

There was no objection.

Mr. TOM DAVIS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I rise today in support of H.R. 4324, a bill that eliminates the open season for employee contributions to the Thrift Savings Plan. This legislation was reported from the Committee on Government Reform by a voice vote on July 31, and I am pleased to see it considered by the whole House today.

Mr. Speaker, as my colleagues know, the TSP offers Federal employees the same retirement savings opportunities that private companies afford their employees under traditional 401(k) plans.

The TSP is the largest defined contribution retirement plan in the world, with nearly three and a half million participants and over \$143 billion in assets.

This legislation will allow TSP participants to make or modify their salary contributions at any time. Currently, Federal employees and members of the uniformed services who participate in the TSP are only provided two biannual periods to begin, adjust or end their contributions. This bill will give much-needed flexibility to participants of the Federal Government's retirement plan.

Every day, Federal employees across the Nation and around the globe perform critical duties to keep this Nation running smoothly.

Away from work, they experience all of life's events, births and deaths in the family, new homes, new jobs, salary adjustments and so on. With enactment of H.R. 4324, TSP participants can adopt their retirement savings to meet their changing circumstances.

Next year, I intend to offer additional legislation that will abolish the TSP open seasons entirely, but today, during the second open season after beginning Federal service, participants can earn matching funds up to 5 percent of their salary from their employing agencies. I believe allowing participants to secure these matching funds immediately is an important and deserved incentive for Federal employees to save. The Federal Retirement Thrift Investment Board, which administers the TSP, supports that change, and the Board supports H.R. 4324 as well.

The Committee on Government Reform, the committee of jurisdiction for Federal employee issues, was limited by budget constraints this Congress from moving a bill that would totally eliminate open seasons. Nevertheless, I am pleased to see H.R. 4324 advancing today.

I want to recognize the efforts of my distinguished counterpart in the other body, the gentlewoman from Maine, chairman of the Governmental Affairs Committee. She has worked very closely with me on today's bill to ensure that Federal employees will have the same retirement savings flexibilities enjoyed by many in the private sector.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

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Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, the Thrift Savings Plan, TSP, is a retirement savings and investment plan for Federal employees that is governed by the Federal Retirement Thrift Investment Board. The TSP has approximately 3 million participants. It is the largest retirement savings and investment program in the Nation.

H.R. 4324 would make two significant changes to the rules that govern participation in the TSP. First, it would allow Federal employees to alter their TSP contributions at any time instead of limiting such changes to biannual open-season periods.

Secondly, the bill would require the Federal Retirement Thrift Investment Board, the agency that administers the TSP, to evaluate and report on efforts to increase education programs for TSP participants.

Overall, H.R. 4324 would allow TSP enrollees to have more control over their investments and financial future. With better education initiatives, participants would be better informed when changing contributions to their TSP.

With these changes designed to be helpful to those who would participate, I am pleased to join the chairman, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. TOM DAVIS), and the gentlewoman from Virginia (Mrs. JO ANN DAVIS) in supporting this legislation and urge its passage.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. TOM DAVIS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this important legislation, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SHIMKUS). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. TOM DAVIS) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 4324, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

The title of the bill was amended so as to read: "A bill to amend chapter 84 of title 5, United States Code, to provide for Federal employees to make elections to make, modify, and terminate contributions to the Thrift Savings Fund at any time, and for other purposes."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### COMPREHENSIVE PEACE IN SUDAN ACT OF 2004

Mr. TANCREDO. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the Senate bill (S. 2781) to express the sense of Congress regarding the conflict in Darfur, Sudan, to provide assistance for the crisis in Darfur and for com-

prehensive peace in Sudan, and for other purposes, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

S. 2781

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Comprehensive Peace in Sudan Act of 2004".

#### SEC. 2. DEFINITIONS.

In this Act:

(1) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES.—The term "appropriate congressional committees" means the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Committee on International Relations of the House of Representatives.

(2) GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN.—The term "Government of Sudan" means the National Congress Party, formerly known as the National Islamic Front, government in Khartoum, Sudan, or any successor government formed on or after the date of the enactment of this Act (other than the coalition government agreed upon in the Nairobi Declaration on the Final Phase of Peace in the Sudan signed on June 5, 2004).

(3) JEM.—The term "JEM" means the Justice and Equality Movement.

(4) SLA.—The term "SLA" means the Sudan Liberation Army.

(5) SPLM.—The term "SPLM" means the Sudan People's Liberation Movement.

#### SEC. 3. FINDINGS.

Congress makes the following findings:

(1) A comprehensive peace agreement for Sudan, as envisioned in the Sudan Peace Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 note) and the Machakos Protocol of 2002, could be in jeopardy if the parties do not implement and honor the agreements they have signed.

(2) Since seizing power through a military coup in 1989, the Government of Sudan repeatedly has attacked and dislocated civilian populations in southern Sudan in a coordinated policy of ethnic cleansing and genocide that has cost the lives of more than 2,000,000 people and displaced more than 4,000,000 people.

(3) In response to two decades of civil conflict in Sudan, the United States has helped to establish an internationally supported peace process to promote a negotiated settlement to the war that has resulted in a framework peace agreement, the Nairobi Declaration on the Final Phase of Peace in the Sudan, signed on June 5, 2004.

(4) At the same time that the Government of Sudan was negotiating for a comprehensive and all inclusive peace agreement, enumerated in the Nairobi Declaration on the Final Phase of Peace in the Sudan, it refused to engage in any meaningful discussion with regard to its ongoing campaign of ethnic cleansing and genocide in the Darfur region of western Sudan.

(5) The Government of Sudan reluctantly agreed to attend talks to bring peace to the Darfur region only after considerable international pressure and outrage was expressed through high level visits by Secretary of State Colin Powell and others, and through United Nations Security Council Resolution 1556 (July 30, 2004).

(6) The Government of the United States, in both the executive branch and Congress, has concluded that genocide has been committed and may still be occurring in the Darfur region, and that the Government of Sudan and militias supported by the Government of Sudan, known as the Janjaweed, bear responsibility for the genocide.

(7) Evidence collected by international observers in the Darfur region between February 2003 and November 2004 indicate a coordinated effort to target African Sudanese

civilians in a scorched earth policy, similar to that which was employed in southern Sudan, that has destroyed African Sudanese villages, killing and driving away their people, while Arab Sudanese villages have been left unscathed.

(8) As a result of this genocidal policy in the Darfur region, an estimated 70,000 people have died, more than 1,600,000 people have been internally displaced, and more than 200,000 people have been forced to flee to neighboring Chad.

(9) Reports further indicate the systematic rape of thousands of women and girls, the abduction of women and children, and the destruction of hundreds of ethnically African villages, including the poisoning of their wells and the plunder of their crops and cattle upon which the people of such villages sustain themselves.

(10) Despite the threat of international action expressed through United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1556 (July 30, 2004) and 1564 (September 18, 2004), the Government of Sudan continues to obstruct and prevent efforts to reverse the catastrophic consequences that loom over the Darfur region.

(11) In addition to the thousands of violent deaths directly caused by ongoing Sudanese military and government-sponsored Janjaweed attacks in the Darfur region, the Government of Sudan has restricted access by humanitarian and human rights workers to the Darfur area through intimidation by military and security forces, and through bureaucratic and administrative obstruction, in an attempt to inflict the most devastating harm on those individuals displaced from their villages and homes without any means of sustenance or shelter.

(12) The Government of Sudan's continued support for the Janjaweed and their obstruction of the delivery of food, shelter, and medical care to the Darfur region is estimated by the World Health Organization to be causing up to 10,000 deaths per month and, should current conditions persist, is projected to escalate to thousands of deaths each day by December 2004.

(13) The Government of Chad served an important role in facilitating the humanitarian cease-fire (the N'Djamena Agreement dated April 8, 2004) for the Darfur region between the Government of Sudan and the two opposition rebel groups in the Darfur region (the JEM and the SLA), although both sides have violated the cease-fire agreement repeatedly.

(14) The people of Chad have responded courageously to the plight of over 200,000 Darfur refugees by providing assistance to them even though such assistance has adversely affected their own means of livelihood.

(15) On September 9, 2004, Secretary of State Colin Powell stated before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate: "When we reviewed the evidence compiled by our team, along with other information available to the State Department, we concluded that genocide has been committed in Darfur and that the Government of Sudan and the [Janjaweed] bear responsibility—and genocide may still be occurring."

(16) The African Union has demonstrated renewed vigor in regional affairs through its willingness to respond to the crisis in the Darfur region, by convening talks between the parties and deploying several hundred monitors and security forces to the region, as well as by recognizing the need for a far larger force with a broader mandate.

(17) The Government of Sudan's complicity in the atrocities and genocide in the Darfur region raises fundamental questions about the Government of Sudan's commitment to peace and stability in Sudan.

#### SEC. 4. SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING THE CONFLICT IN DARFUR, SUDAN.

(a) SUDAN PEACE ACT.—It is the sense of Congress that the Sudan Peace Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 note) remains relevant and should be extended to include the Darfur region of Sudan.

(b) ACTIONS TO ADDRESS THE CONFLICT.—It is the sense of Congress that—

(1) a legitimate countrywide peace in Sudan will only be possible if those principles enumerated in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that are affirmed in the Machakos Protocol of 2002 and the Nairobi Declaration on the Final Phase of Peace in the Sudan signed on June 5, 2004, are applied to all of Sudan, including the Darfur region;

(2) the parties to the N'Djamena Agreement (the Government of Sudan, the JEM, and the SLA) must meet their obligations under that Agreement to allow safe and immediate delivery of all humanitarian assistance throughout the Darfur region and must expedite the conclusion of a political agreement to end the genocide and conflict in the Darfur region;

(3) the United States should continue to provide humanitarian assistance to the areas of Sudan to which the United States has access and, at the same time, implement a plan to provide assistance to the areas of Sudan to which access has been obstructed or denied;

(4) the international community, including African, Arab, and Muslim nations, should immediately provide resources necessary to save the lives of hundreds of thousands of individuals at risk as a result of the crisis in the Darfur region;

(5) the United States and the international community should—

(A) provide all necessary assistance to deploy and sustain an African Union Force to the Darfur region; and

(B) work to increase the authorized level and expand the mandate of such forces commensurate with the gravity and scope of the problem in a region the size of France;

(6) the President, acting through the Secretary of State and the Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations, should—

(A) condemn any failure on the part of the Government of Sudan to fulfill its obligations under United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1556 (July 30, 2004) and 1564 (September 18, 2004), and press the United Nations Security Council to respond to such failure by immediately imposing the penalties suggested in paragraph (14) of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1564;

(B) press the United Nations Security Council to pursue accountability for those individuals who are found responsible for orchestrating and carrying out the atrocities in the Darfur region, consistent with relevant United Nations Security Council Resolutions; and

(C) encourage member states of the United Nations to—

(i) cease to import Sudanese oil; and

(ii) take the following actions against Sudanese Government and military officials and other individuals, who are planning, carrying out, or otherwise involved in the policy of genocide in the Darfur region, as well as their families, and businesses controlled by the Government of Sudan and the National Congress Party:

(I) freeze the assets held by such individuals or businesses in each such member state; and

(II) restrict the entry or transit of such officials through each such member state;

(7) the President should impose targeted sanctions, including a ban on travel and the freezing of assets, on those officials of the

Government of Sudan, including military officials, and other individuals who have planned or carried out, or otherwise been involved in the policy of genocide in the Darfur region, and should also freeze the assets of businesses controlled by the Government of Sudan or the National Congress Party;

(8) the Government of the United States should not normalize relations with Sudan, including through the lifting of any sanctions, until the Government of Sudan agrees to, and takes demonstrable steps to implement, peace agreements for all areas of Sudan, including the Darfur region;

(9) those individuals found to be involved in the planning or carrying out of genocide, war crimes, or crimes against humanity should not hold leadership positions in the Government of Sudan or the coalition government established pursuant to the agreements reached in the Nairobi Declaration on the Final Phase of Peace in the Sudan; and

(10) the Government of Sudan has a primary responsibility to guarantee the safety and welfare of its citizens, which includes allowing them access to humanitarian assistance and providing them protection from violence.

#### SEC. 5. AMENDMENTS TO THE SUDAN PEACE ACT.

(a) ASSISTANCE FOR THE CRISIS IN DARFUR AND FOR COMPREHENSIVE PEACE IN SUDAN.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The Sudan Peace Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 note) is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

#### "SEC. 12. ASSISTANCE FOR THE CRISIS IN DARFUR AND FOR COMPREHENSIVE PEACE IN SUDAN.

“(a) ASSISTANCE.—

“(1) AUTHORITY.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the President is authorized to provide assistance for Sudan as authorized in paragraph (5) of this section—

“(A) subject to the requirements of this section, to support the implementation of a comprehensive peace agreement that applies to all regions of Sudan, including the Darfur region; and

“(B) to address the humanitarian and human rights crisis in the Darfur region and eastern Chad, including to support the African Union mission in the Darfur region, provided that no assistance may be made available to the Government of Sudan.

“(2) CERTIFICATION FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN.—Assistance authorized under paragraph (1)(A) may be provided to the Government of Sudan only if the President certifies to the appropriate congressional committees that the Government of Sudan has taken demonstrable steps to—

“(A) ensure that the armed forces of Sudan and any associated militias are not committing atrocities or obstructing human rights monitors or the provision of humanitarian assistance;

“(B) demobilize and disarm militias supported or created by the Government of Sudan;

“(C) allow full and unfettered humanitarian assistance to all regions of Sudan, including the Darfur region;

“(D) allow an international commission of inquiry to conduct an investigation of atrocities in the Darfur region, in a manner consistent with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1564 (September 18, 2004), to investigate reports of violations of international humanitarian law and human rights law in the Darfur region by all parties, to determine also whether or not acts of genocide have occurred and to identify the perpetrators of such violations with a view to ensuring that those responsible are held accountable;

“(E) cooperate fully with the African Union, the United Nations, and all other observer, monitoring, and protection missions mandated to operate in Sudan;

“(F) permit the safe and voluntary return of displaced persons and refugees to their homes and rebuild the communities destroyed in the violence; and

“(G) implement the final agreements reached in the Naivasha peace process and install a new coalition government based on the Nairobi Declaration on the Final Phase of Peace in the Sudan signed on June 5, 2004.

“(3) CERTIFICATION WITH REGARD TO SPLM’S COMPLIANCE WITH A PEACE AGREEMENT.—If the President determines and certifies in writing to the appropriate congressional committees that the SPLM has not engaged in good faith negotiations, or has failed to honor the agreements signed, the President shall suspend assistance authorized in this section for the SPLM, except for health care, education, and humanitarian assistance.

“(4) SUSPENSION OF ASSISTANCE.—If, on a date after the President transmits the certification described in paragraph (2), the President determines that the Government of Sudan has ceased taking the actions described in such paragraph, the President shall immediately suspend the provision of any assistance to such Government under this section until the date on which the President transmits to the appropriate congressional committees a further certification that the Government of Sudan has resumed taking such actions.

“(5) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other funds otherwise available for such purposes, there are authorized to be appropriated to the President—

“(i) \$100,000,000 for fiscal year 2005, and such sums as may be necessary for each of the fiscal years 2006 and 2007, unless otherwise authorized, to carry out paragraph (1)(A); and

“(ii) \$200,000,000 for fiscal year 2005 to carry out paragraph (1)(B), provided that no amounts appropriated under this authorization may be made available for the Government of Sudan.

“(B) AVAILABILITY.—Amounts appropriated pursuant to the authorization of appropriations under subparagraph (A) are authorized to remain available until expended.

“(b) GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN DEFINED.—In this section, the term ‘Government of Sudan’ means the National Congress Party, formerly known as the National Islamic Front, government in Khartoum, Sudan, or any successor government formed on or after the date of the enactment of the Comprehensive Peace in Sudan Act (other than the coalition government agreed upon in the Nairobi Declaration on the Final Phase of Peace in the Sudan signed on June 5, 2004).”

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 3 of such Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 note) is amended—

(A) in paragraph (2), by striking “The” and inserting “Except as provided in section 12, the”; and

(B) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) SPLM.—The term ‘SPLM’ means the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement.”

(b) REPORTING AMENDMENT.—The Sudan Peace Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 note) is amended by striking section 8 and inserting the following:

#### “SEC. 8. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.

“(a) REPORT ON COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY.—Not later than 30 days after the date of the enactment of the Comprehensive Peace in Sudan Act of 2004, and annually thereafter until the completion of the interim period outlined in the Machakos Protocol of 2002, the Secretary of State, in consultation with relevant United States Government departments and agencies, shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees a report regarding commercial activity in Sudan that includes—

“(1) a description of the sources and current status of Sudan’s financing and construction of infrastructure and pipelines for oil exploitation, the effects of such financing and construction on the inhabitants of the regions in which the oil fields are located and the ability of the Government of Sudan to finance the war in Sudan with the proceeds of the oil exploitation;

“(2) a description of the extent to which that financing was secured in the United States or with the involvement of United States citizens; and

“(3) a description of the relationships between Sudan’s arms industry and major foreign business enterprises and their subsidiaries, including government-controlled entities.

“(b) REPORT ON THE CONFLICT IN SUDAN, INCLUDING THE DARFUR REGION.—Not later than 30 days after the date of the enactment of the Comprehensive Peace in Sudan Act of 2004, and annually thereafter until the completion of the interim period outlined in the Machakos Protocol of 2002, the Secretary of State shall prepare and submit to the appropriate congressional committees a report regarding the conflict in Sudan, including the conflict in the Darfur region. Such report shall include—

“(1) the best estimates of the extent of aerial bombardment of civilian centers in Sudan by the Government of Sudan, including targets, frequency, and best estimates of damage; and

“(2) a description of the extent to which humanitarian relief in Sudan has been obstructed or manipulated by the Government of Sudan or other forces, and a contingency plan to distribute assistance should the Government of Sudan continue to obstruct or delay the international humanitarian response to the crisis in Darfur.

“(c) DISCLOSURE TO THE PUBLIC.—The Secretary of State shall publish or otherwise make available to the public each unclassified report, or portion of a report that is unclassified, submitted under subsection (a) or (b).”

#### SEC. 6. SANCTIONS IN SUPPORT OF PEACE IN DARFUR.

(a) SANCTIONS.—Beginning on the date that is 30 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the President shall, notwithstanding paragraph (1) of section 6(b) of the Sudan Peace Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 note), implement the measures set forth in subparagraphs (A) through (D) of paragraph (2) of such section.

(b) BLOCKING OF ASSETS.—Beginning on the date that is 30 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the President shall, consistent with the authorities granted in the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.), block the assets of appropriate senior officials of the Government of Sudan.

(c) WAIVER.—The President may waive the application of subsection (a) or (b) if the President determines and certifies to the appropriate congressional committees that such a waiver is in the national interest of the United States.

(d) CONTINUATION OF RESTRICTIONS.—Restrictions against the Government of Sudan that were imposed pursuant to title III and sections 508, 512, and 527 of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Act, 2004 (division D of Public Law 108-199; 118 Stat. 143), or any other similar provision of law, shall remain in effect against the Government of Sudan and may not be lifted pursuant to such provisions of law unless the President transmits a certification to the appropriate congressional committees in accordance with paragraph (2) of section 12(a) of the Sudan Peace Act (as added by section 5(a)(1) of this Act).

(e) DETERMINATION.—Notwithstanding subsection (a) of this section, the President

shall continue to transmit the determination required under section 6(b)(1)(A) of the Sudan Peace Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 note).

#### SEC. 7. ADDITIONAL AUTHORITIES.

Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the President is authorized to provide assistance, other than military assistance, to areas that were outside of the control of the Government of Sudan on April 8, 2004, including to provide assistance for emergency relief, development and governance, or to implement any program in support of any viable peace agreement at the local, regional, or national level in Sudan.

#### SEC. 8. TECHNICAL CORRECTION.

Section 12 of the International Organizations Immunities Act (22 U.S.C. 288f-2) is amended by striking “Organization of African Unity” and inserting “African Union”.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BASS). Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDI) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDI).

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. TANCREDI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on S. 2781, as amended, the Senate bill now under consideration.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

Mr. TANCREDI. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, S. 2781, as amended, imposes some punitive measures listed in the Sudan Peace Act after a 30-day period. The bill also imposes an asset freeze on senior Sudanese officials and calls upon the President to impose a travel ban on senior Sudanese officials, including those responsible for planning and carrying out the genocide in Darfur.

To guarantee a wider international response to the genocide in Darfur, S. 2781, as amended, includes instructions for the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations to urge the Security Council and member states to pursue accountability for those complicit in the genocide in Darfur and to impose targeted sanctions, including the freezing of assets on senior members of the Government of Sudan, and to cease importing Sudanese oil.

The bill also provides humanitarian assistance to Darfur and Eastern Chad, funding to support the African Union mission in Darfur, and assistance in preparing the population for peace. This will give material indication to the Sudanese civilians that they can find meaning and purpose in rebuilding their country after decades of war.

Mr. Speaker, we are beyond the point of threatening the Government of Sudan with punitive measures. Time and again certainly I have been on this floor and many other Members have been on this floor expressing our concern over the situation in Sudan and the intransigence of the Sudanese government to operate in good faith and to

bring an end to the human tragedy on a scale that is almost unimaginable and for which they are greatly responsible. Time and again our efforts have been rebuffed. Time and again we have been forced to go to the next step in order to get the Sudanese government to respond.

Genocide has been and is being committed, we know. We have said it. We now need to show that there are consequences for directing and/or participating in a campaign to destroy human life on such a massive scale. Every evening on the news, every day in the papers of this country we see the picture of this horrible, horrible situation in Sudan and the faces of the people who are suffering. How long can this go on? How long can this go on without this government paying even closer attention than it has? How long can this go on without the world paying closer attention than it has?

To the credit of this administration and to this government, we have done more than any other country to try and focus world attention on the problems in Sudan, but we need the world to cooperate. We need the United Nations, we need the Security Council to do far more than they have done. We need the European Union to do more. We have a moral responsibility to respond to genocide.

What we do at this juncture has implications for every conflict we will address in the future. Everyone is watching to see how we respond. Secretary Powell and the U.S. administration have taken a courageous stand, as I say, but this is just the beginning. If we fail to act forcefully now, it will be open season for genocide. If we make empty threats, it will have serious consequences for the future of international peace and security.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, and I rise in strong support of this bill.

First, I would like to thank my colleagues, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDI) and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), for keeping this House focused on the grave atrocities in Darfur.

Mr. Speaker, we are facing an ongoing genocide in Darfur. This House has said it; following our example the Senate has said it; the administration has come to the same conclusion; and the United Nations agrees: genocide is taking place in Darfur.

What is keeping the international community from intervening in the Darfur crisis? I hesitate to ask because I hate to think that the answer is the same double standard that stayed our hand in Rwanda in the 1990s.

Mr. Speaker, each of us has recounted the numbers in connection with the crisis in Darfur: an estimated 300,000 dead because of murder, starvation and disease, and 2 million refugees forced to flee their homes, most of whom are internally displaced, while others are forced out of the country.

The humanitarian needs in Darfur are staggering. After a year of international pressure, there are now about 60 international humanitarian organizations registered to operate in Darfur, and I strongly support more such aid to ease the suffering. But while these NGOs set up their operations to reach some of those in need, thousands are still without any relief due to the ongoing conflict.

The Sudanese military forces and its armed Arab militia, who I remind my colleagues are behind this tragedy in the first place, continue to commit some of the most heinous human rights abuses imaginable, and the number of those affected by this conflict continues to grow every day.

Mr. Speaker, recently the African Union has stepped forward with monitors and 3,500 troops to end the persecution in Darfur, and Sudan has agreed to an increase in African Union deployment. But now it is being reported that Khartoum has repeatedly refused to give fuel to the African Union monitors while the government's attack helicopters are in the air assaulting civilians on the ground.

While the African Union is committed to fulfilling its obligation to monitor and to report on human rights violations, it is hampered by all sides to the conflict not wishing to be implicated in the abuse. According to reports, the morale among African Union troops is very low because they are blocked at every turn by the ongoing violence and their inability to intervene.

In response to calls for international civilian protection forces, Khartoum's leaders have threatened to open, and I quote, "the five gates of hell," against such protection. And in a cynical attempt to pretend it is taking action to protect civilians, Khartoum has recycled Arab militia killers into the Sudanese police force and has assigned them to guard camps for the displaced.

I am a strong supporter of African solutions for Africa's problems, and the deployment of African Union monitors and the protection force in Darfur is an opening sign that in the face of genocide, civilian protection should trump national sovereignty. But I am very much concerned that the African Union does not have the experience, the manpower, or the resources needed to provide civilian protection to end the genocide in Darfur. Their numbers are small compared to the task, and their resources are minimal.

Mr. Speaker, it troubles me that in the face of genocide we do not take the best asset we have available, NATO, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, long experienced in civilian protection, to deploy its forces in Darfur in support of the African Union mission. In the face of genocide, I think it is imperative that our NATO ambassador move at the North Atlantic Council demanding that NATO get involved in Darfur to protect civilians from genocide.

While I recognize this is a tall order, when we were confronted with the crisis in Kosovo, NATO acted. We should expect nothing less for the African victims of genocide in Darfur. If we in the international community have the determination to end this genocide, that is what we must do. Otherwise, we have cause to wonder what exactly we harbor in our hearts toward the people of Darfur.

In closing, I urge all of my colleagues to support S. 2781.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

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Mr. TANCREDI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF) who has been laboring in this vineyard longer than I, longer than most, and who adds an aspect of both compassion and articulation that is desperately needed on this issue.

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDI) and his staff for this bill. I also thank the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) for his efforts, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE), Senator BROWNBACK, and many others that have been involved in this. Also, all of the NGOs, Andrew Natsios, Roger Winter, and all of the people who have been involved and very caring with regard to this issue.

As we pass this bill today, we have to remember the 2.1 million people that have died in the war north-south, mostly Christian but a large number of Muslim and a large number of animists who have paid a tremendous price.

Also, we have to remember that Osama bin Laden lived in Sudan from 1991 to 1996, so these people in the south have been on the front line in fighting the war against terrorism more than most people realize.

By passing this bill, we send hope to the men, women and children in Darfur who have been pushed out of African villages which have been burned, husbands who have been killed, women who have been raped and children who have been abducted. As we pass this bill today, we honor and recognize and send some hope to those in the IVP camps today that the United States Congress cares.

I am going to leave it to other Members to explain what this bill does and just say that, without this bill passing today, there would be no hope for women in the camps, no sense or sign to the people in the Khartoum government for all of the bad and evil things that they have done but for the efforts of the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDI), who has been involved in this for so long, and the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE).

Secretary Powell also deserves to take some credit for this, as does President Bush. I thank both sides of the aisle for the great work they have done.

By passing this, it gives hope if there is an agreement signed and something positive comes out of Nairobi, Kenya, there is some lasting push behind it so there can be peace someday for the people in the north, in the area of Khartoum, and in the south, and also for the men, women and children in the Darfur region.

Mr. TANCREDI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE), the chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa, who has been enormously helpful in bringing this bill to the floor today.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

I just want to indicate the sheer magnitude of the horror of what is unfolding in Sudan as we speak. Because what is occurring there is a scorched-earth policy that has killed in excess of 70,000 people, that has displaced more than a million of people within Sudan, and forced hundreds of thousands of people over the border into Chad.

When we think of the magnitude of the several hundreds villages burnt to the ground, the irrigation systems that have been systematically destroyed, that the government-backed militias, referred to as Janjaweed, are committing wide-spread rapes and atrocities, that the very people in the NGO communities, the very charitable organizations that are attempting to get in on the ground and to assist in this region are prevented access to those starving, I think when we reflect on what we know we can only imagine as to the extent of the horror in those villages in which we have no access, and to have had the United States, to have this Congress and the administration explain that this is genocide is only a first step.

The question has been how do we get the international community to take action, a concerted action, in order to effectively apply pressure on the government in Khartoum to reverse its actions in supporting the Janjaweed. We have made it clear that we are going to support international criminal courts, we are going to support bringing to justice those that have been found to be involved in this process. But, in the meantime, there is the question of how we negotiate with a United Nations in which that body and the Security Council is not willing to take the steps that the United States has taken to call this genocide, nor to put the types of embargoes that the United States has placed on Sudan. They are not willing to go as far.

In addition to speaking in favor of this resolution, I wanted to speak for just a moment about some of my concerns about the United Nations Security Council resolutions on Sudan. That draft resolution is dated November 18. This resolution is expected to be offered in Nairobi, Kenya. It addresses the issue of the ongoing negotiation, of an attempt to achieve peace in a separate conflict in southern Sudan.

Again, this Congress went on record declaring the killing in Darfur as genocide. This was a historic determination not to be taken lightly. It was a fitting response to the atrocities committed by the Sudanese government and their proxy forces.

For those of us on the floor today, we believe that genocide requires exceptional responses by the United States and the international community. We also believe that these responses should be taken with or without the concurrence by the government of Sudan. So when we look at the draft resolution that the United Nations is working on, we see that they urge bilateral and multilateral donors "to continue their efforts to prepare for the rapid delivery of an assistance package for the reconstruction and economic development of Sudan, including official development assistance, possible debt relief and trade access to be implemented once a comprehensive peace agreement has been signed and its implementation begins." This document expresses hope that this implementation will occur by the end of next month.

Let me just say, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa, we should not support such a so-called peace dividend which benefits the government of Sudan merely for signing a peace agreement. We should not be doing that while killing rages in Darfur.

Numerous agreements, including memorandums of intent to sign future agreements, already have been signed, and countless deadlines have long since passed. Rewarding the government of Sudan for just the act of signing another agreement without setting concrete and verifiable benchmarks for implementation would be both foolhardy and unacceptable.

I realize that the administration is operating within the constraints of the Security Council and that the United States has been the leading and most aggressive country in trying to resolve the crisis in Sudan, and I understand that any Security Council resolution is a consensus document. But, nevertheless, those of us involved in policy on the Sudan ask the U.N. to reconsider, to reconsider whether the price of consensus is in this instance too high, and we ask the United Nations Security Council to redouble its efforts to put pressure on the government in Khartoum to end the killing in Darfur and to bring whatever powers we can to that end.

I am heartened by the offer by the African Union, by the Nigerian and the Rwandan troops, to go in on the ground to try to defend the people of Darfur. I would suggest that we ask the Security Council and the African Union to expand that mission and allow them to more aggressively pursue that defense and at the same time we continue our efforts with the heavy-lift capability and our efforts to get that force in place to defend these victims of genocide.

Mr. Speaker, I thank again the author of this resolution.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5½ minutes to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. BLUMENAUER), my good friend, a distinguished member of the Committee on International Relations and a tireless fighter for human rights.

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman yielding me this time, and I applaud the sponsors, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDI), the distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa, the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE), and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) for bringing this forward.

In a sense, it is bittersweet that we have to do this because of the continuing crisis in Sudan, but the fact is that this Congress has been moving forward and shining the spotlight. This is another step towards making a difference, helping provide safe haven for hundreds of thousands of innocent people. As the world proceeds with words of concern, the people of Darfur continue to suffer at the hands of the Sudanese government and their militia allies because good words are not a sufficient substitute for appropriate action.

I appreciate the commitment we have here in Congress to do something, to take action. I view this resolution as the next step in moving us along that path.

It authorizes desperately needed humanitarian aid for over 1.5 million people forced from their homes. It includes both a carrot and a stick. It gives aid to Sudan if the government finishes the north-south peace process, begins to protect civilians and disarm the militia, and provides for sanction against senior government officials if they do not. Time will tell whether or not we have hit the right balance.

I appreciate the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE) talking about the role of the United Nations and the work we need to do there. It is an important issue for us as Members of Congress, because this is one of the areas, frankly, that I felt even in the fall when there was a lot of partisan passions, there were legitimate disagreements on areas of policy from Members, but this is an area where our shared values as Americans were more important than any partisan differences.

I remember the evening of our last resolution where Members came together in this Chamber, and it made me feel that maybe we would be able to take that step forward. I appreciate this resolution as being a part of the process, but I would offer the question for my colleagues if maybe we might take another small step. I have been in consultation with some of my colleagues like the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE) and others, about whether or not we might resolve as a Congress that in the next

session we would make a priority to take one small step, that each Member in the 109th Congress be able to visit the Sudan, to be able to spend a night on the ground in Darfur, and as we leave that country to stop off in Khartoum and let the government of Sudan know that their behavior is reprehensible and the spotlight of the world is trained upon them.

□ 1330

If we as Members go to our leadership in the spirit of bipartisan cooperation that this resolution has been authored, with the leadership of our International Relations Committee, and ask that the leadership, the Speaker, the minority leader, the majority leader, join with us in making sure that there are a series of CODELS over the next 2 years, I would respectfully suggest that there is no man or woman that serves in this Chamber that cannot find 4 days out of their lives in the next 2 years that could result in the saving of tens of thousands of lives.

I have received feedback from people in the NGO community that are doing outstanding work; they say if every Member of Congress would go to the Sudan over the next 2 years, that it would have a transformational effect, even if we had only 50 or 60 of our colleagues. So by all means, approve this resolution, stand, speak out, move forward; but I would ask that my colleagues join me in making a visit on the ground to be a priority for us all. This small gesture can save tens of thousands of lives.

Mr. TANCREDO. Mr. Speaker, I submit for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an exchange of letters between Chairman HYDE and Chairman THOMAS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS,  
Washington, DC, November 18, 2004.

Hon. HENRY J. HYDE,  
Chairman, Committee on International Relations,  
Rayburn House Office Building,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR CHAIRMAN HYDE: I am writing concerning S. 2781, the Comprehensive Peace in Sudan Act.

As you know, the Committee on Ways and Means has jurisdiction over revenue matters, including any legislation relating to imports. There are two provisions within the bill that may relate to imports and thus fall within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means. Section 4(b)(8) expresses the Sense of Congress that "the Government of the United States should not normalize relations with Sudan, including through the lifting of any sanctions, until the Government of Sudan agrees to, and takes demonstrable steps to implement, peace agreements for all areas of Sudan." Section 6(a) requires the President to impose certain sanctions outlined in the Sudan Peace Act (P.L. 107-245), including the requirement to "take all necessary and appropriate steps, including through multilateral efforts, to deny the Government of Sudan access to oil revenues," which could be interpreted to direct the President to impose an import ban on oil.

However, in order to expedite this legislation for floor consideration, the Committee will forego action on this bill. This is being done with the understanding that it does not

in any way prejudice the Committee with respect to exercising its jurisdictional prerogatives on this or similar legislation.

I would appreciate your response to this letter, confirming this understanding with respect to S. 2781, and would ask that a copy of our exchange of letters on this matter be included in the Congressional Record during floor consideration.

Best regards,

BILL THOMAS,  
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Washington, DC, November 18, 2004.

Hon. WILLIAM M. THOMAS,  
Chairman, Committee on Ways and Means,  
Longworth House Office Building,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you for your letter concerning S. 2781, the Comprehensive Peace in Sudan Act.

Clearly, under House Rule X, the Committee on Ways and Means has jurisdiction over revenue matters, including any legislation relating to imports. I concur with your assessment of the matters in S. 2781 which fall within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means. Section 4(b)(8) expresses the Senate of Congress that "the Government of the United States should not normalize relations with Sudan, including through the lifting of any sanctions, until the Government of Sudan agrees to, and takes demonstrable steps to, implement peace agreements for all areas of Sudan." Section 6(a) requires the President to impose certain sanctions outlined in the Sudan Peace Act (P.L. 107-245), including the requirement to "take all necessary and appropriate steps, including through multilateral efforts, to deny the Government of Sudan access to oil revenues," which could be interpreted to direct the President to impose an import ban on oil.

I appreciate your willingness to permit this important bill to proceed to the floor without the necessity of your Committee formally considering it. I understand that it does not in any way prejudice the Committee with respect to exercising its jurisdictional prerogatives on this or similar legislation.

As you have requested, I will ensure that a copy of our exchange of letters on this matter be included in the Congressional Record during floor consideration.

Sincerely,

HENRY J. HYDE,  
Chairman.

Mr. TANCREDO. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to yield 2 minutes to my good friend, the gentleman from Maine (Mr. ALLEN).

Mr. ALLEN. I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Comprehensive Peace in Sudan Act. Despite the increase in world attention toward Sudan in the past months, the genocide in Darfur has continued without any serious attempt by the Sudanese government to do what governments primarily exist to do, protect their citizens. Instead, Khartoum has been complicit in propagating the brutal acts of violence committed by the Janjaweed, has failed to disarm these Arab militias, and has hindered the delivery of humanitarian aid to Darfurians in dire need.

Congress has spoken out and acted several times to address this crisis, and

I commend this body for its aggressiveness on this issue and for contributing more funds for humanitarian assistance than any other country. However, we have a moral obligation to do more. As the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) has said, we must continue to set an example for the rest of the world. The punitive measures contained in this bill need the cooperation of the world in order to truly succeed in putting pressure on the Sudanese government.

I urge my colleagues to support this bill. I note that the genocide in Darfur cannot be addressed without seeing it in the context of Sudan's other tragic conflicts: the 21-year North-South civil war, and Sudan's support for LRA bases on Sudan's border with northern Uganda. We should remain careful to address all of these conflicts comprehensively, for none of them persists in a vacuum.

I also support the gentleman from California's call for NATO to get involved in addressing this most serious humanitarian crisis. The Khartoum regime will do what it must to survive. In 1995, sanctions led Sudan to cut its ties with terrorists and expel Osama bin Laden. The international community should take the same forceful action now to save hundreds of thousands of lives. If the world has learned anything from the horrific tragedy of Rwanda and all previous genocides, we must not commit the same mistake again.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), the distinguished ranking member of the Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on International Relations who has been our leader on all matters relating to that important continent.

Mr. TANCREDO. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 additional minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE).

(Mr. PAYNE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of S. 2781, the Comprehensive Peace in Sudan Act. The bill is a result of weeks of negotiations between House and Senate cosponsors. First of all, this would have been impossible without the cooperation of the leadership of both the House and the Senate, and I would certainly like to commend the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), the chairman of the committee, who has not said no to any request that we have made as relates to Sudan. There could not have been any more cooperation from a chairman of a committee in such a bipartisan manner than we have seen from the gentleman from Illinois. I would certainly like to commend him at this time.

Of course, the driving interest and support from the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) who saw the effects of genocide decades ago when the



Holocaust was going on and the world looked the other way. His passion for issues that are right certainly shows clearly in his overwhelming support for action against the Government of Sudan and alleviating the situation of the people of Sudan.

Let me thank Senator BIDEN and, of course, our chair of the Subcommittee on Africa whose tireless effort has also been extraordinary in bipartisanship. I think that if the Congress could put a prototype of the Subcommittee on Africa and then see if it could spread towards the total Congress, much more positive legislation would be passed. And so I commend the gentleman from Orange County, the chairman of our subcommittee, and also the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCRED0) who has been a real asset to our work. His first CODEL was a trip to southern Sudan. And so the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE), the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCRED0), and the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE) who even before any of us came was fighting the fight and he continues to fight the good fight.

The world has witnessed genocide before but never as we have seen it again here before in Darfur, but the difference is we have declared genocide and that is something that the world has not done before. The world usually watched, said it is terrible, that sort of something should be done, and after it has been done, maybe a decade or two later, will do a study. And after the study is concluded, they will say indeed genocide occurred. The fact that in 1948 the world body said that there should be a law, there should be a responsibility to step in to prevent genocide, but it has not happened 10 years after Rwanda.

A film is coming out now that I wish everyone would be able to see about a person who saved 1,200 lives at the Mille Collines Hotel, where he simply kept 1,200 people, Tutsis and moderate Hutus, alive. And so as we see what has happened before, it is so important that we have stepped up, but to declare it is not enough. We see the brutal killings and unnecessary deaths due to cholera, diarrhea, and starvation.

We know the facts. Over 70,000 innocent men, women and children have been killed in this genocide conceived, sponsored, and carried out by the Government of Sudan. Government troops and the Janjaweed militias they have recruited and armed have internally displaced close to 1.6 million people and forced 200,000 people into Chad. They have raped countless women and children. What kind of world are we living in today in the new millennium where this can occur while the international community still looks on and debates the issue?

S. 2781 is our response to genocide, and it contains asset freezes on government officials as well as travel bans. It provides \$200 million in fiscal year 2005 to the Darfur humanitarian relief and the African Union mission as well as

\$100 million to development in the southern Sudan. It says to the Government of Sudan that the United States is watching and will punish them for this genocide, despite any agreement that they may reach with the SPLM.

Let us not get ourselves confused. For 40 years the North and South have been at war and finally the Sudanese government has agreed to now another 30 or 45 days. They were supposed to sign it with the Security Council being in Nairobi, Kenya, but they said, well, give us until December 31. But let us not make any mistake about the fact that if the North-South agreement goes on, that we cannot turn a blind eye and give concessions to the Government of Sudan as they continue genocide in the West. We will not stand for that. It is unacceptable.

It is unconscionable that a government attacks its own people, yet the Government of Sudan has a history of doing this. In southern Sudan for years they practiced a scorched-Earth campaign of aerial bombardment that has killed over 2 million people and displaced another 5 million over the course of the last 3 decades.

Today in Nairobi, Kenya, the Security Council is meeting to discuss the North-South peace process, as I indicated earlier. It is key that we do not forget Darfur while we are pushing for peace in the North and the South.

I also urge my colleagues in the Congress to condemn the apparent shift of policy by the administration to reward the genocidaire Government of Sudan with debt relief and reconstruction if they sign an agreement by the end of the year instead of punishing them.

I think that this is a very key point. For decades and decades and decades the Government of Sudan has done the wrong thing. They allowed Osama bin Laden to live in Sudan. In those 4 or 5 years, Osama bin Laden, who had not developed an international organization, did not have the comfort to develop and strategize because he was even expelled from Saudi Arabia, the Government of Sudan, the same people who are in power, the same ministers, the same directors of programs, the same police officers, the same generals allowed Osama bin Laden to plan and to strengthen his organization, to develop a worldwide network in the United States, throughout Asia, throughout Africa, throughout the Middle East, and plan the bombings in Dar es Salaam and in Nairobi, which killed hundreds of Americans and Tanzanians and Kenyans.

And finally, after tremendous pressure, Sudan allowed him to leave, but the damage was done. Had that government not allowed Osama bin Laden to stay under their protection, the government issued visas to people who carried the bombs into those countries and we have reports of that. They supplied the ammunition needed to set off the bombs, this same government, who now have attacked the West. We say that it will be wrong. The North-South

agreement is something that should not even have had to be signed because there should not have been the North atrocities on the South for the last 20 or 30 years.

That is good that there is finally becoming an agreement. But let us not allow that to blind us in saying that the government is doing the right thing. They are doing something that they should not have done before and let us have Darfur to make sure that the genocide ends there.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BASS). The time of the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) has expired.

Mr. TANCRED0. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

The gentleman from New Jersey referenced a trip that we took to the Sudan, he and I, now over 5 years ago, 5½ years ago. It was certainly as a result of that trip that I have committed as much of my time and energy to this issue, and it is a result of the gentleman from New Jersey's leadership in this area that I stay connected to it.

Let me just tell you one thing that happened on that trip that I remember to this day and will remember it for the rest of my life. We were in a little town called Yai. As we walked through the town, a group of children surrounded us so that it was almost impossible to move. They kept yelling something. They were pointing up. They kept saying something, and of course I could not understand. We were trying to move by. I asked somebody, what are they saying?

□ 1345

And the interpreter said they are fearful of bombs because, of course, the town had been bombed just prior to our getting there. The Antonov bombers had come by, and they were saying that they thought that because we were from the United States, because we were Congressmen, that they would not be hit by these bombs if they stayed close to us. And, of course, I could not promise that that could not happen. But I still remember their eyes, the eyes of these children looking up to us, looking for safety around us. And I will never forget that as long as I live. I will take that picture to my grave. And I committed myself at that time to do everything I could possibly do as a Member of Congress and as a human being, as a person with a soul, to do everything I could possibly do to provide them the shelter that they were looking for, them and all of the other children in Sudan and all of the other people that have suffered so mightily in this war-torn, ravaged country.

There are places all over the world I know that have experienced horrible events, and it happens daily. We come here ourselves and we say what can we do individually. We have to carve out something that we are going to focus on and spend time and energy on until it is accomplished or we are taken away, one way or the other, from this place.

So as I say, it has been certainly a pleasure to work with as many wonderful people as we have over the time. Father Dan, my colleague remembers, that we met there, who I always refer to as the individual in Sudan that anybody would go to if they want to know what was really happening, and he himself has saved thousands of people, thousands. We went to a church the last day we were there. Thousands of people came, and they had themselves experienced the most horrible things.

Almost 7,000 died on the way to this refugee camp that Father Dan had set up for them. And yet they came singing the praises of Jesus Christ and their thankfulness to be saved. I mean, it was the most incredible experience in my life, really. It was amazing. So I must say that the gentleman's kind words to me are certainly appreciated, but they are undeserved especially in terms of what he has done and others, my colleagues here.

We are pulled to this not for any political reason whatsoever. There are no votes. I mean, it is one of the few kinds of things we do on this floor that has absolutely no political advantage to anybody. We are pulled to this because we are human beings with souls and our souls are what tell us we must do, what we are doing here today.

So I thank the gentleman. I want to thank Molly Miller on my staff, who has spent so many countless hours and sleepless nights both probably in the office and also in her home worrying and thinking about this and trying to help us get to the floor tonight. Molly has been wonderful.

I just wish that this were the end of it. I wish that once we pass this, we could all walk away and think it is done, we have accomplished it, there is peace in Sudan. It is not the case. We know that is not the case. But it is what we are required to do today. And if there is more required to do tomorrow, I commit myself and I know my colleagues to the same. I commit myself to that task for as long as it takes.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, by now we are all aware of the ongoing crisis in Darfur, Sudan. The United Nations and U.S. officials have both asserted that the situation there is currently the worst humanitarian and human rights crisis in the world. To date, 1.4 million people have been internally displaced, 200,000 have been forced into exile, and an estimated 70,000 civilians have been killed. Some figures put the number of lives lost at nearly 300,000.

In light of this incomprehensible tragedy, I am extremely pleased to support the passage of the Comprehensive Peace in Sudan Act of 2004, S. 2781. The bill represents a non-partisan effort to provide adequate humanitarian and peacekeeping assistance to the Darfur region, as well as, hold accountable the perpetrators of the atrocities.

The bill seeks to appropriate \$200 million for Darfur humanitarian relief, as well as assistance to the African Union's peacekeeping efforts in the region. through the application of economic sanctions, the bill will also seek to take punitive action against the Government of

Sudan if it continues its brutal transgressions against the Darfurian people. In addition, the bill will appropriate \$100 million in FY 05, 06, and 07 for reconstruction efforts in Southern Sudan.

The passage of S. 2781 will send a clear message that the people of Darfur are not alone in their struggle, and that the acts being perpetrated by the Sudanese government will not be tolerated. As a co-sponsor of H.R. 5061, the companion bill to S. 2781, I urge my fellow colleagues to lend their support to this critical measure, as it now lies on the cusp of passage.

I cannot stress enough its importance. Its success will no doubt aid in the cessation of genocide in Darfur, and the ability of its people to rebuild their lives and reclaim their liberty. As a nation that values freedom, we must make certain that it endures, not only for ourselves but for all our human brethren. S. 2781 is but one step in that eternal endeavor.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of S. 2781 regarding the conflict in the Darfur region of Sudan. I fully supported H.R. 5061, which sought to provide the assistance that is necessary to begin to address the crisis in the Darfur region of Sudan and begin to usher in stability throughout the region and is related. The legislation before us today, S. 2781 does the following:

Sets forth the Comprehensive Peace in Sudan Act of 2004 which contains the sense of Congress regarding: (1) The Sudan Peace Act and its extension to the Darfur region of Sudan; and (2) actions to address the conflict in Sudan;

Amends the Sudan Peace Act to authorize additional FY 2005 appropriations to address the humanitarian and human rights crisis in the Darfur region and its impact on eastern Chad;

Authorizes additional FY 2005 appropriations for Sudan upon the conclusion of a peace agreement between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) if the President certifies to the appropriate congressional committees that: (1) The Government of Sudan has taken steps to stop attacking civilians, disarm militias, cooperate fully with observer missions, and allow humanitarian access to all areas of Sudan, including Darfur; and (2) the SPLM is complying with the peace agreement;

Requires suspension of assistance to either party for its failure to adhere to certification requirements;

Requires: (1) Blocking of senior government officials' assets if such certification is not submitted within 120 days of enactment of this Act; and (2) continuation of existing restrictions until such certification;

Requires the President to report within 60 days of enactment of this Act on the planned U.S. response to a peace agreement for Sudan; and

Amends the International Organizations Immunities Act to replace a reference to "Organization of African Unity" with "African Union."

I congratulate our Senate colleague from Indiana for his hard work in crafting this legislation. However, some of its provisions may require additional urgent action to supplement its legal effect. For example, the 30-day delay required before sanctions can be placed by our government represents a significant concession.

Nevertheless, I feel that the authorization of \$200 million in FY 2005 for Darfur humani-

tarian relief, as well as \$100 million for FY 2005, 2006, and 2007 for the development of Southern Sudan will provide major relief in the near future.

H.R. 5061 called for sanctions against the Government of Sudan and that would allow the United States President to freeze the assets of senior Sudanese officials. These sanctions will enable the U.S. Government to facilitate the weakening of the Sudanese groups that threaten the lives of so many innocent people and the effectiveness of the N'Djamena Agreement (which is between the Government of Sudan, the Justice Equality Movement, and the Sudan Liberation Army) and other peace negotiations.

H.R. 5061 further aimed to include instructions for the U.S. Permanent Representative of the U.N. to urge the Security Council and member states to pursue accountability for those that are facilitating the genocide in Darfur. The provisions of that bill also sought to end the importation of Sudanese oil and to impose an arms embargo on the government of Sudan, the Janjaweed and the Peoples Democratic Front.

We know why this legislation and the bill before us are important. We have read in our newspapers and magazines and have watched our televisions to learn more about the lawlessness that is afflicting Darfur. Members of this Congress have traveled to Sudan and reported back the bad news. It continues to be a bloodbath situation in Sudan and this Congress must support this bill and take a stand against the murderous actors and to show out support for the millions of refugees whom have fled to neighboring countries. This bill will provide aid to the millions of refugees in eastern Chad and Darfur, who seek only to feed their children and seek solace from Janjaweed militias.

The situation in Darfur is dire. We must do more than simply label this horrendous act as genocide; we must take action to stop it. The people of Darfur continue to be raped and pillaged by militia forces. These militiamen ride into towns, villages, and even refugee camps on horseback carrying AK-47s and drive families from their farms, destroy their homes, rape their women, and in many cases murder them. Because of the overcrowding in the refugee camps and the inability of foreign aid workers to reach the camps due to instability, disease has become rampant. Right now in Darfur, thousands are succumbing to these diseases.

Mr. Speaker, the situation in Darfur is a disaster that has been brought upon the people of Darfur by the systematic efforts of the Janjaweed, which is strongly supported by the Sudanese Government in Khartoum. They have been orchestrating efforts to exterminate the ethnic African culture in Darfur, which this Congress, and most recently the president of these United States, labeled genocide.

Therefore this Congress must act now and support S. 2781. In addition to thanking Senator LUGAR for his hard work, I would like to thank Congressman THOMAS TANCREDO and Congressman DONALD PAYNE for their tireless efforts to raise awareness on this horrific act. I want to commend them for working to produce this bill and I can only pray that Congress will pass this legislation on behalf of those who are hoping for better days in Sudan.

Imagine a world where bands of armed militia raid and burn villages, kill men, rape



women, and abduct children, and force entire families off their lands. These are not scenes from a war movie; these are slices of everyday life for ethnic African people living in the Darfur region of western Sudan.

Relief workers and U.S. officials have reported seeing thousands children whose round bellies and sunken eyes reveal a famine so severe that even the most well fed of the land would still be considered malnourished. And they are a stone's throw from fertile ground. The problem is that Janjaweed militiamen riding on horseback and carrying AK-47s, have driven families from their farms, destroyed their homes, cut them off from resources, and refused to let them prepare for the upcoming rainy season. The monsoons will likely overwhelm leaky huts and inadequate sewage systems and increase the risks of cholera, diarrhea, meningitis, measles, and possibly typhoid fever and polio. But this is not a natural disaster. It is a wholly unnatural, man-made disaster, brought about through the systematic efforts of the Janjaweed, and supported by the Sudanese Government in Khartoum. It is an effort to exterminate the ethnic African culture in Darfur—an international crime.

For the past year and a half, the Government of Sudan has supported and enlarged the interests of the Janjaweed militia. In the melee, more than 30,000 people have died and 300,000 more may die by year's end even if we contribute our best humanitarian effort. Now, in the twelfth hour, world leaders in Washington, at the U.N., and around the world are finally beginning to heed the cries of the people in Darfur. International aid and human rights organizations are stepping in to assess and meet the needs for humanitarian aid in both the Sudan and Chad where many displaced people of Darfur are seeking refuge.

Visits by Senator SAM BROWNBACK, Representative FRANK WOLF and, most recently, United States Secretary of State Colin Powell and United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan have done much to bring this issue to the forefront of world politics.

The world's attention and international media coverage are essential but insufficient to restore peace. To end this crisis, we must first acknowledge the scope of this crisis. What is happening in Darfur is genocide. In historic fashion, the House of Representatives, in an almost unprecedented show of bipartisanship passed legislation from my colleague in the Congressional Black Caucus DONALD PAYNE, H. Con. Res. 467—a formal declaration of genocide in Darfur, Sudan.

Today, I met with Secretary of State Colin Powell, and leaders from the Congressional Black Caucus, to discuss possibilities for future action in Sudan. Secretary Powell's passion and commitment to the cause of peace and justice for the Darfurians was obvious. But it is now time for similar dedication at the highest levels of government. I have written a letter to the President, co-signed by 30 other Members of Congress, both Republicans and Democrats, requesting a meeting as soon as practicable. United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan and President Bush must work in concert with us in the Congress to pressure the Sudanese to disarm the Janjaweed militias and end their reign of terror on ethnic-African peoples. If disarmament does not occur and if proper security measures are not taken to ensure that humanitarian workers will be able to

do their jobs on the ground, we need to explore other more aggressive options, with our partners at the U.N., especially those nations in the African Union.

Today, U.S. lawmakers and U.N. officials know too much about the horrors taking place in Darfur for this administration and government to repeat the fate of Rwanda in 1994. We now have the momentum to move forward and prevent thousands and, possibly, millions from dying. With such a narrow window of opportunity to avert tragedy and with the urgent warnings issued this week by the 9/11 commission, I believe Congress should cut our recess short, and come back to Washington, to immediately address the issues that face this Nation and our friends in the world. It is our moral duty to put an end to what has already become a human rights catastrophe. We must stop the suffering and the commission of blatant crimes against humanity.

Mr. Speaker, I support this legislation and ask that this body unite for its passage.

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Speaker, I would first like to commend my colleagues, DONALD PAYNE and TOM TANCREDI for working with the Senate to draft a bill that will hopefully be the beginning of the end of genocide in the Sudan.

Since February 2003, Sudanese government troops and their allied militia, the Janjaweed, have raped, tortured, maimed, and burned entire villages to cleanse the Darfur areas of African Muslims.

Seventy thousand have died. Over 200,000 have fled across the border into Chad and 1.6 million have been forced from their homes and into camps, where they remain vulnerable to attacks and lack basic services.

While the Sudanese government has done little to protect its people, the African Union has shown tremendous leadership in trying to stop the atrocities.

The African Union has led peace talks since August and sent hundreds of monitors and security forces to assist in stopping the atrocities.

It is my hope that the bulk of the assistance included in this bill will go to ensure that the African Union is successful in its mission to finally end the genocide in Darfur!

Additionally, we must continue to insist that the Sudanese government cease support for and disarm the Janjaweed militias by immediately utilizing sanctions against the government officials responsible for stopping the atrocities.

Darfur has waited long enough. We must act now.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to this ill-conceived, counter-productive legislation. This represents exactly the kind of unconstitutional interventionism the Founding Fathers warned us about. It is arrogant and dangerous for us to believe that we can go around the world inserting ourselves into civil wars that have nothing to do with us without having to face the unintended consequences that always arise. Our steadily-increasing involvement in the civil war in Sudan may well delay the resolution of the conflict that appears to be proceeding without our involvement. Just today, in talks with the UN the two sides pledged to end the fighting.

The fact is we do not know and cannot understand the complexities of the civil war in Sudan, which has lasted for 39 of that country's 48 years of existence. Supporters of our intervention in Sudan argue that this is a

clear-cut case of Sudan's Christian minority being oppressed and massacred by the Arab majority in the Darfur region. It is interesting that the CIA's World Factbook states that Sudan's Christians, who make up five percent of the population, are concentrated in the south of the country. Darfur is a region in the mid-western part of Sudan. So I wonder about this very simplistic characterization of the conflict.

It seems as if this has been all reduced to a few slogans, tossed around without much thought or care about real meaning or implication. We unfortunately see this often with calls for intervention. One thing we do know, however, is that Sudan is floating on a sea of oil. Why does it always seem that when we hear urgent clamor for the United States to intervene, oil or some other valuable commodity just happens to be present? I find it interesting that so much attention is being paid to oil-rich Sudan while right next door in Congo the death toll from its civil war is estimated to two to three million—several times the estimated toll in Sudan.

At a time when we have just raised the debt-ceiling to allow more massive debt accumulation, this legislation will unconstitutionally commit the United States to ship some 300 million taxpayer dollars to Sudan. It will also freeze the U.S. assets of certain Sudanese until the government of Sudan pursues peace in a time-frame and manner that the U.S. determines.

Inserting ourselves into this civil war in Sudan will do little to solve the crisis. In fact, the promise of U.S. support for one side in the struggle may discourage the progress that has been made recently. What incentive is there to seek a peaceful resolution of the conflict when the U.S. government promises massive assistance to one side? I strongly urge my colleagues to rethink our current dangerous course toward further intervention in Sudan. We may end up hurting most those we are intending to help.

Mr. TANCREDI. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BASS). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDI) that the House suspend the rules and pass the Senate bill, S. 2781, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the Senate bill, as amended, was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### TREATING CERTAIN ARRANGEMENTS BY YMCA RETIREMENT FUND AS CHURCH PLANS

Mr. ENGLISH. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 5365) to treat certain arrangements maintained by the YMCA Retirement Fund as church plans for the purposes of certain provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 5365

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*