

we help train attention on the real threat, after all, which is global terror? Can we focus our resources and attention away from things that are, if not positively loopy, at least very low priority, like national missile defense, to have priority placed on homeland security and finishing the job in Afghanistan?

It is time for this Congress to act like a coequal branch of government. Had we been doing that since September 11, we would have saved money, saved lives and enhanced our legitimacy and effectiveness around the world. Indeed, that world, Iraq and our troops all need us to do our job. Even the administration, while it may not recognize it, will be better off if Congress does its job.

Today Secretary Grossman said that he appreciated references about American staying power in Iraq. I would say that the real key to staying power is the trust and confidence of the American people. The administration's performance and inability to acknowledge its mistakes is undercutting the confidence of the people I represent and the people I meet from around the country. I hope our International Relations Committee and other relevant committees in Congress do their job to help rebuild the confidence, so badly shaken, of the American people.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CHOCOLA). Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. CORRINE BROWN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Ms. CORRINE BROWN of Florida addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

#### ABUSE OF IRAQI PRISONERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. MORAN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MORAN of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, we are all deeply troubled by the graphic pictures which show U.S. military service members humiliating, torturing and sexually abusing Iraqi prisoners. The reports that U.S. military police and intelligence personnel violated the most basic standards of moral conduct in addition to the established tenets of the Geneva Convention relative to the treatment of prisoners of war have ignited outrage within this country and throughout the rest of the world. This situation has tarnished America's reputation as a guardian of individual civil liberties and as a protector of human rights. While the vast majority of our soldiers are doing their duty with dignity and with honor, the grotesque abuses of Iraqi prisoners are truly un-American. They go against everything our country stands for and holds dear. The images of these abuses are also a major setback in our war against terrorism. Our standing in the

Arab world has been seriously undermined as a result of what happened at Abu Ghraib.

As a member of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, I have listened to the testimony and heard the explanations of the highest Pentagon leadership as to the abuses of Iraqi prisoners, but I am not convinced that these abuses are an isolated incident involving a few military members. The likelihood is that the lack of supervision that allowed them to occur may in fact be systemic, at least in some parts of the military intelligence and military police commands.

This crisis must be immediately dealt with through a full-fledged investigation into the breakdown of military regulations and the possibility of widespread prison abuse. Furthermore, the individuals responsible for perpetrating the abuses as well as their commanding officers must be held accountable for criminal wrongdoing. I do believe that accountability, however, should extend considerably beyond the prosecution of a handful of aberrant military personnel, private contractors and their supervisors. Responsibility starts at the top.

With the existence of additional photos and videos of Iraqi detainees still unreleased, it is likely that this crisis will not soon go away. The transfer of Iraqi sovereignty is set to occur on June 30. The Bush administration must drastically repair our standing in Iraq as well as with the rest of the world before we can responsibly extricate ourselves from this foreign policy blunder.

I emphasize foreign policy as opposed to military policy. Our military accomplished their objective nearly flawlessly by liberating the Iraqi people from Saddam Hussein's tyranny. But they were not prepared to be long-term occupiers. That should never be their role nor our national mission. The lack of a realistic exit strategy is one of the reasons that I so strongly opposed this preemptive and unilateral invasion.

Mr. Speaker, our mission in Iraq is at a crossroads. Our soldiers are struggling to complete their missions without the proper training or resources or support. The barbaric murder of Nicholas Berg clearly demonstrates the depth of the resistance we face. The murder of Nicholas Berg was a monstrous act for which there is no justification. Our thoughts and our prayers are with his family. America's soldiers, in fact, are serving with honor. We stand behind our courageous men and women in uniform who are bearing the burden for this military action in Iraq, and we are deeply grateful for their patriotism, their courage and their sacrifice. But the security situation in Iraq has deteriorated rather than improved. Last month, we lost more soldiers in one month than at any time since the war began.

Mr. Speaker, our military was sent into battle without the right equipment or the necessary support. Helicopter pilots have flown battlefield

missions without the best available antimissile systems. According to a DOD commission report, roughly one-fourth of coalition deaths have occurred as a result of attacks on unarmored vehicles, because we do not have enough armored vehicles to go around. And our failure to forge a true coalition has forced thousands in the National Guard and Reserves to be away from their families and from their jobs for more than a year with no end in sight.

Mr. Speaker, a failure to condemn what is wrong is a failure to recognize what is right. Recently, a former leader of the 372nd Military Police Company stated that minimizing the conduct of these MPs that were responsible for the prison abuse by comparing it to the reckless and violent acts of the Iraqi insurgents is wholly beside the point. We must compare our actions to those of the men and women who have honorably served this country. We have to stand up for our standard of decency that we have set for the rest of the world and stand up to the enemies of freedom.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. RYAN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. RYAN of Ohio addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

#### SUDAN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 2003, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I want to take time this evening to talk about a very serious situation occurring in Africa as we speak, a situation of ethnic cleansing in Darfur, Sudan, and Sudan's vicious campaign of terror which it is raining on its people.

Mr. Speaker, in June 2001, I came to this floor to speak about slavery and genocide perpetrated against the people of southern Sudan. I said then that innocent civilians are the victims in this war. We are well aware of the number of people killed, maimed, displaced and enslaved during that terrible conflict, which still goes on. Yet we as members of the international community failed to do the right thing, to end the suffering. In the north-south conflict, more than 2 million people perished and an estimated 5 million people have been displaced during the 40 years of this dread conflict. It is the same government that terrorized, enslaved and killed innocent civilians in the southern Sudan and the Nuba that is now yet again engaged in a terror campaign in Darfur in western Sudan.

When we thought that things were going well with the Sudan Peace Act

and that negotiations between the Government of Sudan and the SPLM, Dr. John Garang's forces, and that there had been efforts in time and energy put in by negotiators, then we see that this pariah government in Khartoum simply cannot help itself and now have unleashed the same reign of terror now on the west which it had done in the south. The National Islamic Front government is solely responsible for the current atrocities in Darfur. In just the last 12 months, the National Islamic Front government of Sudan and its allied militia, the Janjaweed, displaced more than 1 million people, forced over 110,000 people into Chad, and killed more than 10,000 innocent civilians. Government troops and their allied militia raped, tortured, maimed and burned entire villages in a deliberate and systematic manner to cleanse the area of African Muslims.

Up to now, the conflict was supposed to be between the Arab north trying to push Shiria and Islamic government onto the people of the south who were Christians and animists, and it was then supposed to be a war that lines were drawn by virtue of religion, which is also a horrible thing to do. However, the new battle is that the people in the west are also Islamic. They are Muslims. The excuse of religious differences does not hold water, although it never should have been raised in the first place. And so now you have the Islamic government of Khartoum attacking, maiming, killing, raping, burning villages of other Islamic people in the west.

□ 1830

What are the differences in these? They are all the same religion. But there is a marked difference. Because the Arab Muslims of the north are different than the African black Muslims in the west, and so it cannot be religious cleansing. It has to only be ethnic cleansing where black followers of Islam are being systematically pushed out and ethnically cleansed by the Arab Government of Sudan. So regardless of what we do in the next several months, more people will die from disease and hunger. Why? Because we have a genocidal government bent on destruction and mayhem.

Mr. Speaker, this is the same government that gave sanctuary to Osama bin Laden from 1991 to 1996, allowing him to build his terror network worldwide. The bombings of our embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam in Tanzania was planned right there in Sudan by al Qaeda forces of Osama bin Laden, harbored and protected by the Government of Sudan, allowed to strengthen himself and to develop a worldwide network as he recruited people to be a part of his al Qaeda network. Other terrorists acts are also linked to Osama bin Laden because there were a number of terrorist acts that were going on at that time.

Mr. Speaker, what is stunning to me is that not a single senior official has

been removed from power in the Government of Sudan or has gone to jail because of involvement in or support of terrorist activities. It is important to recall that the Government of Sudan's involvement in international terrorism goes back over a decade. Sudanese officials were involved directly or indirectly in the first World Trade bombing in 1993 in New York. The mastermind of the 1993 bombing, Shiekh Abdel Rahman, who was sentenced to life in 1995, received his visa in Khartoum, Sudan, and reportedly was a guest of a senior Sudanese government official for several weeks. Of the 15 men indicted for the terror act, five are Sudanese nationalists. These Sudanese nationalists have strong ties with Sudanese diplomats stationed at the time in New York in the Sudanese embassy at the United Nations.

Mr. Speaker, in 1995 members of an Egyptian terrorist group tried to assassinate President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt while he was in Ethiopia for an OAU, Organization of African Unity, summit. The 11-man assassination team that had been given safe haven in Sudan so that they could prepare for this attempted assassination were there, and their plans to kill the Egyptian President were created and planned there. The weapons used in the assassination attempt were reportedly flown into Ethiopia by Sudan Airways. The passports used by assassins were also prepared in Khartoum, according to a United Nations report.

Why is this relevant to Darfur? It is relevant because there is a clear pattern of behavior by this regime targeting civilians, engaging in terrorist acts and clear patterns of lies and deception. Ethnic cleansing in Darfur occurred while the government was still negotiating with the SPLM in Kenya, negotiating for a peace between the north and the south but still doing the damage to the west as if this act could be disassociated with acceptance of Sudan after peace between the north and the south could be attained. In fact, the mastermind of the Darfur atrocities is the chief government negotiator and First Vice President Taha.

Mr. Speaker, it is important for us to remember that in 1994 the international community watched with utter indifference when 1 million Rwandans were hacked to death in 100 days. The genocide in Darfur occurred while the international community was commemorating the 10th anniversary of the Rwandan genocide. We failed to learn from Rwanda, and we are unlikely to learn from Darfur. The similarities between the Rwandan genocide and Darfur are stunning. In Rwanda the former government of Rwanda and the Rwandan Patriotic Front rebels were negotiating while plans for genocide were underway.

In Sudan, the government was negotiating with the SPLM while its troops were engaged in ethnic cleansing in Darfur. The inaction by the inter-

national community in Darfur was in large part due to protecting the ongoing peace process between the government and the SPLM. So as we watched 10 years ago when the world looked the other way, when the word "genocide" would not be used, when we had repeated letters and calls and television appearances to our government at that time and to those who would listen, we saw that the world turned its back.

And as I continue, I see the chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, who has come in. The chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus has been doing an outstanding job on all fronts, today commemorating the Brown v. The Board of Education 50 years after, many programs that are to improve the quality of life for all Americans in this country and, in particular, those who are the least among us, those who need the most help, those who are most fragile, and those are people in our rural areas around the country and in our urban centers.

I yield to the gentleman from the State of Maryland (Mr. CUMMINGS), the chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman for yielding to me, and I want to thank the gentleman for his constant vigilance. I have often said that the gentleman from New Jersey is one who understands the dreams of so many around the world and he makes their dreams his dreams, and we know that he represents his district extremely well in New Jersey; but we also know that he spends a significant amount of time trying to address problems all over the world, sometimes taking up the time that he would normally spend with his family and vacation time, going to Africa, trying to resolve differences between various peoples, trying to make sure that children and others are fed, trying to make sure that peace is brought to that land.

So we take a moment, I take my moment here, to salute him and to thank him for his leadership. I think that when history is written and the history of Africa is written, it would have to have the gentleman from New Jersey's (Mr. PAYNE) name written there in a lot of places because he certainly has touched so many people and so many people who will probably never say thank you, so many people who will not even know that he has touched their lives. But as I have said about him so often, sometimes we are unapplauded, unappreciated, unseen, and unnoticed. And I just want him to know on behalf of all those that he has touched that I take this moment to salute him.

Mr. Speaker, I want to rise this evening with my fellow members on the Congressional Black Caucus to shed a light on the horrific humanitarian crisis that the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) has been talking about which is taking place in Sudan.

Mr. Speaker, although most people are probably unable to locate this

country on the map, everyone should care about the ethnic cleansing that has dislocated over 1 million Sudanese, killed thousands of Africans, and is literally starving men, women, and children to death. Essentially, the Arab Muslim government in Sudan is condoning and even promoting the murder and displacement of the native Black African Sudanese. As I speak, the Sudanese Government is supporting armed militias that are raiding villages, raping women, and literally killing everyone in sight. The basis of the blood shed in Darfur, a region of Sudan, is one that has been repeated time and time again throughout history. Clearly, at the root of this ethnic cleansing lies the stubborn existence of intolerance and prejudice. When will we, as a global community, learn that we promote bigotry at our own peril?

Mr. Speaker, the conflict in Sudan is further complicated by the fact that those who survive the attacks of these militiamen are fleeing over the border into the country of Chad. Women, children, and fathers are being forced to leave their homes and to move to refugee camps where there are no doctors, no permanent shelter, and no food.

It is a travesty of humanity, Mr. Speaker, that children in these camps are dying of preventable diseases or, worse yet, diseases like diarrhea and malnutrition that can easily be cured with a little food and a little water.

Mr. Speaker, it is important for the American people to understand that what is taking place in this often-neglected corner of the world is moving closer and closer towards being described as a genocide.

It is quite ironic that this year marked the 10th anniversary of the tragic genocide that took place in Rwanda. The world stood idly by as the Rwandan Tutsis and Hutus massacred one another openly in the streets. The world stood idle as the Germans attempted to exterminate the Jews in the Holocaust. And the world stood idle as Europeans enslaved Africans and ravaged their society. In hindsight, we look at these atrocities and wonder how would silence prevail in the presence of human suffering.

Mr. Speaker, I beg the world community to please let this not be one of those situations that we reflect upon years from now and say we should have done more, we could have done more. Let us all work together to stop the suffering now. If not, we will be raising a world of children who will grow insensitive and immune to human tragedy. They will view murder as an everyday occurrence and joyously welcome death as an end to suffering.

Mr. Speaker, just last week the Congressional Black Caucus had a very substantive and productive meeting with Secretary of State Colin Powell. During our meeting, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) asked the Secretary about the United States's efforts to end the crisis in Darfur. Secretary Powell assured the entire cau-

cus that the State Department was working to bring peace to the region and was actively engaged in resolving the crisis. But, Mr. Speaker, so long as people continue to die and children lack the hydration in their bodies to shed tears, whatever we are doing is simply not enough; and we must work faster.

It is incumbent upon the United States as a global leader to lead a massive humanitarian intervention similar to the intervention in Congo in 1994 and Somalia in 1992.

And for those watching in the world community, I call on the Government of Sudan to immediately stop the bloodshed, stop supporting the janjaweed militias, and enforce the cease-fire in Darfur that was reached last month.

Mr. Speaker, all too often it is easy for us to distance ourselves from the plight of people thousands of miles away. But just as the pictures of the abused Iraqi prisoners struck a chord of disgust and anguish in all of us, we should all be outraged and horrified by what is taking place in Darfur.

Just picture, Mr. Speaker, thousands of Sudanese fleeing to Chad, a country with only 271 doctors to serve 9 million people. Imagine the grief and sorrow they must feel daily at the memory of their children, grandmothers, and husbands that were killed by the janjaweed militias or left behind in villages that they will never see again.

Mr. Speaker, if you could, feel their hunger pain and hear the cries of the parents who look for food for their children in vain. Although we may not have seen physical pictures of what is taking place in Darfur, as humans we should be able to relate to the pain of the Sudanese refugees nonetheless. Let us all work together to transfer our empathy into action and end this crisis now. Our humanity depends on it.

As I close, I would also like to encourage our newspaper editors, television producers, and friends in the media to shine a bright light on this horrific situation.

□ 1845

Put it on your front pages. Lead with it on your news shows. Talk about it on your talk radio shows. We need everybody to join in this effort.

Mr. PAYNE, Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, I thank the gentleman very much. Let me thank him for his compliment and for his very thoughtful presentation. As I have indicated, the gentleman has really been a beacon of light for the Congressional Black Caucus, and we follow his leadership with pride and with dignity for the justice that he has laid out for this Nation.

I would like to yield to the gentleman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE), a person who has fought for justice, not only here in the U.S. and in her State of Texas and Houston, but has traveled throughout the world; whether it is Iraqi women that she is fighting for, or the rights of African women to have

property rights and to have the rights of what women throughout the world are looking for, but also on general issues of just humanitarian importance.

With that, I yield to the gentleman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE).

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I think this is one of the more important Special Orders that we have had an opportunity to participate in, and it is because of the gentleman's vision we have been called to the floor to really stop, if you will, the ethnic cleansing and the horrific results of what appears to be, again, a tragedy in the works of an enormous magnitude.

Let me add my appreciation that has been rendered by the gentleman from Maryland (Chairman CUMMINGS) to thank the gentleman for really having the focus on the continent of Africa, along with many, many other issues dealing with the need for humanitarian relief and focus.

I think it is important to note, for this body to be aware, of the pivotal road the gentleman played relating to Eritrea and Ethiopia, we had an opportunity to discuss that just a few days ago, and as well for this body to know of the very vital role that the gentleman plays with the United Nations.

I have heard extensive discussions on this floor about the United Nations, some of it worthy of repeating, much of it not; and I think what the gentleman has been able to do for this Congress is to be a bridge to the United Nations.

We spent, as the gentleman can recall, Friday at the United Nations, and I think if I could deviate for a moment, because I want to encourage the United Nations, as the gentleman did, to get involved in Sudan. I believe it is imperative.

As I recall, one of the ranking members of the United Nations hierarchy was being dispatched as we spoke to the Sudan to try to engage, because, as the gentleman knows, it was noted they were not there as maybe they should be. The gentleman was there to press the point that they should be there.

But I also know we discussed the Oil for Food program, and I just think for a moment it is important to note that the United Nations is likewise ashamed or concerned about what that program turned into. I think this body needs to be aware that they are doing their own investigation, and the gentleman is pressing them to get to the truth of this program. But I would hope that we would not discard the United Nations for an effort that other nations supported, and that maybe we should just reconsider the value of sanctions, as they have asked us to work with them on, that they be pointed toward the government, and not so much toward the people.

But the reason why the gentleman has brought us here today, and the reason why I thank the gentleman from Maryland (Chairman CUMMINGS), and as well as the gentleman noted the

fact, that he has not only been given to great leadership, but he has focused the caucus on international issues. We just cannot live in this country without being focused on international issues.

So I want to remind our colleagues why the gentleman's message is so important today, because I will say to the gentleman that I believe I will always, always be reminded of Rwanda. I will never, never forget Rwanda. I think this Nation and this world will never live Rwanda down.

We are grateful for some of the progress that the state of Rwanda is now making. But seeing some of the victims, survivors of that purge, ethnic cleansing, that conflict that seemed to be submerged, and then as our eyes began to open, and I will not say, I am not castigating, I know there were many pressing the point, and we know the Congressional Black Caucus went on record and literally asked this Nation to take a stand. And I would imagine that those in power at the time will even tell you they are remorseful of what happened and that they did not act soon. Because 1 million-plus, and I would almost say we do not have the final count, we do not know how many died. We know it is claimed to have been 1 million, and we realize that it is still a fragile situation. But the world did not act, and 1 million people were killed.

But I think as the gentleman has described and as the chairman has described, one really needs to know what bludgeoning and mutilation and raping, pillaging villages and scattering innocent children, and hunger, devastation, is all about, and disease taking hold. Or people coming into villages and seeing piles and piles of bodies that have to ultimately be burned because you cannot bury them. That is what Rwanda was all about.

The gentleman knows that we did not stop a moment when they came to us on the Kosovo situation, the ethnic cleansing. We rallied everyone. And many of us went to Albania and Kosovo and saw the refugee camps. But we acted; NATO acted. But we did not act in Rwanda.

I know that we could have the same occurrence in Sudan. It only takes a blink of an eye. We could have this situation implode on us. I know it is happening in the gentleman's community. I know many in the Christian faith have been talking about Sudan and have been talking being about this from a Christian-Muslim perspective, and the Christians are being the ones attacked. We have now gotten to the point where it is dividing the country by way of North-South, or black Africa versus the Muslims and Arabs.

I know my good friends in the Arab community, in fact I have spoken to President Bouteflika, and I know the gentleman indicated he worked hard on other issues with him, Ethiopia, Eritrea. But he considers himself part of Africa, and Algeria is part of Africa; and he wants this cohesiveness with

the continent. He does not want Arabs and black Africans or sub-Saharan Africa and Northern Africa. He wants the new Africa.

What we must say to the Sudanese leaders in government now, and what I have heard the gentleman say, how they can distinguish themselves, it is not the government, it is somebody else.

Well, my friends, as we have come to understand in Iraq, it is not somebody else; it is the government of the United States that has to be responsible for the abuse of prisoners in Iraq. It is the government of the United States that has to be responsible for the status of Iraq right now. And it is the government in Sudan that has to take responsibility.

I will join the gentleman, whether it is quietly or whether it is pronounced, to encourage our brothers and sisters who are leaders in Africa to be able to embrace the tragedy that is occurring, and that is the fact, as has been noted, 15,000 or more may be on the border at Chad now, and there may be more coming. Disease is rampant. There are not enough doctors to be able to take care of the diseased persons. Babies are dying for lack of nutrition and water. We have villages that are burning as we speak. I imagine people are being killed along the way and cannot be buried.

That creates disease. Farmers are losing their equipment, whether it is a hoe or an animal that is starving, so they cannot produce food; and they cannot eat food because the animals they eat are being killed.

I cannot imagine that we could sit by again to have someone tell us next week or in June or in the fall or next year that more than 1 million were killed in this battle.

To be honest, I am going to be like most Americans. I do not know what they are fighting about. I find it despicable. But I do know that they are living in a land area that all of them, both Arabs and black Africans, have a stake in. They are stakeholders. They all have claimed the Sudan as their area, and it is now a state.

So it seems to me they would find a way, that the government finds a way, to create the safety for all of the people, no matter whether they desire to be called an Arab or whether they desire to be called Sudanese or a black African.

I would simply ask that this not be forgotten. I spoke today earlier about our plight in Iraq; and, of course, we know that the important thing to do is to heal this and fix it, and this Congress has to fix it.

I believe they should fix it through the gentleman's committee, the Committee on International Relations, through the Committee on the Judiciary, through the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. I believe no investigation is too many investigations, because it is not fixed.

As we have to fix that problem and investigate those charges and not di-

minish nudity and abuse as "it is not that bad" and discount the rapes that are going on in Iraq of military women, discount the sexual abuse that was showing and glaring in that video and those pictures, we cannot allow the world, nor can America disown what is happening in Sudan.

I would like to join the gentleman in his plea to the leaders of this continent, and I would like to applaud the gentleman for bringing this to the attention of Secretary of State Powell, just as we brought to his attention the plight of Haitians. The one thing that the Congressional Black Caucus has been unified on at all occasions is the humanitarian aid and relief to people who are dying and starving.

So our Members should be reminded by this Special Order and the gentleman's leadership, and we join in that leadership to include Haiti and humanitarian aid that is needed, and to stop the killing that is going on there and, if you will, the disenfranchising of the Lavalas Party and whatever the confusion is, where one is in and one is out. We are looking for democracy, where all are in and all have a chance to participate and elect a duly elected government.

What we want in the Sudan, first of all, is to stop the killing, to allow people to stay within the borders of their nation, to be able to have the villagers go back to their villages, and have the government of Sudan take responsibility to save their lives.

I thank the gentleman for allowing me to join him. I was so distraught on what is happening in Sudan and with the backdrop of what I will never forget, Rwanda, that I believe we are compelled, we are actually compelled to act. The gentleman is a leader in that.

Would the gentleman mind me taking a moment of personal privilege not directly on this topic, and to thank him for his leadership on the Committee on Education and the Workforce as we moved the Brown v. Board of Education resolution along with yourself, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS), and the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LORETTA SANCHEZ).

Maybe it sounds disconnected, but Brown has been described as many things. I guess it is symbolic that separate and equal cannot stand. It is separate and unequal. But I think its key element is that of activism and being active.

Though it was a domestic issue of acting to provide quality in education, the message we are giving tonight is that we must act; it is imperative that we act. I join the gentleman in acting, and I thank him for his leadership.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, let me take this opportunity to thank the gentlewoman for her very profound remarks. It is connected. I think that all that we do is connected. I think that the gentlewoman's wisdom and her interest, her knowledge, is certainly a great tribute to us here in the halls of Congress.

□ 1900

The thoroughness of the gentlewoman's evaluations are always appreciated. The gentlewoman is absolutely right. President Bouteflika said that we are part of Africa, we are not North Africa. But the Europeans decided to divide Africa. They said Africa was not one continent. You had North Africa and you had sub-Saharan Africa.

So it is one continent. We have two countries, major countries in the Western Hemisphere, we have Canada and we have the United States, but no one has separated the continent artificially. It is all North America. Africa is North Africa, a separate place, and when I was a kid it was Asia Minor, but they decided to call that the Middle East now, I guess. So we have to try to keep up with those who try to define us.

We should not let other people define us, just as today they say liberals are bad. They are the ones who are what our country should not be about. I am proud to be a liberal. I think that is what made our country strong and great. I think a liberal is a person who worries about their neighbor, wants a strong defense, wants to provide for the common defense, but also to promote the general welfare. And so until we allow ourselves to not categorize ourselves, we have to stand tall.

So once again, let me thank the gentlewoman for her remarks.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield for a moment again, I mentioned, and I know that the gentleman has heard from them, because I believe they have been engaged in this over the years, the Christian community. They have done missionary work, they have been promoting Christianity in Sudan, and that certainly has rocked some of the order, but they have every right to be there, and they are Republicans and Democrats.

Mr. PAYNE. That is right.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. This is, I think what the gentleman is saying, a bipartisan issue. This is an issue that draws on the very heartstrings of this Congress. I believe the gentleman has a resolution, if I am not mistaken, that would call on this Congress to go on record. I enthusiastically support it. But it should be moved to the front of the line, and to be assured, if my memory serves me. I am not sure if we have already passed it, but I think not.

Mr. PAYNE. No, we have not.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. So I am making the statement today that we need to move this to the front of the line, because I am told as we visit with heads of State on these issues, when that vote comes through, we can be assured that through electronic media, electronic dissemination, it is known, and it gives a resounding sound that we are paying attention to that issue. And I cannot imagine, just as the Brown v. Board of Education resolution was offered today, in looking to Monday, the 50th anniversary, because of the im-

mediacy of it, we had the kindness of the leadership of this House to debate this and have a unanimous voice to support this legislation. I cannot imagine that we would have anyone turned away, or turn away from; all we need is to go to the floor and say Rwanda, because there are many who are now wishing that we had acted in the manner that would have caused a pause in the slaughter that was going on.

I deviate for one moment, because both of us were smiling; we both met Mr. Stokes who, I am going back to the Brown v. Board of Education, and this is a gentleman who came out of Prince Edward County in Virginia, and was an actual student who organized to say that separate and unequal is certainly not tolerable. We find now that he has come full circle to say that the people who were shut out of school did not even get their education. He is an activist again. He is rising again to activate for those students who were cut out of school from 1959 to 1964 for them to be able to go back to school.

I just want to note that I will ask the gentleman to join me on a resolution that is going to applaud that work and try to assist them in getting that kind of help in Virginia, to be able to have those throngs of individuals go back into school and get their degree. I only cite him because I was so moved by his testimony and his statement, but he was being active.

Mr. PAYNE. That is right.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. What we need now by this body beyond this Special Order is an immediate action. I have seen a lot of bills come to suspension, and I believe the gentleman's resolution warrants the waiving of regular order. I am not sure if the gentleman has had hearings yet, I do not want to step on toes, but if not, I would almost say that both of the gentleman's chairpersons would welcome the moving of this document if the gentleman suggested that that is the appropriate way to proceed, and certainly we would follow the gentleman's leadership. But this is a crisis of great moment, and I hope they will listen to the gentleman and listen as we have spoken tonight to try to save the lives of Sudan.

I thank the gentleman for yielding to me; I just wanted to make mention of the work that the gentleman has done.

Mr. PAYNE. Again, Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentlewoman's remarks. It is something that has been overlooked for 5 years, that people in Prince George's County were unable to go to school from 1959 to 1964 when the public schools were privatized and black children just had no school to go to for 5 years.

Mr. Speaker, as we continue to focus on the problem, these atrocities were well documented. Just recently a United Nations Human Rights Commission concluded just a few days ago, I heard the report at the Security Council on Friday where this report was given, and I too have to say that without the United Nations I think that

this world would be in a much worse place. I hear people trivialize the United Nations. I hear people talk about the fact that they are not needed. I think that it shows the ignorance of many of the Members of this House that have no clue as to the tremendous asset that the United Nations has provided. They pushed inoculations worldwide, they have seen polio almost eradicated through cooperation. We have seen all kinds of health issues taken away. We have seen peace in many, many countries by virtue of the United Nations stepping in, whether it was Sierra Leone and whether it was Liberia, whether it was with the United Nations and NATO in Kosovo, whether it was in East Timor, the country that Indonesia was going to take after the Portuguese released it. It is so many, many places, and I wish that one day we could have a 101 course to many of the Members who just trivialize the United Nations, to really find out what they have done. I think that many of them would be amazed and shocked at how much a better world this is today because the United Nations exists. If not, we would have total anarchy around the world, and at least we have a place where debates can go on and peacekeepers can go out and humanitarians go out. I just cannot for the life of me understand about this trashing of the United Nations. But we have a long way to go in education.

I would like to also say that some of my friends on the other side, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANGREDO) and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) have all been supportive on the Sudan issue, California (Mr. ROYCE) and Senator BROWBACK and Senator FRIST. So many have said that this is an issue that we need to take heed of. So it is a bipartisan issue.

But as I was indicating, a recent report by the United Nations Human Rights Commission concluded that the mission was able to identify disturbing patterns of massive human rights violations in Darfur, many of which constitute war crimes and/or crimes against humanity. According to information collected from refugees, it appears that there is a reign of terror in Darfur, the following elements of which should be highlighted.

A, repeated attacks on civilians by the Government of Sudan military and its proxy militia forces, with a view of their displacement. The use of systematic and discriminate aerial bombing and ground attacks on unarmed civilians. And the only planes that are in Sudan are controlled by the Government of Sudan, and they have done systematic bombing. The use of disproportionate force by the government of Sudan and also the Janjaweed force, that the Janjaweed have operated with total impunity. They can just move wherever they want without the government doing anything; actually, even in close coordination with the forces of the Government of Sudan.

The Government of Sudan has said we have nothing to do with it, but their planes dropped the bombs, the weapons come from the Government of Sudan, and they are in close proximity with the Janjaweed who are the militia groups that are terrorizing the people.

The attacks appear to have been ethnically based, with the groups targeted being essentially the following tribes of African origin: The Zaghawa, the Masaalit and the Furs. Men and young boys appear to have been particularly targeted in ground attacks.

The pattern of attacks on civilians, including rapes, pillage, including of livestock, destruction of property, including water supplies. And in May, 2004, the acting High Commissioner reported that attacks against civilians involved the destruction of property, often through burning, as well as the destruction of central supplies such as flour, millet, and other crops. The report stated that a disturbing pattern of disregard for basic principles of human rights and humanitarian law is taking place in Darfur by the armed forces of Sudan and by its proxy militia known as the Janjaweed.

According to Human Rights Watch, the government and its Janjaweed allies have killed thousands of Fur, Masaalit, and Zaghawa, often in cold blood, raped women, destroyed villages. Foodstocks and other supplies essential to the civilian population have been destroyed. They have driven more than 1 million civilians, mostly farmers, into camps and settlements in Darfur where they live on the very edge of survival, hostile to the Janjaweed abuses. More than 110,000 others have fled to neighboring Chad, but the vast majority of war victims remain trapped in Darfur.

Mr. Speaker, we have lost tens of thousands of civilians already and many more will die in the coming months. We must do everything possible to save lives and bring justice to those responsible for the atrocities in Darfur. The United States must lead a massive international intervention in Darfur before it is too late. We should utilize all available means to deliver much-needed humanitarian assistance in Darfur.

Mr. Speaker, we must also hold those responsible accountable. An international tribunal for Darfur must be created. In the meantime, the Bush administration must impose targeted sanctions, including travel ban and freezing of assets against individuals responsible for Darfur's atrocities. Targeted sanctions will punish those directly responsible by avoiding collective punishment.

Mr. Speaker, based on the extensive research and consultation with government officials and regional actors, we have been able to put together a list of individuals directly responsible for the atrocities in Darfur, and this was done by very careful investigation right there on the ground.

These individuals directly responsible for the atrocities include, in the

first category, top Government of Sudan officials who are supervising and controlling Janjaweed activities and operations, including the following: Ali Osman Taha, First Vice President; Major General Salah Abdalla Ghosh, Director General, Government of Sudan security; Dr. Nafie Ali Nafie, former external Intelligence Chief; Major General Al Tayeb Mohammed Hheir, Presidential Security Advisor; Abdalhamid Musa Kasha, Minister of Commerce; Abdalrahim Mohammed Hussein, Minister of Interior; Major General Adam Hamid Musa, State Governor, southern Darfur; Brigadier Mohamed Ahmed Ali, Riot Police Director, led police attacks on internally displaced persons at Mayo Camp right out in Khartoum in mid-March; Mohamed Yousef Abdala, Humanitarian Affairs State Minister; Abdalla Safi el Nur, Cabinet Minister and General Coordinator of Janjaweed.

In the category right below that is the Command Coordination and Command Council of the Janjaweed.

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Lieutenant Colonel Sukeirtalah, leader of Janjaweed-Geneina; Ahmed Mohammed Harun, commander, State Minister of Interior; Osman Yusuf Kibir, State governor Darfur; El Tahir Hassan Abbud, NCP; Mohammed Salih Al Sunusi Baraka, member of the National Assembly; Mohammed Yusuf El Tileit, Western Darfur State minister; Major General Hussein Abdalla Jibril, member of the National Assembly.

Right in the field command in the third category: Brigadier Musa Hilal; Brigadier Hamid Dhawai; Brigadier Abdal Wahid, Kabkabiya sector; Brigadier Mohammed Ibrahim Ginesto; Major Hussein Tangos; Major Omer Baabas.

I believe that these people should be investigated by a tribunal because there are thousands of refugees who have nowhere to go now but to live in makeshift huts. They have no health care. Children are dying of diarrhea and malnutrition, and U.S. officials are desperately trying to solidify a ceasefire to get aid to these people, and they are very inaccessible.

In several weeks, the rainy season will come the early part of June and flood much of the area, making humanitarian delivery nearly impossible. Children are dying already and will continue to die of preventable causes, like diarrhea for lack of water and health care.

One hundred thousand have gone to Chad. The whole country of Chad has 271 doctors for a population of approximately 9 million people. So they are in no shape to be giving assistance, medical assistance to these influx of refugees. In the north there is not even a doctor or a nurse, just one medical technician who is only qualified to hand out basic drugs.

The International Red Cross said there is severe malnutrition, but the newly set-up health facility is at least

5 hours' drive from the nearest facility to get materials and medicines to the people.

These people say that they had a decent life in Darfur until the Arab Sudanese Government went to war against this region's indigenous African people. It is mentioned that Sudanese aircraft bombed the village and then the militias came on horseback to burn down houses and commit atrocities and human rights abuses.

Rape is being used as a weapon of war, where women and young girls are brutally targeted.

Every week, many people continue to cross the border to Chad because they are fleeing the campaign of ethnic cleansing conducted by the Sudanese Army and its marauding militia called the Janjaweed.

Thousands of Sudanese villagers have been killed according to American and other human rights officials. Hundreds of thousands more lives hang in the balance.

Darfur is not accessible to outsiders. We have seen some pictures that show burned-down villages by overhead aircraft that have been taken; and so, once again, the U.N. is ready to go in. The U.N. must be sure that they take all means necessary to attempt to get to these very fragile people.

So as I conclude, I hope that the world is listening. I hope that we can get our media, our newspapers to focus in on the problem in Darfur. We often see the press cover problems in Europe. As we said, in Bosnia and Kosovo we saw NATO and many people come to their defense. However, in Rwanda 10 years ago, with close to a million people dying from genocide, we all looked the other way, and now in Darfur.

Is the life of a black person in Sudan or in Rwanda any less than a European life or an Asian life? Of course, we all know that the question is no. We are all made in the image and likeness of God. We are all one people. We are all one in this life that God has given to us, and we all deserve the right to freedom, justice, equality.

So as I conclude, I would like to thank those Members that came down to express their thoughts. I will continue to talk about the atrocities in Sudan until we get the proper response by our country and by countries around the world. It is a tragedy in front of us, and we should do everything within our power to see that it ends.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CHOCOLA). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 2003, the gentleman from New Mexico (Mr. PEARCE) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. PEARCE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to visit tonight and talk about Iraq and perceptions about Iraq; but before I start, I would like to commend the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr.