immigration enforcement, it is important to emphasize the work being done and the progress being made for the American people.

More than 1 million individuals a year are being apprehended attempting to enter the country illegally, and formal removals have increased sixfold over the last decade. Worker identification checks have intensified. Development continues on US VISIT—the United States Visitor and Immigration Status Indicator Technology Program. Personnel are being trained. Technology is being modernized.

This bill calls on the administration, and provides resources to help, to close the gaps at our borders, to improve interagency coordination inside the Department of Homeland Security and with outside agencies, and to meet the challenges remaining from the historic, and massive, reorganization that created the Department.

As I have said, we do need to do more. The Federal Government has no laurels to rest on when it comes to border security or immigration. The problem of illegal immigration has grown

to crisis proportion, with an estimated 10 million undocumented persons now living here in this country.

During much of the 1990s, and at different times in preceding decades, the Federal Government simply paid lip-service to enforcing the law while mostly looking the other way. This was with the quiet complicity of much of the public, in large part, because whole sectors of the economy have become increasingly dependent on the labor of these people. This is an intolerable situation.

Our Nation's immigration system and laws are broken. Whether we are talking about more money, more law, or both, a policy that focuses exclusively on more enforcement is not enough, and it will not work. It is a part of the total picture.

The United States has 7,458 miles of land borders and 88,600 miles of tidal shoreline. We can secure those frontiers well, but not perfectly. As we have stepped up border enforcement, we have locked persons in this country at least as effectively as we have locked them out of the country. Even as we have increased border enforcement, net illegal immigration is estimated at 400,000 to 500,000 a year. Fellow Senators, that is a figure worth repeating. Net illegal immigration in our country still, today, at this moment, in this year, will be between 400,000 to 500,000. To search door to door, as some would advocate, to find 10 million persons and flush them out of their homes, schools, churches, workplaces, and other areas is simply something the American people, in the end, would never tolerate. The question of civil liberties would grow and that effort would fall apart. We fought a revolution once in this great country of ours against search of our homes and, once again, I think the American people would react to that as not only unconstitutional, but dramatically intrusive.

So what do we do? This bill is a major step in the right direction. First and foremost, we secure our borders. As I have said, that is step one. Step two, to me, is we change the law and we change the character of the law to deal with the problem that clearly is at hand; provide incentives for those inside our borders to come forward and identify themselves; laws that ensure there is a supply of legal guest workers to take jobs Americans don't want or won't take. For example, when American agriculture briefly had a widely used legal guest worker program in the 1950s, illegal immigration plummeted by more than 90 percent. That program was called the Bracero Program. It worked well, but it had lots of criticism for the way the foreign nationals were treated inside this country. As a result, it fell apart. We were then given what we have today—a very cumbersome law that no longer works.

Last year, that law identified about 42,000 to 45,000 legal workers for American agriculture. Yet, we know there were well over a million working in

this country for American agriculture that were probably illegal. That, too, is an intolerable situation. It is why several years ago I began to look at ways to solve this problem—at least for agriculture—because American agriculture is nervous, and they ought to be; they know that even though those workers who come to them have what appear to be legal documents, the reality is that they are, by 70 percent of their workforce, working illegal foreign nationals. If it is not corrected, it is an intolerable situation for American agriculture to be in.

That story can be played out in a variety of other industries. But as I began to focus on this a good number of years ago, I recognized there was a significant problem that had to be dealt with. It is not a popular thing to do, but immigration and immigration reform is never popular. Those of us who are the children of immigrants sometimes hold the attitude, close the border and let no one in. Yet, today, in the American workforce we know that at a growing high record of employment we still have well over 10 million foreign nationals, undocumented, working in our economy in jobs that Americans oftentimes choose not to work in.

That is why I created the bill AgJOBS, now supported by well over 60 Senators. We got a vote this year of 53 to 45 on a procedural motion to allow that Agricultural Job Opportunity and Benefit Security Act to come to the floor and ultimately work through the process and become law. Other colleagues of mine are working on types of reform.

So what we are doing today with the Homeland Security Appropriations bill is making a quantum leap in the right direction. No immigration policy, no matter how forward-looking, how flexible, and how reasonable it might be to identify those who are in the country, to allow the ebb and flow necessary to meet both the economic needs and humanitarian needs that we are all for—you cannot do it without controlling your borders, without controlling the flow that comes across them. That is what this bill makes a major step in doing.

I am pleased to be a member of the subcommittee and to join with Chairman GREGG and the ranking member, Senator BYRD, whom I have worked with on this issue before. I believe this bill deserves the support of the Senate. If you are for immigration reform, if you believe in controlling our borders, if you recognize this is an issue that has gone well out of control, then you would want to vote for this legislation. Is it a tremendous investment? You bet it is. But it is an investment long coming, because it is the investment we have denied and ignored as necessary to make for well over two decades. As a result of that, we have the consequences of the situation we deal with today.

Now is the time to correct it. Now is the time to reshape immigration policy

in our country, and to do so recognizing that it is a two-front issue—both to have the right law in place, and to secure our borders so that those who come across are identified and move across legally and appropriately, consistent with the laws of our land.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia is recognized.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senators BOXER and KERRY have their names added to the Byrd transit amendment No. 1218.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD. I yield the floor.

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 1166

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I call up amendment No. 1166.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the pending amendment is set aside. The clerk will report the amendment.

The legislative clerk read as follows: The Senator from Illinois [Mr. DURBIN] proposes an amendment numbered 1166.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To designate a port of entry)

On page 70, line 20, strike "purposes." and insert the following: "purposes: *Provided further*, That MidAmerica St. Louis Airport in Mascoutah, Illinois, shall be designated as a port of entry."

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, this is a very brief and simple amendment. It designates MidAmerica St. Louis Airport in Mascoutah, IL, as a port of entry.

MidAmerica Airport is the civilian side of Scott Air Force Base, one of the region's largest employers. MidAmerica and Scott Air Force Base have a successful joint-use plan.

MidAmerica is classified as a foreign trade zone and is a finalist to be classified as an interior transshipment point for international air cargo. The MidAmerica Airport does not currently have international traffic, although a passenger terminal was built to host pre-9/11 Customs activities. International air cargo transport is non-existent in the region, and it would give MidAmerica a means to enhance the region's economy. This would be beneficial to homeland security and would enhance economic development in the metro East St. Louis region.

Mr. President, I ask that this amendment be set aside.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I have no problem agreeing to this amendment if

the Senator wants to ask unanimous consent for its approval.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that amendment No. 1166 be considered and agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate on the amendment? Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

The amendment (No. 1166) was agreed to.

Mr. GREGG. I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. DURBIN. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. DURBIN. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SHELBY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 1205

Mr. SHELBY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to set aside the pending amendment, and I call up amendment No. 1205.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Alabama [Mr. SHELBY], for himself, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. REED, Mrs. DOLE, Mr. DODD, Mr. SCHUMER, Ms. STABENOW, Mr. CORZINE, Mr. BYRD, Mrs. CLINTON, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Ms. MIKULSKI, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. KENNEDY, and Mr. KERRY, proposes an amendment numbered 1205.

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To appropriate funds for transit security grants for fiscal year 2006 equal to the amount authorized in the Public Transportation Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004)

On page 77, line 18, strike "\$2,694,300,000" and insert "\$3,760,300,000".

On page 78, strike line 25 and all that follows through "(E)" on page 79, line 5, and insert the following: "security grants; and "(D)".

On page 79, between 22 and 23, insert the following:

(7) \$1,166,000,000 for transit security grants, of which—

(A) \$790,000,000 shall be for grants for public transportation agencies for allowable capital security improvements;

(B) \$333,000,000 shall be for grants for public transportation agencies for allowable operational security improvements; and

(C) \$43,000,000 shall be for grants to public or private entities to conduct research into, and demonstration of, technologies and methods to reduce and deter terrorist threats or mitigate damages resulting from terrorist attacks against public transportation systems:

AMENDMENT NO. 1205, AS MODIFIED

Mr. SHELBY. Mr. President, I further ask to modify the amendment with a modification that I sent to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment is so modified.

The amendment (No. 1205), as modified, is as follows:

On page 77, line 15, strike all through page 79, line 6 and insert the following:

"For grants, contracts, cooperative agreements, and other activities, including grants to State and local governments for terrorism prevention activities, notwithstanding any other provision of law, \$3,860,300,000, which shall be allocated as follows:

(1) \$1,518,000,000 for State and local grants, of which \$425,000,000 shall be allocated such that each State and territory shall receive the same dollar amount for the State minimum as was distributed in fiscal year 2005 for formula-based grants: Provided, That the balance shall be allocated by the Secretary of Homeland Security to States, urban areas, or regions based on risks; threats; vulnerabilities; and unmet essential capabilities pursuant to Homeland Security Presidential Directive 8 (HSPD-8).

(2) \$400,000,000 for law enforcement terrorism prevention grants, of which \$155,000,000 shall be allocated such that each State and territory shall receive the same dollar amount for the State minimum as was distributed in fiscal year 2005 for law enforcement terrorism prevention grants: Provided, That the balance shall be allocated by the Secretary to States based on risks; threats; vulnerabilities; and unmet essential capabilities pursuant to HSPD-8.

(3) \$1,531,000,000 for discretionary transportation and infrastructure grants, as determined by the Secretary, of which—

(A) \$200,000,000 shall be for port security grants pursuant to the purposes of 46 United States Code 70107(a) through (h), which shall be awarded based on threat notwithstanding subsection (a), for eligible costs as defined in subsections (b)(2)-(4);

(B) \$5,000,000 shall be for trucking industry security grants;

(C) \$10,000,000 shall be for intercity bus security grants;

(D) \$100,000,000 shall be for intercity passenger rail transportation (as defined in section 24102 of title 49, United States Code) and freight rail security grants;

(E) 1,166,000,000 shall be for transit security grants, of which—

(i) \$790,000,000 shall be for grants for public transportation agencies for allowable capital security improvements;

(ii) \$333,000,000 shall be for grants for public transportation agencies for allowable operational security improvements; and

(iii) \$43,000,000 shall be for grants to public or private entities to conduct research into, and demonstration of, technologies and methods to reduce and deter terrorist threats or mitigate damages resulting from terrorist attacks against public transportation systems; and

(F) \$50,000,000 shall be for buffer zone protection plan grants."

Mr. SHELBY. Mr. President, the funding level in this amendment is based on many things, and I will tell you about it. In fiscal year 2006, we were planning to have the Public Transportation Terrorism Prevention Act that would have provided a total of \$1.166 billion for public transportation security grants based on risk. It provides for grants for capital infrastructure improvements, for public transportation systems, as well as operational costs for drills and training and research funding. Everything—cameras, dogs, and you might go further with it.

We have taken necessary and prudent steps toward protecting our air travel from terrorism—we hope. We made strides toward hardening our aviation

systems and making them less vulnerable to attack. Now I believe is the time to do the same for public transportation.

In 2004, the last year that data was available, over 9.6 billion passenger trips were taken on buses, trains, and other forms of public transportation. The American Public Transportation Association estimates that over 14 million Americans ride on public transportation each weekday. The U.S. Department of Transportation estimates that another 25 million use public transportation less frequently but on a regular basis.

Securing public transportation presents many challenges. We know that. The public transportation system includes over 100,000 miles of rail, almost 1,000 train and subway stations, and 60,000 buses. Meeting this challenge will require devoted resources and steadfast commitment to the task.

Today this amendment I am offering on behalf of myself, Senator SARBANES, and others is an amendment to the Department of Homeland Security appropriations bill. As the Banking Committee has jurisdiction over transit security issues, a lot of the colleagues on the Banking Committee on both sides of the aisle are joining me in this amendment.

The London attacks well illustrate the threats we face in this country, and we know all too well that England is not alone. Terrorists have targeted public transportation systems the world over, and we know they would delight in a successful attack here.

To this date, most terrorist attacks around the world have occurred on public transportation. Examples are, as you know, Mr. President, Spain, Israel, Japan, and other countries, and this should cause us to consider how we will aim to prevent such terrible attacks on our soil.

Over a year ago, Senator SARBANES and I reported out of the Banking Committee the Public Transportation Terrorism Prevention Act. It had numerous cosponsors and passed the Senate with a unanimous vote. The bill was crafted in a thoughtful and considered manner after a series of hearings held in the committee.

In those sessions, we spoke to terrorism experts and industry officials to ascertain the best way to protect public transportation systems in the country. The product was a bill that had the support of industry and terrorism experts alike. This amendment we are offering today comes out of that bill.

I believe we must provide resources toward mitigating these security threats, and we must do so as soon as possible. We cannot wait.

I also appreciate the challenge that Chairman GREGG of the committee faces. I serve on the Appropriations Committee with him, and I, too, am chairman of a subcommittee on appropriations. As he attempts to address the multitude of security challenges in

this appropriations bill, the allocation of funding is daunting. Attempting to find the balance between ports, rail, public transportation, and other targets is a difficult task.

We could have infinite resources to spend and still not be totally protected. We must realize this. We must concede that in the debate. But I think we have to do more to protect our public transportation system. It is in that spirit, I am offering this amendment tonight.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

AMENDMENT NO. 1220 TO AMENDMENT NO. 1205, AS MODIFIED

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I send a second-degree amendment to the desk and ask it be reported.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GREGG] proposes an amendment numbered 1220 to amendment No. 1205, as modified.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

Strike all after the first word and insert the following:

grants, contracts, cooperative agreements, and other activities, including grants to State and local governments for terrorism prevention activities, notwithstanding any other provision of law, \$2,694,299,000, which shall be allocated as follows:

(1) \$1,417,999,000 for State and local grants, of which \$425,000,000 shall be allocated such that each State and territory shall receive the same dollar amount for the State minimum as was distributed in fiscal year 2005 for formula-based grants: Provided, That the balance shall be allocated by the Secretary of Homeland Security to States, urban areas, or regions based on risks; threats; vulnerabilities; and unmet essential capabilities pursuant to Homeland Security Presidential Directive 8 (HSPD-8).

(2) \$400,000,000 for law enforcement terrorism prevention grants, of which \$155,000,000 shall be allocated such that each State and territory shall receive the same dollar amount for the State minimum as was distributed in fiscal year 2005 for law enforcement terrorism prevention grants: Provided, That the balance shall be allocated by the Secretary to States based on risks; threats; vulnerabilities; and unmet essential capabilities pursuant to HSPD-8.

(3) \$465,000,000 for discretionary transportation and infrastructure grants, as determined by the Secretary, which shall be based on risks, threats, and vulnerabilities, of which—

(A) \$195,000,000 shall be for port security grants pursuant to the purposes of 46 United States Code 70107(a) through (h), which shall be awarded based on threat notwithstanding subsection (a), for eligible costs as defined in subsections (b)(2)-(4);

(B) \$5,000,000 shall be for trucking industry security grants;

(C) \$15,000,000 shall be for intercity bus security grants;

(D) \$200,000,000 shall be for intercity passenger rail transportation (as defined in section 24102 of title 49, United States Code), freight rail, and transit security grants; and

(E) \$50,000,000 shall be for buffer zone protection plan grants.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

AMENDMENT NO. 1205, AS MODIFIED

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I rise in support of the amendment offered by the distinguished chairman of the Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee. The need to improve security throughout our Nation's public transportation system has been apparent for quite some time. In fact, last year in the committee, I worked closely with Chairman SHELBY and with Senator REED of Rhode Island who have been leaders on this issue both within the committee and throughout the Senate, on the Public Transportation Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004.

That legislation came out of the committee unanimously and was approved in the Senate last October 1 by unanimous consent. So every Member of this body, in effect, validated that legislation. That bill authorized \$3.5 billion over 3 years in security for our Nation's mass transportation systems. Of that amount, \$1.16 billion was scheduled for fiscal year 2006.

This funding level was authorized to begin to address the critical security needs that exist throughout the thousands of public transportation systems in our country. The amendment offered by the chairman of the committee, which I have joined in cosponsoring, along with my able colleague from Rhode Island, Senator REED, and others, seeks to provide the appropriations level to sustain the authorized level, which this body has heretofore approved.

In the wake of the tragic attack in London last Thursday, which has claimed over 50 lives and left hundreds more injured, we clearly need to more fully fund transit security, and going to the previously Senate-authorized level seems to make imminent good sense. The Senate anticipated this problem in the authorization, and the committee brought out well-considered legislation which this body passed unanimously. We have not provided the wherewithal to support the authorization, and this amendment seeks to do exactly that.

The threat to transit is not new. We have had terrorist attacks against transit systems in Moscow, South Korea, and London. In fact, in 2002, the GAO found that one-third of all terrorist attacks worldwide were against transit systems. Despite this significant threat, security funding has been grossly inadequate.

Our Nation's transit systems have been unable to implement necessary security improvements, including those that have been identified by the Department of Homeland Security. In an editorial last Friday, the Baltimore Sun stated that, "Since September 11, 2001, the Federal Government has spent \$18 billion on aviation security. Transit systems, which carry 16 times more

passengers daily, have received about \$250 million. That is a ridiculous imbalance."

They go on to state:

Transit officials estimate it would take \$6 billion to make buses and rail systems safe. And Congress has in the past considered authorizing \$3.5 billion over three years for the same purpose.

That is a direct reference to the Public Transportation Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004, which, as has been noted, passed the Senate unanimously.

These moneys will be used for such necessities as: security cameras, radios, front-line employee training, and extra security personnel. They are not extravagant requests.

Let me give one example of a critical need right here with respect to Washington's Metro. Their greatest security need is a backup control operations center. This need was identified by the Federal Transit Administration in its initial security assessment and then identified again by the Department of Homeland Security in its subsequent security assessment. This critical need remains unaddressed because it has been unfunded. This amendment provides the funding to match what was set out in the authorization.

We know that transit systems are potential targets for terrorist attacks. We know the vital role these systems play in our Nation's economic and security infrastructure. We can wait no longer to address these critical security needs of the transit systems throughout the Nation. This amendment begins the important process of providing these critically needed funds.

Again, I thank the able chairman of the committee for his excellent leadership on the transit security issue and Senator REED for his strong and continued commitment on this issue and his perseverance over a sustained period of time. I thank all of our colleagues who have joined as cosponsors of this amendment. I urge my colleagues to support the amendment.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial from the Baltimore Sun of July 8 referenced in my statement be printed in full at the end of my statement.

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

#### SECURITY DERAILED

Yesterday's attack on London's transit system was frighteningly familiar. Just 16 months ago, terrorists in Madrid killed nearly 200 people and wounded more than 1,500 by setting off bombs in commuter trains. Both demonstrated the potential vulnerability of buses and rail systems. Yet, until yesterday, many in Washington seemed unconcerned that something similar could happen in the United States.

Last month, the Senate Appropriations Committee voted to reduce the Department of Homeland Security's budget for transit and rail security from \$150 million (the amount spent annually now) to \$100 million in the upcoming fiscal year. Certainly, no one knew terrorists would target London, but the 2004 bombings in Spain should have been fresh in senators' minds. What does it take for Congress to grasp this issue?

Since Sept. 11, 2001, the federal government has spent \$18 billion on aviation security. Transit systems—which carry 16 times more passengers daily—have received about \$250 million. That's a ridiculous imbalance. Transit officials estimate it would take \$6 billion to make buses and rail systems safe. And Congress has in the past considered authorizing \$3.5 billion over three years for the same purpose.

How would those in charge of the nation's public transit systems spend the extra money? Chiefly for necessities like security cameras, radios, training and extra security personnel. Those aren't extravagant requests. Local governments have spent \$2 billion to keep buses and trains safe over the past four years, according to the American Public Transit Association.

The Bush administration originally asked for significantly more than \$150 million to create a Targeted Infrastructure Protection Program that would not only increase transit security but also assist vulnerable shipping ports and energy facilities, too. And though transit and rail systems might have been shortchanged by that arrangement, it is not unreasonable to let DHS officials set their own investment priorities—if an adequate budget is made available to them.

Transit advocates are hopeful that the \$50 million cut can be restored. The attacks in London suggest much more is needed. Advocates want \$2 billion for transit and rail security in the fiscal 2006 budget (not counting the amount needed to protect Amtrak). Suddenly, that doesn't seem quite so unreasonable an expenditure.

Still, the failure to address transit security in the wake of last year's bombings in Madrid underscores Capitol Hill's inability to set appropriate spending priorities in matters of domestic security. As the 9/11 commission pointed out, Congress has treated portions of the DHS budget like so much bacon, apportioning more per capita to Wyoming than to New York. Between the costly war in Iraq and record budget deficits, the nation can ill afford to be so foolish with its security resources.

Mr. SARBANES. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I rise to commend Chairman SHELBY for his leadership on this issue and Senator SARBANES for his leadership. I am proud to be a cosponsor of this amendment along with Chairman SHELBY and Senator SARBANES. They have said it very well. We understand that transit systems are threatened by terrorists. That understanding was developed after 9/11, but certainly it was sharpened last week with the attack in London that left 52 dead and over 700 injured.

We recognize that we have to protect these vulnerable transit systems, and the purpose of this amendment is to provide the resources to do that. There are 6,000 transit systems in the United States, so this money, although it seems significant, will barely keep up with the demands for security improvements to transit systems across the United States.

Each day, 14 million riders use transit to get to work, to get to appointments, to get to hospitals, to do what they must do. Let me disabuse the notion that this is just the province of the very biggest metropolises like New

York City. In Dallas, for example, on a yearly basis, 55 million trips a year on transit; Houston, 96 million trips a year; Atlanta, 137 million trips per year; Portland, 95 million; Charlotte, NC, 16 million trips per year; Philadelphia, PA, 297 million trips per year; and Minneapolis, 56.9 million trips per year.

Millions of Americans each day get on a subway or a bus and use the transit system. They are today not as well protected as they should be. The point of this amendment is to begin to get the resources together to start those sensible investments in capital equipment, in operational techniques and training and in consequence management that are so important for transit security.

As Senator SARBANES pointed out, the GAO has found that one-third of the terrorist attacks in the last several years have been directed against transit systems. We know it is a target.

After 9/11, as I was acting as chairman of the Subcommittee on Housing and Transportation, I held a hearing—in fact several hearings—about the need for improvement of transit security. Today, that evidence is even more compelling based upon what has happened in London, Moscow, and Spain. All of these things should compel us to support this amendment enthusiastically.

One final point: Not only is transit important, not only is it a target for terrorists, but in terror attacks transit is an important aspect in consequence management. People were evacuated from the Pentagon because of the subway systems and the Metro systems in Washington. Transit trains moved underneath the World Trade Center. In fact, cool action by some of the transit police and transit dispatchers was able to minimize casualties. That will not happen if they do not have the communication equipment, the training, and the ability to respond and react to a possible terrorist attack.

So not only is transit a likely target, but it is an essential means of managing the consequences of an attack in any urban area anywhere in the United States.

So I again urge my colleagues to join Senator SHELBY, Senator SARBANES, and our other colleagues who support this amendment. It is important. It is more than timely; it is, frankly, after last week, overdue.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, it appears we will be able to begin voting here around 6:30, just for Members' edification. The first vote will be on the point of order relative to the amendment of Senator DODD, followed hopefully with a second amendment dealing with one of the amendments of Senator AKAKA.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BURNS). Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 1202, AS MODIFIED

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I have cleared this with the distinguished manager of the bill. I send a modification of the Dodd amendment, amendment No. 1202, to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the modification? Hearing none, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

On page 77, line 18, strike \$2,694,000,000 and insert \$13,863,377,000.

On page 77, line 20, strike \$1,518,000,000 and insert \$7,810,788,066.

On page 77, line 21, strike \$425,000,000 and insert \$2,058,178,673.

On page 78, line 13, strike \$365,000,000 and insert \$1,878,088,040.

On page 78, line 16, strike \$200,000,000 and insert \$1,029,089,337.

On page 78, line 22, strike \$5,000,000 and insert \$25,727,233.

On page 78, line 24, strike \$10,000,000 and insert \$51,454,467.

On page 79, line 1, strike \$100,000,000 and insert \$514,544,668.

On page 79, line 5, strike \$50,000,000 and insert \$257,272,334.

On page 79, line 7, strike \$50,000,000 and insert \$257,272,334.

On page 79, line 9, strike \$40,000,000 and insert \$205,817,867.

On page 79, line 21, strike \$321,300,000 and insert \$1,653,232,019.

On page 81, line 24, strike \$615,000,000 and insert \$3,164,802,000.

On page 81, line 24, strike \$550,000,000 and insert \$2,830,311,000.

On page 81, line 26, strike \$65,000,000 and insert \$334,491,000.

On page 82, line 12, strike \$180,000,000 and insert \$926,284,000.

On page 83, line 12, strike \$203,499,000 and insert \$1,047,210,000.

On Page 89, line 3, strike \$194,000,000 and insert \$998,327,800.

Mr. DODD. Let me begin once again by expressing my appreciation to the chairman and the manager of this bill, Senator GREGG, and my colleague from West Virginia, Senator BYRD. They have done a good job with this bill. This bill deals with several complicated issues. The events during the past few days in London have highlighted the importance of these issues concerning our homeland security. I want to express my appreciation to Senator GREGG and Senator BYRD for operating within the constraints of the budget caps.

I realize by offering an amendment so large—50 percent of the entire amount in this bill—I am offering an extraordinary amendment. I tried to make it clear today that these are extraordinary times with extraordinary events. Since 1983, when the bombing of the Marine barracks took place in Beirut where we lost 242 Marines, 221 major terrorist attacks have occurred around the world. Fifty-eight of those attacks, almost 25 percent, were carried out in transit systems, with the use of trucks or cars or in seaports.

We know today in our own country that we are glaringly lax in providing the security we need within our transit systems, harbors, and ports.

The amendment I am offering is not one that I have crafted on my own. It was crafted largely from the recommendations Senator Warren Rudman, our former colleague, had suggested in a report sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations that included many distinguished Americans who have worked in areas of national security as well as public health, intelligence, and bioterrorism. They suggested strongly in their report that we spend some \$20 billion a year in order to fully invest in what we need to make our country more secure.

Let me quote, if I can, once again, because I think his comments are worth repeating, the language of Senator Rudman in that report. Senator Rudman said at that time:

The terrible events of September 11 have shown the American people how vulnerable they are because attacks on that scale had never been carried out on U.S. soil. The United States and the American people were caught underprotected and unaware of the magnitude of the threat facing them.

He goes on to say:

In the wake of September 11, ignorance of the nature of the threat or of what the United States must do to prepare for future attacks can no longer explain America's continuing failure to allocate sufficient resources in preparing local emergency responders. It would be a terrible tragedy indeed if it took another catastrophic attack to drive that point home.

Let me also, if I can, read once again the language of Les Gelb, in preparing the foreword of that report. Les Gelb wrote, on the occasion of this report being filed:

As I sit to write this foreword, it is likely that a terrorist group somewhere in the world is developing plans to attack the United States and/or American interests abroad using chemical, biological, radiological, nuclear or catastrophic conventional means. At the same time, diplomats, legislators, military and intelligence officers, police, fire, and emergency medical personnel and others in the United States and across the globe are working feverishly to prevent and prepare for such attacks. These two groups of people are ultimately in a race with one another. This is a race we cannot afford to lose.

I think those words ought to be taken to heart. Since that report was filed, of course, we have seen the attacks in Madrid on their transit system and the people there who lost their lives in March of 2004 and we have seen the attacks in London, the suicide bombings that we now know occurred there—the first time suicide bombers appeared in the West. What kind of attack will it take for us to realize we can no longer wait to do what needs to be done to prepare our transit systems, our ports, our harbors—what more needs to be done to make America more secure?

Is my amendment a large amendment? It is. Is it extraordinary in its size? It is. But I strongly suggest to my

colleagues the events we are facing as a people are no less extraordinary and demand, I think, extraordinary action.

While there will be a move here, obviously, to raise the point of order on the budget against this amendment because of its size—and I have asked to waive that point of order—at some point we are going to be faced again with these tragedies. I only hope we have the resources at hand to minimize them. How many events will it take? What catastrophic occurrence is going to have to occur before we realize we need to make these investments?

I know all the bureaucratic arguments that are being made here, but I don't think they apply. I think when we are faced, as we have been historically, with major events, major problems, this body, this Congress, the American people have responded accordingly. I think the American people expect nothing less of us at this hour. So I urge my colleagues to support this motion to waive and to support this amendment so we can do what needs to be done to make our country more secure.

Again, I appreciate immensely the efforts of the Senator from New Hampshire. I understand his points. They are points that are well taken. But I also believe the point I am making here is one deserving of attention.

Mr. President, I list here, for those who may be interested, the 221 significant terrorist incidents since 1983. I have categorized each of them that occurred and the numbers of lives lost. I ask unanimous consent to have that printed in the RECORD.

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

SIGNIFICANT TERRORIST INCIDENTS, 1961-2003:  
A BRIEF CHRONOLOGY

Bombing of U.S. Embassy in Beirut, April 18, 1983: Sixty-three people, including the CIA's Middle East director, were killed and 120 were injured in a 400-pound suicide truck-bomb attack on the U.S. Embassy in Beirut, Lebanon. The Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility.

Naval Officer Assassinated in El Salvador, May 25, 1983: A U.S. Navy officer was assassinated by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front.

North Korean Hit Squad, October 9, 1983: North Korean agents blew up a delegation from South Korea in Rangoon, Burma, killing 21 persons and injuring 48.

Bombing of Marine Barracks, Beirut, October 23, 1983: Simultaneous suicide truck-bomb attacks were made on American and French compounds in Beirut, Lebanon. A 12,000-pound bomb destroyed the U.S. compound, killing 242 Americans, while 58 French troops were killed when a 400-pound device destroyed a French base. Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility.

Naval Officer Assassinated in Greece, November 15, 1983: A U.S. Navy officer was shot by the November 17 terrorist group in Athens, Greece, while his car was stopped at a traffic light.

1984

Kidnapping of Embassy Official, March 16, 1984: The Islamic Jihad kidnapped and later murdered Political Officer William Buckley in Beirut, Lebanon. Other U.S. citizens not

connected to the U.S. government were seized over a succeeding two-year period.

Restaurant Bombing in Spain, April 12, 1984: Eighteen U.S. servicemen were killed and 83 people were injured in a bomb attack on a restaurant near a U.S. Air Force Base in Torrejon, Spain.

Temple Seizure, June 5, 1984: Sikh terrorists seized the Golden Temple in Amritsar, India. One hundred people died when Indian security forces retook the Sikh holy shrine.

Assassination of Indian Prime Minister, October 31, 1984: Premier Indira Gandhi was shot to death by members of her security force.

1985

Kidnapping of U.S. Officials in Mexico, February 7, 1985: Under the orders of narcotrafficker Rafael Caro Quintero, Drug Enforcement Administration agent Enrique Camarena Salazar and his pilot were kidnapped, tortured and executed.

TWA Hijacking, June 14, 1985: A Trans-World Airlines flight was hijacked en route to Rome from Athens by two Lebanese Hizballah terrorists and forced to fly to Beirut. The eight crew members and 145 passengers were held for seventeen days, during which one American hostage, a U.S. Navy sailor, was murdered. After being flown twice to Algiers, the aircraft was returned to Beirut after Israel released 435 Lebanese and Palestinian prisoners.

Attack on a Restaurant in El Salvador, June 19, 1985: Members of the FMLN (Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front) fired on a restaurant in the Zona Rosa district of San Salvador, killing four Marine Security Guards assigned to the U.S. Embassy and nine Salvadoran civilians.

Air India Bombing, June 23, 1985: A bomb destroyed an Air India Boeing 747 over the Atlantic, killing all 329 people aboard. Both Sikh and Kashmiri terrorists were blamed for the attack. Two cargo handlers were killed at Tokyo airport, Japan, when another Sikh bomb exploded in an Air Canada aircraft en route to India.

Soviet Diplomats Kidnapped, September 30, 1985: In Beirut, Lebanon, Sunni terrorists kidnapped four Soviet diplomats. One was killed but three were later released.

Achille Lauro Hijacking, October 7, 1985: Four Palestinian Liberation Front terrorists seized the Italian cruise liner in the eastern Mediterranean Sea, taking more than 700 hostages. One U.S. passenger was murdered before the Egyptian government offered the terrorists safe haven in return for the hostages' freedom.

Egyptian Airliner Hijacking, November 23, 1985: An EgyptAir airplane bound from Athens to Malta and carrying several U.S. citizens was hijacked by the Abu Nidal Group.

Airport Attacks in Rome and Vienna, December 27, 1985: Four gunmen belonging to the Abu Nidal Organization attacked the El Al and Trans World Airlines ticket counters at Rome's Leonardo da Vinci Airport with grenades and automatic rifles. Thirteen persons were killed and 75 were wounded before Italian police and Israeli security guards killed three of the gunmen and captured the fourth. Three more Abu Nidal gunmen attacked the El Al ticket counter at Vienna's Schwechat Airport, killing three persons and wounding 30. Austrian police killed one of the gunmen and captured the others.

1986

Aircraft Bombing in Greece, March 30, 1986: A Palestinian splinter group detonated a bomb as TWA Flight 840 approached Athens airport, killing four U.S. citizens.

Berlin Discothèque Bombing, April 5, 1986: Two U.S. soldiers were killed and 79 American servicemen were injured in a Libyan bomb attack on a nightclub in West Berlin,



West Germany. In retaliation U.S. military jets bombed targets in and around Tripoli and Benghazi.

Kimpo Airport Bombing, September 14, 1986: North Korean agents detonated an explosive device at Seoul's Kimpo airport, killing 5 persons and injuring 29 others.

1987

Bus Attack, April 24, 1987: Sixteen U.S. servicemen riding in a Greek Air Force bus near Athens were injured in an apparent bombing attack, carried out by the revolutionary organization known as November 17.

Downing of Airliner, November 29, 1987: North Korean agents planted a bomb aboard Korean Air Lines Flight 858, which subsequently crashed into the Indian Ocean.

Servicemen's Bar Attack, December 26, 1987: Catalan separatists bombed a Barcelona bar frequented by U.S. servicemen, resulting in the death of one U.S. citizen.

1988

Kidnapping of William Higgins, February 17, 1988: U.S. Marine Corps Lieutenant Colonel W. Higgins was kidnapped and murdered by the Iranian-backed Hizballah group while serving with the United Nations Truce Supervisory Organization (UNTSO) in southern Lebanon.

Naples USO Attack, April 14, 1988: The Organization of Jihad Brigades exploded a car-bomb outside a USO Club in Naples, Italy, killing one U.S. sailor.

Attack on U.S. Diplomat in Greece, June 28, 1988: The Defense Attaché of the U.S. Embassy in Greece was killed when a car-bomb was detonated outside his home in Athens.

Pan Am 103 Bombing, December 21, 1988: Pan American Airlines Flight 103 was blown up over Lockerbie, Scotland, by a bomb believed to have been placed on the aircraft by Libyan terrorists in Frankfurt, West Germany. All 259 people on board were killed.

1989

Assassination of U.S. Army Officer, April 21, 1989: The New People's Army (NPA) assassinated Colonel James Rowe in Manila. The NPA also assassinated two U.S. government defense contractors in September.

Bombing of UTA Flight 772, September 19, 1989: A bomb explosion destroyed UTA Flight 772 over the Sahara Desert in southern Niger during a flight from Brazzaville to Paris. All 170 persons aboard were killed. Six Libyans were later found guilty in absentia and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Assassination of German Bank Chairman, November 30, 1989: The Red Army Faction assassinated Deutsche Bank Chairman Alfred Herrhausen in Frankfurt.

1990

U.S. Embassy Bombed in Peru, January 15, 1990: The Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement bombed the U.S. Embassy in Lima, Peru.

U.S. Soldiers Assassinated in the Philippines, May 13, 1990: The New People's Army (NPA) killed two U.S. Air Force personnel near Clark Air Force Base in the Philippines.

1991

Attempted Iraqi Attacks on U.S. Posts, January 18-19, 1991: Iraqi agents planted bombs at the U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia's home residence and at the USIS library in Manila.

Sniper Attack on the U.S. Embassy in Bonn, February 13, 1991: Three Red Army Faction members fired automatic rifles from across the Rhine River at the U.S. Embassy Chancery. No one was hurt.

Assassination of former Indian Prime Minister, May 21, 1991: A female member of the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) killed herself, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, and 16 others by detonating an explosive vest

after presenting a garland of flowers to the former Prime Minister during an election rally in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu.

1992

Kidnapping of U.S. Businessmen in the Philippines, January 17-21, 1992: A senior official of the corporation Philippine Geothermal was kidnapped in Manila by the Red Scorpion Group, and two U.S. businessmen were seized independently by the National Liberation Army and by Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC).

Bombing of the Israeli Embassy in Argentina, March 17, 1992: Hizballah claimed responsibility for a blast that leveled the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires, Argentina, causing the deaths of 29 and wounding 242.

1993

Kidnappings of U.S. Citizens in Colombia, January 31, 1993: Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) terrorists kidnapped three U.S. missionaries.

World Trade Center Bombing, February 26, 1993: The World Trade Center in New York City was badly damaged when a car bomb planted by Islamic terrorists exploded in an underground garage. The bomb left 6 people dead and 1,000 injured. The men carrying out the attack were followers of Umar Abd al-Rahman, an Egyptian cleric who preached in the New York City area.

Attempted Assassination of President Bush by Iraqi Agents, April 14, 1993: The Iraqi intelligence service attempted to assassinate former U.S. President George Bush during a visit to Kuwait. In retaliation, the U.S. launched a cruise missile attack 2 months later on the Iraqi capital Baghdad.

1994

Hebron Massacre, February 25, 1994: Jewish right-wing extremist and U.S. citizen Baruch Goldstein machine-gunned Moslem worshippers at a mosque in West Bank town of Hebron, killing 29 and wounding about 150.

FARC Hostage-taking, September 23, 1994: FARC rebels kidnapped U.S. citizen Thomas Hargrove in Colombia.

Air France Hijacking, December 24, 1994: Members of the Armed Islamic Group seized an Air France Flight to Algeria. The four terrorists were killed during a rescue effort.

1995

Attack on U.S. Diplomats in Pakistan, March 8, 1995: Two unidentified gunmen killed two U.S. diplomats and wounded a third in Karachi, Pakistan.

Tokyo Subway Station Attack, March 20, 1995: Twelve persons were killed and 5,700 were injured in a Sarin nerve gas attack on a crowded subway station in the center of Tokyo, Japan. A similar attack occurred nearly simultaneously in the Yokohama subway system. The Aum Shinri-kyo cult was blamed for the attacks.

Bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City, April 19, 1995: Right-wing extremists Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols destroyed the Federal Building in Oklahoma City with a massive truck bomb that killed 166 and injured hundreds more in what was up to then the largest terrorist attack on American soil.

Kashmiri Hostage-taking, July 4, 1995: In India six foreigners, including two U.S. citizens, were taken hostage by Al-Faran, a Kashmiri separatist group. One non-U.S. hostage was later found beheaded.

Jerusalem Bus Attack, August 21, 1995: HAMAS claimed responsibility for the detonation of a bomb that killed 6 and injured over 100 persons, including several U.S. citizens.

Attack on U.S. Embassy in Moscow, September 13, 1995: A rocket-propelled grenade was fired through the window of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, ostensibly in retaliation

for U.S. strikes on Serb positions in Bosnia.

Saudi Military Installation Attack, November 13, 1995: The Islamic Movement of Change planted a bomb in a Riyadh military compound that killed one U.S. citizen, several foreign national employees of the U.S. government, and over 40 others.

Egyptian Embassy Attack, November 19, 1995: A suicide bomber drove a vehicle into the Egyptian Embassy compound in Islamabad, Pakistan, killing at least 16 and injuring 60 persons. Three militant Islamic groups claimed responsibility.

1996

Papuan Hostage Abduction, January 8, 1996: In Indonesia, 200 Free Papua Movement (OPM) guerrillas abducted 26 individuals in the Lorenta nature preserve, Irian Jaya Province. Indonesian Special Forces members rescued the remaining nine hostages on May 15.

Kidnapping in Colombia, January 19, 1996: Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) guerrillas kidnapped a U.S. citizen and demanded a \$1 million ransom. The hostage was released on May 22.

Tamil Tigers Attack, January 31, 1996: Members of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) rammed an explosives-laden truck into the Central Bank in the heart of downtown Colombo, Sri Lanka, killing 90 civilians and injuring more than 1,400 others, including 2 U.S. citizens.

IRA Bombing, February 9, 1996: An Irish Republican Army (IRA) bomb detonated in London, killing 2 persons and wounding more than 100 others, including 2 U.S. citizens.

Athens Embassy Attack, February 15, 1996: Unidentified assailants fired a rocket at the U.S. Embassy compound in Athens, causing minor damage to three diplomatic vehicles and some surrounding buildings. Circumstances of the attack suggested it was an operation carried out by the 17 November group.

ELN Kidnapping, February 16, 1996: Six alleged National Liberation Army (ELN) guerrillas kidnapped a U.S. citizen in Colombia. After 9 months, the hostage was released.

HAMAS Bus Attack, February 26, 1996: In Jerusalem, a suicide bomber blew up a bus, killing 26 persons, including three U.S. citizens, and injuring some 80 persons, including three other U.S. citizens.

Dizengoff Center Bombing, March 4, 1996: HAMAS and the Palestine Islamic Jihad (PIJ) both claimed responsibility for a bombing outside of Tel Aviv's largest shopping mall that killed 20 persons and injured 75 others, including 2 U.S. citizens.

West Bank Attack, May 13, 1996: Arab gunmen opened fire on a bus and a group of Yeshiva students near the Bet El settlement, killing a dual U.S./Israeli citizen and wounding three Israelis. No one claimed responsibility for the attack, but HAMAS was suspected.

AID Worker Abduction, May 31, 1996: A gang of former Contra guerrillas kidnapped a U.S. employee of the Agency for International Development (AID) who was assisting with election preparations in rural northern Nicaragua. She was released unharmed the next day after members of the international commission overseeing the preparations intervened.

Zekharya Attack, June 9, 1996: Unidentified gunmen opened fire on a car near Zekharya, killing a dual U.S./Israeli citizen and an Israeli. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) was suspected.

Manchester Truck Bombing, June 15, 1996: An IRA truck bomb detonated at a Manchester shopping center, wounding 206 persons, including two German tourists, and caused extensive property damage.

Khobar Towers Bombing, June 25, 1996: A fuel truck carrying a bomb exploded outside the U.S. military's Khobar Towers housing facility in Dhahran, killing 19 U.S. military personnel and wounding 515 persons, including 240 U.S. personnel. Several groups claimed responsibility for the attack.

ETA Bombing, July 20, 1996: A bomb exploded at Tarragona International Airport in Reus, Spain, wounding 35 persons, including British and Irish tourists. The Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA) organization was suspected.

Bombing of Archbishop of Oran, August 1, 1996: A bomb exploded at the home of the French Archbishop of Oran, killing him and his chauffeur. The attack occurred after the Archbishop's meeting with the French Foreign Minister. The Algerian Armed Islamic Group (GIA) is suspected.

Sudanese Rebel Kidnapping, August 17, 1996: Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) rebels kidnapped six missionaries in Mapourdit, including a U.S. citizen, an Italian, three Australians, and a Sudanese. The SPLA released the hostages 11 days later.

PUK Kidnapping, September 13, 1996: In Iraq, Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) militants kidnapped four French workers for Pharmaciens Sans Frontieres, a Canadian United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) official, and two Iraqis.

Assassination of South Korean Consul, October 1, 1996: In Vladivostok, Russia, assailants attacked and killed a South Korean consul near his home. No one claimed responsibility, but South Korean authorities believed that the attack was carried out by professionals and that the assailants were North Koreans. North Korean officials denied the country's involvement in the attack.

Red Cross Worker Kidnappings, November 1, 1996: In Sudan a breakaway group from the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) kidnapped three International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) workers, including a U.S. citizen, an Australian, and a Kenyan. On 9 December the rebels released the hostages in exchange for ICRC supplies and a health survey for their camp.

Paris Subway Explosion, December 3, 1996: A bomb exploded aboard a Paris subway train as it arrived at the Port Royal station, killing two French nationals, a Moroccan, and a Canadian, and injuring 86 persons. Among those injured were one U.S. citizen and a Canadian. No one claimed responsibility for the attack, but Algerian extremists are suspected.

Abduction of U.S. Citizen by FARC, December 11, 1996: Five armed men claiming to be members of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) kidnapped and later killed a U.S. geologist at a methane gas exploration site in La Guajira Department.

Tupac Amaru Seizure of Diplomats, December 17, 1996: Twenty-three members of the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) took several hundred people hostage at a party given at the Japanese Ambassador's residence in Lima, Peru. Among the hostages were several U.S. officials, foreign ambassadors and other diplomats, Peruvian Government officials, and Japanese businessmen. The group demanded the release of all MRTA members in prison and safe passage for them and the hostage takers. The terrorists released most of the hostages in December but held 81 Peruvians and Japanese citizens for several months.

1997

Egyptian Letter Bombs, January 2-13, 1997: A series of letter bombs with Alexandria, Egypt, postmarks were discovered at Al-Hayat newspaper bureaus in Washington, New York City, London, and Riyadh, Saudi

Arabia. Three similar devices, also post-marked in Egypt, were found at a prison facility in Leavenworth, Kansas. Bomb disposal experts defused all the devices, but one detonated at the Al-Hayat office in London, injuring two security guards and causing minor damage.

Tajik Hostage Abductions, February 4-17, 1997: Near Komsomolabad, Tajikistan, a paramilitary group led by Bakhrom Sodirov abducted four United Nations (UN) military observers. The victims included two Swiss, one Austrian, one Ukrainian, and their Tajik interpreter. The kidnappers demanded safe passage for their supporters from Afghanistan to Tajikistan. In four separate incidents occurring between Dushanbe and Garm, Bakhrom Sodirov and his group kidnapped two International Committee for the Red Cross members, four Russian journalists and their Tajik driver, four UNHCR members, and the Tajik Security Minister, Saidamir Zuhurov.

Venezuelan Abduction, February 14, 1997: Six armed Colombian guerrillas kidnapped a U.S. oil engineer and his Venezuelan pilot in Apure, Venezuela. The kidnappers released the Venezuelan pilot on 22 February. According to authorities, the FARC is responsible for the kidnapping.

Empire State Building Sniper Attack, February 23, 1997: A Palestinian gunman opened fire on tourists at an observation deck atop the Empire State Building in New York City, killing a Danish national and wounding visitors from the United States, Argentina, Switzerland, and France before turning the gun on himself. A handwritten note carried by the gunman claimed this was a punishment attack against the "enemies of Palestine."

ELN Kidnapping, February 24, 1997: National Liberation Army (ELN) guerrillas kidnapped a U.S. citizen employed by a Las Vegas gold corporation who was scouting a gold mining operation in Colombia. The ELN demanded a ransom of \$2.5 million.

FARC Kidnapping, March 7, 1997: FARC guerrillas kidnapped a U.S. mining employee and his Colombian colleague who were searching for gold in Colombia. On November 16, the rebels released the two hostages after receiving a \$50,000 ransom.

Hotel Nacional Bombing, July 12, 1997: A bomb exploded at the Hotel Nacional in Havana, injuring three persons and causing minor damage. A previously unknown group calling itself the Military Liberation Union claimed responsibility.

Israeli Shopping Mall Bombing, September 4, 1997: Three suicide bombers of HAMAS detonated bombs in the Ben Yehuda shopping mall in Jerusalem, killing eight persons, including the bombers, and wounding nearly 200 others. A dual U.S./Israeli citizen was among the dead, and 7 U.S. citizens were wounded.

OAS Abductions, October 23, 1997: In Colombia ELN rebels kidnapped two foreign members of the Organization of American States (OAS) and a Colombian human rights official at a roadblock. The ELN claimed that the kidnapping was intended "to show the international community that the elections in Colombia are a farce."

Yemeni Kidnappings, October 30, 1997: Al-Sha'if tribesmen kidnapped a U.S. businessman near Sanaa. The tribesmen sought the release of two fellow tribesmen who were arrested on smuggling charges and several public works projects they claim the government promised them. They released the hostage on November 27.

Murder of U.S. Businessmen in Pakistan, November 12, 1997: Two unidentified gunmen shot to death four U.S. auditors from Union Texas Petroleum Corporation and their Pakistani driver after they drove away from the

Sheraton Hotel in Karachi. The Islami Inqilabi Council, or Islamic Revolutionary Council, claimed responsibility in a call to the U.S. Consulate in Karachi. In a letter to Pakistani newspapers, the Aimal Khufia Action Committee also claimed responsibility.

Tourist Killings in Egypt, November 17, 1997: Al-Gama'at al-Islamiyya (IG) gunmen shot and killed 58 tourists and four Egyptians and wounded 26 others at the Hatshepsut Temple in the Valley of the Kings near Luxor. Thirty-four Swiss, eight Japanese, five Germans, four Britons, one French, one Colombian, a dual Bulgarian/British citizen, and four unidentified persons were among the dead. Twelve Swiss, two Japanese, two Germans, one French, and nine Egyptians were among the wounded.

1998

UN Observer Abductions, February 19, 1998: Armed supporters of late Georgian president Zviad Gamsakhurdia abducted four UN military observers from Sweden, Uruguay, and the Czech Republic.

FARC Abduction, March 21-23, 1998: FARC rebels kidnapped a U.S. citizen in Sabaneta, Colombia. FARC members also killed three persons, wounded 14, and kidnapped at least 27 others at a roadblock near Bogota. Four U.S. citizens and one Italian were among those kidnapped, as well as the acting president of the National Electoral Council (CNE) and his wife.

Somali Hostage-takings, April 15, 1998: Somali militiamen abducted nine Red Cross and Red Crescent workers at an airstrip north of Mogadishu. The hostages included a U.S. citizen, a German, a Belgian, a French, a Norwegian, two Swiss, and one Somali. The gunmen were members of a sub-clan loyal to Ali Mahdi Mohammed, who controlled the northern section of the capital.

IRA Bombing, Banbridge, August 1, 1998: A 500-pound car bomb planted by the Real IRA exploded outside a shoe store in Banbridge, North Ireland, injuring 35 persons and damaging at least 200 homes.

U.S. Embassy Bombings in East Africa, August 7, 1998: A bomb exploded at the rear entrance of the U.S. Embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, killing 12 U.S. citizens, 32 Foreign Service Nationals (FSNs), and 247 Kenyan citizens. Approximately 5,000 Kenyans, 6 U.S. citizens, and 13 FSNs were injured. The U.S. Embassy building sustained extensive structural damage. Almost simultaneously, a bomb detonated outside the U.S. Embassy in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, killing 7 FSNs and 3 Tanzanian citizens, and injuring 1 U.S. citizen and 76 Tanzanians. The explosion caused major structural damage to the U.S. Embassy facility. The U.S. Government held Usama Bin Laden responsible.

IRA Bombing, Omagh, August 15, 1998: A 500-pound car bomb planted by the Real IRA exploded outside a local courthouse in the central shopping district of Omagh, Northern Ireland, killing 29 persons and injuring over 330.

Colombian Pipeline Bombing, October 18, 1998: A National Liberation Army (ELN) planted bomb exploded on the Ocsena pipeline in Antioquia Department, killing approximately 71 persons and injuring at least 100 others. The pipeline is jointly owned by the Colombia State Oil Company Ecopetrol and a consortium including U.S., French, British, and Canadian companies.

Armed Kidnapping in Colombia, November 15, 1998: Armed assailants followed a U.S. businessman and his family home in Cundinamarca Department and kidnapped his 11-year-old son after stealing money, jewelry, one automobile, and two cell phones. The kidnappers demanded \$1 million in ransom. On January 21, 1999, the kidnappers released the boy.

1999

Angolan Aircraft Downing, January 2, 1999: A UN plane carrying one U.S. citizen, four Angolans, two Philippine nationals and one Namibian was shot down, according to a UN official. No deaths or injuries were reported. Angolan authorities blamed the attack on National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) rebels. UNITA officials denied shooting down the plane.

Ugandan Rebel Attack, February 14, 1999: A pipe bomb exploded inside a bar, killing five persons and injuring 35 others. One Ethiopian and four Ugandan nationals died in the blast, and one U.S. citizen working for USAID, two Swiss nationals, one Pakistani, one Ethiopian, and 27 Ugandans were injured. Ugandan authorities blamed the attack on the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF).

Greek Embassy Seizure, February 16, 1999: Kurdish protesters stormed and occupied the Greek Embassy in Vienna, taking the Greek Ambassador and six other persons hostage. Several hours later the protesters released the hostages and left the Embassy. The attack followed the Turkish Government's announcement of the successful capture of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) leader Abdullah Ocalan. Kurds also occupied Kenyan, Israeli, and other Greek diplomatic facilities in France, Holland, Switzerland, Britain, and Germany over the following days.

FARC Kidnappings, February 25, 1999: FARC kidnapped three U.S. citizens working for the Hawaii-based Pacific Cultural Conservancy International. On March 4, the bodies of the three victims were found in Venezuela.

Hutu Abductions, March 1, 1999: 150 armed Hutu rebels attacked three tourist camps in Uganda, killed four Ugandans, and abducted three U.S. citizens, six Britons, three New Zealanders, two Danish citizens, one Australian, and one Canadian national. Two of the U.S. citizens and six of the other hostages were subsequently killed by their abductors.

ELN Hostage-taking, March 23, 1999: Armed guerrillas kidnapped a U.S. citizen in Boyaca, Colombia. The National Liberation Army (ELN) claimed responsibility and demanded \$400,000 ransom. On 20 July, ELN rebels released the hostage unharmed following a ransom payment of \$48,000.

ELN Hostage-taking, May 30, 1999: In Cali, Colombia, armed ELN militants attacked a church in the neighborhood of Ciudad Jardin, kidnapping 160 persons, including six U.S. citizens and one French national. The rebels released approximately 80 persons, including three U.S. citizens, later that day.

Shell Platform Bombing, June 27, 1999: In Port Harcourt, Nigeria, armed youths stormed a Shell oil platform, kidnapping one U.S. citizen, one Nigerian national, and one Australian citizen, and causing undetermined damage. A group calling itself "Enough is Enough in the Niger River" claimed responsibility. Further seizures of oil facilities followed.

AFRC Kidnappings, August 4, 1999: An Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) faction kidnapped 33 UN representatives near Occra Hills, Sierra Leone. The hostages included one U.S. citizen, five British soldiers, one Canadian citizen, one representative from Ghana, one military officer from Russia, one officer from Kyrgyzstan, one officer from Zambia, one officer from Malaysia, a local bishop, two UN officials, two local journalists, and 16 Sierra Leonean nationals.

Burmese Embassy Seizure, October 1, 1999: Burmese dissidents seized the Burmese Embassy in Bangkok, Thailand, taking 89 persons hostage, including one U.S. citizen.

PLA Kidnapping, December 23, 1999: Colombian People's Liberation Army (PLA)

forces kidnapped a U.S. citizen in an unsuccessful ransom effort.

Indian Airlines Airbus Hijacking, December 24, 1999: Five militants hijacked a flight bound from Katmandu to New Delhi carrying 189 people. The plane and its passengers were released unharmed on December 31.

2000

Car bombing in Spain, January 27, 2000: Police officials reported unidentified individuals set fire to a Citroen car dealership in Iturreta, causing extensive damage to the building and destroying 12 vehicles. The attack bore the hallmark of the Basque Fatherland and Liberty (ETA).

RUF Attacks on U.N. Mission Personnel, May 1, 2000: On 1 May in Makeni, Sierra Leone, Revolutionary United Front (RUF) militants kidnapped at least 20 members of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) and surrounded and opened fire on a UNAMSIL facility, according to press reports. The militants killed five UN soldiers in the attack. RUF militants kidnapped 300 UNAMSIL peacekeepers throughout the country, according to press reports. On 15 May in Foya, Liberia, the kidnappers released 139 hostages. On 28 May, on the Liberia and Sierra Leone border, armed militants released unharmed the last of the UN peacekeepers. In Freetown, according to press reports, armed militants ambushed two military vehicles carrying four journalists. A Spaniard and one U.S. citizen were killed in a May 25 car bombing in Freetown for which the RUF was probably responsible. Suspected RUF rebels also kidnapped 21 Indian UN peacekeepers in Freetown on June 6. Additional attacks by RUF on foreign personnel followed.

Diplomatic Assassination in Greece, June 8, 2000: In Athens, Greece, two unidentified gunmen killed British Defense Attaché Stephen Saunders in an ambush. The Revolutionary Organization 17 November claimed responsibility.

ELN Kidnapping, June 27, 2000: In Bogota, Colombia, ELN militants kidnapped a 5-year-old U.S. citizen and his Colombian mother, demanding an undisclosed ransom.

Kidnappings in Kyrgyzstan, August 12, 2000: In the Kara-Su Valley, the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan took four U.S. citizens hostage. The Americans escaped on August 12.

Church Bombing in Tajikistan, October 1, 2000: Unidentified militants detonated two bombs in a Christian church in Dushanbe, killing seven persons and injuring 70 others. The church was founded by a Korean-born U.S. citizen, and most of those killed and wounded were Korean. No one claimed responsibility.

Helicopter Hijacking, October 12, 2000: In Sucumbios Province, Ecuador, a group of armed kidnappers led by former members of defunct Colombian terrorist organization the Popular Liberation Army (EPL), took hostage 10 employees of Spanish energy consortium REPSOL. Those kidnapped included five U.S. citizens, one Argentine, one Chilean, one New Zealander, and two French pilots who escaped four days later. On January 30, 2001, the kidnappers murdered American hostage Ronald Sander. The remaining hostages were released on February 23 following the payment of \$13 million in ransom by the oil companies.

Attack on U.S.S. *Cole*, October 12, 2000: In Aden, Yemen, a small dingy carrying explosives rammed the destroyer U.S.S. *Cole*, killing 17 sailors and injuring 39 others. Supporters of Osama Bin Laden were suspected.

Manila Bombing, December 30, 2000: A bomb exploded in a plaza across the street from the U.S. Embassy in Manila, injuring nine persons. The Moro Islamic Liberation Front was likely responsible.

2001

Srinagar Airport Attack and Assassination Attempt, January 17, 2001: In India, six members of the Lashkar-e-Tayyba militant group were killed when they attempted to seize a local airport. Members of Hizbul Mujaheddin fired two rifle grenades at Farooq Abdullah, Chief Minister for Jammu and Kashmir. Two persons were wounded in the unsuccessful assassination attempt.

BBC Studios Bombing, March 4, 2001: A car bomb exploded at midnight outside of the British Broadcasting Corporation's main production studios in London. One person was injured. British authorities suspected the Real IRA had planted the bomb.

Suicide Bombing in Israel, March 4, 2001: A suicide bomb attack in Netanya killed 3 persons and wounded 65. HAMAS later claimed responsibility.

ETA Bombing, March 9, 2001: Two policemen were killed by the explosion of a car bomb in Hernani, Spain.

Airliner Hijacking in Istanbul, March 15, 2001: Three Chechens hijacked a Russian airliner during a flight from Istanbul to Moscow and forced it to fly to Medina, Saudi Arabia. The plane carried 162 passengers and a crew of 12. After a 22-hour siege during which more than 40 passengers were released, Saudi security forces stormed the plane, killing a hijacker, a passenger, and a flight attendant.

Bus Stop Bombing, April 22, 2001: A member of HAMAS detonated a bomb he was carrying near a bus stop in Kfar Siva, Israel, killing one person and injuring 60.

Philippines Hostage Incident, May 27, 2001: Muslim Abu Sayyaf guerrillas seized 13 tourists and 3 staff members at a resort on Palawan Island and took their captives to Basilan Island. The captives included three U.S. citizens: Guellermo Sobero and missionaries Martin and Gracia Burnham. Philippine troops fought a series of battles with the guerrillas between June 1 and June 3 during which 9 hostages escaped and two were found dead. The guerrillas took additional hostages when they seized the hospital in the town of Lamitan. On June 12, Abu Sayyaf spokesman Abu Sabaya claimed that Sobero had been killed and beheaded; his body was found in October. The Burnhams remained in captivity until June 2002.

Tel-Aviv Nightclub Bombing, June 1, 2001: HAMAS claimed responsibility for the suicide bombing of a popular Israeli nightclub that caused over 140 casualties.

HAMAS Restaurant Bombing, August 9, 2001: A HAMAS-planted bomb detonated in a Jerusalem pizza restaurant, killing 15 people and wounding more than 90. The Israeli response included occupation of Orient House, the Palestine Liberation Organization's political headquarters in East Jerusalem.

Suicide Bombing in Israel, September 9, 2001: The first suicide bombing carried out by an Israeli Arab killed 3 persons in Nahariya. HAMAS claimed responsibility.

Death of "the Lion of the Panjshir", September 9, 2001: Two suicide bombers fatally wounded Ahmed Shah Massoud, a leader of Afghanistan's Northern Alliance, which had opposed both the Soviet occupation and the post-Soviet Taliban government. The bombers posed as journalists and were apparently linked to al-Qaida. The Northern Alliance did not confirm Massoud's death until September 15.

Terrorist Attacks on U.S. Homeland, September 11, 2001: Two hijacked airliners crashed into the twin towers of the World Trade Center. Soon thereafter, the Pentagon was struck by a third hijacked plane. A fourth hijacked plane, suspected to be bound for a high-profile target in Washington,

crashed into a field in southern Pennsylvania. The attacks killed 3,025 U.S. citizens and other nationals. President Bush and Cabinet officials indicated that Usama Bin Laden was the prime suspect and that they considered the United States in a state of war with international terrorism. In the aftermath of the attacks, the United States formed the Global Coalition Against Terrorism.

Attack on the Jammu and Kashmir Legislature, October 1, 2001: After a suicide car bomber forced the gate of the state legislature in Srinagar, two gunmen entered the building and held off police for seven hours before being killed. Forty persons died in the incident. Jaish-e-Muhammad claimed responsibility.

Anthrax Attacks, October–November 2001: On October 7 the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) reported that investigators had detected evidence that the deadly anthrax bacterium was present in the building where a Florida man who died of anthrax on October 5 had worked. Discovery of a second anthrax case triggered a major investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). The two anthrax cases were the first to appear in the United States in 25 years. Anthrax subsequently appeared in mail received by television networks in New York and by the offices in Washington of Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle and other members of Congress. Attorney General John Ashcroft said in a briefing on October 16, "When people send anthrax through the mail to hurt people and invoke terror, it's a terrorist act."

Assassination of an Israeli Cabinet Minister, October 17, 2001: A Palestinian gunman assassinated Israeli Minister of Tourism Rehavam Zeevi in the Jerusalem hotel where he was staying. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) claimed to have avenged the death of PFLP Mustafa Zubari.

Attack on a Church in Pakistan, October 28, 2001: Six masked gunmen shot up a church in Bahawalpur, Pakistan, killing 15 Pakistani Christians. No group claimed responsibility, although various militant Muslim groups were suspected.

Suicide Bombings in Jerusalem, December 1, 2001: Two suicide bombers attacked a Jerusalem shopping mall, killing 10 persons and wounding 170.

Suicide Bombing in Haifa, December 2, 2001: A suicide bomb attack aboard a bus in Haifa, Israel, killed 15 persons and wounded 40. HAMAS claimed responsibility for both this attack and those on December 1 to avenge the death of a HAMAS member at the hands of Israeli forces a week earlier.

Attack on the Indian Parliament, December 13, 2001: Five gunmen attacked the Indian Parliament in New Delhi shortly after it had adjourned. Before security forces killed them, the attackers killed 6 security personnel and a gardener. Indian officials blamed Lashkar-e-Tayyiba and demanded that Pakistan crack down on it and on other Muslim separatist groups in Kashmir.

2002

Ambush on the West Bank, January 15, 2002: Palestinian militants fired on a vehicle in Beit Sahur, killing one passenger and wounding the other. The dead passenger claimed U.S. and Israeli citizenship. The al-Aqsa Martyrs' Battalion claimed responsibility.

Shooting Incident in Israel, January 17, 2002: A Palestinian gunman killed 6 persons and wounded 25 in Hadera, Israel, before being killed by Israeli police. The al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades claimed responsibility as revenge for Israel's killing of a leading member of the group.

Drive-By Shooting at a U.S. Consulate, January 22, 2002: Armed militants on motorcycles fired on the U.S. Consulate in Calcutta, India, killing 5 Indian security personnel and wounding 13 others. The Harakat ul-Jihad-Islami and the Asif Raza Commandoes claimed responsibility. Indian police later killed two suspects, one of whom confessed to belonging to Lashkar-e-Tayyiba as he died.

Bomb Explosion in Kashmir, January 22, 2002: A bomb exploded in a crowded retail district in Jammu, Kashmir, killing one person and injuring nine. No group claimed responsibility.

Kidnapping of Daniel Pearl, January 23, 2002: Armed militants kidnapped Wall Street Journal reporter Daniel Pearl in Karachi, Pakistan. Pakistani authorities received a videotape on February 20 depicting Pearl's murder. His grave was found near Karachi on May 16. Pakistani authorities arrested four suspects. Ringleader Ahmad Omar Saeed Sheikh claimed to have organized Pearl's kidnapping to protest Pakistan's subservience to the United States, and had belonged to Jaish-e-Muhammad, an Islamic separatist group in Kashmir. All four suspects were convicted on July 15. Saeed Sheikh was sentenced to death, the others to life imprisonment.

Suicide Bombing in Jerusalem, January 27, 2002: A suicide bomb attack in Jerusalem killed one other person and wounded 100. The incident was the first suicide bombing made by a Palestinian woman.

Suicide Bombing in the West Bank, February 16, 2002: A suicide bombing in an outdoor food court in Karmeit Shomron killed 4 persons and wounded 27. Two of the dead and two of the wounded were U.S. citizens. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) claimed responsibility.

Suicide Bombing in the West Bank, March 7, 2002: A suicide bombing in a supermarket in the settlement of Ariel wounded 10 persons, one of whom was a U.S. citizen. The PFLP claimed responsibility.

Suicide Bombing in Jerusalem, March 9, 2002: A suicide bombing in a Jerusalem restaurant killed 11 persons and wounded 52, one of whom was a U.S. citizen. The al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades claimed responsibility.

Drive-By Shooting in Colombia, March 14, 2002: Gunmen on motorcycles shot and killed two U.S. citizens who had come to Cali, Colombia, to negotiate the release of their father, who was a captive of the FARC. No group claimed responsibility.

Grenade Attack on a Church in Pakistan, March 17, 2002: Militants threw grenades into the Protestant International Church in Islamabad, Pakistan, during a service attended by diplomatic and local personnel. Five persons, two of them U.S. citizens, were killed and 46 were wounded. The dead Americans were State Department employee Barbara Green and her daughter Kristen Wormsley. Thirteen U.S. citizens were among the wounded. The Lashkar-e-Tayyiba group was suspected.

Car Bomb Explosion in Peru, March 20, 2002: A car bomb exploded at a shopping center near the U.S. Embassy in Lima, Peru. Nine persons were killed and 32 wounded. The dead included two police officers and a teenager. Peruvian authorities suspected either the Shining Path rebels or the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement. The attack occurred 3 days before President George W. Bush visited Peru.

Suicide Bombing in Jerusalem, March 21, 2002: A suicide bombing in Jerusalem killed 3 persons and wounded 86 more, including 2 U.S. citizens. The Palestinian Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility.

Suicide Bombing in Israel, March 27, 2002: A suicide bombing in a noted restaurant in

Netanya, Israel, killed 22 persons and wounded 140. One of the dead was a U.S. citizen. The Islamic Resistance Movement (HAMAS) claimed responsibility.

Temple Bombing in Kashmir, March 30, 2002: A bomb explosion at a Hindu temple in Jammu, Kashmir, killed 10 persons. The Islamic Front claimed responsibility.

Suicide Bombing in the West Bank, March 31, 2002: A suicide bombing near an ambulance station in Efrat wounded four persons, including a U.S. citizen. The al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades claimed responsibility.

Armed attack on Kashmir, April 10, 2002: Armed militants attacked a residence in Gando, Kashmir, killing five persons and wounding four. No group claimed responsibility.

Synagogue Bombing in Tunisia, April 11, 2002: A suicide bomber detonated a truck loaded with propane gas outside a historic synagogue in Djerba, Tunisia. The 16 dead included 11 Germans, one French citizen, and three Tunisians. Twenty-six German tourists were injured. The Islamic Army for the Liberation of the Holy Sites claimed responsibility.

Suicide Bombing in Jerusalem, April 12, 2002: A female suicide bomber killed 6 persons in Jerusalem and wounded 90 others. The al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades claimed responsibility.

Car Bombing in Pakistan, May 8, 2002: A car bomb exploded near a Pakistani navy shuttle bus in Karachi, killing 12 persons and wounding 19. Eleven of the dead and 11 of the wounded were French nationals. Al-Qaida was suspected of the attack.

Parade Bombing in Russia, May 9, 2002: A remotely-controlled bomb exploded near a May Day parade in Kaspisk, Dagestan, killing 42 persons and wounding 150. Fourteen of the dead and 50 of the wounded were soldiers. Islamists linked to al-Qaida were suspected.

Attack on a Bus in India, May 14, 2002: Militants fired on a passenger bus in Kaluchak, Jammu, killing 7 persons. They then entered a military housing complex and killed 3 soldiers and 7 military dependents before they were killed. The al-Mansooran and Jamiat ul-Mujahedin claimed responsibility.

Bomb Attacks in Kashmir, May 17, 2002: A bomb explosion near a civil secretariat area in Srinagar, Kashmir, wounded 6 persons. In Jammu, a bomb exploded at a fire services headquarters, killing two and wounding 16. No group claimed responsibility for either attack.

Hostage Rescue Attempt in the Philippines, June 7, 2002: Philippine Army troops attacked Abu Sayyaf terrorists on Mindanao Island in an attempt to rescue U.S. citizen Martin Burnham and his wife Gracia, who had been kidnapped more than a year ago. Burnham was killed but his wife, though wounded, was freed. A Filipino hostage was killed, as were four of the guerrillas. Seven soldiers were wounded.

Car Bombing in Pakistan, June 14, 2002: A car bomb exploded near the U.S. Consulate and the Marriott Hotel in Karachi, Pakistan. Eleven persons were killed and 51 were wounded, including one U.S. and one Japanese citizen. Al Qaida and al-Qanin were suspected.

Suicide Bombing in Jerusalem, June 19, 2002: A suicide bombing at a bus stop in Jerusalem killed 6 persons and wounded 43, including 2 U.S. citizens. The al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades claimed responsibility.

Suicide Bombing in Tel Aviv, July 17, 2002: Two suicide bombers attacked the old bus station in Tel Aviv, Israel, killing 5 persons and wounding 38. The dead included one Romanian and two Chinese; another Romanian was wounded. The Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility.

Bombing at the Hebrew University, July 31, 2002: A bomb hidden in a bag in the Frank Sinatra International Student Center of Jerusalem's Hebrew University killed 9 persons and wounded 87. The dead included 5 U.S. citizens and 4 Israelis. The wounded included 4 U.S. citizens, 2 Japanese, and 3 South Koreans. The Islamic Resistance Movement (HAMAS) claimed responsibility.

Suicide Bombing in Israel, August 4, 2002: A suicide bomb attack on a bus in Safed, Israel, killed 9 persons and wounded 50. Two of the dead were Philippine citizens; many of the wounded were soldiers returning from leave. HAMAS claimed responsibility.

Attack on a School in Pakistan, August 5, 2002: Gunmen attacked a Christian school attended by children of missionaries from around the world. Six persons (two security guards, a cook, a carpenter, a receptionist, and a private citizen) were killed and a Philippine citizen was wounded. A group called al-Intigami al-Pakistani claimed responsibility.

Attack on Pilgrims in Kashmir, August 6, 2002: Armed militants attacked a group of Hindu pilgrims with guns and grenades in Pahalgam, Kashmir. Nine persons were killed and 32 were wounded. The Lashkar-e-Tayyiba claimed responsibility.

Assassination in Kashmir, September 11, 2002: Gunmen killed Kashmir's Law Minister Mushtaq Ahmed Lone and six security guards in Tikipora. Lashkar-e-Tayyiba, Jamiat ul-Mujahedin, and Hizb ul-Mujahedin all claimed responsibility. Other militants attacked the residence of the Minister of Tourism with grenades, injuring four persons. No group claimed responsibility.

Ambush on the West Bank, September 18, 2002: Gunmen ambushed a vehicle on a road near Yahad, killing an Israeli and wounding a Romanian worker. The al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades claimed responsibility.

Suicide Bomb Attack in Israel, September 19, 2002: A suicide bomb attack on a bus in Tel Aviv killed 6 persons and wounded 52. One of the dead was a British subject. HAMAS claimed responsibility.

Attack on a French Tanker, October 6, 2002: An explosive-laden boat rammed the French oil tanker Limburg, which was anchored about 5 miles off al-Dhabbah, Yemen. One person was killed and 4 were wounded. Al-Qaida was suspected.

Car Bomb Explosion in Bali, October 12, 2002: A car bomb exploded outside the Sari Club Discotheque in Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia, killing 202 persons and wounding 300 more. Most of the casualties, including 88 of the dead, were Australian tourists. Seven Americans were among the dead. Al-Qaida claimed responsibility. Two suspects were later arrested and convicted. Iman Samudra, who had trained in Afghanistan with al-Qaeda and was suspected of belonging to Jemaah Islamiya, was sentenced to death on September 10, 2003.

Chechen Rebels Seize a Moscow Theater, October 23–26, 2002: Fifty Chechen rebels led by Movsar Barayev seized the Palace of Culture Theater in Moscow, Russia, to demand an end to the war in Chechnya. They seized more than 800 hostages from 13 countries and threatened to blow up the theater. During a three-day siege, they killed a Russian policeman and five Russian hostages. On October 26, Russian Special Forces pumped an anesthetic gas through the ventilation system and then stormed the theater. All of the rebels were killed, but 94 hostages (including one American) also died, many from the effects of the gas. A group led by Chechen warlord Shamil Basayev claimed responsibility.

Assassination of an AID Official, October 28, 2002: Gunmen in Amman assassinated Laurence Foley, Executive Officer of the U.S. Agency for International Development

Mission in Jordan. The Honest People of Jordan claimed responsibility.

Suicide Bombing in Jerusalem, November 21, 2002: A suicide bomb attack on a bus on Mexico Street in Jerusalem killed 11 persons and wounded 50 more. One of the dead was a Romanian. HAMAS claimed responsibility.

Attack on Temples in Kashmir, November 24, 2002: Armed militants attacked the Reghunath and Shiv temples in Jammu, Kashmir, killing 13 persons and wounding 50. The Lashkar-e-Tayyiba claimed responsibility.

Attacks on Israeli Tourists in Kenya, November 28, 2002: A three-person suicide car bomb attack on the Paradise Hotel in Mombasa, Kenya, killed 15 persons and wounded 40. Three of the dead and 18 of the wounded were Israeli tourists; the others were Kenyans. Near Mombasa's airport, two SA-7 shoulder-fired missiles were fired at an Arkia Airlines Boeing 757 that was carrying 261 passengers back to Israel. Both missiles missed. Al-Qaida, the Government of Universal Palestine in Exile, and the Army of Palestine claimed responsibility for both attacks. Al-Ittihad al-Islami was also suspected of involvement.

Attack on a Bus in the Philippines, December 26, 2002: Armed militants ambushed a bus carrying Filipino workers employed by the Canadian Toronto Ventures Inc. Pacific mining company in Zamboanga del Norte. Thirteen persons were killed and 10 wounded. Philippine authorities suspected the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), which had been extorting money from Toronto Ventures. The Catholic charity Caritas-Philippines said that Toronto Ventures had harassed tribesmen who opposed mining on their ancestral lands.

Bombing of a Government Building in Chechnya, December 27, 2002: A suicide bomb attack involving two explosives-laden trucks destroyed the offices of the pro-Russian Chechen government in Grozny. The attack killed over 80 people and wounded 210. According to a Chechen website run by the Kavkaz Center, Chechen warlord Shamil Basayev claimed responsibility.

2003

Suicide Bombings in Tel Aviv, January 5, 2003: Two suicide bomb attacks killed 22 and wounded at least 100 persons in Tel Aviv, Israel. Six of the victims were foreign workers. The Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades claimed responsibility.

Night Club Bombing in Colombia, February 7, 2003: A car bomb exploded outside a night club in Bogota, Colombia, killing 32 persons and wounding 160. No group claimed responsibility, but Colombian officials suspected the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC) of committing the worst terrorist attack in the country in a decade.

Assassination of a Kurdish Leader, February 8, 2003: Members of Ansar al-Islam assassinated Kurdish legislator Shawkat Haji Mushir and captured two other Kurdish officials in Qamash Tapa in northern Iraq.

Suicide Bombing in Haifa, March 5, 2003: A suicide bombing aboard a bus in Haifa, Israel, killed 15 persons and wounded at least 40. One of the dead claimed U.S. as well as Israeli citizenship. The bomber's affiliation was not immediately known.

Suicide Bombing in Netanya, March 30, 2003: A suicide bombing in a cafe in Netanya, Israel, wounded 38 persons. Only the bomber was killed. Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility and called the attack a "gift" to the people of Iraq.

Unsuccessful Hostage Rescue Attempt in Colombia, May 5, 2003: The FARC killed 10 hostages when Colombian special forces tried to rescue them from a jungle hideout near Urrao, in Colombia's Antioquia State. The

dead included Governor Guillermo Gavira and former Defense Minister Gilberto Echeverri Mejia, who had been kidnapped in April 2002.

Truck Bomb Attacks in Saudi Arabia, May 12, 2003: Suicide bombers attacked three residential compounds for foreign workers in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. The 34 dead included 9 attackers, 7 other Saudis, 9 U.S. citizens, and one citizen each from the United Kingdom, Ireland, and the Philippines. Another American died on June 1. It was the first major attack on U.S. targets in Saudi Arabia since the end of the war in Iraq. Saudi authorities arrested 11 al-Qaida suspects on May 28.

Truck Bombing in Chechnya, May 12, 2003: A truck bomb explosion demolished a government compound in Znamenskoye, Chechnya, killing 54 persons. Russian authorities blamed followers of a Saudi-born Islamist named Abu Walid. President Vladimir Putin said that he suspected that there was an al-Qaida connection.

Attempted Assassination in Chechnya, May 12, 2003: Two female suicide bombers attacked Chechen Administrator Mufti Akhmed Kadyrov during a religious festival in Iiskhan Yurt. Kadyrov escaped injury, but 14 other persons were killed and 43 were wounded. Chechen rebel leader Shamil Basayev claimed responsibility.

Suicide Bomb Attacks in Morocco, May 16, 2003: A team of 12 suicide bombers attacked five targets in Casablanca, Morocco, killing 43 persons and wounding 100. The targets were a Spanish restaurant, a Jewish community, a Jewish cemetery, a hotel, and the Belgian Consulate. The Moroccan Government blamed the Islamist al-Assirat al-Moustaquim (The Righteous Path), but foreign commentators suspected an al-Qaida connection.

Suicide Bomb Attack in Jerusalem, May 18, 2003: A suicide bomb attack on a bus in Jerusalem's French Hill district killed 7 persons and wounded 20. The bomber was disguised as a religious Jew. HAMAS claimed responsibility.

Suicide Bombing in Afula, May 19, 2003: A suicide bomb attack by a female Palestinian student killed 3 persons and wounded 52 at a shopping mall in Afula, Israel. Both Islamic Jihad and the al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades claimed responsibility.

Suicide Bombing in Jerusalem, June 11, 2003: A suicide bombing aboard a bus in Jerusalem killed 16 persons and wounded at least 70, one of whom died later. HAMAS claimed responsibility, calling it revenge for an Israeli helicopter attack on HAMAS leader Abdelaziz al-Rantisi in Gaza City the day before.

Truck Bombing in Northern Ossetia, August 1, 2003: A suicide truck bomb attack destroyed a Russian military hospital in Mozdok, North Ossetia and killed 50 persons. Russian authorities attributed the attack to followers of Chechen rebel leader Shamil Basayev.

Hotel Bombing in Indonesia, August 5, 2003: A car bomb exploded outside the Marriott Hotel in Jakarta, Indonesia, killing 10 persons and wounding 150. One of the dead was a Dutch citizen. The wounded included an American, a Canadian, an Australian, and two Chinese. Indonesian authorities suspected the Jemaah Islamiyah, which had carried out the October 12, 2002 bombing in Bali.

Bombing of the Jordanian Embassy in Baghdad, August 7, 2003: A car bomb exploded outside the Jordanian Embassy in Baghdad, Iraq, killing 19 persons and wounding 65. Most of the victims were apparently Iraqis, including 5 police officers. No group claimed responsibility.

Suicide Bombings in Israel and the West Bank, August 12, 2003: The first suicide bombings since the June 29 Israeli-Palestinian truce took place. The first, in a supermarket at Rosh Haayin, Israel, killed one

person and wounded 14. The second, at a bus stop near the Ariel settlement in the West Bank, killed one person and wounded 3. The al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades claimed responsibility for the first; HAMAS claimed responsibility for the second.

**Bombing of the UN Headquarters in Baghdad, August 19, 2003:** A truck loaded with surplus Iraqi ordnance exploded outside the United Nations Headquarters in Baghdad's Canal Hotel. A hospital across the street was also heavily damaged. The 23 dead included UN Special Representative Sergio Viera de Mello. More than 100 persons were wounded. It was not clear whether the bomber was a Baath Party loyalist or a foreign Islamic militant. An al-Qaeda branch called the Brigades of the Martyr Abu Hafz al-Masri later claimed responsibility.

**Suicide Bombing in Jerusalem, August 19, 2003:** A suicide bombing aboard a bus in Jerusalem killed 20 persons and injured at least 100, one of whom died later. Five of the dead were American citizens. HAMAS and Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility, although HAMAS leader al-Rantisi said that his organization remained committed to the truce while reserving the right to respond to Israeli military actions.

**Car Bomb Kills Shi'ite Leader in Najaf, August 29, 2003:** A car bomb explosion outside the Shrine of the Imam Ali in Najaf, Iraq killed at least 81 persons and wounded at least 140. The dead included the Ayatollah Mohammed Bakir al-Hakim, one of four leading Shi'ite clerics in Iraq. Al-Hakim had been the leader of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI) since its establishment in 1982, and SCIRI had recently agreed to work with the U.S.-sponsored Iraqi Governing Council. It was not known whether the perpetrators were Baath Party loyalists, rival Shi'ites, or foreign Islamists.

**Suicide Bombings in Israel, September 9, 2003:** Two suicide bombings took place in Israel. The first, at a bus stop near the Tsrifin army base southeast of Tel Aviv, killed 7 soldiers and wounded 14 soldiers and a civilian. The second, at a café in Jerusalem's German Colony neighborhood, killed 6 persons and wounded 40. HAMAS did not claim responsibility until the next day, although a spokesman called the first attack "a response to Israeli aggression."

**Assassination of an Iraqi Governing Council Member, September 20, 2003:** Gunmen shot and seriously wounded Akila Hashimi, one of three female members of the Iraqi Governing Council, near her home in Baghdad. She died September 25.

**A Second Attack on the UN Headquarters in Baghdad, September 22, 2003:** A suicide car bomb attack on the UN Headquarters in Baghdad killed a security guard and wounded 19 other persons.

**Suicide Bombing in Israel, October 4, 2003:** A Palestinian woman made a suicide bomb attack on a restaurant in Haifa, killing 19 persons and wounding at least 55. Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility for the attack. The next day, Israel bombed a terrorist training camp in Syria.

**Attacks in Iraq, October 9, 2003:** Gunmen assassinated a Spanish military attaché in Baghdad. A suicide car bomb attack on an Iraqi police station killed 8 persons and wounded 40.

**Car Bombings in Baghdad, October 12, 2003:** Two suicide car bombs exploded outside the Baghdad Hotel, which housed U.S. officials. Six persons were killed and 32 wounded. Iraqi and U.S. security personnel apparently kept the cars from actually reaching the hotel.

**Bomb Attack on U.S. Diplomats in the Gaza Strip, October 15, 2003:** A remote-controlled bomb exploded under a car in a U.S. diplomatic convoy passing through the

northern Gaza Strip. Three security guards, all employees of DynCorp, were killed. A fourth was wounded. The diplomats were on their way to interview Palestinian candidates for Fulbright scholarships to study in the United States. Palestinian President Arafat and Prime Minister Qurei condemned the attack, while the major Palestinian militant groups denied responsibility. The next day, Palestinian security forces arrested several suspects, some of whom belonged to the Popular Resistance Committees.

**Rocket Attack on the al-Rashid Hotel in Baghdad, October 26, 2003:** Iraqis using an improvised rocket launcher bombarded the al-Rashid Hotel in Baghdad, killing one U.S. Army officer and wounding 17 persons. The wounded included 4 U.S. military personnel and seven American civilians. Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul D. Wolfowitz, who was staying at the hotel, was not injured. After visiting the wounded, he said, "They're not going to scare us away; we're not giving up on this job."

**Assassination of a Deputy Mayor in Baghdad, October 26, 2003:** Two gunmen believed to be Baath Party loyalists assassinated Faris Abdul Razaq al-Assam, one of three deputy mayors of Baghdad. U.S. officials did not announce al-Assam's death until October 28.

**Wave of Car Bombings in Baghdad, October 27, 2003:** A series of suicide car bombings in Baghdad killed at least 35 persons and wounded at least 230. Four attacks were directed at Iraqi police stations, the fifth and most destructive was directed at the International Committee of the Red Cross headquarters, where at least 12 persons were killed. A sixth attack failed when a car bomb failed to explode and the bomber was wounded and captured by Iraqi police. U.S. and Iraqi officials suspected that foreign terrorists were involved; the unsuccessful bomber said he was a Syrian national and carried a Syrian passport. After a meeting with Administrator L. Paul Bremer, President Bush said, "The more successful we are on the ground, the more these killers will react."

**Suicide Bombing in Riyadh, November 8, 2003:** In Riyadh, a suicide car bombing took place in the Muhaya residential compound, which was occupied mainly by nationals of other Arab countries. Seventeen persons were killed and 122 were wounded. The latter included 4 Americans. The next day, Deputy Secretary of State Armitage said al-Qaeda was probably responsible.

**Truck Bombing in Nasiriyah, November 12, 2003:** A suicide truck bomb destroyed the headquarters of the Italian military police in Nasiriyah, Iraq, killing 18 Italians and 11 Iraqis and wounding at least 100 persons.

**Synagogue Bombings in Istanbul, November 15, 2003:** Two suicide truck bombs exploded outside the Neve Shalom and Beth Israel synagogues in Istanbul, killing 25 persons and wounding at least 300 more. The initial claim of responsibility came from a Turkish militant group, the Great Eastern Islamic Raiders' Front, but Turkish authorities suspected an al-Qaeda connection. The next day, the London-based newspaper al-Quds al-Arabi received an e-mail in which an al-Qaeda branch called the Brigades of the Martyr Abu Hafz al-Masri claimed responsibility for the Istanbul synagogue bombings.

**Grenade Attacks in Bogota, November 15, 2003:** Grenade attacks on two bars frequented by Americans in Bogota killed one person and wounded 72, including 4 Americans. Colombian authorities suspected FARC (the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia). The U.S. Embassy suspected that the attacks had targeted Americans and warned against visiting commercial centers and places of entertainment.

**More Suicide Truck Bombings in Istanbul, November 20, 2003:** Two more suicide truck

bombings devastated the British HSBC Bank and the British Consulate General in Istanbul, killing 27 persons and wounding at least 450. The dead included Consul General Roger Short. U.S., British, and Turkish officials suspected that al-Qaeda had struck again. The U.S. Consulate in Istanbul was closed, and the Embassy in Ankara advised American citizens in Istanbul to stay home.

**Car Bombing in Kirkuk, November 20, 2003:** A suicide car bombing in Kirkuk killed 5 persons. The target appeared to be the headquarters of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan. PUK officials suspected the Ansar al-Islam group, which was said to have sheltered fugitive Taliban and al-Qaeda members after the U.S. campaign in Afghanistan.

**Attacks on Other Coalition Personnel in Iraq, November 29-30, 2003:** Iraqi insurgents stepped up attacks on nationals of other members of the Coalition. On November 29, an ambush in Mahmudiyah killed 7 out of a party of 8 Spanish intelligence officers. Iraqi insurgents also killed two Japanese diplomats near Tikrit. On November 30, another ambush near Tikrit killed two South Korean electrical workers and wounded two more. A Colombian employee of Kellogg Brown & Root was killed and two were wounded in an ambush near Balad.

**Train Bombing in Southern Russia, December 5, 2003:** A suicide bomb attack killed 42 persons and wounded 150 aboard a Russian commuter train in the south Russian town of Yessentuki. Russian officials suspected Chechen rebels; President Putin said the attack was meant to disrupt legislative elections. Chechen rebel leader Aslan Maskhadov denied any involvement.

**Suicide Bombing in Moscow, December 9, 2003:** A female suicide bomber killed 5 other persons and wounded 14 outside Moscow's National Hotel. She was said to be looking for the State Duma.

**Suicide Car Bombings in Iraq, December 15, 2003:** Two days after the capture of Saddam Hussein, there were two suicide car bomb attacks on Iraqi police stations. One at Husainiyah killed 8 persons and wounded 20. The other, at Ameriyah, wounded 7 Iraqi police. Guards repelled a second vehicle.

**Office Bombing in Baghdad, December 19, 2003:** A bomb destroyed the Baghdad office of the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, killing a woman and wounding at least 7 other persons.

**Suicide Car Bombing in Irbil, December 24, 2003:** A suicide car bomb attack on the Kurdish Interior Ministry in Irbil, Iraq, killed 5 persons and wounded 101.

**Attempted Assassination in Rawalpindi, December 25, 2003:** Two suicide truck bombers killed 14 persons as President Musharraf's motorcade passed through Rawalpindi, Pakistan. An earlier attempt on December 14 caused no casualties. Pakistani officials suspected Afghan and Kashmiri militants. On January 6, 2004, Pakistani authorities announced the arrest of 6 suspects who were said to be members of Jaish-e-Muhammad.

**Suicide Bombing in Israel, December 25, 2003:** A Palestinian suicide bomber killed 4 persons at a bus stop near Petah Tikva, Israel. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine claimed responsibility for the attack in retaliation for Israeli military operations in Nablus that had begun two days earlier.

**Restaurant Bombing in Baghdad, December 31, 2003:** A car bomb explosion outside Baghdad's Nabil Restaurant killed 8 persons and wounded 35. The wounded included 3 Los Angeles Times reporters and 3 local employees.

Mr. DODD. I know the Senate would like to vote quickly and I am prepared



to do so. I thank the Senator for his patience and indulgence.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GREGG. I appreciate the concern of the Senator from Connecticut and I know he is working hard in this area, but the response to this amendment is not bureaucratic. The response to this amendment focuses on the fact that this bill, and our efforts as a Nation, must be threat based as we address terrorism.

I was interested today in a quote from Mayor Bloomberg in one of the New York papers. He essentially said if a professional terrorist, whose purpose it was to kill Americans indiscriminately, wishes to attack the transit systems of New York, it is virtually impossible to stop that individual at the site of the attack.

Where do you stop that individual? You stop him by obtaining the intelligence necessary to interdict him before he can attack us. The energy we in this Nation are putting in the area of fighting terrorism is to do exactly that.

One of the primary reasons we are fighting in Iraq, one of the primary reasons we are fighting in Afghanistan, is in order to develop intelligence which will give us the capacity to stop these individuals. These individuals come from that part of the world. One of the reasons we have Guantanamo Bay is to develop intelligence capability. A significant amount of our intelligence capability coming out of that facility is as a result of taking their prisoners, who are bad actors, people who are fundamentally focused on hurting Americans, and getting information from them in a proper way.

One of the reasons we have the PATRIOT Act is to develop the intelligence we need to interdict an attack.

One of the reasons we do profiling is in order to get the intelligence we need to catch these people before they attack us. This bill addresses intelligence. We have significantly improved or are trying to improve with this bill what is our highest risk relative to the capacity of a terrorist to attack us, which is the porousness of our borders.

And so these funds which are being proposed here, \$16 billion, which literally represents 50 percent of the entire budget of the Homeland Security agency being put into first responder programs when we already have \$7 billion in the pipeline that hasn't been spent yet because the assessments and plans for spending the money haven't been properly prepared, would really be a true misallocation of resources, a true misallocation of resources in our effort to defend ourselves. They simply could not be handled, these types of dollars. The dollars already in the pipeline we have not been able to handle. This bill puts \$4 billion into these accounts, and we know that \$4 billion will not be out the door as quickly as it should. To put \$16 billion on top of

that is a political statement but is not going to have a dramatic impact because the system to handle the dollars is not there and lot of money will be wasted. Taxpayers will find that instead of getting more security, what they are getting is dollars that could have been used more efficiently somewhere else, that will have been drained off, and those dollars should be going into intelligence gathering and protecting our borders and to fighting these wars which we are participating in and making sure our military has adequate support in places such as Afghanistan and Iraq.

Independent of that, the amendment dramatically exceeds the budget and is therefore subject to a point of order, which I have made, and the motion to waive has been made by the Senator from Connecticut, and we will have a vote on it.

So at this time, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at 6:30 this evening the Senate proceed to a series of votes in relation to the following amendments and the motions where pending; further, that no second-degree amendments be in order to any amendments prior to the vote, and that there be 2 minutes equally divided for debate prior to each vote: The first amendment will be the Dodd amendment, a motion to waive the budget point of order, and the second amendment would be Akaka amendment No. 1112, and on that amendment there will also be a point of order and I presume the vote will be on the motion to waive the point of order since that amendment also significantly exceeds the budget allocation of this committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. COLEMAN). Is there an objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I make a point of order that a quorum is not present.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 1112, AS MODIFIED

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask that the pending amendment be set aside and the amendment No. 1112 of Senator AKAKA be in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I raise a point of order under section 302(f) of the Congressional Budget Act that the amendment by Senator AKAKA provides spending in excess of the subcommittee allocation under section 302(b).

I am sorry, I reserve that motion and I guess Senator AKAKA is going to send a modification to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Hawaii.

Mr. AKAKA. Mr. President, I reply to the chairman it does not affect the

content of the amendment. I ask unanimous consent to modify my amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Hawaii wish to send a modification to the desk?

Without objection, the modification is accepted.

The amendment (No. 1112), as modified, is as follows:

On page 77, line 18, strike "\$2,694,300,000" and insert "\$3,181,300,000".

On page 77, line 20, strike "\$1,518,000,000" and insert "\$1,985,000,000".

On page 79, line 21, strike "\$321,300,000" and insert "\$341,300,000".

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, at this point I raise a point of order under section 302(f) of the Congressional Budget Act that the amendment provides spending in excess of the subcommittee's 302(b) allocation.

Mr. AKAKA. Mr. President, in accordance with section 904 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, I move to waive the applicable sections of that act for purposes of the pending amendment and ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second. The yeas and nays are ordered.

Mr. GREGG. It is my understanding that we will now have a vote on Senator DODD's amendment, on the motion to waive the Budget Act, followed by a vote on Senator AKAKA's motion to waive the Budget Act. I should inform Members that we actually are going to have three other votes following those two votes as soon as we line them up. The first vote will begin at 6:30.

I think Senator AKAKA wanted time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Hawaii.

Mr. AKAKA. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senator SARBANES be added as a cosponsor to my amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. AKAKA. Mr. President, I rise today to speak briefly on my first responder amendment to the Homeland Security appropriations bill.

The distinguished chairman of the Homeland Security Subcommittee has cited \$7 billion in unspent first responder grants as justification for reducing first responder funding in fiscal year 2006. I wish to take a moment to respond to the statement. First, much of the \$7 billion figure has been legally obligated for specific purposes or in some cases even already spent. As the DHS inspector general observed in a March 2004 report on the distribution of first responder grants, the amount of funds drawn down by States provide an incomplete picture of the progress States and local jurisdictions are making. A more accurate way to monitor progress would be to identify the amount of funds obligated and spent by the State and local jurisdictions.

Following this approach and looking at data received from DHS, virtually all the money that has been awarded to

States in prior years under the three main homeland security first responder grant programs has been obligated.

Second, the \$7 billion includes fiscal year 2005 grant funds which were only made available to States by DHS very recently and could not reasonably be expected to have already been spent in the middle of the same fiscal year.

We should not punish first responders for bureaucratic procedures and red-tape. Our country cannot afford to take resources away from its first responders at a time when we rely on them more than ever.

Mr. President, I urge support of our amendment. I have asked for the yeas and nays. I yield back my time.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I rise today to support this amendment to the fiscal year 2006 Department of Homeland Security appropriations bill to provide additional funding for our first responders and preventers—the men and women who go to work every day to keep our communities safe, and who rush into the face of disaster when it happens.

Last Thursday, the world saw again with the despicable attacks in London that terrorists are still capable of killing innocent civilians. It is yet another wake up call to all of us, and a sign that we cannot let down our guard. We must stay vigilant.

In fact, our intelligence and security experts have been telling us in no uncertain terms that the threat of terrorist attacks right here at home is one we will have to live with for some time to come. CIA Director Porter Goss has said, "It may only be a matter of time" before terrorists strike again within our borders with weapons of mass destruction. And FBI Director Robert Mueller has said our Nation is, "awash in desirable" targets for terrorists.

Given these pronouncements, it is wrong to leave our police, firefighters, and emergency medical workers under-trained and ill-equipped to protect American citizens. We would never consider denying the training and equipment needs of our men and women fighting in Iraq and we should not deny the training and equipment needs of those we rely on to protect us in the war on terror at home.

Yet that is exactly what this spending bill does. It sends the wrong message not only to first responders and the state and local officials struggling to cover the costs of preparing for new threats. It also sends a dangerous message of complacency to the public.

The amendment that Senator AKAKA and I are offering today would boost our first responder spending by \$587 million—to restore three key grants programs to last year's funding levels. Those grant programs are the State Homeland Security Grant Program, the Urban Areas Security Initiative, and the Fire Assistance Grant Program—all of which supply first responders with the training and equipment they need to do their jobs effectively and safely.

Opponents of this amendment will argue that Congress has already appropriated billions of dollars for first responders and preventers since September 11, and that some \$7 billion remains unspent in the pipeline. This is a common misperception.

First, the \$7 billion figure includes fiscal year 2005 grant funds—funds that were only made available to states by DHS very recently and that could not reasonably be expected to have already been spent in the middle of the same fiscal year. Second, the \$7 billion refers to money that has not actually been "drawn down" from the U.S. Treasury. Much of this money, however, has been legally obligated for specific purposes or in some cases even already spent. As DHS's inspector general observed in a March 2004 report on the distribution of first responder grants, "The amounts of funds drawn down by states provide an incomplete picture of the progress states and local jurisdictions are making. A more accurate way to monitor progress would be to identify the amount of funds obligated and spent (outlays) by the states and local jurisdictions."

Following this approach and looking at data we have received from the Department of Homeland Security, it appears that virtually all the money that has been awarded to States in prior years under the three main homeland security first responder grant programs—the State Homeland Security Grant Program, the Urban Area Security Initiative, UASI, and the Law Enforcement Terrorism Prevention Program, has been obligated.

At any rate, the billions we have appropriated over the years still pales by comparison to what most experts—Republican and Democrat—say is needed to adequately prepare our first responders and preventers. In June 2003, a nonpartisan task force chaired by former Republican Senator Warren Rudman reported that—over the next 5 years—we will under fund the needs of critical emergency responders by nearly \$100 billion. And that figure was arrived at based on maintaining 2003 funding levels.

The task force found that, on average, fire departments had enough radios to equip only half the firefighters on a shift, and breathing apparatuses for only one-third. Just 10 percent had the personnel and equipment needed to respond to a building collapse; and police departments did not have the protective gear needed to secure the site of a WMD attack. These dismal numbers may have improved somewhat since 2003, but no one has suggested that our level of preparedness is near where it should be.

On the key issue of first responder communications interoperability—the top priority of State and local homeland security advisors—the task force recommended spending almost \$7 billion over 5 years. And DHS estimates the cost of modernizing first responder communications infrastructure at \$40

billion. No wonder most States have not yet achieved interoperability.

In March, New York's Center for Catastrophe Preparedness and Response reported that emergency medical workers generally lack not only proper equipment but also proper training. And at a Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee hearing in April, we heard disturbing testimony that first responders are often not prepared to respond adequately to accidents at chemical facilities, leaving the American public dangerously exposed, even more so if there is deliberate release caused by terrorists.

I cannot say it often enough: our first responders are on the frontlines of the war on terror here at home, and we must equip and train them to do their jobs safely and effectively. Words of praise are useless. They need dollars—dollars to help train and equip State and local police, firefighters, and emergency medical technicians to help detect or disrupt terrorist activity before an attack occurs or to save as many lives as possible and contain the damage if an attack occurs.

This amendment is a modest proposal—\$587 million—and it seeks primarily to halt to downward trend in funding for our Nation's first responders, and important, and I hope achievable goal. Last year, we spent more on Mars exploration. I have consistently advocated that we spend much more to make sure that first responders have the training and equipment they need to keep the American people safe. For example, earlier this year, I proposed to the Budget and Appropriations Committees that we spend \$4.2 billion more for first responders and preventers, consistent with the advice of experts who have told us that we need to invest billions more to secure our Nation.

Yet this appropriations bill reflects, once again, an ill-advised administration strategy to reduce funding for first responders for the second year in a row. This is no time to retreat. I urge my colleagues to support this modest but urgent effort to meet our homeland security needs.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I appreciate the work of the Senator from Hawaii. He is always a very positive and effective spokesperson in the Senate for a variety of different issues. He brings this amendment forward. The simple fact is that you can't disregard the fact that there is \$7 billion in the pipeline for first responders—\$3 billion from the year 2004, \$4 billion from 2005—that hasn't been spent. This bill puts another \$4 billion into these accounts, so we are not shorting these accounts. One of the reasons the Senate has offered this bill is it takes money from first responders that is not going to be spent in a timely manner, moves it over to Border Patrol where we do need the money, moves it over to weapons of mass destruction where we do

need the money, and that is the priority we set as a committee, in a bipartisan way, because this has been, as I mentioned a number of times, a threat-based bill. This is the first time this bill has been brought forth recently, or ever, really, based on threat, and we determined the threat was weapons of mass destruction and border porousness. The fact there were \$7 billion in the pipeline, retaining \$4 billion in this account we felt was an adequate amount to fund those accounts for first responders, knowing that down the road we are going to put more money into first responders as it can be absorbed. But to put more in now would mean just holding it, and that money can be much more efficiently used as we propose to use it by adding more Border Patrol agents and detention beds, and more aggressive attempts to fight the use of a weapon of mass destruction against us. So that is why we are opposed to this approach.

Clearly, it breaks the allocation which we have received. Therefore, it would add \$587 million to the deficit, which would also be inappropriate, and that is why the point of order lies against it and that is why we oppose it at this point.

I understand we are now on a minute equally divided on the Dodd amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The understanding is 2 minutes equally divided.

Mr. DODD. The chairman is very gracious. He has probably worn out his patience on this amendment.

This amendment is an extraordinary amendment. I fully understand that. I believe the events, particularly over the last week, have highlighted the extraordinary times we are in and the challenges we face.

The bulk of the \$16 billion is not to first responders but to harbors, port and chemical plants where there is great vulnerability today.

Recently, I was in Seville, Spain, attending a conference. I rode the train from Seville to Madrid and arrived in the same station where the attacks occurred in March of 2004. My luggage, when I got on the train in Seville to go to Madrid, was quickly checked through a scanning system. We have nothing like that.

I am not suggesting had something like that existed in London the problem could have been avoided. I know terrorists might have used another means to attack as they did that day, but it minimizes the possibility.

The vulnerabilities we have in our country today in the areas I have described demand attention. With all due respect, this bill is a reduction in funding for these areas, not an increase. We ought to be doing more. This amendment is a large amount, but to do less would be a tragedy. I hope the waiver will be adopted.

Mr. GREGG. This is \$16 billion, \$16 billion into an account where there presently is sitting \$7 billion in the bank.

We as a nation obviously have a lot of vulnerabilities because we are an open society. I wish we could cover them all. But the simple fact is there is not enough money to cover them all. We need to prioritize. This bill does that. This amendment basically flies in the face of good utilization of the dollars because we simply could not spend these types of dollars if they were appropriated effectively. They may get spent but not effectively, in our opinion.

It is much more appropriate to look at addressing weapons of mass destruction, border patrol, airline security, and to make sure we have in place the proper systems in order to protect the homeland through these assessment programs which are going forward before we put a large amount of money—\$16 billion, which would be half the budget of the Homeland Security agency—into new spending initiatives or additional spending initiatives, the \$4 billion in the bill and the \$7 billion in the pipeline.

The point of order has been made. This is a motion to waive it. This amendment would add \$16 billion to the deficit. We do not think it would accomplish what its purpose is.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the question is now agreeing to the motion to waive the Budget Act with respect to Dodd amendment No. 1202, as modified. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. MCCONNELL. The following Senators were necessarily absent: the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. LOTT), and the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. THUNE).

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from Louisiana (Ms. LANDRIEU), and the Senator from Maryland (Ms. MIKULSKI) are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DEMINT). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 36, nays 60, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 177 Leg.]

YEAS—36

|          |            |             |
|----------|------------|-------------|
| Akaka    | Feinstein  | Lincoln     |
| Bayh     | Harkin     | Murray      |
| Biden    | Inouye     | Obama       |
| Boxer    | Jeffords   | Pryor       |
| Byrd     | Johnson    | Reed        |
| Cantwell | Kennedy    | Reid        |
| Clinton  | Kerry      | Rockefeller |
| Corzine  | Kohl       | Salazar     |
| Dayton   | Lautenberg | Sarbanes    |
| Dodd     | Leahy      | Schumer     |
| Durbin   | Levin      | Stabenow    |
| Feingold | Lieberman  | Wyden       |

NAYS—60

|           |           |          |
|-----------|-----------|----------|
| Alexander | Burr      | Craig    |
| Allard    | Carper    | Crapo    |
| Allen     | Chafee    | DeMint   |
| Baucus    | Chambliss | DeWine   |
| Bennett   | Coburn    | Dole     |
| Bingaman  | Cochran   | Domenici |
| Bond      | Coleman   | Dorgan   |
| Brownback | Collins   | Ensign   |
| Bunning   | Conrad    | Enzi     |
| Burns     | Cornyn    | Frist    |

|           |             |           |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| Graham    | Martinez    | Smith     |
| Grassley  | McCain      | Snowe     |
| Gregg     | McConnell   | Specter   |
| Hagel     | Murkowski   | Stevens   |
| Hatch     | Nelson (FL) | Sununu    |
| Hutchison | Nelson (NE) | Talent    |
| Inhofe    | Roberts     | Thomas    |
| Isakson   | Santorum    | Vitter    |
| Kyl       | Sessions    | Voivovich |
| Lugar     | Shelby      | Warner    |

NOT VOTING—4

|          |          |
|----------|----------|
| Landrieu | Mikulski |
| Lott     | Thune    |

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 36, the nays are 60. Three-fifths of the Senators duly chosen and sworn not having voted in the affirmative, the motion is rejected. The point of order is sustained and the amendment falls.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is recognized.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, let me take a moment and update everybody on the schedule. We are going to have one additional vote scheduled this evening. We will be starting that momentarily. We have 14 additional amendments pending at this time. We should be able to lock in a voting sequence for tomorrow morning, and thus we will have one more vote tonight, and then we will have a series of stacked votes beginning tomorrow morning at 10 a.m. As we have said again and again, we will be completing the bill this week, and we can complete the bill late tomorrow night but, if necessary, we would go into Friday. But we will finish the bill this week.

Senators should be prepared to stay late tomorrow night. We will have one more vote starting shortly, and we will start stacked votes at 10 in the morning. We will work straight through tomorrow, hopefully finish tomorrow night. We will be in on Friday as well, but I think we can finish this bill tomorrow night.

AMENDMENT NO. 1112, AS MODIFIED

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There are now 2 minutes of debate equally divided on the Akaka amendment. The Senator from Hawaii is recognized.

Mr. AKAKA. Mr. President, we have been very concerned about first responders and funding they really need. My amendment simply seeks to maintain the fiscal year 2005 funding for first responders. Our country cannot afford to take the resources away from them. I urge support of the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, this amendment adds \$587 million in new spending to first responder grants, above the levels provided already in the bill. There is no offset. The bill already provides \$3.4 billion for first responder grants. In addition, there is nearly \$7 billion previously appropriated that State and locals have available to spend at this time for first responders. The funding pipeline is full of money. This amendment will cause the subcommittee to exceed its 302(b) allocation. The Budget Act point of order should be sustained.

Have the yeas and nays been ordered?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the question is on agreeing to the motion to waive the Budget Act with respect to the Akaka amendment No. 1112, as modified.

The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. McCONNELL. The following Senator was necessarily absent: the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. LOTT).

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from Louisiana (Ms. LANDRIEU), and the Senator from Maryland (Ms. MIKULSKI) are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 42, nays 55, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 178 Leg.]

YEAS—42

|          |            |             |
|----------|------------|-------------|
| Akaka    | Durbin     | Lincoln     |
| Baucus   | Feingold   | Murray      |
| Bayh     | Feinstein  | Nelson (FL) |
| Biden    | Harkin     | Nelson (NE) |
| Bingaman | Inouye     | Obama       |
| Boxer    | Jeffords   | Pryor       |
| Byrd     | Johnson    | Reed        |
| Cantwell | Kennedy    | Reid        |
| Carper   | Kerry      | Rockefeller |
| Clinton  | Kohl       | Salazar     |
| Corzine  | Lautenberg | Sarbanes    |
| Dayton   | Leahy      | Schumer     |
| Dodd     | Levin      | Stabenow    |
| Dorgan   | Lieberman  | Wyden       |

NAYS—55

|           |           |           |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Alexander | DeMint    | McConnell |
| Allard    | DeWine    | Murkowski |
| Allen     | Dole      | Roberts   |
| Bennett   | Domenici  | Santorum  |
| Bond      | Ensign    | Sessions  |
| Brownback | Enzi      | Shelby    |
| Bunning   | Frist     | Smith     |
| Burns     | Graham    | Snowe     |
| Burr      | Grassley  | Specter   |
| Chafee    | Gregg     | Stevens   |
| Chambliss | Hagel     | Sununu    |
| Coburn    | Hatch     | Talent    |
| Cochran   | Hutchison | Thomas    |
| Coleman   | Inhofe    | Thune     |
| Collins   | Isakson   | Vitter    |
| Conrad    | Kyl       | Voivovich |
| Cornyn    | Lugar     | Warner    |
| Craig     | Martinez  |           |
| Crapo     | McCain    |           |

NOT VOTING—3

Landrieu Lott Mikulski

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 42, the nays are 55. Three-fifths of the Senators duly chosen and sworn not having voted in the affirmative, the motion is rejected. The point of order is sustained, and the amendment falls.

The Senator from New Hampshire.

AMENDMENT NO. 1172

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, at this time I call up amendment No. 1172 on behalf of Senator THOMAS and ask it be reported.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GREGG], for Mr. THOMAS, proposes an amendment numbered 1172.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To authorize and direct the Secretary of Homeland Security to designate Natrona County International Airport, Wyoming, as an airport at which certain private aircraft arriving in the United States from a foreign area may land for processing by the United States Customs and Border Protection, and for other purposes)

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. \_\_\_\_\_. (a) Not later than 60 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall designate the Natrona International Airport in Casper, Wyoming, as an airport at which private aircraft described in subsection (b) may land for processing by the United States Customs and Border Protection in accordance with section 122.24(b) of title 19, Code of Federal Regulations, and such airport shall not be treated as a user fee airport for purposes of section 122.15 of title 19, Code of Federal Regulations.

(b) PRIVATE AIRCRAFT.—Private aircraft described in this subsection are private aircraft that—

(1) arrive in the United States from a foreign area and have a final destination in the United States of Natrona International Airport in Casper, Wyoming; and

(2) would otherwise be required to land for processing by the United States Customs and Border Protection at an airport listed in section 122.24(b) of title 19, Code of Federal Regulations, in accordance with such section.

(c) DEFINITION.—In this section, the term “private aircraft” has the meaning given such term in section 122.23(a)(1) of title 19, Code of Federal Regulations.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment (No. 1172) was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 1173, AS MODIFIED

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I call up amendment No. 1173 on behalf of Senator HUTCHISON, and I send a modification to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GREGG], for Mrs. HUTCHISON, proposes an amendment numbered 1173, as modified.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To express the sense of the Senate regarding coordination with the American Red Cross)

On page 100, between lines 11 and 12, insert the following:

SEC. 519. It is the sense of the Senate that the Federal Emergency Management Agency or any other organization within the Department of Homeland Security should continue to coordinate with the American Red Cross in developing a mass care plan for the United States in response to a catastrophic event.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment, as modified be agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment (No. 1173), as modified, was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 1171, AS MODIFIED

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask for the regular order on Senator MCCAIN's amendment No. 1171, as modified.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is now pending.

AMENDMENT NO. 1221 TO AMENDMENT NO. 1171, AS MODIFIED

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I send a second-degree amendment on behalf of Senator HATCH to Senator MCCAIN's amendment No. 1171.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GREGG], for Mr. HATCH, proposes an amendment numbered 1221 to amendment No. 1171, as modified.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To clarify the source of funds allocated under amendment No. 1171 to H.R. 2360)

(A) On line 3, page 2, strike “.” and insert “;”.

(B) Add at the end, “provided that the balance shall be allocated from the funds available to the Secretary of Homeland Security for States, urban areas, or regions based on risks; threats; vulnerabilities pursuant to Homeland Security Presidential Directive 8 (HSPD-8).”

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the second-degree amendment offered by Senator HATCH be agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment (No. 1221) was agreed to.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at 10 a.m. tomorrow, the Senate proceed to a series of votes in relation to the following amendments or motions where pending; further, that no second-degree amendments be in order to any of the amendments prior to the votes, and that there be 2 minutes equally divided for debate prior to each vote; finally, that the first vote in the series be 15 minutes, with the remaining votes in the series limited to 10 minutes each. The first amendment will be Senators ENSIGN and MCCAIN second-degree amendment No. 1219; the second amendment will be Senator SCHUMER's amendment No. 1189; third will be Senator SCHUMER's amendment No. 1190; fourth will be Senator MCCAIN's amendment No. 1171, as modified, as amended by the Hatch amendment; and fifth will be Senator STABENOW's amendment No. 1217.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 1161

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I call up amendment No. 1161, which is at the desk. I wish to have it reported.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. REID], for himself, Mr. BIDEN, and Mr. KENNEDY, proposes an amendment numbered 1161.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To express the sense of the Senate on the submittal to Congress of a report on performance indicators on Iraq)

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. \_\_\_\_ (a) FINDINGS.—The Senate makes the following findings:

(1) The Joint Explanatory Statement to accompany the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Defense, the Global War on Terror, and Tsunami Relief, 2005 (Public Law 1090913) requires the Department of Defense to set forth in a report to Congress a comprehensive set of performance indicators and measures for progress toward military and political stability in Iraq.

(2) The report requires performance standards and goals for security, economic, and security force training objectives in Iraq together with a notional timetable for achieving these goals.

(3) In specific, the report required, at a minimum, the following:

(A) With respect to stability and security in Iraq, the following:

(i) Key measures of political stability, including the important political milestones that must be achieved over the next several years.

(ii) The primary indicators of a stable security environment in Iraq, such as number of engagements per day, numbers of trained Iraqi forces, and trends relating to numbers and types of ethnic and religious-based hostile encounters.

(iii) An assessment of the estimated strength of the insurgency in Iraq and the extent to which it is composed of non-Iraqi fighters.

(iv) A description of all militias operating in Iraq, including the number, size, equipment strength, military effectiveness, sources of support, legal status, and efforts to disarm or reintegrate each militia.

(v) Key indicators of economic activity that should be considered the most important for determining the prospects of stability in Iraq, including—

(I) unemployment levels;

(II) electricity, water, and oil production rates; and

(III) hunger and poverty levels.

(vi) The criteria the Administration will use to determine when it is safe to begin withdrawing United States forces from Iraq.

(B) With respect to the training and performance of security forces in Iraq, the following:

(i) The training provided Iraqi military and other Ministry of Defense forces and the equipment used by such forces.

(ii) Key criteria for assessing the capabilities and readiness of the Iraqi military and

other Ministry of Defense forces, goals for achieving certain capability and readiness levels (as well as for recruiting, training, and equipping these forces), and the milestones and notional timetable for achieving these goals.

(iii) The operational readiness status of the Iraqi military forces, including the type, number, size, and organizational structure of Iraqi battalions that are—

(I) capable of conducting counter-insurgency operations independently;

(II) capable of conducting counter-insurgency operations with the support of United States or coalition forces; or

(III) not ready to conduct counter-insurgency operations.

(iv) The rates of absenteeism in the Iraqi military forces and the extent to which insurgents have infiltrated such forces.

(v) The training provided Iraqi police and other Ministry of Interior forces and the equipment used by such forces.

(vi) Key criteria for assessing the capabilities and readiness of the Iraqi police and other Ministry of Interior forces, goals for achieving certain capability and readiness levels (as well as for recruiting, training, and equipping), and the milestones and notional timetable for achieving these goals, including—

(I) the number of police recruits that have received classroom training and the duration of such instruction;

(II) the number of veteran police officers who have received classroom instruction and the duration of such instruction;

(III) the number of police candidates screened by the Iraqi Police Screening Service, the number of candidates derived from other entry procedures, and the success rates of those groups of candidates;

(IV) the number of Iraqi police forces who have received field training by international police trainers and the duration of such instruction; and

(V) attrition rates and measures of absenteeism and infiltration by insurgents.

(vii) The estimated total number of Iraqi battalions needed for the Iraqi security forces to perform duties now being undertaken by coalition forces, including defending the borders of Iraq and providing adequate levels of law and order throughout Iraq.

(viii) The effectiveness of the Iraqi military and police officer cadres and the chain of command.

(ix) The number of United States and coalition advisors needed to support the Iraqi security forces and associated ministries.

(x) An assessment, in a classified annex if necessary, of United States military requirements, including planned force rotations, through the end of calendar year 2006.

(3) The deadline for submittal of the report to Congress was 60 days after the date of the enactment of the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Defense, the Global War on Terror, and Tsunami Relief, 2005, that is July 11, 2005, and every 90 days thereafter through the end of fiscal year 2006.

(4) The report has not yet been received by Congress.

(5) The availability of accurate data on key performance indicators is critical to understanding whether the United States strategy in Iraq is succeeding, and the substantial resources provided by Congress, which total more than \$200,000,000,000 and an approximate monthly expenditure of \$5,000,000,000, with substantial resource expenditures still to come, are being utilized effectively.

(b) SENSE OF SENATE.—It is the sense of the Senate that—

(1) the information requested in the report described by subsection (a) is critical—

(A) to fulfilling the oversight obligations of Congress;

(B) to ensuring the success of United States strategy in Iraq;

(C) to maximizing the effectiveness of the substantial resources provided by Congress and the American people for United States efforts in Iraq;

(D) to identifying when the Iraqi security forces will be able to assume responsibility for security in Iraq; and

(E) to obtaining an estimate of the level of United States troops that will be necessary in Iraq during 2005 and 2006, and in any years thereafter;

(2) the report should be provided by the Department of Defense, as required by the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Defense, the Global War on Terror, and Tsunami Relief, 2005 as soon as possible; and

(3) the Secretary of Defense should communicate to Congress and the American people why the report was not submitted to Congress by the original deadline for its submittal.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, in the 2005 Iraq Emergency Supplemental Appropriations bill, the House and Senate conferees agreed to an extensive set of Defense Department reporting and benchmarking requirements on Iraq that addressed the security, economic, reconstruction, and governance areas.

This report was due on July 11, and has yet to be provided to Congress.

This amendment conveys the Sense of the Senate that this information is critical to formulating a strategy for success and that the report should be delivered to Congress as soon as possible.

Over the last few weeks, the American people have been assured by the administration that they have a strategy for success in Iraq.

Unfortunately, too often the rhetorical excesses of senior administration officials have left an impression with the American people of a credibility gap.

Overly optimistic statements such as that by the Vice President that the insurgency is in its ‘last throes’ have not matched what real experts, including the administration’s own intelligence analysts and senior military officers, have said about the challenges ahead.

With all this obfuscation, the American people are right to be concerned and right to demand that the administration report more cold, hard facts about Iraq on a regular basis.

As the administration asks Congress for billions more in funding for the Iraq war in coming months, on top of the more than \$218 billion we have provided so far, the American people are entitled to information measuring whether those resources are having an impact and moving the ball forward in Iraq.

Let me remind my colleagues that this is important not just for our debate about Iraq but for our debate about other priorities such as homeland security. We spend more on Iraq in a month than we spend on first responders in an entire year. Since 9/11, we have spent \$500 million on mass transit security—an amount that we

spend every 3 days in our operations in Iraq. This puts a premium on ensuring the taxpayers' money is being well spent.

We won't know whether our strategy in Iraq is making true progress until real report cards start coming in.

The amendment is a reminder that the first of these report cards from the administration was due this past Monday, and that the representatives of the people in Congress are waiting.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, what is the amendment now pending in the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Amendment No. 1161 offered by the Democratic leader.

Mr. REID. I ask that the Senate act on the amendment at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate on the amendment? If not, the question is on agreeing to amendment No. 1161.

The amendment (No. 1161) was agreed to.

Mr. REID. I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. GREGG. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

#### AMENDMENT NO. 1075

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask for the regular order with respect to amendment No. 1075. It is Senator VOINOVICH's amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is pending.

Mr. GREGG. I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment (No. 1075) was agreed to.

#### AMENDMENT NO. 1151

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask for the regular order with respect to McCain amendment No. 1151.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is now pending.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment (No. 1151) was agreed to.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there now be a period for the transaction of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### SENATE FIRST QUARTER ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Mr. McCONNELL. Madam President, as we return from the celebrations marking our Nation's Independence Day, we should take a moment to mark the accomplishments of this Senate as we conclude the first quarter of the 109th Session of the U.S. Congress.

The list of accomplishments is impressive.

Judges to our circuit courts of appeals, stalled for years, now sit on the bench. Key legislative initiatives, once left to languish, are now the law of the land or on the brink of completion.

Class action reform protects plaintiffs from abusive coupon settlements while it prevents lawyers from gaming the system.

It had been delayed for at least a decade despite strong public support and legislative majorities. Now it has been signed into law by President Bush.

So too was a bankruptcy reform bill that ushers in a new emphasis on personal responsibility. It is another reform of our civil justice system that was long delayed, despite broad support.

We met our responsibilities to defend freedom, and the challenges of continuing to wage war on terrorism, with an emergency funding bill for Iraq.

We responded to the heart-breaking human cry for help by funding international relief efforts for victims of the Southeast Asia tsunami.

The budget resolution, which sets the vision of this nation, was completed and now permits smooth consideration of appropriations bills, tax relief measures, the highway bill, the energy bill and numerous other initiatives.

After failures to enact a budget in two of the last three sessions, getting this one in place means we are on course to meeting the President's goal of cutting the deficit in half while funding our important priorities of health, education, veterans, and homeland security.

When we've found that our budget needed to be adjusted to meet the medical needs of veterans, we voted to make the adjustments to ensure veterans have the health care they need this year as well as next.

We now are poised to soon enact a highway bill that will help Americans get where they need to go more quickly and safely, and will help create jobs within our States as well.

We are going to conference now on an Energy bill that will help reduce our national dependence on foreign sources of oil and prevent blackouts like the

one that hit the Northeast United States in 2003.

We made the homeland safer by passing the Real ID provision. These provisions tighten our borders, reform our asylum system, and safeguard our identity documents so that terrorists cannot use them to avoid detection.

We've broken the unprecedented three-year filibuster of President Bush's judicial nominees who finally received up-or-down votes. Now, Judges Owen, Pryor, Brown, Griffith, McKeague, and Griffin have each taken their oaths and assumed the Federal appellate bench.

Most recently, the Senate has expanded the benefits of free trade, economic opportunity, and political stability to new regions of our own hemisphere with Senate passage of the Central American Free Trade Agreement.

We've made a good down payment on the appropriations process by passing the Interior, Legislative Branch, and Energy and Water.

And finally, this week we have paid our respects and expressed our condolences to the victims of the London terrorist bombings, and are proceeding to work on funding our own homeland security needs.

Freedom never had a greater ally than the valiant United Kingdom, and the United Kingdom will never have a greater friend than America. Our prayers are with that great nation today.

That is an incredible body of achievement in just six months. Where once there was inaction, we can now boast of accomplishment. We have done what the American people sent us here to do.

I hope everyone enjoyed the Fourth of July weekend and paused for a moment to celebrate the fact behind those fireworks—that government of, for, and by the people can work, and that the accomplishments of this Senate show that it does work.

### ETHIOPIA

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, today I rise to express concern about recent events in Ethiopia. On May 15, 2005, 90 percent of registered Ethiopian voters went to the polls in the country's third election under its current constitution. Unfortunately, this historic election was marred by a disputed outcome. Because of the controversy over the election, civil unrest ensued. In responding to protests by opposition parties, the Government of Ethiopia acted with excessive force, killing 36 protestors and arresting large numbers of demonstrators.

Final results of the May election were due to be completed by the National Electoral Board first by June 8, then by July 8, and are still ongoing. Interim certified results from the Electoral Board indicate that approximately 40 percent of the vote is either still under investigation or in need of review, with one region of the country still to cast its ballots.

Let me be crystal clear that the Government of Ethiopia must respect the