

Ms. MURKOWSKI thereupon assumed the Chair as Acting President pro tempore.

RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Kentucky is recognized.

SCHEDULE

Mr. McCONNELL. Madam President, today we will begin a period of morning business which will extend well into the afternoon. A number of Senators have indicated they will come to the floor and pay tribute to our colleagues who will not be running for the 109th Congress. We certainly want to accommodate those requests and have set aside time accordingly.

At the close of our business this week, we will print those tributes to honor our departed colleagues. If Senators are not available to come to the floor to deliver their remarks, they are invited to submit those statements for the RECORD. Again, they will be printed as part of this larger document to which I just referred.

As a reminder, the majority leader has filed a cloture motion on the miscellaneous tariffs bill. That cloture vote will occur tomorrow morning. We expect cloture to be invoked; therefore, we hope to finish that conference report at an early time on Friday.

In addition, as everyone is aware, we continue to await completion of the Omnibus appropriations bill. It is still our hope and desire to finish our work on Friday, if at all possible.

BIPARTISANSHIP

Mr. McCONNELL. Madam President, after this month's historic election, a lot of political pundits are ardently trying to figure out what the results may have meant. I have been in politics for a period of time, so I would like to share my point of view on the matter.

Obviously, people on our side of the aisle are pleased that the electorate has returned President Bush for a second term, and obviously we are equally pleased that the larger Republican majority in both Houses of Congress will be available to work with the President next year. The last time a reelected President returned to office with larger majorities of his party in both the House and the Senate was back in 1936 when President Roosevelt was running for reelection the first time. If the American people suddenly speak louder than they have in 70 years, I think it is clear that they would like to see some action.

The voters didn't send any of us Republicans or Democrats up here just to sit in these chairs. They sent us here to get things accomplished. Republicans can't and shouldn't do that alone. We

will need to cooperate with our colleagues across the aisle to produce results, which is what we were sent here, of course, to do.

Soon Republicans will fill 55 seats in this Chamber. That is a nice number but it is not 60. And it often takes 60, as we all know. Frequently—actually most of the time—it takes 60 to get results in the Senate.

So to our Democratic friends on the other side, let me say we want to work with you. The voters expect us to work in a bipartisan manner to make our country more secure, our economic opportunities more plentiful, and our common values more respected. To do that, we need your support, and we will work to earn it.

Last week, Senator LIEBERMAN, a good friend of mine and a good friend of many of us in the Senate, came to my hometown of Louisville, KY, where he spoke at the University of Louisville, my alma mater, where he gave an outstanding speech. In it he said:

It is critically important that we put first things first, and national interests ahead of our party interests.

I commend the Senator from Connecticut for his exemplary spirit of goodwill. I think that is a good guidepost for all of us as we begin the 109th Congress in January.

I say to my Democratic friends that we are all willing to work with them in that same spirit which JOE LIEBERMAN outlined. Together, we are going to accomplish great things of which this body can truly be proud.

We will have hard tasks ahead of us. The Social Security system is a speeding train heading for a brick wall and really must be set right for future generations. The tax system is burdensome and unfair and must be reinvented to fit our 21st century economy. We have to finish the job in Iraq so we can bring our troops home safely and with honor.

We have tackled tough challenges before. Working together—Republicans and Democrats—successfully reformed the welfare system and put millions of Americans on the path to self-reliance and financial stability. Working together—Republicans and Democrats—projected American power into the former Yugoslavia to halt the killing of innocents and provide humanitarian aid. Working together—Republicans and Democrats—we moved the brutal Taliban regime from Afghanistan and struck a fatal blow against al-Qaida.

Now we have a chance to make history again. Republicans are not likely to accomplish much alone. The same is true for our Democrat colleagues. This Senate should heed America's call for action. The voters of our States didn't send us here to simply mark time. They sent us here to build a better America for our sons and daughters, and future generations yet to come.

As we move forward, this new Congress must be prepared to get to work, and to get to work on a bipartisan basis.

I yield the floor. what

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, there will be a period for the transaction of morning business with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each.

The Senator from New Jersey.

BIPARTISANSHIP

Mr. CORZINE. Madam President, first, let me say that it is this Senator's personal desire, following the comments the Senator from Kentucky has so ably given, that we came here to try to make things better for the world in the years beyond and for our children. So much of what he talk about—whether it is Social Security or the Tax Code or our needs and in foreign policy—does require that we work together.

I commend the Senator for his comments. We do have to work together as we go forward.

In fact, one of the things I want to talk about, and why I came to the Senate, one of the areas is where bipartisanship and joint effort has been fundamental to raising an issue, framing it, and getting it in front of the American people. I come to the Senate today to talk about the genocide in Darfur, Sudan, and what we, the United States of America, are going to be doing about it.

Today, the U.N. Security Council is meeting in Nairobi, Kenya, to discuss Sudan and to seek the end of the civil war between the north and the south. This is a good thing and I congratulate Ambassador Danforth, in particular, for his personal efforts in making this possibility real and tangible.

Multilateral diplomacy is critical. Peace between north and south is an important component of an overall political solution for the Sudan. At the end of the day, if we do not stop the killing in Darfur—which is independent in many ways from the north-south issue—if we do not stop the genocide, then we fail.

Members will hear me say repeatedly words are important; deeds are a reality. Lives are at stake. What greater moral imperative can we have than to stop genocide? What greater moral failure can there be than allowing genocide to occur? The death toll is mounting in Darfur with all kinds of estimates—70,000, over 100,000, 125,000.

The issue is stark: life or death. Deeds, not words, are what matters. History will judge us based on whether we actually stop this genocide—not whether we gave great speeches or

passed great resolutions or made statements, but what have we done to stop it.

The words have all been said. In July, this body unanimously passed a bipartisan resolution introduced by Senator BROWNBACK and myself, declaring that the atrocities in Darfur were genocide. On the same day, the House passed a similar resolution. In September, Secretary Powell made the same declaration for the administration. We all welcomed the announcement.

Since then, the situation has only deteriorated. The death toll may have already gone over, as I suggested, 100,000 human beings. Armed militias continue to rape women and girls with impunity. Civilians are being driven from their homes by the hundreds of thousands. Now the refugees are being driven from one camp to another camp, or even out of the camps altogether. The displaced population in Darfur is over 1.5 million. That is what is confirmed.

In the last few weeks, Janjaweedes have attacked these IDP camps, the refugee camps, destroying shelters, beating civilians, and forcibly moving people from one location to another.

The escalating violence preventing humanitarian organizations from reaching needy people is also occurring. Already, nearly one-quarter of the children under the age of five in Darfur are certifiably malnourished and close to half of the families do not have enough food.

Recently, food convoys have been attacked and large areas of Darfur are now effectively closed to the humanitarian organizations that are distributing food, medicine, and other elements. Hundreds of thousands of needy refugees cannot be reached.

Before this wave of violence—even before it—World Food Program reported that it served 175,000 fewer people in October than September. Get that: Statistics for our program serving the needy are going down, 175,000 fewer people in October than in September.

When I visited Darfur in August, the conditions were grim. The one ray of hope was the pressure from the international community, including a threat of sanctions that forced the Government in Khartoum to allow access by humanitarian organizations. Humanitarian workers were overwhelmed by the number of refugees, but they were working hard and saving lives. As a result, estimates of the death toll, which could have gone as high as a million, were scaled back after that. With the violence intensifying and humanitarian organizations again restricted in their movements, we sadly revisit our gravest fears.

The other recent development is the disintegration of order in the region. Anger and resentment are on the rise among the displaced, and civil war between Khartoum and the rebels is escalating. All the conditions are in place for a complete collapse, for long-term

instability and an indefinite humanitarian crisis.

As Jan Pronk, the U.N. Special Representative for Sudan, warned on November 4:

Darfur may easily enter a state of anarchy; a total collapse of law and order.

Permitting such a thing to happen is not only immoral, it is antithetical to our national security interests. Remember, Sudan is the country that once harbored Osama bin Laden. The prospects of becoming a terrorist breeding ground are real. This is something that needs to be addressed now.

This has not happened since the administration declared genocide was taking place. Whatever the message that declaration sent, it was clearly not enough and may even have sent the wrong message that the United States may declare that genocide is existing and then not act to stop it.

Words without deeds violates the moral and legal obligation we have under the genocide convention but, more importantly, violates our sense of right and wrong and the standards we have as human beings about looking to care for one another. Words without deeds is an affront to the principle that guides our Nation and makes a mockery of the values we as public servants claim to love. The American people know this, which is why people of faith, of all religions and denominations and civic groups throughout the country, call for concerted, resolute, effective action.

Details matter. What will it actually take to stop this genocide? In September, this body passed by voice vote an amendment offered by myself and Senator DEWINE to provide \$75 million for an expanded African Union force in Darfur. The funding is now being negotiated with the House of Representatives in the so-called Omnibus bill but has had little if any support from the administration and some in the Senate.

Senator DEWINE and myself offered the amendment after the U.N. Security Council passed a resolution calling for assistance to the AU and after Secretary Powell testified the current United States contribution of \$20 million would not be enough. Get that, \$20 million—not billions, trillions, which we normally are talking about.

An expanded African Union force of 3,000 will cost roughly \$220 million. The European Union recently pledged half that amount would be forthcoming. We can afford to pay for the rest. We cannot afford to walk away from our moral obligation. Madam President, \$75 million is less than half of what the administration sought for waste disposal in Iraq. It is insignificant compared to the costs of the wars that are waging around the globe. What we cannot afford is to provide anything less. Short-changing AU troops or delivering only incremental assistance may be worse than doing nothing. They do need helicopters, vehicles, communication equipment, and housing to patrol Darfur. We are moving forces into

Darfur, but we do not give them the tools they need to be able to do what they are there for and we are setting them up for failure. We risk undermining the very credibility of a burgeoning ability to deal with some of these crises that happen all across Africa, and not just in Darfur. It is precisely now when we need to give them the resources to be able to succeed.

We should not kid ourselves about the effectiveness of the AU force. They are responsible for monitoring the April cease-fire. There was an agreement reached November 9 that includes a no-fly zone that the AU force must enforce. To quote the current AU chair, Nigerian President Obasanjo, these agreements “won’t be worth the paper they’re written on if they are not scrupulously implemented on the ground.” His words are right. Words without deeds, without resources, is meaningless.

The potential for the situation to overwhelm the AU force is real. The region is enormous and every day as the violence gets worse, the challenge grows. The answer is not to dismiss the AU force but to do whatever it takes to make it effective. If 3,000 troops is not enough, we should consider others and more. If \$220 million is not enough, we should, along with our allies, push to have additional resources. Hundreds of thousands of lives are at stake. If the AU cannot set up command-and-control communications or intelligence right away, we should help them do it.

In the end, the only test is whether we stop the killing. The same test applies to sanctions. This week’s efforts to reach a north-south agreement are important, but we must not weaken in any way the pressure on Khartoum with regard to Darfur. Only consistent, strong, credible international pressure has ever changed Khartoum’s behavior. I heard one senior administration official say that when their lips are moving, they are lying. This means we need to apply pressure. This means an embargo, seizing assets, restricting travel of government officials and, yes, going after Sudanese oil and gas companies that deal in the finances that allow this tragedy to continue to unfold. We should be working with our allies to put in place effective sanctions. If members of the U.N. Security Council are not amenable, we should work with the EU. We also have leverage through our own capital markets. The test is whether we are prepared to stop genocide, something we have all declared exists, something the administration has declared.

How can we be discussing these options? We should be acting. There is no more critical moment than now. The pieces are in place.

Today, the U.N. Security Council is meeting in Nairobi preparing to issue another resolution on Sudan, although I hear the discussion is very limited with regard to actions they will take with regard to Khartoum. The United States has rightfully called this genocide. The U.N. Security Council has

agreed on paper that sanctions should be imposed if Sudan does not stop the violence. That violence has not stopped.

The Security Council has called on member states to support an expanded AU force, and the African Union, 2 years old, has stepped up. Its leadership is committed to preventing another genocide if we will help. We are the world's only superpower. Genocide is happening and we must act. President Bush campaigned on a platform of acting wherever necessary to protect our interests overseas regardless of world opinion.

With all that has happened in the last few years, how can we claim to be constrained in this situation with this action taking place against the human race? We are the world's superpower. If we do everything that we should do, history will judge that we acted. But they will judge us harshly if we do not step up to save these lives that will be lost in the years and the months and the days ahead. If we hesitate now, if we make excuses, most of us think we will have a hard time forgiving ourselves for what we did not do. Rwanda is burned in our memory. We should not allow hundreds of thousands of people to die. We will have doomed the AU to ineffectual operations on the ground, and we will have damaged its credibility and its underlying ability to respond to crises in the future.

I hope we will act. I hope we will not turn the pages of this omnibus financing without giving the resources to act. Words are not good enough; deeds are required. I hope we will not have failed our people and our values we hold dear.

I thank you, Madam President. I yield the floor.

Madam President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CHAMBLISS. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

REQUESTING RETURN OF PAPERWORK—S. 2283

Mr. CHAMBLISS. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate request the House to return the papers with respect to S. 2283.

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

TRIBUTES TO RETIRING SENATORS

ZELL MILLER

Mr. CHAMBLISS. Madam President, I rise this morning to pay tribute to a very special friend of mine and a friend of Georgia's and a friend of the United

States of America. We are in what we think are our last couple of days of the 108th session. That being the case, this will be the last few days that Senator ZELL MILLER will be in Washington in his capacity as the senior Senator from our great State of Georgia. I want to take a minute just to talk about this man who has been such an inspiration to any number of politicians and others in my State relative to his public service to our State and to our country.

ZELL MILLER was born in a little town called Young Harris, GA, which is in the mountains of north Georgia, one of the most beautiful parts of our State. His father, unfortunately, died when he was 17 days old, so he was raised by his mother, whom he has repeatedly talked about in the books he has written as well as in his speeches. His mother Birdie was the most influential person in his life. She did a heck of a job with ZELL MILLER as a young man and remained an inspiration to him throughout his adult life, and particularly in his life as a public servant to our State.

ZELL did one of the best things any man can do; and that is, he married way over his head early in his life. He married his sweetheart, Shirley. Before he went into the Marine Corps, he tells the story about leaving for boot camp and he was afraid when he got back she might not marry him, so while they were in the mood they ran over to South Carolina, which is not far away from his hometown of Young Harris, and got married; and they have had decades of glorious years together. They have two wonderful sons and four grandchildren and now four great-grandchildren whom the two of them have enjoyed. Now he will have even more of an opportunity to spend time with them and enjoy them even more.

ZELL entered the Marine Corps at an early age. Again, as he has repeatedly said in his books, as well as in his speeches, it is the best thing he ever did in his life from the standpoint of straightening him out. All of us go through difficult times in our early years, and there are specific instances that make us what we are and sort of chart the course for where we are going to be in future years. ZELL has been very open about the fact that the Marine Corps is the institution that really put his mind in the right frame that it needed to be for his adult years.

ZELL began his educational career at Young Harris College following his tenure in the Marine Corps, and then ultimately graduated from the University of Georgia, which happens to be the same institution of which I graduated. Again, having a colleague such as ZELL to look to as a fellow alumnus is a great privilege.

ZELL then began a teaching career, and also very shortly entered a public service career. He served two terms as a State senator from his home county area of Young Harris. I think that was the foundation for what was going to ultimately become an outstanding ca-

reer for him in public service. Like all of us, he suffered defeat as well as victory. He ran unsuccessfully for the U.S. House of Representatives twice. Having run for Congress myself, and lost the first time, I know it is not much fun, but you also find out it is the greatest experience of your life. You meet the nicest people in the world, and you get a real sense of the fact that there are just literally thousands and thousands of people in that congressional district who have the same beliefs and philosophy that you do, so you want to continue to make a difference.

Even though ZELL lost those races when he ran twice, that did not deter him from continuing in public service. He served as our Lieutenant Governor for four terms, 16 years. He just did a masterful job. The Lieutenant Governor in Georgia has a little more power than some of the Lieutenant Governors in other States around the country. He presided over the State senate, and in that capacity had the obligation and the power to appoint committee chairmen and to be involved in legislation from a direct standpoint. He did an outstanding job as Lieutenant Governor.

Following those four terms, he ran for Governor and, in 1990, was elected Governor of our State for the first of his two terms. In 1990, he campaigned on the fact that if we were going to have a State lottery—that was one of the hot issues on the ballot that year—that if we were going to have a State lottery, he wanted to make sure the funds that were generated by that lottery were used for one purpose, and one purpose only, and that was to improve the quality of education in our State.

I have to say if there is any one man who is responsible for the improvement of the quality of education in my State of Georgia, it is ZELL MILLER because he not only campaigned on doing that, he made absolutely certain all the funds generated from that State lottery went to improve the quality of education.

He is the father of the HOPE Scholarship. It is kind of interesting, in every campaign now, every statehouse campaign and gubernatorial and lieutenant gubernatorial race now, those folks who have been involved in State politics for a while who are running for those races all claim responsibility for the HOPE Scholarship. But everybody knows that the father of the HOPE Scholarship, the person who was responsible for its passage and implementation, is ZELL MILLER.

The HOPE Scholarship is a provision in our law which says, if you graduate from a high school in Georgia and you have a B average, you can go to any State institution that you are successful in applying to and getting into, and your tuition will be paid for. As long as you maintain a B average, that tuition will be paid for throughout your college career. It has been one of the best things we have ever had happen in our State.