

I know none of these measures comes close to the timelines and accountability provisions I supported in the vetoed bill. However, I also know these provisions will force the administration to do more than they have ever done before. I also know the stakes are too high and our obligation to the troops and the country is too great for us to stop working to force the President and his supporters to change course. The burden for securing and governing Iraq must now rest with the Iraqi people.

As General Abizaid said:

It is easy for Iraqis to reply upon us to do this work. I believe that more American forces prevent the Iraqis from doing more, from taking more responsibility for their own future.

GEN Doug Lute, recently nominated by President Bush to be his war czar, said:

We believe at some point, in order to break this dependence on the coalition, you simply have to back off and let the Iraqis step forward.

As long as I am Democratic leader and this President persists in pursuing the worst foreign policy blunder in this Nation's history, the American people should know I am determined to fight for change in Iraq. The Senate Armed Services Committee reported the fiscal year 2008 Defense authorization bill earlier today. We will move to it in our next work period, which starts in about 10 days. This battle for responsible and effective Iraq policy will be joined in the Senate no later than when we take up that bill. Senate Democrats will not stop our efforts to change our course in this war until either enough Republicans join us to reject President Bush's failed policy or we get a new President.

In 1941, in an address at Harrow School, Winston Churchill said:

Never give in. Never give in. Never, never, never. . . .

My colleagues here in the Senate, particularly my Republican colleagues, should know this is precisely my attitude when it comes to bringing about a change in course in the intractable civil war in Iraq. Although I didn't get everything I sought in the bill before us, and that is an understatement, I will not give up until the supporters of the President's failed policy accept the realities on the ground in Iraq, until they accept that the President's plan is not working, that this war must come to an end, and that it is time for our troops to come home in a safe and responsible way.

Paraphrasing the words of Winston Churchill, when it comes to forcing the President to change course in Iraq, Senate Democrats will never give in, never give in, never, never, never.

I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. WARNER. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The question is on agreeing to the motion.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. JOHNSON) and the Senator from New York (Mr. SCHUMER) are necessarily absent.

Mr. LOTT. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Kansas (Mr. BROWNBACK), the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. COLEMAN), the Senator from Utah (Mr. HATCH), and the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. THOMAS).

Further, if present and voting, the Senator from Utah (Mr. HATCH) and the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. COLEMAN) would have voted "yea."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 80, nays 14, as follows:

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[Rollcall Vote No. 181 Leg.]

YEAS—80

Akaka	Dorgan	Menendez
Alexander	Durbin	Mikulski
Allard	Ensign	Murkowski
Baucus	Feinstein	Murray
Bayh	Graham	Nelson (FL)
Bennett	Grassley	Nelson (NE)
Biden	Gregg	Pryor
Bingaman	Hagel	Reed
Bond	Harkin	Reid
Brown	Hutchison	Roberts
Bunning	Inhofe	Rockefeller
Byrd	Inouye	Salazar
Cantwell	Isakson	Sessions
Cardin	Klobuchar	Shelby
Carper	Kohl	Smith
Casey	Kyl	Snowe
Chambliss	Landrieu	Specter
Cochran	Lautenberg	Stabenow
Collins	Levin	Stevens
Conrad	Lieberman	Sununu
Corker	Lincoln	Tester
Cornyn	Lott	Thune
Craig	Lugar	Vitter
Crapo	Martinez	Voinovich
DeMint	McCain	Warner
Dole	McCaskill	Webb
Domenici	McConnell	

NAYS—14

Boxer	Enzi	Obama
Burr	Feingold	Sanders
Clinton	Kennedy	Whitehouse
Coburn	Kerry	Wyden
Dodd	Leahy	

NOT VOTING—6

Brownback	Hatch	Schumer
Coleman	Johnson	Thomas

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. DURBIN. I move to reconsider the vote and to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

VOTE EXPLANATION

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I am entering this statement in the RECORD because I am attending my daughter's graduation baccalaureate service in New York. Had I been here I would have voted in favor of the supplemental appropriations bill because I believe we must fund the troops who are in harm's way. However, I believe just as strongly that we must change our mission in Iraq away from policing a civil war and toward a much more narrowly focused goal of counterterrorism, which requires a much smaller number of

troops. That is what the Feingold-Reid amendment stood for and that is why I voted for it on May 16, 2007. Unfortunately, it did not have enough votes to pass. Our effort to force the President to change the mission in Iraq will continue almost immediately with the DOD authorization bill and will not end until we succeed.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. DURBIN. I ask unanimous consent that there now be a period of morning business with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

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

The Senator from Illinois.

DARFUR

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I come to the floor this evening to address the ongoing genocide in Darfur. I have been coming to the floor almost every week to try to make certain we don't forget what is happening in Sudan, even as we focus most of our energy on important issues such as the war in Iraq, immigration reform, and so many other things on our Senate agenda. But the crisis in Sudan is simply too great for us to ignore. It has now been over 2½ years since the President quite rightly called the situation in Sudan what it is, a genocide. It was September 9, 2004, when the President made that courageous statement, and we all know a statement like that has historic importance.

The United States, under the 1948 U.N. Convention on Genocide, is committed to providing effective penalties against the killers if it deems that genocide is taking place. We are compelled to act. Yet sadly, we have done precious little to change the situation to this point.

It is true that Congress, the administration, the private sector, and the nonprofit community have taken some steps to increase the pressure on the Sudanese Government to stop the killings and mass displacement of innocent people. That is at least a start. In Congress, Members have spoken out against the killings. They have introduced resolutions of condemnation, and they have proposed legislation in an effort to do something. I have introduced legislation that would support state governments which decide to encourage public funds to divest from Sudan-related investments. That bill has attracted strong bipartisan cosponsorship from over 25 Members of the Senate. Some of us have tried to make the right personal decisions to divest from Sudan-related investments in our own savings as a gesture of solidarity with the divestiture movement. But we have to do so much more.

As for the Bush administration, the Office of Foreign Assets Control within the Treasury Department, working with many agencies and departments,

has worked hard to tighten economic and political sanctions against the leaders and supporters of the Sudanese regime. President Bush spoke out at the Holocaust Museum a few weeks ago. He has vowed to keep pushing for change in Sudan. Yet the administration must do more.

In the private sector, I was pleasantly surprised to see that Fidelity recently decided to sell part of its stake in PetroChina, a company listed out at the New York Stock Exchange, the parent of which is a state-owned Chinese oil company with massive operations in Sudan. Fidelity sold 91 percent of its PetroChina holdings in the United States and even though that only amounts to 38 percent of its global PetroChina holdings, this is nonetheless a positive sign. The divestiture movement is under way. Other investment firms such as Calvert have gone a step further and promised to hold no shares of any firm that operates to the benefit of the Government of Sudan. Yet the private sector must do more.

Within the nonprofit community, organizations such as the Sudan Divestment Task Force and the Genocide Intervention Network continue to apply pressure to governments and to private firms to get them all to do more to stop the genocide. Yet they too must do more. All of us must work together to do more in Congress, in the private sector, among nonprofit organizations and, yes, individuals and families concerned about this terrible situation. To that end, I am working with my colleagues in the Senate and House and with the Bush administration, with private sector advisors, and with the advocacy community to craft a new bill that will apply even more economic pressure on the Sudanese regime and those who support it.

My bill, which I will introduce when we return, is the Sudanese Disclosure and Enforcement Act. It would do the following: First, it expresses the sense of the Congress that the international community should continue to bring pressure against the Government of Sudan in order to convince that regime that the world will not allow this crisis to continue unabated.

Second, it requires more detailed SEC disclosures by U.S.-listed companies that operate in the Sudanese petroleum sector, in order to provide more information to investors that are considering divestiture.

Third, it increases civil and criminal penalties for violating American economic sanctions in order to create a true deterrent.

Fourth, it requires the administration to report on the effectiveness of the current sanctions regime and recommend other steps Congress can take to help end the crisis.

Fifth, it authorizes greater resources for the Office of Foreign Assets Control within the Department of Treasury to strengthen its capabilities in tracking Sudanese economic activity and pursuing sanctions violators.

I will introduce this bill when we return. I urge my colleagues to seriously consider it, and I hope they will join me.

I have recently written to President Bush urging him to support the bill but also to take the next step. He promised 5 weeks ago to take action. His speech was at an auspicious location, the Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC, a museum which notes the terrible tragedy that befell 6 million people during World War II. The President said on that day:

You who have survived evil know that the only way to defeat it is to look it in the face and not back down. It is evil we are now seeing in Sudan—and we're not going to back down.

He went on to say:

No one who sees these pictures can doubt that genocide is the only word for what is happening in Darfur and that we have a moral obligation to stop it.

Those are the words of the President. They are words worth repeating. The President declared that the current negotiations between the U.N. Secretary General Ban Ki-moon and President Bashir of Sudan are "the last chance" for Sudan to do the following: Follow through on the deployment of U.N. support forces, allow the deployment of a full joint U.N.-African Union peace-keeping force, end support for the Janjaweed militia, reach out to rebel leaders, allow humanitarian aid to reach the people of Darfur, stop his pattern of destruction once and for all.

President Bush then declared that if Bashir does not follow these steps, in a short time the Bush administration will take the following steps, in the President's words: Tighten U.S. economic sanctions on Sudan, target sanctions against individuals responsible for the violence, and prepare a strong new United Nations Security Council resolution.

Five weeks later, a short time has passed, and now it is time to act. In these 5 weeks, President Bashir has ignored the world. In fact, a spokesperson for the Secretary General of the United Nations has called recently renewed bombing in Sudan indiscriminate and a violation of international law. While we wait, while we ponder, while we think, while we work, while we vacation, innocent people die, victims of a genocide. How will history judge us? Will it judge us for having acknowledged this genocide and responding, or will it judge us for having acknowledged this terrible tragedy and responded with nothing?

It is time to act. We must do more. This is simply too important and too historic to ignore any longer.

I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I compliment my friend from Illinois. He might be interested to know I met with the Secretary General of the United Nations on Monday in his office. I indicated I wanted to know what he was

prepared to propose. As you know, there are three phases to the process whereby the Sudanese have agreed to the implementation of ultimately 21,000 troops made up of the African Union as well as United Nations forces. He indicated he would have an answer as to what he thought might be able to be done probably by the end of Memorial Day. My point to him was similar to my friend from Illinois. If, in fact, the Sudanese Government refuses to allow, on the basis of their sovereignty, the placement of U.N. forces on the ground, that it violates their sovereignty.

I indicated I believed—and others believe as well—that the country forfeits its sovereignty when it participates and engages in genocide and that we, the United States, should push the Security Council to implement the placement of those troops on the ground regardless of what Khartoum says. Further, if they don't, it is my view the United States unilaterally should engage through a no-fly zone as well as the placement of 2,500 troops on the ground to take out the Janjaweed. That is not a political settlement, but the point I made to the Secretary General was, as we talk about the ultimate problem, the need for a political settlement, it is like talking about a patient who has cancer and on the way to the operating room falls off the gurney and slits his jugular vein and is bleeding to death. Everybody says: We have to take care of the cancer. But they are going to bleed to death.

I have been in those camps in Darfur, actually on the border of Darfur. I have visited them in Chad. One camp with 30,000 women and children in it, over 300,000 in that region, deteriorating rapidly. It is a human disaster. I hope if, in fact, the United Nations doesn't act, the Senate will be prepared to act to support pushing the President to have the United States lead.

The point I am making is, I compliment my friend for continuing to keep this in the consciousness of our colleagues and the public.

IRAQ

Mr. BIDEN. But, Mr. President, the reason I rise today is to speak because there was not time for me to speak on the supplemental we just voted for.

Earlier this month, Congress sent the President an emergency spending bill for Iraq. It provided the President with every single dollar our troops needed and the President requested, and then some.

It also provided the American people a plan to bring this war to a responsible end, including the language Senator LEVIN and I wrote, which required to start to bring American troops home within 120 days, have the bulk of our combat troops out of Iraq by March—it turned out to be April 1 of 2008, and to, most importantly, limit the mission of the smaller number that would remain to fighting al-Qaida and training Iraqi troops.