

Fifty-eight years ago they stepped to the doors of their C-47 transports and jumped into the dark, menacing embrace of the Normandy night. Fifty-eight years ago, the ramps of their landing crafts hit the pounding surf at Omaha and Utah beaches and they leapt forth into the teeth of terrible storm.

They were the elite of the American Army and Air Corps. They were the pride of our entire nation. They were what Tom Brokaw later came to call our "Greatest Generation."

As these gentlemen spearheaded the Allied invasion of France on that fateful summer night 58 years ago, they were taking an incredible leap of courage.

Steven Spielberg has said that his depiction of D-Day in *Saving Private Ryan* actually underplayed the ferociousness of the battle. That gives some measure of the superhuman heroism and valor of our D-Day vets.

It is no exaggeration to say they saved the world. And it is even less of an exaggeration to say they saved democracy for my generation—and future generations.

In his history of D-Day, Stephen Ambrose points out that Hitler thought that democracies were too weak to fight fascism, and that American soldiers—raised to believe in freedom and liberty—were soft and no match for his master race. But America's soldiers of democracy—you and millions of other World War II veterans—were anything but soft. The Taliban, by the way, are learning the same lesson about today's GIs.

These six Arizonans were able to storm the beaches of Normandy and win World War II precisely because they were fighting for liberty and freedom. They are the heart and soul of America.

In some ways, modern society is very different from the nation that the men and women of D-Day knew, and it is sometimes fashionable to take a cynical view of the world. But when the calendar reads the 6th of June, such opinions are better left unspoken. No one who has heard and read about the events of D-Day could possibly remain a cynic.

Army Private Andy Rooney was there to survey the aftermath. A lifetime later he would write, "If you think the world is selfish and rotten, go to the cemetery at Colleville overlooking Omaha Beach. See what one group of men did for another on D-Day, June 6, 1944."

Mr. Speaker, I remain eternally grateful to all of the veterans who stormed the beaches at Normandy in the defense of freedom. Every American soldier who courageously fought for freedom deserves recognition and thanks from this Congress.

#### ATTACK ON THE U.S.S. "LIBERTY"

**HON. CYNTHIA A. MCKINNEY**

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 2002

Ms. MCKINNEY. Mr. Speaker, I speak to commemorate and recognize the tragic attack that took place against the U.S.S. *Liberty* on June 8, 1967. Although thirty-five years have come and gone since this historic event, the survivors of the U.S.S. *Liberty* are still struggling with the fact that their story has never been heard.

While there has never been an official investigation into this event, we have learned

from survivor accounts that for over 75 minutes the Israeli Defense Forces attacked the U.S.S. *Liberty*, killing 34 American soldiers and wounding an additional 172. With over 85% of the crew either dead or wounded, they somehow managed to keep the ship afloat after being hit by over 1000 rounds of rocket, cannon, machine gun, napalm hits, and even a direct hit from a torpedo.

This unprovoked attack took place in international waters, and by a trusted ally. The only explanation given to the survivors and their families as to why this attack took place was that it was an accident and that their ship was not identified as being American, regardless of the fact that our flag was proudly flown throughout the attack. Unfortunately, that explanation is not good enough for those whose lives have been impacted by this attack, and it should not be good enough for the American people. Let's not wait another thirty-five years before we provide the survivors of the U.S.S. *Liberty* an official investigation into why this attack took place and allow them to tell their story. We owe them more than a debt of gratitude for their sacrifice; we owe them the truth.

#### PROMOTING DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM

**HON. STEPHEN HORN**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 2002

Mr. HORN. Mr. Speaker, during the past recess, I joined with Representative CURT WELDON and other Members in traveling to Russia, Uzbekistan, China, and Korea for discussions with government officials in those nations. I think I speak for all members of our delegation in thanking Representative WELDON for his excellent leadership of this group. I think we all also would agree that this trip provided an invaluable and enlightening look at key nations we must deal with in a broad range of issues.

Representative WELDON recently reported on our trip but today I want to insert into the RECORD my own most recent newspaper commentary, which outlines my own thoughts and assessment of our delegation's meetings. I ask that the commentary appear at this point in the RECORD.

#### PROMOTING DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM

During the Memorial Day recess, I joined a 13-member bipartisan congressional delegation to meet with government leaders in Russia, Uzbekistan, China, and South Korea. One of the key goals of the delegation, led by Representative Curt Weldon (R-PA), was to visit North Korea. We wanted to express our interest in addressing food aid, agriculture, health, education, and other humanitarian assistance in a nation rampant with starvation and economic turmoil. Unfortunately, the North Korean government denied us entry at the last moment.

Traveling through three countries that were once part of the "Communist Bloc," we could see that democracy is now a growing force in these nations. Our delegation arrived in Moscow the day after the historic signing of the strategic arms reduction treaty by Presidents George W. Bush and Vladimir Putin. More good news came when we met with members of the State Duma, our legislative counterpart that once was a rubber stamp of the Kremlin, but now is a legiti-

mate policy institution. We presented the legislators with 108 recommendations for U.S.-Russian engagement, and the Members of the Duma stated their desire to work with us to bring the U.S. and Russia closer together.

We visited the Kurchatov Institute, initially established to design Russia's first nuclear weapons, but now transformed into a research center for safe and environmentally friendly nuclear power generation. We attended the ribbon-cutting for the new American University in Moscow, where we met students and faculty in the American Studies program.

Over the last decade of reforms, Moscow has changed from a gray and solemn city to a tourist destination. Gold-domed churches, colorful buildings beautifully lit at night, billboards and neon abound in the new Moscow.

At our next stop in Uzbekistan, a former Soviet Republic which is key to the stability of Central Asia, we found a strongly pro-American sentiment. In the capital of Tashkent, the Uzbekistan President, Islom Karimov, told us he wants to model his country after America.

Uzbekistan (about the size of California) is one of the few countries in Central Asia that shares this pro-American stance. We visited with our troops in the hot and dry desert base of Karshi-Khanabad on the edge of Afghanistan, and assured them of the complete support of the American people. We delivered letters from school children and homemade cookies as tokens of appreciation.

When we arrived in Beijing, China, I was stunned by its growth since I was first there in 1981. Now it is a bustling metropolis complete with high rise buildings, luxury hotels, and streets packed with cars rather than bicycles. We met with Chinese President Jiang Zemin, who stressed that China and the United States have more interests in common than differences.

China has been fairly successful in its economic reforms. The one major concern I have had with China is its human rights record. Our goal must be to find common ground, while supporting freedom, such as last year's approval by Congress of permanent normal trade relations. Reunification with Taiwan remains a central focus for China's leaders, and our delegation was adamant that this issue must be solved peacefully.

In Seoul, South Korea, our ally for over 50 years, progress and expansion are still taking place. As hosts of the World Cup, Seoul was filled with visitors from around the world, lending a festive air to this vibrant city. The traffic reminded us of Los Angeles. The delegation visited our troops at Yongsan military base and at the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) on the border of North Korea. In a last attempt to obtain visas to visit North Korea, we were denied entry by General Secretary, Korean Workers' Party Kim Jong-Il (he is also "Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army.") Unfortunately, his country is stuck in the dark ages of totalitarian communism. But we are hopeful that our efforts to open dialogue will lay the groundwork for future meetings.

It is heartening to report that with the leaders of the countries that we met had praise for America's war on terrorism and President Bush's conduct of our foreign policy. Everywhere we saw leaders, there was great respect for President Bush. Our travels provided insight into the progress and economic growth that has taken hold as a result of democratic reforms. Our congressional delegation brings home a more informed picture of this progress and a set of goals to help us continue improving our relations with these important countries.

REPORT CONFIRMS SUDAN'S USE  
OF SLAVERY

HON. FRANK R. WOLF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, June 6, 2002*

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I want to share with you the findings from the report of the International Eminent Persons Group that was created out of the agreements negotiated by special envoy for Sudan, former Senator John Danforth. This group was invited to Sudan by both parties to the conflict in Sudan, the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Army, to investigate the occurrence of slavery and abduction there.

The report indicates that the group found sufficient evidence during its investigation that the Government of Sudan uses slavery as a part of a "counter-insurgency strategy pursued by successive governments in Khartoum."

These actions include incidences of abduction and associated abuses that occur in conjunction with attacks by pro-government militias known as murahaleen on villages in SPLA-controlled areas . . . the Government of Sudan and its predecessors have been responsible for arming murahaleen groups, for using them as auxiliary military forces and for allowing members of such forces to enjoy impunity for a wide range of serious crimes committed in the course of attacks. They burn villages, loot cattle, rape and kill civilians, and abduct and enslave men, women and children.

As this report shows, the government in Khartoum has used slavery as a strategy and as a weapon for years. It is time for Khartoum to end this horrible practice and for the world to condemn Khartoum for this atrocity.

As the Bush Administration and the international community press for peace in Sudan, ending the form of slavery practiced by Sudan needs to be at the forefront of the discussions.

## FINDINGS

Finding 1. Changes in the international environment and within Sudan itself have raised hopes for progress toward peace in Sudan.

Finding 2. The United States, other concerned governments and international institutions should engage this possibility with energy on the one hand and rigorous conditionality on the other. Progress in dealing with human rights abuses is a key element in the establishment of a just and durable peace in Sudan.

Finding 3. Many observers note an improved political climate in Khartoum, characterized by a renewed dialogue among political parties and the return of representatives of some northern political parties to Khartoum. The Sudanese Government's acceptance of, and cooperation with, the mission of Senator John Danforth, and with our own mission, may be regarded as reflections of this change. Recent initiatives by the SPLM/A to encourage the institutions of civil society are also examples of favorable political developments.

Finding 4. Despite these positive signs, the people of Sudan continue to be subjected to a range of serious and sustained human-rights-abuses. These abuses have been extensively documented in numerous human rights reports, including those of Human Rights Watch, Anti-Slavery International, the Special Rapporteur of the UN Commission on Human Rights on Sudan and other credible observers. They include denial of

rights of expression and association, restrictions on press freedom, harassment of certain opposition political groups and independent religious bodies, arbitrary arrest and detention, cruel and unusual punishment and arbitrary interpretation and application of laws.

Particularly serious abuses have occurred in connection with the current civil war. To one degree or another, all of the warring parties have engaged in such practices as the forced displacement of civilian populations, intentional attacks on civilians, abductions, the forcible recruitment of children and other civilians as soldiers and forced laborers, hostage taking, rape, looting, destruction of food supplies and the denial of access to humanitarian assistance. Women and children have suffered especially, both from abduction and sexual violence. All these practices are prohibited by international covenants and conventions.

The causes of these abuses are far-reaching and complex and must be understood and addressed as a whole.

Finding 5. Our Group's mandate called upon us specifically to examine slavery, abduction and forced servitude. We found a wide range of economic relationships between northerners and persons from the south who have either been displaced or have migrated to the north. Such relationships range from debt bondage to benign relations of sponsorship or adoption. The majority of these relations, while they may involve economic exploitation, do not fall under the rubric of slavery. However, we also found evidence of exploitative and abusive relationships that, in some cases, do meet the definition of slavery as contained in international conventions, which Sudan has signed. This evidence is confirmed in interviews conducted by the Group, which is consistent with reports and interviews carried out by other credible agencies and organizations.

Of particular concern is the pattern of abuses that occurs in conjunction with attacks by pro-government militias known as murahaleen on villages in SPLA-controlled areas near the boundary between northern and southern Sudan. These are characterized by: capture through abduction (generally accompanied by violence); the forced transfer of victims to another community; subjection to forced labor for no pay; denial of victims' freedom of movement and choice; and, frequently, assaults on personal identity such as renaming, forced religious conversion, involuntary circumcision, prohibition on the use of native languages and the denial of contacts with the victims' families and communities of origin.

Many of those who are abducted and enslaved remain with their abductors in the areas of South Darfur or West Kordofan; some escape or are returned; and others are sold or transferred to third parties. The Group was unable to establish the extent of the onward sale of slaves. It received no information that would confirm the existence of actual slave markets. The Group also found evidence of ways other than abduction in which persons are put into conditions of slavery, which include being lured by false promises of employment. There are reports, which the Group was unable to confirm, that some abducted children are detained in institutions misleadingly described as Koranic schools.

In Ed Da'ein the Group interviewed a number of Rizeigat men, women and children who had been detained after the SPLA capture of Yei. We concluded that these particular individuals were not victims of abduction.

Finding 6. The Group was not able to establish the number of persons who have been abducted and/or enslaved. There are vast

divergences among available estimates. (See table under Research Priorities in the Supporting Analysis section.) The Government of Sudan and the SPLM/A have obstructed efforts by independent organizations from within and outside Sudan to investigate the problem of contemporary slavery and related issues.

Finding 7. The resurgence of slavery in contemporary Sudan differs both from the historical slave trade of the nineteenth-century and from the small-scale inter-tribal abduction (or "hostage-taking") that is endemic among many pastoral peoples in East and North-East Africa. The pattern of slave taking that has developed since the start of the civil war is, to a substantial degree, the product of a counter-insurgency strategy pursued by successive governments in Khartoum. This strategy involves arming local militias from northern Sudan. These militias attack villages in SPLA-controlled areas, principally along the boundary between northern and southern Sudan. They burn villages, loot cattle, rape and kill civilians, and abduct and enslave men, women and children. Such attacks are frequently carried out by militia members while employed by the government as auxiliary guards on military rail convoys traveling through SPLA-controlled areas.

Finding 8. The government acknowledges that abduction of civilians occurs. Its 1999 decision to create the Committee for the Elimination of Abduction of Women and Children (CEAWC) was a significant step in its recognition of the problem and its effort to address the plight of abducted persons. (See the discussion of CEAWC, including concerns about its effectiveness, in the Supporting Analysis section.) However, the government has failed to acknowledge its own responsibility for acts committed by militias and other forces under its authority. The lack of judicial control and appropriate structures of military accountability means that militia members are able to act with impunity.

Finding 9. The challenges of dealing with the issues of slavery, abduction and forced servitude are made much greater by an absence of democratic institutions and practices, both in areas controlled by the government and in those controlled by the SPLM/A and other armed groups. Specifically, there is an absence of pluralism, the rule of law, freedom of the press and other means of exchanging information, accountability in government and public administration, and independence of the judiciary. In government-controlled areas, this lack of transparency and accountability has severely limited the ability of citizens to voice grievances or seek judicial redress for a range of abuses, including abduction, slavery and forced servitude. In SPLM/A controlled areas, the lack of democratic governance, the obstruction of free inquiry, and the constraints imposed on civil society have hampered the ability to learn, the truth about alleged abuses of human rights, and to obtain remedies for them.

Finding 10. The Group notes with alarm recent reports from credible sources, including the Special Rapporteur on Sudan of the UN Commission on Human Rights, regarding increasing levels of fighting in areas of oil development in Western Upper Nile. The Group, while not able to visit this area, interviewed persons displaced in 2002 from Western Upper Nile. They report a pattern that includes the use of militias, attacks on civilians, forced displacement of large local populations, abduction and associated abuses. (See Selected Bibliography).

Finding 11. Bringing about an end to the practices of slavery, abduction and forced