

those present have voted in the affirmative.

Ms. SOLIS. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Ms. Wanda Evans, one of his secretaries.

#### CONDEMNING GOVERNMENT OF REPUBLIC OF SUDAN FOR ATTACKS AGAINST INNOCENT CIVILIANS IN IMPOVERISHED DARFUR REGION

Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 403) condemning the Government of the Republic of the Sudan for its attacks against innocent civilians in the impoverished Darfur region of western Sudan, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

##### H. CON. RES. 403

Whereas, since early 2003, a conflict between forces of the Government of the Republic of the Sudan, including militia forces backed by the Government, and rebel forces in the impoverished Darfur region of western Sudan has resulted in attacks by ground and air forces of the Government of Sudan against innocent civilians and undefended villages in the region;

Whereas Sudanese Government forces and government supported militia forces have also engaged in the use of rape as a weapon of war, the abduction of children, the destruction of food and water sources, and the deliberate and systematic manipulation and denial of humanitarian assistance for the people of the Darfur region;

Whereas, on December 18, 2003, United Nations Undersecretary General for Humanitarian Affairs Jan Egeland declared that the Darfur region was probably "the world's worst humanitarian catastrophe", and in April 2004 reported to the United Nations Security Council that in Darfur, "a sequence of deliberate actions has been observed that seem aimed at achieving a specific objective: the forcible and long-term displacement of the targeted communities which may also be termed 'ethnic cleansing'";

Whereas, on February 17, 2004, Amnesty International reported that it "continues to receive details of horrifying attacks against civilians in villages by government warplanes, soldiers, and pro-government militia";

Whereas, on February 18, 2004, United Nations Special Envoy for Humanitarian Affairs in Sudan Tom Eric Vraalsen declared, following a trip to the Darfur region, that "aid workers are unable to reach the vast majority [of the displaced]";

Whereas Doctors Without Borders, the Nobel Peace Prize-winning medical humanitarian relief organization and one of the few aid groups on the ground in the Darfur region, reported that the region is the scene of "catastrophic mortality rates";

Whereas, on April 20, the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human

Rights delayed the release of a report citing gross human rights abuses, crimes against humanity, and war crimes committed in Darfur in a bid to gain access to Sudan for investigators;

Whereas the Government of Sudan continues to deny humanitarian assistance for the people of the Darfur region by denying them unrestricted access to humanitarian aid organizations;

Whereas attacks on civilians in Darfur continue despite an April 8, 2004, temporary cease-fire agreement;

Whereas nearly 3,000,000 people affected by the conflict in the Darfur region have remained beyond the reach of aid agencies trying to provide essential humanitarian assistance, and United Nations aid agencies estimate that they have been able to reach only 15 percent of people in need and that more than 700,000 people have been displaced within Sudan in the past year; and

Whereas the United States delegation to the 60th Session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights sponsored a resolution condemning the Government of Sudan for grave violations of human rights and humanitarian law occurring in the Darfur region: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That Congress—*

(1) strongly condemns the Government of the Republic of the Sudan and militia groups supported by the Government of Sudan for attacks against innocent civilians in the impoverished Darfur region of western Sudan, in violation of Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions, done at Geneva August 12, 1949, and entered into force October 21, 1950, which specifically prohibit attacks on civilians, and demands that the Government of Sudan immediately take actions to cease these attacks;

(2) urges the Government of Sudan to immediately disarm and disband government supported militia groups;

(3) urges the Government of Sudan and all parties to honor commitments made in the cease-fire agreement of April 8, 2004;

(4) calls on the Government of Sudan to grant full, unconditional, and immediate access to Darfur to humanitarian aid organizations, the human rights investigation and humanitarian teams of the United Nations, including protection officers, and an international monitoring team in compliance with the temporary cease-fire agreement that is based in Darfur and has the support of the United States and the European Union;

(5) encourages the Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development to work with donors to immediately deliver humanitarian assistance to Darfur, including the delivery of food by air if necessary;

(6) calls on the Secretary of State to develop a plan for further bilateral and multilateral action in the event the Government of Sudan fails to immediately undertake the actions called for in paragraph (3), including a plan to seek a Security Council resolution addressing the Darfur situation;

(7) deplores the inaction of some member states of the United Nations and the failure of the United Nations Human Rights Commission to take strong action with respect to the crisis in Darfur;

(8) urges the President to direct the United States Representative to the United Nations to—

(A) seek an official investigation by the United Nations to determine if crimes against humanity have been committed by the Government of Sudan and government-supported militia groups in the Darfur region; and

(B) work with the international community to ensure that the individuals responsible for crimes against humanity in Darfur are held accountable for their actions; and

(9) strongly urges the President to impose targeted sanctions, including a ban on travel to the United States and freezing of personal assets, against officials and other individuals of the Government of Sudan, as well as Janjaweed militia commanders, who are responsible for war crimes and crimes against humanity in the Darfur region.

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

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. GREEN).

##### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on H. Con. Res. 403, as amended.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF) for bringing House Concurrent Resolution 403, condemning the Government of Sudan for its attacks against innocent civilians in the impoverished Darfur region of western Sudan, before us today.

The crisis in Darfur has been described as one of the worst humanitarian catastrophes on the planet. Nearly 1 million people have been displaced, and anywhere between 10,000 and 30,000 people have been killed. The United States Agency for International Development estimates that another 350,000 civilians could die in the next 9 months as a result of the unfolding humanitarian crisis.

Backed by the Sudanese Government, Arabic-speaking militias, collectively known as the Janjaweed, have murdered, raped and pillaged with impunity. Hundreds of villages have been burned to the ground, crops have been razed and vital irrigation systems have been destroyed.

It is feared that the situation will only get worse. The rainy season has now arrived, making transport of food aid more difficult and more costly. If the refugees cannot return to their homes to plant crops soon, they will be completely dependent on food aid for the next 18 months. Outrageously, the Sudanese Government continues to frustrate efforts to deliver humanitarian assistance to the region.

Following a Security Council briefing earlier this month, the acting U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights summarized the situation in Darfur by stating: "One, there is a reign of terror in this area. Two, there is a scorched earth policy. Three, there are repeated

war crimes and crimes against humanity. And four, this is taking place before our very eyes."

Despite these facts and despite the best efforts by the administration, Sudan was given nothing more than a half-hearted slap on the wrist during the recently concluded 60th session of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights.

Adding insult to injury, Sudan was then reelected to serve on the Commission for another 2 years. The irony of the election of Sudan, one of the worst violators of human rights on the planet, to serve on the U.N. Commission for Human Rights, that irony should not be lost on anyone.

House Concurrent Resolution 403 strongly condemns the attack against innocent civilians by the Government of Sudan and government-supported militia groups. The resolution calls on the Government of Sudan to grant full and unconditional humanitarian access to the region and urges the government to disarm and disband the Janjaweed forces.

H. Con. Res. 403 recognizes the efforts of the United States delegation to the 60th session of the U.N. Human Rights Commission to address the crisis in Darfur, and deplores the inaction of other members.

The resolution also urges the United States Government to take specific steps to aid the refugees and to hold accountable those in the Government of Sudan who are responsible for these atrocities. Included among those recommended measures are an asset freeze and a travel ban for those who are responsible for what the administration and the U.N. have described as "ethnic cleansing."

Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Conscience of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum has issued a "Genocide Alert" for Darfur. This crisis is the direct result of actions taken by the Government of Sudan. It is incumbent upon the Congress to condemn these actions and to urge the administration to take steps to aid the victims and punish those responsible for the atrocities.

Mr. Speaker, this is a bipartisan resolution which has been given full consideration during a hearing and markup by the Committee on International Relations on May 6 of this year, and I urge Members' support.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I first would like to commend my good friend and cochairman of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF), for introducing this critically important legislation. We are all deeply indebted to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF) for speaking out for human rights in Sudan and, in fact, for human rights around the globe.

Mr. Speaker, just 2 weeks ago, we solemnly remembered the 10th anniversary of the Rwanda genocide, where the world stood by and allowed the slaughter of 1 million innocent people in 100 days. In the aftermath of that horror, the international community again pledged never again to stand by and allow an atrocity to emerge without taking preventive action.

Yet, as we speak, the Sudanese Government has mobilized its military forces and Arab militias, called the Janjaweed, to carry out a scorched earth policy of indiscriminate killing and the removal of non-Arab African civilians from their homes in Darfur in western Sudan. Both USAID and the United Nations have described these atrocities as ethnic cleansing, and the Committee on Conscience of our own Holocaust Memorial Museum has issued a genocide warning for Darfur.

Mr. Speaker, Khartoum and its brutal militias are systematically torturing, raping and killing thousands of innocent civilians, based solely on their identity. The Janjaweed, the Arab terrorists, have looted and burned villages and depopulated entire areas with impunity, in direct violation of international law.

We estimate that as many as 30,000 civilians may have been slaughtered and over 1 million driven off their land into unprotected camps for the internally displaced and refugee camps across the border in Chad. If we allow Khartoum to continue this mayhem, probably over 100,000 will die by the end of the year.

We cannot allow this to happen. Khartoum must be stopped. I am convinced, Mr. Speaker, that the only thing Bashir and his cronies understand and respond to is strength and the resolve of the international community, led by our own government.

Bashir and those responsible in his government, including his vice president, Ali Taha, are masters at manipulating the international community by holding hostage the prospects of humanitarian access in Darfur and the peace process in Kenya, while conducting a vicious campaign of terror against innocent civilians.

Khartoum has even treated with contempt our own government's efforts to bring humanitarian relief to the suffering people in Darfur by delaying visas to American disaster workers. Cynically and arrogantly, Khartoum stalls while innocent men, women and children suffer.

Mr. Speaker, in response to widespread global criticism, Bashir now has issued a presidential decree appointing a committee to investigate the egregious human rights violations carried out in Darfur by his own government and their Arab allies.

First, Khartoum deliberately designed a strategy to drive thousands of black Africans from their homes. In the process, Arab militias were directed to commit unspeakably horrible acts. Then, when the international

community expresses outrage, the government that committed the crimes appoints a committee to investigate itself.

I find it ludicrous and absurd for us to continue to play along with Khartoum's game and to accept this blatant attempt to disavow knowledge of well-documented atrocities that Bashir and his people directed their armed forces and the Arab militias to commit.

Mr. Speaker, as we debate this resolution, Arab terrorists of the Janjaweed are killing men, kidnapping children, raping women and burning villages.

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There must be an urgency about our work in addressing this crisis; and Darfur, therefore, must assume the highest priority.

I challenge President Bush's Secretary of State Colin Powell and Kofi Anan, the Secretary General of the United Nations, to exercise their leadership and to stop this nightmare from continuing. I also challenge the European Union and the African Union. Appallingly, African nations recently ensured Sudan a seat on the U.N. Human Rights Commission in spite of its attack on the people of Darfur, motivated exclusively by sickening racism.

Mr. Speaker, I call upon President Bush to withhold any normalization of relations with the Sudan. We must demand of Khartoum an immediate cessation of violence in Darfur and the disarming of Arab terrorists according to the cease fire agreement they signed. Khartoum must allow protective units and humanitarian agencies full and immediate access to Darfur.

Khartoum also must address the legitimate grievances of those living under the tyranny of this regime. The United Nations Human Rights Commission must convene immediately on this crisis to shed light on the atrocities and to galvanize international support for the victims of Darfur.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, we must do what is necessary to end this conflict in Sudan and to bring security to the long suffering people of Darfur. If Khartoum continues its intransigence, the President should consider target sanctions against those responsible for these atrocities and undertake extraordinary measures to get food, medicine, clothing, and shelter to those in desperate need. Our credibility and our reputation as a humane Nation depend on this. We do not have the luxury of failure.

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

Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE), the distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa, who is a strong voice on this subject.

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

I would like to begin by seconding the remarks by the ranking member of

the Committee on International Relations, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS). I believe, as he does, that the killing in western Sudan demands the world's attention. This resolution of which we are co-sponsors condemns Sudan's government for attacks against civilians in the Darfur region. As explained, the numbers here are very grim. Because the government's Scorched Earth policies have killed tens of thousands of people, have displaced as of today over one million human beings, many of them forced into neighboring Chad, hundreds of villages have been burned to the ground, those irrigation systems have been destroyed, and government-backed militias have committed widespread rapes; but beyond that, beyond that the victims of these rapes are often branded on the forehead, which is a rather unique proof of the intent of ethnic cleansing that is going on in these communities.

Denied access to this region by the government, I think we can only imagine the full extent of this relentless campaign which has the look of genocide against the people of Darfur. I believe the administration deserves credit for its sustained commitment to bringing peace to Sudan. Congress has backed its effort, including the Sudan Peace Act. The Subcommittee on Africa, which I chair, has closely followed negotiations between Khartoum and the SPLM.

But after several years, it is less and less likely that those negotiations will succeed. The administration's Sudan Peace Act, the report on that peace act of last month noted that, the bottom line, these talks had become stagnant. We need to keep in mind too that any agreement reached would face major challenges being implemented. Africa has seen many failed peace agreements. So Khartoum's true colors, I am afraid, are being shown in Darfur. At this point, for my part I would have little faith in any peace agreements it signs.

If we remain engaged in this peace process, though, Darfur must not be discounted. Darfur must be addressed. Last month, the Subcommittee on Africa held a hearing looking back on the Rwandan genocide. During the run-up to the killing of a million people, the United States and others were dulled to its warning signs because of the commitment to a doomed peace process. And I am afraid that that may be part of what we are witnessing here.

In Rwanda, like in Sudan today, the government denied its support for militias carrying out ethnic cleansing. It was very familiar to these, very close akin to this same circumstance we face here. Khartoum should know that peace agreement or not, there will be no normal relations with the United States as long as it is committing atrocities in Darfur. The administration brought Darfur to the world's attention at the United Nations Commission on Human Rights' annual session

in Geneva. That its proposal to censure the Sudanese Government was widely rejected is yet more evidence that the commission is a very troubled institution. It also makes it harder to believe that other countries have much of a commitment to peace in Sudan.

Moving ahead, our assumption on Sudan that the international community will provide material support and be an honest broker if a peace agreement is signed should be rethought. I support this resolution; I urge its passage. And I would also like to commend the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF) for his dedication to this issue.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. DAVIS), my good friend and our distinguished colleague.

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the ranking member of the Committee on International Relations for yielding me time and also for his strong and eloquent statement in support of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H. Con. Res. 403. This bill sounds the alarm once again on genocide in Sudan. Since 1983, more than 2 million black civilians died during the civil war in the south of Sudan. That struggle was especially brutal for the civilian population: slave raids resulting in the enslavement of women and children, gang rape, ethnic cleansing, and the imposition of famine conditions for hundreds of thousands.

The people of Sudan are facing the same catastrophic situation once again. Since early 2003, conflict between the forces of the government of the Republic of Sudan and rebel forces in the impoverished Darfur region of western Sudan has resulted in attacks by Sudanese Government ground and air forces against innocent civilians and undefended villages in the region. This has led to the Sudanese Government forces engaging in the use of rape as a weapon of war, the abduction of children, the destruction of food and water sources, and the deliberate and systematic manipulation and denial of humanitarian assistance for the people of the Darfur region.

The United Nations and other aid agencies trying to provide essential humanitarian assistance have been able to reach only 15 percent of the people in need, denying nearly 3 million people in need. More than 100,000 Sudanese have fled the region and are now refugees in neighboring Chad.

These acts are clear violations of the Genocide Convention and are grave crimes against humanity. We cannot sit back and do nothing. We must speak out and act against these actions. We cannot afford to repeat the mistakes of the genocide in Rwanda where more than 800,000 Rwandans died while we along with the world watched and did little or nothing.

Mr. Speaker, we need to act now. The more time wasted by doing nothing, the more Sudanese people in the Darfur region will suffer, die, and be displaced from their homes.

I commend the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF) for introducing this resolution. I urge my colleagues to support it.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, as others have noted, we recently marked the anniversary of a terrible chapter in world history, the Rwandan genocide. The fact that we are here today speaking on Sudan really calls into question whether or not we have learned anything at all, whether the world has learned anything at all. These atrocities of which we speak are occurring now, before our eyes. There is no question; there is no doubt. We are all on notice. It was terrible enough that we did little then through the days of the Rwandan genocide. It will be all the worse if the world fails to act now.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the resolution that is before us today on the suspension calendar concerning the current crisis in Sudan, South Africa. Our colleagues, Mr. WOLF and Mr. PAYNE, are to be commended for their leadership and efforts in drafting H. Con. Res. 403 and for their advocacy on the issues. Just as we have recently seen in Liberia and Haiti, we see in the Darfur region of Sudan—humanitarian priorities are being subordinated to political agendas.

What is most saddening and what inspires the most fear is the fact that this region is inflicting vulnerability upon itself in the wake of international terrorism. But then again, who needs a terrorist attack when your government is forcibly displacing and starving millions of its own civilians in the course of making political statements?

This situation has been described as "the worst humanitarian crisis in the world today" given the over one million people displaced since the fighting intensified in early 2003. I will cite the insightful words of my colleague from New Jersey, Mr. PAYNE when he addressed the House last Thursday on this issue:

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 likely 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.

The important thing to recognize in the words of this gentleman are that the "international community watched with utter indifference." H. Con. Res. 403 is but a beginning and a first step to the extent to which this nation and the nations of the international community must intervene in order to end the death, displacement, rape, and suffering.

Reuters, in an article dated April 19, 2004 noted that "international engagement with the

crisis has been slow and ineffective” and that “Western governments have appeared reluctant to press the Sudanese government to fulfill its obligations” to international law, the principle of democracy, and to its own people.

Over 700,000 people have had to flee to urban centers in Darfur and there has been further displacement to various parts of Sudan, including Khartoum. Moreover, an additional 135,000 refugees have moved to Chad. Thousands of innocent civilians have died due to the violence, and many more are dying and will die due to conflict-related diseases. This situation is exacerbated when the government openly restricts relief efforts and when it allows supplies to be looted after distribution.

With respect to international law, the parties to this internal armed conflict have violated Common Article 3 of the 1949 Geneva Convention which prohibits attacks on civilians. The government of Sudan is bound by its own laws and international law to prosecute any party to the conflict guilty of committing abuses. Moreover, the government is responsible for proxy forces under its control.

The United States and members of the international community must intervene and at the very least, inflict pressure upon the Sudanese government to mitigate the violations of law. Allegations have been described as: ethnic cleansing, crimes against humanity, and genocide. In the case of armed conflict relative to international law, Sudan has failed in the following areas:

Distinction—the duty to distinguish between military and civilian targets;

Precaution—the duty to minimize incidental injury to civilians and damage to civilian property; and

Proportionality—any injury or damage must be proportionate to the concrete and direct military advantage anticipated.

Furthermore, Common Article 3 of the 1949 Geneva Convention squarely apply to this situation. Under the provisions of Article 3, basic civilian safeguards in civil conflicts must be provided.

Non-derogable provisions of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966 apply, i.e., the right to life.

Mr. Speaker, H. Con. Res. 403 articulates the fact that we recognize the wrongdoings that have been perpetrated by the Sudanese government. Our next step must be to commit to acting to and garnering support to applying pressure on the parties in the conflict to respect humanitarian and human rights law. They must be compelled, under rule of law, to protect civilians and to allow humanitarian aid to flow to those who are in dire need. This chaotic situation and lawlessness must end at once. I support this legislation, urge my colleagues to join me in so supporting, and move this Administration to take the next step in working to stop the violence and installing peace and the rule of law.

Mr. BACHUS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H. Con. Res. 403. As one of the architects of the Sudan Peace Act signed by President Bush in October 2002, I am completely dismayed at the continuation and the possible repeat of another civil war in Sudan. Previously, countless Christians have been killed or starved to death simply because of their ethnicity and religious beliefs. Now in Darfur in the West, an area roughly the size of France, unlike the situation in the South, this is not Chris-

tian versus Muslims. It is genocide of black Africans by the Arabic government and Jangaweed (nomadic Arab tribesmen).

Today, the current humanitarian crisis in Sudan is considered one of the worst in decades. According to the World Food Program (WFP), the Sudanese, “are facing serious food and water shortages due to the combined disruptions of civil war and drought.” In the West, hundreds of thousands of malnourished villagers, having been burned out of their homes in a systematic campaign of terror, are starving to death.

Foreign correspondents from major newspapers have reported at least 700,000 Darfur residents are living in camps or have fled to villages to stay with families or friends. Women, girls, students, and teachers are systematically beaten and gang-raped. One villager, as quoted this week in a London newspaper, gave this simple explanation, “We got harassed on a daily basis by people in uniform.” Furthermore he said, “they (Jangaweed) used to be herders, we know who they are, but the government had guns and uniforms and told them to hurt the blacks.” Despite millions of dollars of humanitarian aid from the United States, the Sudanese, particularly the black Africans in Darfur, continue to suffer.

The conflict between the government of Khartoum/Jangaweed and the black Africans in Darfur must be stopped. While I am pleased with the announcement that the State Department will be sending American aid experts to inspect the humanitarian needs, what we really need to be done is for the Administration to stop this genocide and begin negotiations as soon as possible to end this long-standing humanitarian crisis.

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I commend the House, Chairman HYDE and International Relations Committee for bringing H. Con. Res. 403 to the floor quickly and I urge a unanimous vote for this important resolution.

The conflict in Sudan began early last year when the Government of Sudan began arming the Janjaweed militia to suppress local rebel groups. The Janjaweed, with the support of government troops began their reign of terror on the people of Darfur.

The result—ethnic cleansing and the death of thousands of innocent civilians. One million people are now displaced. Village after village attacked, looted and burned. The survivors bear scars of mutilation and rape. Schools filled with students have been attacked and the girls raped.

Thousands of survivors walk days, weeks and sometimes months in the unrelenting sun to seek safety in Chad. They are pursued by Janjaweed and often bombed as they languish on the border.

Hundreds of thousands of civilians are trapped in camps inside Darfur. Surrounded by militia and unable to leave to seek water or firewood. Families are forced to make life or death decisions on which family member will go to gather food and risk certain death.

People are living on top of each other in crowded camps. Disease and malnutrition are rampant. USAID now estimates that by fall the world will see catastrophic mortality rates from disease and starvation.

The world has finally found its voice as reports are trickling out describing the reality of Darfur. The headlines in major U.S. newspapers have read like a horror film:

“Sudan militiamen on horses uproot a million”;

“Sudan’s hellish humanitarian crisis”;

“Sudan’s Darfur is calm because there are no more villages to burn”.

“Sudan starving Darfur refugees”

I would like to read an excerpt from the May 15 Economist:

Her story is typical. . . . An air raid caught her unawares: as bombs fell, she ran around in confusion. When the bombers had completed their return pass, the horizon filled with dust, the ground shuddered, and a host of mounted militiamen charged through the village, killing all the young men they could find . . . her 18-month baby . . . killed by shrapnel.

Two weeks later her oldest son, 15, was made to kneel in line with other young men before being shot in the back of the head. Her husband disappeared the same day.

But words are not enough. The international community has been reluctant to act.

Secretary General Kofi Annan should go to Darfur and stand with the persecuted.

I introduced this resolution so Members of Congress would have the opportunity to voice their support for the innocent people in Darfur.

This resolution strongly condemns the Government of Sudan and government-supported militia groups for attacks against innocent civilians, in violation of the Geneva Convention.

The Government of Sudan should immediately disarm the militia, and allow full unconditional humanitarian access to Darfur. The civilians who are languishing in camps should be provided immediate protection.

Why is the world slow to respond when atrocities are taking place before our eyes?

The world has said never again over and over again, yet when it is put to the test and charged with protecting humanity it continues to fail.

Why has the international community become content with the slaughter of innocent human beings?

When will the death of innocent human beings be too much for the world to bear?

We need to be bold and willing to condemn and shame countries that commit atrocities against their own citizens.

It is our moral responsibility to protect humanity and not sit idly by in the face of horror. Those of us in public office have the unique responsibility and the power of our voices to confront evil.

The world is a safer place when the world sides with the opposed.

Today, let our voices be raised for the innocent people of Darfur.

Mr. Speaker, I submit for the RECORD the full Economist story. I urge every Member to read the graphic detail of Khartoums destruction of innocent lives.

[From the Economist, May 15, 2004]

FLEEING THE HORSEMEN WHO KILL FOR  
KHARTOUM

Her children’s bodies were rotting in the village wells, where Arab militiamen had thrown them to poison the water supply. But Kaltuma Hasala Adan did not flee her home. Leaving her crops and livestock would condemn the rest of the family to death, she reasoned. So she stayed put for four months, despite her government’s strenuous efforts to terrorize her into flight.

Her story is typical of western Sudan’s black Africans. Her village was first attacked in January. An air raid caught her unawares: as the bombs fell, she ran around

in confusion. When the bombers had completed their return pass, the horizon filled with dust, the ground shuddered, and a host of mounted militiamen charged through the village, killing all the young men they could find. During that first attack, Kaltuma's 18-month baby, Ali, was killed by shrapnel. Two weeks later, her oldest son, Issa, 15, was made to kneel in line with other young men before being shot in the back of the head. Her husband disappeared the same day.

For four wretched months, Kaltuma lived with both ears strained for the faint drone of bombers, poised to dash with her three surviving children to a hiding place in a dry river bed. Then the janjaweed—an Arab militia that kills for the Sudanese government—rode up to finish the job. They razed her village entirely. She fled from the embers of her hut and trekked for four days through the desert. Across the border in Chad, she found sanctuary in the town of Tiné. Thousands of her neighbours were already there when she arrived.

The UN's humanitarian co-ordinator for Sudan, Mukesh Kapila, described what is going on in Darfur, an arid region of western Sudan, as "the worst humanitarian crisis in the world". Human Rights Watch, a lobby group, has accused Sudan's Arab-dominated government of crimes against humanity. The government is seeking to purge Darfur of black Africans, using methods as cruel as they are effective. Perhaps a million people have fled their homes. Officials deny ethnic cleansing, of course, but the refugees say they lie.

As Kaltuma tells her story, a crowd gathers to corroborate it. Osman Nurrudin Sadr says his whole family was killed. Khadija Yacob Abdallah, a pretty 17-year-old, watched her parents die and was then gang-raped. All the refugees offer the same explanation. "They want to kill us because we are black," says one.

It is a little more complicated than that. Sudan, Africa's largest country, is the scene of two separate but related civil wars. One, between the north and south, pits the Arab, Islamist government against rebels who are mostly black African and non-Muslim. This war has been raging intermittently for half a century, but has come tantalizingly close to resolution in the past year: partly because of foreign pressure, especially from America, and partly because both sides, exhausted, wish to stop fighting and share Sudan's newfound oil wealth.

The other war, between the government and two rebel groups in Darfur, pits Muslim against Muslim. The divide in Darfur is ethnic, between Arabs and black Africans. This war flared up only last year. It was seen at first as a mere sideshow, but is now too vast and vile to be ignored.

#### CENTURIES OF SUFFERING

The south has been marginalized for centuries. Arab slavers used it as a hunting-ground for human booty, despite Anglo-Egyptian attempts to crush the trade in the 19th century. When independence came in 1956, southerners demanded autonomy. They were ignored, so they rebelled.

The war paused between 1972 and 1983, but then resumed. The government used scorched-earth tactics against the main rebel group, the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), bombing villages suspected of rebel sympathies, and arming and encouraging militias to kill and pillage in rebel-held areas. Slave raids continued, checked only by the absence of tarmac roads in the south.

Largely because it involved Muslims enslaving Christians, the war gripped the imagination of America's influential Christian lobby. In fact, only a minority of south-

ern Sudanese are Christians; the rest are cheerfully polytheistic or animist. Nonetheless, America took an interest, which increased when the radical Islamist regime in Khartoum hosted Osama bin Laden in the early 1990s. In retaliation for al-Qaeda's attacks on American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, President Bill Clinton bombed a Sudanese factory he said was producing nerve gas, but which may have been making aspirin. The regime was already distancing itself from its international terrorist associates, a process swiftly accelerated by the American invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq.

Sudan's rulers rounded up terrorist suspects, shared intelligence and froze Mr. bin Laden's assets in Sudan, including a cannabis farm worked by child slaves who had apparently been brought from a Ugandan rebel group for one Kalashnikov each.

At the same time, the Sudanese government started to yield to American pressure to seek peace with the south. Negotiations have been tortuous, but Vice-President Ali Osman Taha keeps talking to John Garang, the SPLA leader. If the government shows bad faith, America threatens to choke it with sanctions and to bankroll the SPLA.

Since 2001 the two sides have hammered out a series of agreements that are supposed to culminate in a comprehensive peace. Last September they signed a security accord, mapping out how Khartoum will withdraw most of its troops from the south. This year has seen a written agreement on how to split the revenues from the oil that lies under Sudanese sand, and verbal agreements on power-sharing and the future of three contested areas. Some of these are on the northern side of the line (see map), but their inhabitants consider themselves southern.

For an interim period of six years, Sudan is to remain one country, with Omar al-Bashir, the current president, remaining in office, and with Mr. Garang, the rebel leader, as his deputy. Then there is to be a referendum in which southerners will be offered the choice of staying or seceding.

#### THE WEST BURNS

The trouble with this plan for a new Sudan is that it involves only the two main belligerents. Peaceful opposition groups have been left out. Since neither the government nor the SPLA is remotely democratic, many Sudanese seethe at the prospect of them divvying up the petrodollars. In Darfur, that rage has sparked mayhem.

Darfur has seen sporadic fighting for generations. As the desert has expanded, camel and cattle-herding Arab nomads have bickered with black African farmers over dwindling supplies of water and pasture. Darfur's black tribes complain that, since the 1980s, they have been pushed out of government jobs in favor of Arabs. And the region has been flooded with weapons. Khartoum first armed the janjaweed so they could ride south and pillage SPLA territory. Arms from a long-running conflict between Chad and Libya seeped across the border into Darfur.

Last year, a new rebel group, the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) appeared in Darfur and won a string of victories. Soon after, a second group sprang up, the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM). The government in Kartoum felt vulnerable. It was terrified that rebel successes in Darfur might inspire other marginalised groups in the north and east, especially since the SLA has links with a rebel group in the east.

The government struck back, not only against the rebels, but also against their ethnic kin. It unleashed the janjaweed. To swell the militia's ranks, Arab criminals were released from jail and given horses, \$100 each and carte blanche to loot. (These ex-pris-

oners are labeled ta'ibeen, "those who have repented".)

The janjaweed have clattered into village after African village, torching the straw roofs of conical huts, killing young men who might join the rebels, raping women who might feed them, and stealing everything they can carry off. Sometimes they brand the hands of the women they rape, to make the stigma permanent. They have also torched dozens of mosques and torn up and defecated on copies of the Koran. Whatever inspires them, it is not Islam.

Their victims have no doubt that the janjaweed enjoy the state's blessing. When asked what gives them the right to stop blacks at road blocks, the militiamen reply: "We are the government." When pillaging, they are often supported by the air force and by the regular army. "First the planes come, then the janjaweed and finally government soldiers," says a refugee. "They are brothers united on a mission to kill."

It was a long time before the outside world took notice. At first, both America and the UN hesitated to make a fuss about Darfur for fear of derailing the north-south peace process. But in March, the UN's man on the spot started making comparisons with the Rwandan genocide of 1994. That was an exaggeration, but it prompted Washington to lean on Khartoum to end the ethnic cleansing. A ceasefire followed on April 8th, supposedly to help aid workers do their job, but was quickly broken.

Fighting and pillage continue, making it hard to feed the displaced. The UN does not want to get too close to the border—the janjaweed do not respect international boundaries—so it has moved 35,000 refugees deep into Chad. Tens of thousands remain stranded near the border. Those unfortunate enough to wind up in camps in Darfur have been deliberately starved by the janjaweed, according to the UN.

Brave charities such as Médecins Sans Frontières have ignored the occasional air raid to dole out medical supplies, feed the hungriest and vaccinate against a meningitis outbreak. Most refugees in Chad have depended on food and water from the locals who, though poor, are startlingly generous. Supplies are running out, however, and the UN mission is short of cash.

The rainy season is almost here, when the valleys will fill with water and it will be impossible to get the refugees into the half-empty camps that await them. UN lorries lie stranded because there is no money for fuel and the drivers, unpaid for six weeks, have gone on strike.

Over 10,000 newly arrived refugees around Bahai, north of Tiné, have been dismissed as "combatants"—though most are women, children or old men. For the UN, admitting that they are refugees would mean being obligated to look after them. "I'm trying to think of something the UN has done right here, but I'm struggling," says one aid worker with a sigh.

#### SPEARS AND PLOUGHSHARES

There is more to cheer about in southern Sudan. After years of enduring the same abuses now being lavished on Darfur, the south is relatively calm. In Rumbek, the largest town under SPLA control, where abandoned armoured cars rust outside buildings gutted by shelling, hardly any shrapnel has flown for two years.

Half-forgotten tribal traditions are being rediscovered. On a dusty football pitch known as Freedom Square, thousands of young Dinka men, coated with ash and clad in glamorous calfskin skirts, gather to elect a sub-chief. Not long ago such affairs were subdued, forced indoors by the fear of aerial bombardment. Now they are gleefully raucous.

War has left the south shattered. Most of the young warriors queuing behind their chosen candidates have known nothing else. There is no electricity or running water in the south, an area the size of France and Germany combined, and precious few schools, either. Southern children used to join either the rebels or government-backed militias. They grew up knowing how to march long distances on empty stomachs, but not how to read.

Peace, if it lasts, will offer southerners a chance to grow less poor. In one village, your correspondent saw a group of SPLA soldiers melting bullets to fashion spearheads for hunting gazelles. The same men were baffled, however, by a consignment of ploughshares, kindly donated by a western aid agency. Unsure what these strange objects were for, they beat them down to make stools.

Elsewhere, workers can be seen hacking through thorny scrub. They are clearing a path for a road, heading for a large rock in the wilderness known as Ramciel, or "the place where the rhinos meet". More accurately, it should be "where rhinos used to meet", as they were poached out of existence some time ago. It is here that the SPLA is thinking of building the south's principal city. Charles Deng, the assistant foreman, has big dreams for the place. "First we will finish the road," he says. "Then we will build skyscrapers and ponds, better than London or maybe even as good as Nairobi."

Not everyone welcomes progress. An SPLA commander in nearby Yirol murmured into his beer that he hoped the capital would be built elsewhere. "If they build it here then they will also build schools and our girls will be sent to those schools," he said. "You know what the means? Their bride price will fall. My daughters will be worthless to me."

#### THE END OF THE WAR, OR OF SUDAN?

A formal deal ending the war is expected in the next few weeks, possibly sooner. Since President George Bush is widely seen as the architect of peace, he is perhaps more popular in southern Sudan than anywhere else on earth. At the Rumbek sub-chief's election one young warrior called Thuapon leaps frenetically in the air, proudly waving a white Barbie-doll in a pink dress. "This is a new wife for President Bush. May God grant him many fertile women with firm bodies and an election victory without problems in Florida."

The main outstanding issue concerns the religious status of Khartoum. The government wants it to remain under sharia (Islamic law); the SPLA does not. Some fudge is surely possible. Observers are confident that a deal will be signed. "If Khartoum were to renege at this point, it would signal that this whole process was a charade from the beginning," says John Prendergast of the International Crisis Group, a campaigning think-tank.

The difficulty will lie in how the deal is implemented. Unsurprisingly, southerners do not trust the government. "They just want time to re-arm," says James Thuadong, an aspiring teacher in Rumbek. "We know this is just a peace of one or two years. They will never let us become independent." Mr. Thuadong could well be right. There is no provision yet for what will happen to revenues from Sudan's oilfields, which lie mostly in the south, should voters choose secession.

The two sides are unwilling to discuss this issue, but Khartoum would presumably never let the south go if that meant losing the petrodollars, too. "When preparations begin for the independence referendum, we are going to see major meddling by elements in Khartoum, aimed at creating chaos in the south and delaying [the] plebiscite," predicts Mr. Prendergast.

Another worry is that southerners are squabblesome. During the war, they spent as much time fighting each other as the government. Mr. Garang may still be the south's key leader, but his support for a united Sudan will irk secessionists, who are probably a majority in the south. Other ethnic groups resent the politically dominant Dinka people, and even the Dinka are divided.

Once a peace deal is signed, many of the 4m southerners living in squatter camps around the main cities of the north will probably decide to pick their way through minefields and make the long journey home. Tension over scarce natural resources seems likely. As if to confound the optimists, there has been a serious outbreak of fighting in the ancient Shilluk kingdom since March. At least 70,000 people have been driven from their homes after battles between militias loyal to Khartoum and the SPLA. As usual in Sudan, most of the casualties were civilians.

#### MANY VOICES, MANY FEARS

In Khartoum, the mood is apprehensive. The political elite is genuinely alarmed at what capitulation to southern demands might encourage. Says Ghazi Attabani, a former presidential adviser: "If the south were to secede, it would be catastrophic both for Sudan and for Africa. Secession would not be peaceful. Internal differences in the south would cause rifts which would make Rwanda seem like a picnic."

Because of stringent censorship and the physical difficulty of visiting Sudan's more troubled areas, ordinary northerners have only a rough idea of what is going on in their own country. Some are optimistic. "Of course the people can live together," says Ahmed Omar Othman, a shopkeeper. "Just look around Khartoum, we do already. Here, you will find a church next to a mosque—surely that [proves it]? The real problem is whether the politicians can work together."

The record of Sudanese politicians in this are is not good. Their preferred technique for holding this huge and multifarious country together—barbaric force—has been shown not to work. In Darfur, as Mr. Attabani admits, "There is no military solution." Arming gangsters such as the Janjaweed is easy; reining them in again may prove much harder. Says Sharif Harir, chief negotiator for the SLA rebels: "Even if Khartoum had the will to stop them, it probably doesn't have the power."

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H. Con. Res. 403.

Sudan, geographically the largest country in Africa, has been ravaged by civil war for four decades. An estimated two million people have died over the past two decades due to war-related causes and famine, and millions have been displaced from their homes. According to the United Nations, an estimated three million people are in need of emergency food aid. Recently, violence has escalated in the Darfur region of the Western Sudan, where government-sponsored militias have been ruthlessly targeting various ethnic groups. Approximately one million civilians have been forced to flee their homes and are now either internally displaced or seeking refuge in neighboring Chad.

Sudanese government forces have overseen and directly participated in massacres, summary executions of civilians, burning of towns and villages, and the forcible depopulation of wide swathes of land long inhabited by the Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa ethnic groups.

For months, the Sudanese government has restricted international media access to Darfur

and has limited reporting about the conflict in the national press. Recently, the government has allowed minimal access to the region for international humanitarian agencies but has still failed to provide the necessary protection and assistance to prevent a full-blown humanitarian crisis.

There can be no doubt about the Sudanese government's culpability in crimes against humanity in Darfur. With this resolution, Congress demands that the Sudanese government take immediate steps to reverse ethnic cleansing in Darfur before the situation there worsens and engulfs the entire region in conflict.

The gentleman from Virginia, Mr. WOLF, should be commended for keeping the events in Sudan on Congress' agenda and I urge Members to support his resolution.

Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BOOZMAN). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. GREEN) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution, H. Con. Res. 403, as amended.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds of those present have voted in the affirmative.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

#### PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT REFORM TO FILE SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT ON H.R. 2432, PAPERWORK AND REGULATORY IMPROVEMENT ACT

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Government Reform be permitted to file a supplemental report to accompany H.R. 2432, the Paperwork and Regulatory Improvement Act.

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

There was no objection.

#### OSCAR SCOTT WOODY POST OFFICE BUILDING

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 3740) to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 223 South Main Street in Roxboro, North Carolina, as the "Oscar Scott Woody Post Office Building".

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 3740

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

#### SECTION 1. OSCAR SCOTT WOODY POST OFFICE BUILDING.

(a) DESIGNATION.—The facility of the United States Postal Service located at 223