

I am proud to have joined with my colleague, Senator BROWNBACk, who is deeply committed to Sudan, in introducing S. Con Res. 99. And I am so pleased to have been able to work as part of a bipartisan group, including Senators FRIST, DASCHLE, BIDEN, LUGAR, ALEXANDER, KENNEDY and DEWINE on Sudan issue over the years. I mention as well that Senator DURBIN has been enormously helpful at this time, issue, and discussion possible. I hope that today, by calling for urgent action to implement a humanitarian response plan that does not bow to the constraints imposed by the wishes of the Sudanese Government, we can encourage those working to respond to the needs on the ground. And by calling for a Security Council resolution addressing the situation in Darfur, this resolution will make it crystal clear to the Sudanese government that the current situation is simply unacceptable.

Mr. President, I applaud the efforts of the State Department and the White House to bring an end to Sudan's long and tragic north-south conflict. But the hopes that we all harbor of achieving a just and lasting end to that crisis simply cannot be meaningfully realized in the context of the kind of brutality we see in Darfur.

At the same time, any hopes that the government of Sudan harbors of an easing of economic pressure or isolation stand no chance—no chance at all, Mr. President—of being realized until the situation in Darfur changes, the attacks are stopped, and the international community—from humanitarian aid agencies to cease-fire monitors to U.N. investigators—has full, unfettered access to the region. We need to see real change—not rhetorical change, not change on paper, not change on some days not more of the same on others. And we need to see it right away.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ENSIGN). The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I commend Senator FEINGOLD and Senator BROWNBACk and our colleagues for raising this issue not just on the floor of the Senate but also across our Nation, because it is an issue of enormous importance and consequence, as it should be for all Americans and for people all over the world.

It has been 10 years since the Rwanda genocide. A decade ago, 8,000 Rwandans were being killed every day. Yet the international community was silent. We did not stop the deaths of 800,000 Tutsis and politically moderate Hutu, in spite of our commitment that genocide must never again darken the annals of human history.

Sadly, we may now be repeating the same mistake in Sudan.

Over the past few weeks, reports of severe ethnic violence have come from Darfur, a region of western Sudan. We have heard accounts of thousands or even tens of thousands of people murdered, of widespread rape, and of people's homes burned to the ground.

The Sudanese government has refused to allow full access to western Sudan. International monitors and humanitarian workers have been prevented from reaching the area. We need immediate access to gather more information on what is happening and to provide urgent humanitarian relief to the one million people the United Nations reports have been displaced internally in Sudan or across the border to Chad.

Many of us hoped that the humanitarian ceasefire and agreement earlier this month between the Sudanese government and rebel forces in western Sudan would end the many months of violence against entire communities. It has not.

The burning of homes and crops of desperately poor villagers has left in its ashes a humanitarian disaster. Without immediate relief, experts predict deaths in the hundreds of thousands. The cruelty of the Government of Sudan and its paramilitary allies against other ethnic groups raises the very real specter of genocide.

The United States and the international community need to act now, to stop this brutality, to save lives. If we fail to act—and to act now—the consequences will be dire.

United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan was eloquent in his statement at the commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the Rwanda genocide. He said that he would not permit Darfur to become the first genocide of the 21st century.

There will be discussion in Washington and around the world about whether the ethnic violence in Darfur is, in fact, genocide, but we cannot allow the debate over definitions obstruct our ability to act as soon as possible.

It is a matter of the highest moral responsibility for each of us individually, for Congress, for the United States, and for the global community to do all we can to stop the violence against innocents in Darfur. We must act, because thousands of people's lives will be lost if we do not.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I applaud both the Senator from Wisconsin and the Senator from Massachusetts for what they have said. Obviously, I agree completely.

#### ABUSES AGAINST IRAQI PRISONERS

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, this is a troubling time in America. Yesterday I spoke on this Senate floor about the despicable abuses perpetrated against Iraqi prisoners. The damage done to every American and to the reputation of our great Nation as a whole as a result of these barbaric acts is incalculable. It has severely tarnished our image as a nation of laws, a nation that for more than two centuries has

been a beacon of hope for oppressed people around the world.

Every day, quite rightly, we pride ourselves on our Constitution and our Bill of Rights. After all, they were the template for the universal declaration of human rights. We often criticize other nations for violating those rights, for engaging in torture and other crimes, and it is right that we do. We should speak out when human rights and liberties are violated whenever and wherever it occurs.

But today we see our own faces in the mirror. Until recently, it was beyond our ability to contemplate that we would become the subject of such universal ridicule and scorn for the actions of a handful.

The reputation of our Armed Forces, certainly since the First World War, has deservedly been the finest in the world. As the father of a former marine, I can attest that the training of our troops and the outstanding performance of the vast majority of them should make every American proud. They conduct themselves professionally. They treat others with respect. They perform bravely. And 138,000 men and women are courageously wearing America's uniform in Iraq today. Now they are endangered there and around the world.

At the heart of this problem is a failure of leadership, not "followship." We have heard from the Secretary of Defense. He was appalled by what happened, so appalled that he did not bother to read the report that described the horrific conditions at Abu Ghraib prison even though he had been aware of the concerns for months; so appalled he forgot that it was he who decided, apparently on his own, that the U.S. military would no longer be bound by the Geneva Conventions, an astounding decision when one considers its implication; so appalled that his Department has treated those of us who have asked questions and sought information about the interrogation practices at U.S. military detention facilities after reports of torture and even homicide as a nuisance; so appalled that for days he treated this whole episode as though he could not quite grasp what all the fuss was about. After all, these are terrorists, and we are fighting a war.

I have known Secretary Rumsfeld for 30 years. I like him. He is highly intelligent. He has served his country with great devotion. But I believe that he and the Deputy Secretary bear ultimate responsibility for this catastrophe.

The post-war chaos in Iraq that has resulted from such miserably poor planning—and so many people warned them that it was miserably poor planning—has claimed the lives and limbs of hundreds of America's troops and civilians and thousands of Iraqis, including many civilians. It has caused deep divisions between ourselves and the Iraqi people and Muslims around the world. It has so damaged our image as a nation that stands for respect for

human rights. This represents a colossal failure of leadership.

For 2 years, we have heard that if you are not with us, you are against us. Who is with us now? And who was ever with us? The coalition the President speaks of is a mirage. It is Americans who are dying. It is Americans who are paying the price—another \$25 billion, according to the President today, and that is only for the next few months. Another \$50 billion at least will be necessary next year just for Iraq. That is \$75 billion we do not have to pay teachers and police and firefighters and other needs in America.

We have heard how the Secretary of Defense waited for months to tell the Congress about what was happening in that prison. When the photographs appeared in the press, he and the National Security Adviser, the President, everybody else said they were stunned and shocked and said these were isolated incidents. The only thing they could have been shocked by was that the facts became public because they had known about them for a very long time. That is the real question that should trouble each one of us: Why we thought it was OK to behave this way. It represents a serious flaw of character, of morality, of decency, of professionalism, of training. It does not reflect the great military of our country. It certainly does not reflect the values of America, and we have to ask the leaders: Why did you allow this shame to happen? Why did you allow America—America—to be shamed this way throughout the world?

I yield the floor, and 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. FRIST. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

#### UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT—EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, as in executive session, I ask unanimous consent that following morning business today the Senate proceed to executive session for the consideration of Calendar No. 685, the nomination of John Negroponte to be Ambassador to Iraq.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The minority leader.

Mr. DASCHLE. Reserving the right to object, and I certainly will not object, we hope to work very closely with our Republican friends and have a good discussion and debate about the Negroponte nomination. I understand there are a number of other Senators who wish to be recognized in regard to this nomination.

Last night, we confirmed two members of the Federal Marine Maritime Commission and the nominee for chief executive officer of the Millennium

Challenge Corporation. We are now going to get the agreement on Ambassador Negroponte, and we hope before the end of the day to announce an agreement on additional ambassadors who might be confirmed yet today as well.

I hope all of the cooperation that is being demonstrated will allow the administration to reciprocate with a number of our nominees to various boards and commissions from whom we have yet to hear. So I look forward to working through the confirmation of the Negroponte nomination today and the ambassadors tonight, and our hope is we can get additional cooperation from the administration on our board nominees very shortly.

I have no objection to going forward as the majority leader has now proposed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. FRIST. I am pleased we are making progress. The fact that we are going to the debate on the future Ambassador of Iraq, Mr. Negroponte, demonstrates that we are making some progress. We have a whole series of judges who must be addressed, a whole series of nominees who were just mentioned who must be addressed, and a whole series of ambassadors on whom it sounds as though we are making some progress with the Negroponte nomination, as well as what we will see take place later during the day.

I further ask consent that there then be 5 hours 30 minutes equally divided between the chairman and ranking member of the Foreign Relations Committee; provided further that the minority time be divided among the list that is at the desk. I also ask unanimous consent that following the use or yielding back of time, the Senate proceed to a vote on the confirmation of the nomination with no intervening action or debate.

Finally, I ask unanimous consent that following the vote, the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action, and the Senate then resume legislative session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

The minority leader.

Mr. DASCHLE. Reserving the right to object, I ask the majority leader if it is his intention to go back to the FSC bill after we have completed this work. I have consulted with the assistant Democratic leader. We are now down to four amendments which will only require 1 hour 35 minutes on our side. We are getting down to a very small number. Only 1 hour 35 minutes on four amendments, and we would be finished with the bill as far as our side is concerned.

I ask the majority leader if it is his intention to complete work on the FSC bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, in response, through the Chair, our inten-

tion is that as soon as we finish the 5 hours 30 minutes, we go back to the FSC/ETI JOBS bill. We have made tremendous progress on the bill. I congratulate the managers for their leadership over the course of the week. They have done a commendable job in getting the number of amendments both down and dealt with. Some have been adopted. Some have had votes on them over the course of the week. Our intention is, as soon as we finish the Negroponte nomination debate and vote, to go back to FSC/ETI. I hope all 5 hours 30 minutes might not be required on the Negroponte nomination.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

There is still 6½ minutes remaining for the Democratic Party. The Senator from New Jersey has 5 minutes.

The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. CORZINE. May I make an inquiry? Are there other of my colleagues requesting time?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey is the only one on the Democrat side seeking time.

#### SUDAN DARFUR CRISIS

Mr. CORZINE. Mr. President, I rise today to speak on an issue that too easily comes off our agenda in America and around the globe. We accepted S. Con. Res. 99 which condemns the Government of the Republic of Sudan for its participation and complicity in the attacks against innocent civilians in the impoverished Darfur region of western Sudan. I think it is not enough just for us to be condemning in this situation. It has all of the makings of turning into a humanitarian crisis that rivals or at least approaches the kinds of problems we saw in Rwanda.

While we will take a stand in recognizing it as a problem, I think it is absolutely essential that we maintain attention and focus when there are so many events in the world that draw us away.

The United Nations, international humanitarian and human rights organizations, as well as our own Government, agree that the campaign by the extremist, theocratic Sudanese Government and their militia allies against Muslim civilians of African ethnicity in Darfur, western Sudan, over the last 14 months has driven over 1 million civilians from their home. We have the risk of another tragic genocidal action in place.

The 1 million Muslim civilians displaced within Darfur, Sudanese citizens victimized by their own Government, cling to life as displaced, homeless persons living in the open or in pathetic and inadequate camps, in constant fear of further attacks and depredation.

Their physical condition is severely weakened, food supplies are exhausted, and the international community so far has been unable to get critically needed food assistance into the interior, due to deliberate interference and