

and that he wanted to cooperate with the Intelligence Committee inquiry. He also sensibly asked CIA personnel to review internal CIA records and get a sense of what this investigation could be expected to find.

The review got off to a solid start. It began to identify some of the same mistakes and misrepresentations that are identified in our committee's report. Unfortunately, it does not appear that this review ever made it to the Director's desk. Instead, publicly available documents made it clear this review was quietly terminated by CIA attorneys who thought it was moving too fast.

Earlier this year the Agency conducted an unprecedented and secret search of Senate files in an effort to find out whether the committee had obtained copies of the Panetta review. After it was found that committee investigators had in fact obtained the Panetta review, the CIA actually attempted to file unsupported criminal allegations against Senate staff members. After the search was publicly revealed by the press, the CIA's own spokesperson acknowledged in USA Today that the search had taken place and it had been done because the CIA was looking to see if our investigators had found a document the CIA didn't want the Congress to have. Incredibly, that same week CIA Director John Brennan told reporter Andrea Mitchell of NBC that the CIA had not spied on Senate files and that "nothing could be further from the truth."

I think this incident and the difference between what was said to Andrea Mitchell and what the Agency's own people said to USA Today reflects once again what I call an alarming culture of misinformation. Instead of acknowledging the serious organizational problems that are laid out in this report, the Agency's leadership seems inclined to try to sweep them under the rug. This means organizational problems aren't going to be fixed unless they are laid out publicly, and there is also a danger that other countries or even future administrations might be tempted to use torture if they don't have all the facts about the CIA's experience. That is why the release today is so important.

In concluding, I thank all of the staff who have put in hours and hours and nights and weekends and time away from their families to get this investigation completed. I praise Chair FEINSTEIN and our former Chair Senator ROCKEFELLER, who together were resolute in pushing for this kind of congressional oversight.

TRIBUTE TO MARK UDALL

Mr. WYDEN. I close with just a word about our friend and colleague Senator MARK UDALL of Colorado. I have had the pleasure of serving with Senator UDALL on the Intelligence Committee and have admired his commitment to American security and core American

values. Many in the Senate would not know this because all of those intelligence meetings are behind closed doors, but MARK UDALL is not a Senator who is afraid to stand alone. He is not afraid to fight for what he believes in. When the fight to declassify this report got bumpy—and let me tell you it did a lot of times. I think some of you heard this weekend we had an eleventh-hour objection to the report getting out. People asked me what I thought, and I said it was not particularly surprising because there were objections practically every hour on the hour for months and months. Yet when the fight to declassify the report got very difficult, some people said: This is going to get buried forever. That is what happens when you try to get accountability and transparency. Senator MARK UDALL made it clear that wasn't going to be allowed to happen on MARK UDALL's watch.

I am going to wrap up by saying to Senator UDALL, I remember when we started this battle together and we got a handful of votes, sometimes like 13 to 2 or whatever. We thought it was going to be a long time before there was reform. We went from those days to eventually getting up to 15 or 20 votes. Colleagues, today, to a great extent because of Senator UDALL, in the last vote for real surveillance reform, we were up to 58 votes—58 votes for real surveillance reform. That, to a great extent, is possible because of the extraordinary service of my good friend Senator MARK UDALL from Colorado. We westerners always make sure we stay in touch, and you know that is going to be the case with this particular friend from the West, a wonderful Senator, Mr. MARK UDALL.

With that, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado.

SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE STUDY OF THE CIA'S DETENTION AND INTERROGATION PROGRAM

Mr. UDALL of Colorado. Mr. President, today is a historic day, as Senator WYDEN made clear, Senator FEINSTEIN, Senator ROCKEFELLER, and many other Senators to follow.

Before I talk about my involvement in the efforts that were put forth to reach this day, I want to say to Senator WYDEN, my good friend, you honor me with those comments. I want to acknowledge that when you are in a fight, it matters whom you are in the fight with. It has been my privilege and honor to fight on the side of transparency, on the side of protecting the Bill of Rights, and this has been a righteous cause. We are going to continue to work to find the right balance between privacy and security. As Ben Franklin famously implied, we can have both, but we don't end up with both if we set aside the Bill of Rights and those fundamental principles that are enshrined into the Bill of Rights. It

has been my privilege to fight alongside you, and I wish you all the best. Yes, we westerners will stay in touch.

Turning back to the matter at hand, today, almost 6 years after the Senate Intelligence Committee voted to conduct a study of the CIA's detention and interrogation program and nearly 2 years after approving the report, the American people will finally know the truth about a very dark chapter in our Nation's history.

I had two goals at the beginning of this long process, and I still hold those two goals today. First, I have been committed to correcting the public record on the CIA's multiple misrepresentations to the American people, to other agencies, the executive branch, the White House, and to Congress.

Second, my goal has been to ensure that the truth comes out about the terrible acts committed in the name of the American people. Why? Because I want this to be our way of going forward, that neither the CIA nor any future administration repeats the grievous mistakes this important oversight work reveals.

This has been a careful and very deliberative process. We have compiled, drafted, redacted, and now released this report. It has been much harder than it needed to be. Senator WYDEN and many others pointed it out.

It brings no joy to discuss the CIA's brutal and appalling use of torture or the unprecedented actions that some in the intelligence community and the administration have taken in order to cover up the truth. By releasing the Intelligence Committee's landmark report, we affirm that we are a nation that does not hide from its past but learns from it. An honest examination of our shortcomings is not a sign of weakness but of the strength of our great Republic.

We have made significant progress since the CIA first delivered its heavily—underline "heavily"—redacted version of the executive summary to the committee in August. The report we released today cuts through the fog the CIA's redactions created and will give the American people a candid, brutal, and coherent account of the CIA's torture program.

As the chairman said earlier today, even when public tensions were high, our committee continued to work behind the scenes to successfully whittle down 400 instances of unnecessary redactions to just a few. We didn't make all the progress we wanted, and the redaction process was filled with unwarranted and completely unnecessary obstacles, but all told, after reviewing the final version, I believe our landmark report accomplishes the goals I laid out at the outset and tells the story that needs to be told. It also represents a significant and essential step toward restoring faith in the crucial role of Congress to conduct oversight of the intelligence community. Congressional oversight is important to all of government's activities, but it