

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

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to follow Senator KYL.

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

#### PRESIDENT BUSH'S SECURITY MEASURES

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point a column in the December 5 edition of the Arizona Republic, the primary newspaper in my hometown, Phoenix, written by Robert Robb.

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

#### CRITICS OF BUSH SECURITY MEASURES FORGET WE'RE AT WAR

A democracy at war remains a democracy. That means that the government's policies, including the conduct of the war, remain appropriate subjects for discussion and debate.

To underscore that point, and highlight the contrast with the fascist enemy, Winston Churchill continued the practice of the prime minister standing for questions before Parliament during World War II.

As Churchill put it in his war memoirs: "(A)t no time was the right of criticism impaired. Nearly always the critics respected the national interest."

Churchill's description connotes a higher standard of conduct than ordinarily pertains in a democracy for those who criticize war policies, to be careful about facts and fair about issues, to check the customary political hyperbole, grandstanding and posturing. The critics of the Bush administration's war policies are beginning to fail this higher standard.

This is, in part, because President Bush failed to ask for a formal declaration of war against al-Qaida, the Taliban and other specified terrorist organizations.

The bombs falling in Afghanistan should have settled the question. But without a formal declaration, there are still those who want to treat this as a law-enforcement action, rather than as a war.

But a war it is, and it has a domestic as well as foreign front.

Enemies of the United States entered the country, stole airplanes and killed thousands of Americans. The government believes that there are other enemies still in the United States who plan to commit similar acts of violence.

One of the war fronts is finding and incapacitating those enemies living within.

Critics now casually and routinely depict the efforts of the Bush administration to do so as an assault on civil liberties.

There were reasons to object to certain provisions of the anti-terrorism legislation, and, indeed, I so objected.

But the actual powers granted the government by the legislation are routinely mischaracterized in the public debate. More importantly, the general charge that the Bush administration is trampling on civil liberties is irresponsible hyperbole not justified by the record to date.

The administration has detained a handful of people as material witnesses, as permitted by the grand jury laws. It is detaining a larger number on suspected immigration law violations.

Clearly, the administration is selectively enforcing long-neglected immigration laws.

But enforcing a law isn't trampling on civil rights just because enforcement previously has been lax.

The Bush administration has been roundly criticized for wanting to ask questions of young men from Middle Eastern countries. Given that all of the hijackers were of a similar background, as are overwhelmingly the members of al-Qaida, that's a perfectly sensible desire.

These interviews are voluntary at a time of war. The adverse reaction to them is more revealing of the character of the critics than of the administration.

Then there are the potential military tribunals for foreign combatants. Under President Bush's executive order, he must personally designate someone for such a trial. A military tribunal would consider evidence with probative value, although classified information could be reviewed in camera, or in a judge's private office. Defendants would have procedural rights and an attorney.

We are at war. Having such a mechanism in place may be important to protect the security of the United States. Having the option poses no threat to civil liberties. Whether such tribunals adequately protect defendant rights and fairly administer justice can only be ascertained in practice.

Senate Judiciary Chairman Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., is going to bring Attorney General John Ashcroft before his committee to answer inflated civil rights concerns. This is supposedly part of Congress' vaunted oversight function, which receives no mention in the Constitution.

Meanwhile, Leahy is neglecting the clear constitutional duty to act on judicial nominations.

Leahy would better serve the nation by bringing some judges before his committee for confirmation, rather than trying to unfairly put Ashcroft in the dock.

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, I wanted to insert this column in the RECORD not only because the author is one of the best writers from my hometown newspaper, and frequently has very wise things to say, but also because his column is right on point for something that has been troubling me. The title is "Critics of Bush Security Measures Forget We Are at War."

The point he is trying to make is that in this question of deciding how we are going to make Americans more secure from terrorist attack, some people are getting carried away in the expression of concerns about the civil rights or due process rights of people who might be the subject of military commissions or other investigations by our law enforcement or military people in connection with this war on terrorism.

I think he makes a good point. His essential point is that it is not a zero sum game, that we can both provide for the security of our citizens on the one hand and, on the other hand, ensure that American citizens will always have their due process rights, and even for those who are not American citizens, who become the equivalent of prisoners of war, and that the United States, through procedures developed for the military commissions, will treat them fairly. I think that is a very legitimate point to make.

The Attorney General is going to be before the Judiciary Committee, and he will be asked to respond to a lot of

questions about how he is handling his investigations and how the military commissions will work. I note that the President's order to the Defense Department to develop the procedures for military commissions has not yet resulted in the rules and regulations, and rules of evidence and procedures, and so on, at least as far as I know. So it is premature to criticize those rules.

In the Judiciary Committee yesterday we heard from two eminent law professors, who I am sure would be happy to be called liberal in their political ideology: Laurence Tribe, with whom I have worked and for whom I have a lot of respect; and Cass Sunstein; as well as two Republican witnesses, both with significant experience in this area. All four agreed this was the kind of circumstance that justified the creation of military commissions and, indeed, that such commissions were constitutional. The two more liberal professors said they would make some changes around the margins. But nobody questioned the authority of the United States of America to set up these tribunals in order to take care of those people who might be captured, particularly in the Afghanistan situation, or said it would not be appropriate to try to bring them to justice under our article III court system in the United States.

I point that out to ask my colleagues to look at this column. I think it is very well written. It makes the point of what we need to be considering when we characterize the issue as a zero sum game, which it is not. We don't need to deprive anybody of appropriate civil liberties at the same time we are ensuring the security of the United States and its citizens from terrorist attacks.

I thank the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota is recognized.

Mr. REID. Will the Senator withhold for a unanimous consent request?

Mr. WELLSTONE. Yes.

#### ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the previous order with respect to the debate time prior to the cloture vote on the motion to proceed to S. 1731 be changed to reflect that the time begin at 11:45 a.m. today, and that the time until 11:45 a.m. be a period of morning business with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 5 minutes each, with the remaining provisions of the previous order remaining in effect.

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

Mr. REID. I thank the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota is recognized.

#### MENTAL ILLNESS DISCRIMINATION

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, when I was speaking about the homeless veterans, many who struggled, I