

even his fiercest political opponents respected his sense of fairness and welcomed his friendship.

Mark Twain said:

The fear of death follows from the fear of life. A man who lives fully is prepared to die at any time.

Stewart Udall was a man who lived life fully. He had a zest for life and a thirst for knowledge and experience that was truly without bounds. I cannot say where this enthusiasm for experience was rooted, but it must have been nourished by the intimate and painful memories from no less than 50 missions as a tail gunner during the Second World War. I still marvel at this feat of endurance and bravery. The average life expectancy for a B-17 crew in the European theater was allegedly 14 missions. He flew 50. It was something he rarely spoke about.

I know if he were here with us today, Stewart would be in the thick of our debate about energy, the threat of climate change, and lessons to be drawn from our painful experience in the gulf. In a moving letter he drafted for his grandchildren, Stewart anticipated the challenges of our time and acknowledged the mistakes of his own. To that end, he wrote:

Operating on the assumption that energy would be both cheap and superabundant led my generation to make misjudgments that have come back and now haunt and perplex your generation. We designed cities, buildings, and a national system of transportation that were inefficient and extravagant. Now, the paramount task of your generation will be to correct those mistakes with an efficient infrastructure that respects the limitations of our environment to keep up with damages we are causing.

I cannot improve on words Stewart spoke in defense of conservation some years ago. Given the challenges we face today, I believe they still ring true, and I wish to close my tribute to his public service by recalling them now.

He said:

Over the long haul of life on this planet, it is the ecologists, and not the bookkeepers of business, who are the ultimate accountants.

Our progress as a society cannot be measured solely or even in part by the output of our economy, the number or complexity of our machines, or the brilliance of our technology. Our progress and success as human beings cannot be defined by gross domestic product, billions expended or invested, profit margins, trade balances, or numbers of hits on a Web page. In the end, our progress in any category of endeavor depends on our survival, and our survival is tied to the health and well-being of the planet we share. Stewart Udall illuminated this simple truth and made it the centerpiece of his public service. I am proud to have known him, I am honored that he was my uncle, and grateful, as are so many, to have been his pupil. His voice will be missed, but his wisdom endures.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, I wish to thank my colleague from Colo-

rado for that beautiful and meaningful tribute to Stewart Udall and the lessons he has given us through his life and through this wonderful tribute. We very much appreciate it this evening.

CONVENTION AGAINST TORTURE

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, this week, we commemorate the United Nations International Day in Support of Victims of Torture. June 26, 2010, marks the 23rd anniversary of the day on which the Convention Against Torture—CAT—took effect. I am proud that the United States is a signatory to this important Convention and defends human dignity by criminalizing acts of torture. Along with the other 75 nations that have ratified the Convention, we affirm our commitment to hold those responsible for torture accountable for their actions.

I have worked hard for many years to improve the investigation and prosecution of international human rights abusers. I worked for several years to develop and secure passage of the Anti-Atrocity Alien Deportation Act. This act, which became law in 2004, expanded the mission of the Office of Special Investigations at the Department of Justice from denaturalizing Nazi war criminals, to investigating, extraditing, or denaturalizing any alien who participated in genocide, torture, or extrajudicial killing abroad. It has prompted, among other accomplishments, the deportation of a former Ethiopian official, Kelbessa Negewo. Negewo was accused of abuse and torture during the period of the Red Terror in Ethiopia in the mid-1970s. He is now serving a life sentence for torture and multiple killings in Ethiopia. This case proves that those who have committed reprehensible acts of torture and seek safe haven in the United States will not find refuge here.

In order to further improve our ability to identify and prosecute human rights abusers, I am proud to have cosponsored the Human Rights Enforcement Act of 2009. Signed into law at the end of last year, this legislation created a new section within the criminal division of the Department of Justice with responsibility for prosecuting serious human rights offenses. Additionally, it amends a section of the Immigration and Nationality Act to prevent those who have ordered, incited, assisted, or otherwise participated in genocide from obtaining eligibility for protection under our asylum laws.

In addition to strengthening our ability to investigate and hold human rights violators accountable, I have worked hard to ensure that victims of atrocity can find protection here in the United States. In March of this year, I introduced S.3113, the Refugee Protection Act. This law will renew America's commitment to the ideals embodied in the Refugee Convention and eliminate cumbersome procedural delays currently faced by refugees who flee persecution or torture.

For those who have suffered mental, physical, and emotional harm as a result of torture, I have consistently supported funding for rehabilitation and treatment. In my work on the State and Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee, we secured \$7,100,000 in the fiscal year 2010 Omnibus Appropriations Act for the United Nations Voluntary Fund for Victims of Torture and an additional \$13,000,000 for Victims of Torture programs and activities at U.S. Agency for International Development. In order to help these victims heal, we must continue to provide resources to aid physical and psychological recovery.

Vermont has also become home to many resettled refugees who have been victims of torture. A group called New England Survivors of Torture and Trauma—NESTT—has been established by the Department of Psychology at the University of Vermont and the Vermont Immigration and Asylum Advocates to offer medical, psychological, legal and social services in an effort to help address the needs of this community.

As we mark this year's United Nations International Day in Support of Victims of Torture, we must acknowledge that the United States has not always lived up to its ideals. Under the previous administration, abhorrent acts were authorized by a series of Office of Legal Counsel, OLC, memoranda, and a dark chapter in American history was written. Under questionable legal guidance that failed to meet ethical standards, acts occurred in the interrogation of terrorist suspects that failed to reflect the fundamental American ideals of justice, dignity, and human equality. Nothing has done more to damage our world standing and moral authority than this revelation. It is vital that the United States reclaim its historic role as a world leader on issues of human rights.

The claim by some that there is a necessary choice between ensuring security and upholding liberty is a falsehood. Until we understand what led to the production of the OLC memos and the acts that followed, we cannot move forward with a clear moral conscience. The imperative to discover what led to these events is stronger than ever. I remain a committed advocate of the establishment of an independent, non-partisan Commission of Inquiry to gather facts about how we arrived at this place. We must understand the mistakes of the previous administration to ensure that they never happen again. We cannot, and we must not ignore this chapter in the history of our Nation.

As we mark the Day in Support of Victims of Torture, we can begin to right these wrongs by renewing our commitment to recognize those who have suffered atrocities but fight on with enormous courage. To those around the world who have endured the unspeakable, we remember you. To those who have survived torture, inhuman, or degrading treatment at the

hands of their government, we call upon your voices to help end these reprehensible acts. And as the United States, we call upon every nation to join us in the fight to eradicate torture in all of its forms.

BLOODY SUNDAY

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I rise to congratulate the people of Great Britain and Northern Ireland for taking another step down the long road towards peace. Last week the Saville Inquiry, the result of a 10-year investigation into the "Bloody Sunday" tragedy in Northern Ireland on January 30, 1972, was finally made public.

The inquiry definitively concluded that British Army soldiers were responsible for the shooting deaths of 14 pro-Catholic marchers. The terrible events, which took place against a backdrop of years of rioting, paramilitary violence and police brutality, contributed to increased hatred and mistrust on both sides, and led to over two more decades of violence and terror for the people of Northern Ireland.

The findings reversed those of a 1972 commission which had laid blame for the killings on the victims themselves. Parents passed away without the knowledge that their children killed that day were not at fault.

Upon the release of the new report, British Prime Minister David Cameron publicly accepted responsibility for the killings and apologized on behalf of his country for the unjustified actions of the Army. He acknowledged the great complexity engrained in the dozens of years of fighting in Northern Ireland—thousands of people were killed and terrible atrocities committed by all parties. But he also stated that the facts in this report cannot be overlooked: British Army soldiers unjustly took the lives of innocent civilians.

Self-reflection is an indispensable quality in a democracy. It is difficult for a nation to admit that the men and women protecting us are responsible for reprehensible acts, but it is undeniable that, in furtherance of truth and justice, no one in our society can be above the law.

Lasting peace comes about through the hard work, honesty and patience of those on all sides.

I extend my deepest condolences to the families of the victims and am grateful to them for their years of patience during the investigation.

I commend the people of Northern Ireland for their continued commitment to resolving their differences through the political process, as challenging as it often is, and working to leave behind the violent divisions of the past.

And I also applaud Prime Minister Cameron, the Inquiry, and the British people for acknowledging a painful truth after 38 years, and, in doing so, helping to further the cause of peace in Northern Ireland.

I ask unanimous consent that the Prime Minister's statement be printed in the RECORD.

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

STATEMENT TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON THE SAVILLE INQUIRY

(By the Prime Minister, the Rt Hon David Cameron MP on 15 June 2010)

With permission, Mr Speaker, I would like to make a statement.

Today, my Rt Hon Friend, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland is publishing the report of the Saville Inquiry . . .

. . . the Tribunal set up by the previous Government to investigate the tragic events of 30th January 1972—a day more commonly known as "Bloody Sunday".

We have acted in good faith by publishing the Tribunal's findings as quickly as possible after the General Election.

Mr Speaker, I am deeply patriotic.

I never want to believe anything bad about our country.

I never want to call into question the behaviour of our soldiers and our Army who I believe to be the finest in the world.

And I have seen for myself the very difficult and dangerous circumstances in which we ask our soldiers to serve.

But the conclusions of this report are absolutely clear.

There is no doubt. There is nothing equivocal. There are no ambiguities.

What happened on Bloody Sunday was both unjustified and unjustifiable.

It was wrong.

Lord Saville concludes that the soldiers of Support Company who went into the Bogside "did so as a result of an order . . . which should have not been given" by their Commander . . .

. . . on balance the first shot in the vicinity of the march was fired by the British Army . . .

. . . that "none of the casualties shot by soldiers of Support Company was armed with a firearm" . . .

. . . that "there was some firing by republican paramilitaries . . . but . . . none of this firing provided any justification for the shooting of civilian casualties" . . .

. . . and that "in no case was any warning given before soldiers opened fire".

He also finds that Support Company "reacted by losing their self-control . . . forgetting or ignoring their instructions and training" with "a serious and widespread loss of fire discipline".

He finds that "despite the contrary evidence given by the soldiers . . . none of them fired in response to attacks or threatened attacks by nail or petrol bombers" . . .

. . . and that many of the soldiers "knowingly put forward false accounts in order to seek to justify their firing".

What's more—Lord Saville says that some of those killed or injured were clearly fleeing or going to the assistance of others who were dying.

The Report refers to one person who was shot while "crawling . . . away from the soldiers" . . .

. . . another was shot, in all probability, "when he was lying mortally wounded on the ground" . . .

. . . and a father was "hit and injured by Army gunfire after he had gone to . . . tend his son".

For those looking for statements of innocence, Saville says:

"The immediate responsibility for the deaths and injuries on Bloody Sunday lies with those members of Support Company whose unjustifiable firing was the cause of the those deaths and injuries" . . .

. . . and—crucially—that "none of the casualties was posing a threat of causing death or serious injury, or indeed was doing any-

thing else that could on any view justify their shooting".

For those people who were looking for the Report to use terms like murder and unlawful killing, I remind the House that these judgements are not matters for a Tribunal—or for us as politicians—to determine.

Mr Speaker, these are shocking conclusions to read and shocking words to have to say.

But Mr Speaker, you do not defend the British Army by defending the indefensible.

We do not honour all those who have served with distinction in keeping the peace and upholding the rule of law in Northern Ireland by hiding from the truth.

So there is no point in trying to soften or equivocate what is in this Report.

It is clear from the Tribunal's authoritative conclusions that the events of Bloody Sunday were in no way justified.

I know some people wonder whether nearly forty years on from an event, a Prime Minister needs to issue an apology.

For someone of my generation, this is a period we feel we have learned about rather than lived through.

But what happened should never, ever have happened.

The families of those who died should not have had to live with the pain and hurt of that day—and a lifetime of loss.

Some members of our Armed Forces acted wrongly.

The Government is ultimately responsible for the conduct of the Armed Forces.

And for that, on behalf of the Government—and indeed our country—I am deeply sorry.

Mr. Speaker, just as this Report is clear that the actions of that day were unjustifiable . . . so too is it clear in some of its other findings.

Those looking for premeditation, those looking for a plan, those looking for a conspiracy involving senior politicians or senior members of the Armed Forces—they will not find it in this Report.

Indeed, Lord Saville finds no evidence that the events of Bloody Sunday were premeditated . . .

. . . he concludes that the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland Governments, and the Army, neither tolerated nor encouraged "the use of unjustified lethal force".

He makes no suggestion of a Government cover-up.

And Lord Saville credits the UK Government with working towards a peaceful political settlement in Northern Ireland.

Mr Speaker, the Report also specifically deals with the actions of key individuals in the army, in politics and beyond . . .

. . . including Major General Ford, Brigadier MacLellan and Lieutenant Colonel Wilford.

In each case, the Tribunal's findings are clear.

It also does the same for Martin McGuinness.

It specifically finds he was present and probably armed with a "sub-machine gun" but concludes "we are sure that he did not engage in any activity that provided any of the soldiers with any justification for opening fire".

Mr. Speaker, while in no way justifying the events of January 30th 1972, we should acknowledge the background to the events of Bloody Sunday.

Since 1969 the security situation in Northern Ireland had been declining significantly.

Three days before 'Bloody Sunday', two RUC officers—one a Catholic—were shot by the IRA in Londonderry, the first police officers killed in the city during the Troubles.

A third of the city of Derry had become a no-go area for the RUC and the Army.