children an opportunity to achieve the American dream.

TRIBUTE TO JUDY ANSLEY

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I rise today to commend an outstanding public servant, Judy Ansley who for many years has worked as diligently and as ably as anyone with whom I have had the privilege of serving during my years in the Senate. Today Judy serves as the first woman staff director of the Senate Armed Services Committee. During my time as vice chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, Judy was the minority staff director.

How proud I am; how proud the Senate is that Judy Ansley has been selected for the position of Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for European Affairs at the National Security Council. The administration could not have made a better choice for this important post, and I am confident that Judy will serve her country with dignity and honor, as she has done throughout her extensive career in public service.

My only regret is that Judy Ansley will be stepping down as the staff director for the Armed Services Committee after next week. Over the course of the last 6 years, Judy has dedicated her time, energy, and intelligence to the work of the Committee with great enthusiasm. As the deputy staff director and staff director, Judy has provided exceptional leadership to the committee during challenging times, and I am deeply grateful for her profound concern for the issues facing the men and women of our armed services. I am confident that my colleagues on the committee would agree that she has been an indispensable resource for our efforts.

In those instances where she had professional views in opposition to mine, she never hesitated to express them. I trust she will most respectfully continue to offer her candid assessments in her new job at the White House.

As the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, I have had the opportunity to observe closely Judy's indefatigable efforts. Before she joined the committee, Judy served as my national security advisor for 5 years, and her keen judgment and incisiveness were readily apparent throughout her work. Truly, while I am pleased that the administration will be gaining such a remarkable asset, I will miss Judy's wise counsel. I send my deepest gratitude to Judy as she begins her transition to the National Security Council, and I join with her wonderful family—husband Steve and daughters Megan and Rachel—in celebrating this achievement.

I also take this opportunity to announce Judy's successor as staff director for the Armed Services Committee. I have asked Mr. Charles S. Abell, the Principal Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness, to become the new staff director, and it gives me great pleasure to note that he has accepted this responsibility.

A humble and devoted patriot, Charlie Abell has served his country with valor in every endeavor. Before joining the administration, Charlie was an exceptional member of the Armed Services Committee professional staff. During his years with the committee staff, Charlie was the lead staffer for the Subcommittee on Personnel, including issues of military readiness and quality of life. A highly decorated soldier, he retired from the Army as a lieutenant colonel after 26 years of distinguished service. I was privileged to work with this outstanding public servant during his previous term with the Committee, and I look forward to collaborating with him in the months ahead.

BLOODSHED IN CHECHNYA

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, the Romans, said Tacitus, ''created a desert and called it peace.'' The Russian Government has created a wasteland of death and destruction in Chechnya and called it ''normalization.''

Over 10 years since the beginning of the Chechen war in post-Soviet Russia, the carnage in Chechnya continues, taking the lives of Chechens and Russians alike. Moreover, the echoes of the conflict are now stretching across the entire North Caucasus region. Given the information blockade that the Russian Government has thrown up around Chechnya, the world hears little of the violence and suffering taking place in those mountains far away.

Nevertheless, some information does get out. As Chairman of the Helsinki Commission, I would like to share some of this information with my distinguished colleagues.

According to Agence France Press, on June 4, 2005, an estimated 200–300 armed men, arriving in jeeps, trucks and armored personnel carriers, staged an attack on the village of Borozdinovskaya, near the border with neighboring Dagestan. These villagers are not Chechen, but Avars, Dagestan's most numerous ethnic group. The raiders beat dozens of men and torched at least three houses. Eleven men vanished and are feared dead. The villagers have no idea who the assailants were, but evidence points to a battalion of amnestied former Chechen rebels allegedly operating under the command of Russia's military intelligence.

In fear of their lives, almost the entire village has fled to the Dagestan side of the border, camping out in tents in a field, fearing to return.

There has been no official explanation for the raid.

This is only one example of the violence that may engulf an unsuspecting village that comes into the crosshairs of the pro-Moscow Chechen militias that operate with impunity and unrestrained cruelty. A number of these militias are no more than marauding gangs only nominally under the authority of the pro-Moscow regime in the Chechen capital of Grozny.

In its March 2005 publication, ''More of the Same: Extrajudicial Killings, Enforced 'Disappearances', Illegal Arrests, Torture,'' the International Helsinki Federation reports:

> ''There are a few signs of peaceful life. Compensations for lost housing are slowly beginning to be paid (on rare occasions, even without kick-back to relevant officials), separate islands of reconstruction are appearing in Grozny, and many cars are visible on the streets. The central open-air market is ever so busy.
>
> But some other things have not changed at all: Abductions and illegal detentions of civilians by unknown armed persons dressed in camouflage are still pervasive. The only difference is that these people now do not arrive exclusively in military vehicles, but in regular cars as well. As a result, murders, torture, and beatings have remained unchanged. And the prosecutor's office is still unable or unwilling to provide effective investigation into these endless cases.''

Let me make it clear. I have no sympathy for Chechen partisans, or those purporting to sympathize with them, who have committed, and may yet commit, terrorist attacks against the innocent citizens of the Russian Federation, or against those Chechens who may not support the secessionist movement. When we speak of the terrorist attacks on New York, Washington, Madrid, London, Bali, and other cities around the world, we must not forget Moscow, Budennovsk, and Beslan. There must be no double standard in judging terrorism, nor is there any justification for people resorting to terrorism against innocent civilians.

But I refer to one of the most perceptive editorials written on the subject of Chechnya. In the November 11, 2002 issue of Newsweek, Fareed Zacharia wrote:

> ''[The Chechens] have been ruthless warriors for their cause, utterly unable to form a stable government, and have indeed resorted to terror. But Russia's actions have helped turn them into terrorists. Russia has destroyed Chechnya as a place, as a polity and as a society. Chechnya is now a wasteland, populated by marauding gangs Putin has spoken of Al Qaeda's presence in Chechnya, but none existed until recently when Chechens, devastated by the Russian onslaught, took help from wherever they could get it.

Some residents of Chechnya, having despaired of finding justice in the Russian judicial system and rejecting terrorism, have applied to the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg. They are seeking redress for human rights violations committed under cover of Moscow's ''anti-terrorism campaign.'' Many of these applicants have been harassed and detained by the authorities.

One applicant, Zura Bitieva, had filed an application with Strasbourg regarding the abuses at the notorious ''filtration'' prison at Chernokosovo. Subsequently, she was killed in May 2003 along with her husband and son during a raid on their home.

The world recoiled in horror from the murderous attack on children in

Beslan, North Ossetia. This is but one example of the spread of the cancer of violence emanating from Chechnya. A few days ago, President Putin made an unannounced visit to Dagestan to review the deteriorating security situation in that unquiet Russian republic. Unrest and violence have occurred also in Ingushetia and Kabardino-Balkaria.

Russia is entitled to protect its territorial integrity and to preserve order within its borders, but Moscow's methods hark back to the practices of the Middle Ages. It is as if the principles of the Geneva Accords, the UN, the Council of Europe and the OSCE are completely unknown let alone apply—in Chechnya.

To the best of my knowledge, no one in the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs has had to answer for the brutality that has taken place at the Chernokosovo prison. When horrific practices at Chernokosovo became known to the international community, Moscow merely shifted the facility's jurisdiction to the Ministry of Justice. According to human rights activists, ''filtration'' procedures simply moved to smaller, less visible places.

Does no one in the Kremlin stop to consider that continued brutalization of the population and corrupt governance will likely increase the appeal of Islamic radicals in the region? Is Russia's policy in Chechnya the strategy of a serious partner in the war against international terrorism? Or is Russia fighting a fire with an extinguisher filled with gasoline?

Next year Russia will chair the G8. Many informed observers doubt whether Russia should remain a member of the G8, given the downward trajectory of human rights and civil liberties in Russia today.

The Russian Federation's policy in Chechnya reinforces those doubts.

FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE MURDER OF PAUL KLEBNIKOV

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, I would like to engage in a colloquy with my colleague from New York and fellow member of the U.S. Helsinki Commission, Senator CLINTON.

Mrs. CLINTON. Mr. President, I am pleased to join in a colloquy with the senior Senator from Kansas, and my chairman on the Helsinki Commission, Mr. BROWNBACK. We are united in believing the subject we will address is of great importance to this body. I appreciate my chairman's willingness to present these issues to our colleagues.

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, 1 year ago this month a tragic crime occurred on the streets of Moscow. On July 9, 2004, Paul Klebnikov, the 41-year-old American editor of Forbes Russia, was murdered in a gangland-style shooting near his Moscow office. His death was an enormous loss for investigative journalism and for efforts to establish the kind of transparent civil society that the Russian people so want and deserve.

Mrs. CLINTON. The most plausible explanation for his murder appears to be the power of his investigative journalism, which explored the connections between business, politics, and crime in Russia. His murder has galvanized those who care deeply about justice, as well as the fate of democracy and the rule of law in Russia.

Paul Klebnikov was a descendant of Russian émigrés and a New Yorker. His widow Musa Klebnikov and children still live in New York City. Paul's murder shows us in tragic terms one of the threats faced by the press and civil society in Russia. The silencing of Paul Klebnikov's voice is a direct challenge to independent journalism, democracy, and the rule of law.

Mr. BROWNBACK. Reading his reporting from Russia, one could tell that he was deeply troubled by the crime and corruption that plagued his ancestral homeland. His personal association with his subject, combined with an educational background in economics, his excellent command of the Russian language, and 15 years experience with the Forbes organization, made him uniquely qualified to report on the nexus of business, politics, and crime in today's Russia.

Paul Klebnikov's killing epitomizes the brazen lawlessness that still plagues Russia even after the ascension to power of a putatively ''law and order'' ex-KGB official. For all the talk about stability in Russia today, it is sometimes a stability based on not asking the wrong questions about the wrong people.

Mrs. CLINTON. Paul Klebnikov's widow Musa has explained that Paul, through his journalism, sought to foster hope in the hearts of the ordinary Russian citizen, bring corruption to light and focus attention on positive models of how a democracy ought to operate.

Chairman Brownback and I have sought to keep the attention of the United States Government focused on reinforcing with Russian authorities the vital need to hold to account all those responsible for Paul Klebnikov's murder. I was pleased to join with nine of my colleagues on the Helsinki Commission in writing to President Putin and calling for an aggressive investigation into the killing.

I also wrote to President Bush to ask him to raise the issue of Paul's murder with President Putin during their meeting in Bratislava, Slovakia on February 24th. That meeting with President Putin presented an opportunity to make clear that all those involved in instigating, ordering, planning and carrying out the murder should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

The Helsinki Commission and my office have been assured that representatives of the State Department have expressed to the Government of Russia the United States Government's desire to see a thorough and complete investigation of this murder.

Mr. BROWNBACK. Yes, State Department and other administration officials have raised the issue frequently with their Russian counterparts. Furthermore, State and other relevant Government agencies have formed an interagency working group to follow the case and consult on strategy. Secretaries of State Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice met with Klebnikov family members to keep them informed on progress. In addition, Secretary Rice's public remarks during her February 5 visit to Warsaw are heartening. She said it ''is important that Russia make clear to the world that it is intent on strengthening the rule of law, strengthening the role of an independent judiciary, permitting a free and independent press to flourish. These are all the basics of democracy.''

Mrs. CLINTON. For their part, Russian law enforcement authorities have made arrests and filed charges. While Russian authorities should be commended for the energy they have shown to date, there are additional steps that would increase the chances that all those responsible are held to account. I hope that the United States Government will continue to make clear to Russian authorities that resources such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation are available to assist Russian authorities in the investigation.

Mr. BROWNBACK. Earlier this year, Russian authorities charged two Chechens, Musa Vakhayev and Kazbek Dukuzov, with killing Paul Klebnikov, and subsequently announced that the man who ordered the murder was one Khozh-Akmed Nukaev a former official of the rebel Chechen government. Klebnikov had interviewed Nukaev extensively in his book ''Conversations with a Barbarian,'' and supposedly Nukhayev wanted revenge for the journalist's critical portrayal of him in the book. Mr. Nukaev's present whereabouts are unknown. I should add that relatives and friends of Paul have expressed their doubts about this accusation, which raises more questions than it answers.

Mrs. CLINTON. These recent developments underline the fundamental importance of transparency. I hope the Russian authorities will share as much information as possible with Paul Klebnikov's family. Without a transparent process, doubt will remain that the person or persons truly responsible for ordering Paul's murder will be brought to justice.

Mr. BROWNBACK. Paul believed that the press was the last outpost of freedom of speech in Russia. The fear and self-censorship generated by killing journalists benefits corrupt government officials and businessmen, as well as organized crime figures.

Solving the murder no matter where the investigation leads—will send the signal to other malefactors who seek to muzzle free speech that the days of impunity and lawlessness are over. As we wrote to President Putin, this case is not just about one person, but about what he represented to a new and democratic Russia. I would note also

that at least two more journalists have been killed in Russia since Paul's death.

Mrs. CLINTON. Paul Klebnikov's work continues to serve the people of Russia and the cause of democracy. We should continue to press authorities to find everyone who was involved in Paul's murder and hold them to account.

Mr. BROWNBACK. I agree with my colleague from New York. And as Members of the Helsinki Commission, let us work to achieve the goal of freedom of the press, transparency and democracy in Russia.

Mrs. CLINTON. That would be an appropriate gesture in honor of Paul Klebnikov. I look forward to continuing my work with the senior Senator from Kansas and chairman of the Helsinki Commission, and I thank him for his leadership.

Mr. BROWNBACK. I commend the active interest the junior Senator from New York has taken in the Klebnikov case, and I look forward to our further collaboration on other vital OSCE issues before the Helsinki Commission.

DR. KENT AMES

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I rise on the floor today to express my thanks and appreciation to Dr. Kent Ames, who today completes his fellowship in my office, after 9 months of dedicated work with me, my staff, and my constituents in Oregon.

Dr. Ames is a distinguished member of two occupations: veterinary medicine and higher education. He was selected by the Association of American Veterinary Medical Colleges as the North American Outstanding Teacher in 1995. In 2001, Kent served as president of the American Association of Bovine Practitioners.

Kent's fellowship in my office was sponsored by the American Association for the Advancement of Science. During his time here in Washington, DC, Kent has provided a unique scientific perspective on a notable array of policy issues across the spectrum. In the Commerce Committee, he has worked on nanoscience, NASA authorization and the confirmation of the current NASA Administrator. It is thus only fitting that the last week of Kent's fellowship coincided with the successful launch of Shuttle *Discovery*.

Kent's passions seem to be sparked most when politics and science converge. There is no better arena to experience this than in natural resources, especially if one is a veterinarian. In a short time period, Kent has lent his scientific background and outlook to issues such as mad cow disease and international beef trade, foodborne disease, biosecurity, wolf reintroduction, and animal treatment. The management of feral horse populations in the West, which significantly affects Oregon, has been of particular interest to Kent. He developed an enthusiastic and widely recognized expertise in the issue, as well as the scientific and ethical implications of varying policy options.

More than all of this, however, my staff and I deeply value the friendship we have made with Kent Ames. We will miss his warm character and his stories, and wish him happy trails for the days ahead.

POLICIES RELATED TO DETAINEES FROM THE WAR ON TERROR

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, when the Senate reconvenes in September, one of the first orders of business will be the Defense authorization bill. During August, I respectfully suggest the President reconsider his opposition to legislation that would set the rules for the treatment and interrogation of detainees.

I have decided to cosponsor three amendments to the Defense authorization bill that clarify our policies relative to detainees from the war on terror. There has been some debate about whether it is appropriate for Congress to set rules on the treatment of detainees, but for me this question isn't even close.

The people through their elected representatives should set the rules for how detainees and prisoners under U.S. control are treated and interrogated. In the short term, the President can set the rules, but the war on terror is now nearly 4 years old. We don't want judges making up the rules. So, for the long term, the people should set the rules. That is why we have a independent Congress.

In fact, the Constitution says, quite clearly, that is what Congress should do: article I, section 8 of the Constitution says that Congress, and Congress alone, shall have the power to ''make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water.''

So Congress has a responsibility to set clear rules here.

But the spirit of these amendments is really one that I hope the White House will decide to embrace. In essence, these amendments codify military procedures and policies, procedures in the Army Field Manual, policies regarding compliance with the Convention Against Torture signed by President Reagan, and policies the Defense Department has set regarding the classification of detainees.

That is right. All three of these amendments uphold or codify policies and procedures the administration says we are following today and intend to follow moving forward.

Senator GRAHAM's amendment No. 1505 authorizes the system the Defense Department has created—Combat Status Review Tribunals—which are there for determining whether a detainee is a lawful or unlawful combatant and then ensures that information from interrogating those detainees was derived from following the rules regarding their treatment. Senator GRAHAM's amendment also allows the President to make adjustments when necessary as long as he notifies Congress.

The first McCain Amendment No. 1556, prohibits cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment of detainees. The amendment is in specific compliance with the Convention Against Torture that was signed by President Reagan. The administration says that we are already upholding those standards when it comes to treatment of detainees, so this should be no problem.

The second McCain amendment No. 1557 states simply that the interrogation techniques used by the military on detainees shall be those specified by the Army Field Manual on Intelligence Interrogation. The military, not Congress, writes that manual, and we are told that the techniques specified in that manual will do the job. Further, the manual is under revision now to include techniques related to unlawful combatants, including classified portions, that will continue to give the President and the military a great deal of flexibility.

If the President thinks these are the wrong rules, I hope he will submit new ones to Congress so that we can debate and pass them. I am one Senator who would give great weight to the President's views on this matter. It is quite possible the Graham and McCain amendments need to be altered to set the right rules, but it is time for Congress to act.

This has been a gray area in our law. In this gray area, the question is who should set the rules. In the short term, surely the President can. In the longer term, the people should, through their elected representatives. We don't want the courts to write the rules.

In summary, it is time for Congress, which represents the people, to clarify and set the rules for detention and interrogation of our enemies. During the next few weeks, I hope the White House will tell us what rules and procedures the President needs to succeed in this effort. That way we can move forward together.

VOTE CLARIFICATION

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, on the Craig amendment No. 1644 to S. 397, I was unavoidably absent. Had I been present I would have voted ''no'' on the Craig amendment.

VOTE EXPLANATION

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Mr. President, on July 25 and 26, 2005, I was absent from the Senate because I was taking care of an important family matter. During those days, I missed the following six rollcall votes.

Rollcall vote No. 206, taken on July 26, 2005, on the motion to invoke cloture on S. 397, Protection of Lawful Commerce in Arms Act.

Rollcall vote No. 205, taken on July 26, 2005, on the motion to invoke cloture on S. 1042, National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal year 2006.