

that the court can issue a warrant and agents can go about the business of catching terrorists.

This is a very real problem we have. So I say to the Justice Department, you have to put more resources into this. You have to do a better job. Of all that you do in the Justice Department, what could be more important? Do you need more FISA lawyers at Justice? Do you need more people in this unit? If you do, then put them there. Do you need more FISA training for agents?

Do you need more resources? How far behind are you in the FISA process? These are all questions that the Justice Department needs to answer right now. No excuses. Our national security is at stake.

I thank the Chair, and I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia is recognized for 8 minutes.

#### IRAQ AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. CHAMBLISS. Mr. President, last week the G8 summit was held in my State of Georgia, and I had the honor of serving as one of the hosts, along with our Governor, the senior Senator from Georgia, Congressman KINGSTON, and Congressman BURNS in greeting the other seven members of the G8. Together with President George W. Bush, we received the heads of state and government from Britain, Canada, Germany, France, Italy, Japan, and Russia, along with a number of other leaders of countries from the Middle East who were specially invited to the G8 summit, including the new President of Iraq, Ghazi al-Yawer.

I liked what I saw in the new President of Iraq. When I shook his hand, I shook the hand of a true Iraqi patriot who is determined to see his country become secure, stable, prosperous, and free. He insists on full sovereignty for the Iraqi people, and he is already an eloquent and tough defender of their interests.

This is why he has publicly stated, not once or twice but at almost every opportunity he gets, that the Iraqi people are grateful for America's sacrifice in freeing them from the tyranny of Saddam Hussein.

He also made it absolutely clear that his new government will continue to need the help of America and other coalition forces as it regains its strength and fends off efforts by terrorists, thugs, and foreign enemies to strangle Iraq's democracy in its cradle.

President al-Yawer has a vision for Iraq, a nation with a history stretching back beyond the storied walls of Babylon to the mists of prehistory. He sees his nation gaining a position of leadership in the Middle East and forming an example of democracy, peace, progress, and prosperity for the entire region.

He made it clear to me that Iraq very much sees the United States, the United Kingdom, and the other nations in the coalition as partners and friends

that took risks to free his nation from the tyranny of Saddam Hussein and are now working together to help rebuild Iraq.

President al-Yawer is a strong pragmatic leader who wants to put his government on a sound fiscal footing. When it was proposed to destroy the Abu Ghraib prison—and I was one, frankly, who advocated that following the prisoner scandal—and to replace it, he made a poignant observation about the symbols of Saddam's barbaric treatment of his own people.

He told ABC's "This Week" that Saddam tortured people not just in prisons but in the basements of each and every government building, and it would not be prudent to destroy all government entities because of what happened in them. President al-Yawer said:

We are people that need every single dollar we have in order to rebuild our country, instead of demolishing and rebuilding.

This shows a practical approach to governance which is a very welcome change to the grandiosity and extravagance which, along with cruelty and aggression, marked the reign of Saddam Hussein.

I know there is not one Senator in this Chamber who would begrudge Iraq, its people, and President al-Yawer the assistance needed to continue the transition of Iraq to full sovereignty and democracy.

In my State, we know a real friend stays with you the whole way through difficult times and does not abandon you when the going gets tough. You do not lead someone halfway home and then abandon him to the wolves. And we know those wolves are baying at the door. Al-Qaida, the Baathists, and all the enemies of democracy are already stepping up their attacks to drive us from Iraq so they can rip apart this young democracy.

Only the cowardly, only those without a vision for a newer, better Middle East would urge us to leave Iraq to its fate. History has left its inscriptions in Iraq from time immemorial, from cuneiform inscriptions on clay tablets to the stone pillar of Hammurabai. These judgments have been read and pondered by men in the centuries following their inscriptions.

In the distant future, let no traveler see inscribed in weathered stone the withering judgment of history that the United States had an opportunity to help democracy take root in the Middle East but failed to see it through. Let him read instead: They defeated the forces of darkness so the people of Iraq could live in the light.

The Senate will surely debate what our national policies and priorities should be as we seek to provide assistance for Iraq. We will debate the relative merits of the different ways we can help our friends in Iraq. In fact, this is our job, and it is our duty. But I, for one, will not entertain any policy option that would allow the people of Iraq, so recently freed from the horror of despotism, to be submerged again

into the darkness by a different set of tyrants.

Let me now touch on some international aspects of the Iraqi situation. In addition to the forces from the United States, there are 14 other NATO allies with us in Iraq. Military forces from Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and the United Kingdom are all there with us. And we have great support from another 17 countries, such as Australia, Japan, New Zealand, South Korea, and the Ukraine. Now the international support helping to secure the future of Iraq is growing even more.

At the G8 summit, President Bush gained the unanimous support of the member states to help Iraq. They agreed to form a "Partnership for Progress and a Common Future with the Region of the Broader Middle East and North Africa" to support political, social, and economic reform in this region. This builds on President Bush's "forward strategy of freedom" that he announced last November.

President Bush also secured a U.N. Security Council resolution supporting the plan for handing sovereignty back to the Iraqi people. On June 8, the Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 1546 which supports free elections and authorizes a multinational security force to help stabilize the security situation in Iraq.

The U.N. has done exactly the right thing in passing Resolution 1546, and I applaud them for taking this important step. However, I would be remiss if I did not mention a subject which hinders the effectiveness of the United Nations, not only in Iraq but in its dealings around the world, and by this I mean the Oil-for-Food scandal.

The Oil-for-Food Program, established in 1995, was designed to alleviate the impact of the economic embargo on the people of Iraq, while continuing restrictions on military and technology sales. It was a humanitarian program that was supported by the United States as a way to help average Iraqi citizens get basic food and medical supplies while Saddam Hussein was still in power.

The Oil-for-Food Program was administered by the United Nations Assistant Secretary General Benon V. Sevan who oversaw sales of \$11 billion worth of Iraqi oil. While under U.N. auspices, the U.S. Government Accounting Office estimates that over \$10 billion of that \$11 billion was stolen from the Iraqi people by Saddam's regime. While children were dying for lack of medicine or food, Saddam was importing Mercedes limousines, weapons, and building his grand palaces. Skimming off this vast amount of money involved kickbacks and bribes to a wide variety of foreign officials and businessmen.

When the new Iraqi oil ministry recently published a list of foreign officials receiving bribes, kickbacks, and

hidden oil allotments from Saddam, U.N. Assistant Secretary Sevan's name was on a list which included 11 French, 46 Russians, and many other names. These recipients of Saddam's largess were vocal opponents of freeing Iraq from Saddam's chokehold and also were bitter critics of the effects of the embargo on Saddam's regime.

It is ironic that so many of the businessmen and officials who helped skim off the money designed to buy food and medicine for the Iraqi people came from countries that complained the loudest about the U.S.-led effort to oust Saddam from power.

It is imperative that we monitor the U.N. investigation of the Oil-for-Food scandal to make sure it is thorough and transparent. Wrongdoers must be prosecuted, not simply bundled off to retirement. To do any less would greatly compromise the ability of the United Nations to operate future programs with the confidence of the world community. Paul Volcker, who was named by Secretary Kofi Annan to head the investigation into the Oil-for-Food scandal, must receive sufficient personnel, resources, and access to the relevant documents and U.N. officials to carry out his responsibility.

A failed investigation will be a bitter indictment of the United Nations and it would put it on a path that would lead to total—total—obsolescence and irrelevance. The United Nations can be a unifying force in the world, and its resolution on the future of Iraq passed last week is a positive example of this. However, it must also restore its credibility with the people of Iraq who were robbed of over \$10 billion in food and medicine while the Oil for Food Program was being administered by the U.N.

It is a critical time for both the future of Iraq and the future of the U.N. In Iraq, it is time to pull together to make it a successful, stable, and democratic country. At the U.N., it is time to show the world that it can be a transparent, accountable, and efficient organization worthy of its noble character.

We have the unique opportunity to help democracy take root in the Middle East, and we are fortunate that President Bush, Prime Minister Blair, and others have the vision and the courage to recognize this and to do something about it.

Likewise, the United Nations has an opportunity to restore our confidence in its ability to play a meaningful role on the world stage. I hope Secretary General Kofi Annan has the necessary courage to carry his investigation of the Oil for Food scandal to its necessary conclusion, regardless of how difficult it might be.

Let future generations see that neither the United States, nor the United Nations, shirked from the challenges that face us today.

Mr. President, the Oil for Food scandal cannot be taken lightly. We must take this issue seriously to restore

credibility to the United Nations, which is headed down a path of total obsolescence if we do not act appropriately and if we do not get to the bottom of this particular and potentially devastating issue.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I ask the Presiding Officer to advise the Senate with regard to the standing order.

#### CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

#### NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 2005

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume consideration of S. 2400, which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 2400) to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 2005 for military activities of the Department of Defense, for military construction, and for defense activities of the Department of Energy, to prescribe personnel strengths for such fiscal year for the Armed Services, and for other purposes.

Pending:

Reid (for Leahy) amendment No. 3292, to amend title 18, United States Code, to prohibit profiteering and fraud relating to military action, relief, and reconstruction efforts.

Dodd further modified amendment No. 3313, to prohibit the use of contractors for certain Department of Defense activities and to establish limitations on the transfer of custody of prisoners of the Department of Defense.

Reed amendment No. 3352, to increase the end strength for active-duty personnel of the Army for fiscal year 2005 by 20,000 to 502,400.

Warner amendment No. 3450 (to amendment No. 3352), to provide for funding the increased number of Army active-duty personnel out of fiscal year 2005 supplemental funding.

Durbin amendment No. 3386, to affirm that the United States may not engage in torture or cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment.

#### AMENDMENT NO. 3313

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending question is the Dodd amendment No. 3313, as further modified, on which there shall be up to 30 minutes of debate evenly divided.

Mr. WARNER. I further inquire of the Chair, at the conclusion of the vote on the Dodd amendment, the Senator from Virginia is to be recognized for the purpose of laying down an amendment; am I not correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. WARNER. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, may I be notified when 10 minutes have expired so as to leave a few minutes at the end of the debate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will do that.

Mr. DODD. I ask unanimous consent that my distinguished friend and colleague from South Carolina, Senator LINDSEY O. GRAHAM, be added as a co-sponsor of the amendment.

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

Mr. DODD. I am pleased to offer this amendment on behalf of myself, Senator GRAHAM, and Senator LEVIN this morning. We had a very good debate a few days ago about this amendment. At the suggestion of my friend, the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, we modified the amendment that is now before this body. The modification, very quickly, deletes the prohibition on using private contractors in combat situations. I will not belabor the point. There are existing statutes that provide for such restrictions, but the suggestion of the chairman was that that provision was going to be a rather complicated matter to deal with here, so we have taken it out—it is no longer part of the amendment. Instead, the amendment as modified would merely ask the Secretary of Defense to review and report to Congress on U.S. laws and policies as they relate to the use of contractors by the Defense Department and the Uniformed Services in combat operations.

What is still part of this amendment is the prohibition on using private contractors for the purposes of interrogation of prisoners. It would, however, give the President some flexibility in phasing in this prohibition by providing limited waiver authority for the use of such contractors in interrogations—both as translators and as actual interrogators. The presidential waiver for translators would be extended for 1 year, and for contractors acting solely as interrogators, the waiver would be effective for 90 days from the date of enactment of this legislation.

Why do I offer this amendment? I didn't bring charts or photographs to the floor of the events that occurred in Abu Ghraib prison late last fall or early this winter. Those photographs are very disturbing and can create their own sense of emotion. I am not interested in doing that today. But suffice it to say, there is ample evidence. So today we know at least that interrogations were conducted by private contractors hired by the Department of the Interior, of all agencies, to do interrogations, intelligence work in Iraq and maybe elsewhere, on Guantanamo or Afghanistan as well. The military believes, I believe, and I think most of us believe that this job of interrogation ought not be done by private contractors. This ought to be inherently a governmental function, and one that is not shopped out or outsourced, if you will, to others, where there is no accountability, no chain of command, no responsibility, and virtual immunity if they do anything wrong under the Uniform Code of Military Justice.