

in Darfur has intensified in recent months. By any account, the situation is rapidly deteriorating.

Today, Darfur faces a more complex and brutal environment where rebel groups have splintered, and one has joined forces with the Sudanese Army, strengthening jingaweit militias that have long used rape, murder and mayhem to gain control of the region.

On August 28, Sudanese Government forces launched a major offensive in Darfur to finish off any opposing rebels, in direct violation of the Darfur Peace Agreement and cease-fire accord. As a result, tens of thousands more civilians have been forcibly displaced, bringing the total to more than 2 million people. And, of course, for those who have been displaced, disease and dysentery are rampant, causing the death rate to increase.

Relief organizations that have not already left the region face near impossible hurdles to reach hundreds of thousands of desperate people in need of food, water, and medical attention who are also vulnerable to the intensifying and indiscriminate aerial bombings. It is a scene straight out of Hell.

The well-intentioned, 7,000-member African Union peacekeeping force is understaffed, under-equipped, and has been unable to stop the violence in Darfur. The fact is they don't even have the communications, airlift, mobility, or support that most military would have. Estimates of the number of people who have died from war and disease in Darfur range as high as 450,000. That is 75 percent of the population of my own State of Vermont.

The United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1706 that would replace the African Union force with a much larger U.N. force empowered to protect civilians. The Sudanese Government not only rejected the resolution but demanded that the African Union withdraw from the country after its mandate expires at the end of this month.

While the United Nations, the African Union, and most of the international community are united in support of a larger U.N. peacekeeping force, the government in Khartoum has repeatedly refused. I think they probably fear that the U.N. can pose a challenge to its own ability to act with impunity and its own ability to carry out murder and mass extinction of people.

It is ludicrous that a lone despot, Sudan's President Omar Hassan al-Bashir, can obstruct the deployment of a U.N. peacekeeping force to stop genocide from continuing in his country. He has even gone so far as to threaten to attack any U.N. force that enters Sudan. This is a man who has made it very clear he supports the genocide and will try to stop anybody who wants to bring a halt to it.

Despite the Bush administration's diplomatic efforts in pressing for urgent international intervention to ease the Darfur crisis, China and Russia managed to thwart passage of a strong-

er U.N. Security Council resolution. And on August 20, the Arab League Committee on Sudan backed the Sudanese President's refusal of a U.N. peacekeeping force. They further distanced themselves from any responsibility for the situation in Darfur. It is amazing. People are dying. People are being killed. They are being raped. They are being murdered. They are being starved and they are dying of all kinds of diseases. Nobody takes responsibility. All the forces that can do something about it—Russia, China, the Arab League, Sudan itself, that could stop this—wash their hands of it.

The diplomatic inertia on Darfur is illustrative of just how much America's credibility and influence has eroded in the eyes of the world, largely because of our misguided policy in Iraq. We can't threaten anybody. We can't cajole anybody. We have lost our credibility. We have squandered the trust and confidence of our allies, particularly those in the Arab world, and now the administration's leverage with which to solve other regional and global crises has weakened. Darfur is one example. The impasse over Iran's nuclear program is another.

It is tragic how much damage this administration's policies have caused to America's leadership on so many issues that require the cooperation and support of other nations. The price in Darfur is an emboldened Sudanese regime that has managed to defy U.S. diplomatic pressure and the deaths of thousands of innocent people. Urgent and immediate action is essential to save Darfur from further catastrophe.

First, the President will today finally appoint a Presidential Special Envoy to Sudan. Many of us here, myself included, called for the designation of a Special Envoy for Sudan for months, so this long overdue decision is welcome.

Secondly, although the African Union troops are too few and lightly equipped to stop the violence, they are serving as witnesses for the rest of the world at a time when the government in Khartoum commits atrocities and makes it more difficult for humanitarian organizations and journalists to operate.

The United States and other nations must continue to support the African Union until a U.N. peacekeeping force is deployed, knowing that could take 4 to 6 months.

There should be no doubt that our first priority is to get U.N. peacekeepers on the ground as soon as possible. But in the interim, if African Union troops are forced to leave at the end of September, the last line of protection will be lost and an even worse period of lawlessness and slaughter will begin.

Third, the administration should call upon the European Union and United Nations Security Council to impose financial, travel, and diplomatic sanctions against the Sudanese leadership, rebel forces, and others responsible for the atrocities in Darfur.

Fourth, we must increase diplomatic pressure on countries friendly to Khartoum—particularly Russia, China, members of the Arab League—to use their influence to convince Sudan to support a United Nations peacekeeping force. If they don't, Russia, China, and members of the Arab League also have to bear complicity for genocide. Unfortunately, these are the same countries where our own influence has weakened dramatically over the past 5 years.

Fifth, the administration should urge all United Nations member states to accelerate implementation of Security Council Resolution 1706 for the deployment of U.N. peacekeepers to Darfur. The White House should be working vigorously to persuade other countries to commit troops and funds for the U.N. force.

Finally, in circumstances such as these, the United Nations should be empowered to deploy troops to prevent the mass murder of civilians, irrespective of stubborn, self-serving opposition of the government of the country.

When a country's corrupt, abusive leader, lacking any legitimate mandate from the people, flagrantly violates U.N. resolutions and a cease-fire agreement and embarks on a scorched Earth campaign which threatens the lives of countless innocent people, the U.N. should be able to go in.

If Darfur was not in Africa but it was in Europe, we would have responded differently. Although belated, our response, as the leader of NATO, to the ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia put a quick end to that ethnic cleansing.

Darfur is on a different continent, but the forcefulness of our response to genocide should not depend on where genocide occurs or the race or ethnicity or nationality of the victims. Human beings are dying, irrespective of their color or their ethnicity or their nationality. The United States should stand up and do all we can to stop genocide.

I have no illusions about the difficulties of ending this conflict, nor do I question the sincerity of those who tried. But the efforts so far have been woefully inadequate. The situation calls for more intensive, sustained, high-level attention than our country and other countries have provided so far. It is genocide whether it is White people or Black people, whether it is Europeans or Africans. Genocide is genocide.

I yield the floor.

CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I am going to speak about the Oman Free Trade Agreement, but I wanted to first respond to my colleague from New Hampshire who was on the floor of the Senate earlier this morning saying there is no problem with respect to what we are accomplishing here. He listed various accomplishments. He said: The only things we cannot accomplish are the things we are obstructed

from accomplishing because the minority will not let us.

First of all, that is not the case because, with respect to oversight hearings—which was the subject I raised and my colleague from Illinois raised this morning, oversight hearings—nobody is obstructing anybody from holding oversight hearings. That is the responsibility of the committees and the chairmen of the committees, to hold oversight hearings.

I have held some in the Democratic Policy Committee because the regular committees won't hold them, but let me describe a few of the things I have found in the hearings I have held—some big, some small, all of them, in my judgment, cheating American taxpayers: Contractors in Iraq paying \$45 for a case of Coca-Cola; contractors in Iraq paying \$7,500 for a 1-month lease on an SUV; contractors in Iraq who are buying towels for the troops, and instead of buying the hand towels for our troops to use that would cost a relatively small amount of money, they triple the amount that the taxpayers pay for these hand towels for our soldiers because they want the company name on them, Kellogg Brown and Root, embroidered on the towels. So they triple the cost of the towels.

Henry Bunting came and testified about that. He said he was the purchaser. They said: Purchase the towels with the embroidered name of our company on it. He said it costs more. They said: Don't bother about that; it doesn't matter. It is a cost-plus contract. The taxpayer pays for it.

The list of abuses is endless. At any point along the way did anybody say we ought to look into this, issue subpoenas? No, no; dead silence.

Twenty-five tons, 50,000 pounds, of nails are laying in the sands of Iraq because the contractor ordered the wrong size. What did they do? Dumped them out. It doesn't matter, the taxpayers are paying for all of that.

There were \$85,000 new trucks left to be torched, put on fire on the side of the road because they had a flat tire and they did not have a tool to fix them. The contractor says: That is not a problem. The taxpayers will pay for that.

Serving food to the soldiers? The contractor that gets the contract to provide food for the soldiers is providing food that has out-of-date stamps on the food. It doesn't matter. Serve it to the soldiers anyway.

Yesterday, a woman came forward who worked in Iraq, as I mentioned earlier today, Mrs. McBride. She said they were charging the Government five times the amount of money, five times the billings of the number of soldiers who were using the recreational facilities. They were double counting and triple counting and, in some cases, submitting forms with five times the number of people. Why? To inflate the cost, to extract money from the American taxpayer.

All of this is going on and nobody seems to care. Oversight hearings? You

show me where the oversight hearings have been held. Show me. They have not been held because nobody wants to embarrass anybody around here. We have one-party rule—in the White House, House, Senate. Nobody wants to embarrass anybody.

You have sole-source, no-bid contracts given at the Pentagon. The top civilian official, the top person in the Pentagon who rose to the top civilian level in the Pentagon as a contracting officer, who everyone said is one of the finest contracting officers in the Pentagon, do you know what she said? She said: The awarding of these sole-source, no-bid contracts to Halliburton is the most substantial abuse that I have seen in my service in the public arena.

What happened to her? Nobody cares. Under the reconstruction program, I am told, we, the American taxpayers, spent \$18 billion for reconstruction for Iraq. We ordered an air conditioner for a room in Iraq, and then it went to a contractor, a subcontractor, another subcontractor, and pretty soon the American taxpayer paid for air conditioners and that room now has a ceiling fan—yes, a ceiling fan. It is just unbelievable what is going on. Again, nobody seems to care.

I mentioned before that in the 1940s, Harry Truman was a Senator in this Chamber, and he put together the Truman Committee. It was bipartisan. They went after waste, fraud, and abuse. They wouldn't tolerate it. I am sure Franklin Delano Roosevelt was furious that a Congress of his own party nipping at his heels, a Congress of his own party nipping at his heels on these issues. It didn't matter. Harry Truman, Republicans and Democrats together, went after it.

I proposed three or four times in the Senate to have votes to establish a select committee to do just that, but, sorry, no dice. Nobody wants anything to do with this issue.

I will come to the floor and give a list of what we have discovered in 10 hearings and see if anybody stands up to say: Yes, that makes sense; we support all that. None of this makes sense. It cries out, it begs for leadership. This undermines American soldiers and it cheats American taxpayers and it is unbelievable what is going on and nobody seems to care very much. So when I have the opportunity to hear someone say: We haven't held oversight hearings because we have been obstructed—nonsense. Or: We have held oversight hearings—nonsense again. Neither excuse washes. Nobody is minding the store. Nobody is watching the till.

The fact is, American taxpayers are taking a bath—and it is not just the taxpayers. It is water connected to the Euphrates River taking water to the military installations in Iraq. And, yes, the top American in the company, Halliburton, who is responsible for moving nonpotable water to the soldiers in the military installations in Iraq, is the American who wrote the report. I have seen the report. What he said was the

nonpotable water that is provided to the soldiers for the purpose of showering and brushing their teeth and washing their hands and doing the kinds of things they do was more contaminated than raw water coming from the Euphrates River. And their internal report says: This was a near miss. This was a near miss. It could have caused death or mass sickness.

This event, which was a near miss, could have caused death or massive illness, it has been denied that it even happened by the company. The Pentagon doesn't seem to be very interested. The company denies it happened, despite the fact that we have it in writing from the person who was in charge and who still works for the company. It is unbelievable.

I didn't come to talk about that, but when I hear people say there has been aggressive oversight, or any oversight in this Congress—it is a sham. It is not the case.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Morning business is closed.

UNITED STATES-OMAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT IMPLEMENTATION ACT

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume consideration of H.R. 5684, which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 5684) to implement the United States-Oman free trade agreement.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, there will be 30 minutes divided as follows: Mr. DORGAN, 10 minutes; Mr. CONRAD, 10 minutes; the chairman and ranking member of the Finance Committee, 10 minutes, equally divided.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I believe I had reserved 1 hour of which I had used 30 minutes previously. The vote is at noon, so I intend to speak for the other 30 minutes, if that is appropriate?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, let me talk about the Oman Free Trade Agreement. There are nine additional free-trade agreements being negotiated right now, nine of them. This past week there was an announcement that the monthly trade deficit is now \$68 billion a month; a \$68 billion monthly trade deficit. If ever there was a definition of failure, this is it.

So here is what we have: We have the good old boys negotiating trade agreements—Republicans and Democrats. They happen to be Republicans now because they are in power, but it has gone on for some long while. Here is what you see: Trade deficits, which are