

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

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

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

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

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. McDERMOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take my special order at this time.

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

There was no objection.

#### A LEADER'S RESPONSIBILITY

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

Mr. McDERMOTT. Mr. Speaker, in London yesterday Prime Minister Tony Blair did something that leaders do. Speaking to the House of Commons, Mr. Blair said, "I accept full responsibility for the way the issue was presented and, therefore, for any errors made."

Leaders lead, and leaders know the buck stops with them. Leaders lead, and leaders accept responsibility when things go wrong.

An independent report in England blamed its intelligence community for massive intelligence failures before the Iraq war. What did Tony Blair do? The Prime Minister got up in front of his nation and the world and accepted personal responsibility.

That did not happen when a similar report was released to the United States. The President did not accept responsibility. The President assigned blame.

In 1961, President John F. Kennedy accepted full responsibility for the Bay of Pigs fiasco. It did not matter that the planning for the Bay of Pigs had started in the Eisenhower administration. It did not matter that the intelligence failures directly led to the foreign policy disaster that was the Bay of Pigs. President Kennedy stood before the Nation and the world and accepted personal responsibility.

At one news conference not long afterward, President Kennedy used his legendary wit and intelligence to sum it up. "There is an old saying," Kennedy said, "that victory has a hundred fathers and defeat is an orphan."

The buck stops at the President's desk, except in this administration.

Since the release of the U.S. report on pre-Iraqi intelligence failures, this President has done everything possible to pass the buck.

During the administration of President Ronald Reagan, the Iran-Contra scandal was a crisis that shook the Nation to its core and the White House to its foundation. President Reagan was given ample opportunity to assign the blame to Oliver North. What did Ronald Reagan do? When asked directly about Mr. North, Ronald Reagan said, "I do not feel betrayed. He has a fine record."

Leaders lead. Whatever your politics, you have to acknowledge that President Reagan was a leader. When our country faces a crisis, people look to the President for leadership.

Not long ago, America faced a moral crisis. America faced an ethical crisis. America faced a military and political crisis. When pictures of prison abuse stunned the world, the world looked to America, to our President, for a response. The President did not stand up and accept responsibility.

Outside the White House and then in an interview broadcast throughout the Middle East, the President did not or could not or would not tell the world he accepts responsibilities for the failures of the Americans under his command. He could not utter the words that the world needed to hear and that Americans needed to say.

Over the last half century, Presidents from both political parties have braved grave crises. They did what leaders do. They did not pass the buck. They stood and accepted responsibility, until now.

In little over 110 days, the American people will elect a new President, and leadership is fundamental to that choice.

The British historian Arnold Toynbee once said, "As human beings, we are endowed with freedom of choice, and we cannot shuffle off our responsibility upon the shoulders of God or nature. We must shoulder it ourselves. It is up to us."

Martin Luther King Junior once said, "The ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of comfort and convenience but where he stands at times of challenge and controversy."

In just over 110 days, this Nation will make the most important political decision of the next 4 years. Democrats and Republicans will argue issues, and that is expected, but fundamental to the selection of the person who leads the free world for the next 4 years is the quality of leadership. Leadership is more than a commercial or a campaign brochure. Leadership is one of the most important qualities the President must have. There is a record of what America expects and what Americans demand of their President. Leadership is at the top of the list.

The President had to be taken out twice from the White House to finally say that he was sorry for what had happened to the Arab prisoners that were held in Iraq. You have to ask yourself,

does this President believe that the requirement of his job is to accept the responsibility, Mr. Speaker? Because he has not shown it yet. He never has said, "I accept responsibility."

One hundred and ten more days, Mr. Speaker.

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

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

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

(Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take my special order at this time.

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

There was no objection.

#### GENOCIDE IN SUDAN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, we have just had a very vigorous debate on the foreign policy of America. There are many issues that drew the attention of Members. Many of those issues centered around the issues of human rights and even genocide. But as we end this week I think it is important to remind Americans again that genocide does exist, and it is actively being implemented in the nation of Sudan in Africa.

Many of us have been meeting over a series of days and weeks to find an immediate resolution to this horrible and horrific crisis. I am gratified that a resolution sponsored by the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) and the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF) have now been offered in the Senate by Senators BROWNBACK and CORZINE.

□ 2300

The other body is speaking, and we are likewise seeking an immediate response in the House. But even these actions are not enough, and I would hope next week that my colleagues would have the opportunity to vote on a resolution that declares that the government of Sudan is implementing and perpetrating genocide.

What is the crux of the crisis, and why do I come to the floor of the House to continuously remind Members along with others who have been in the leadership role on this issue that we cannot

forget? Why? Because just a few short years ago we are reminded of the million-plus that died in Rwanda while the world simply watched. So many of us have said, "Not on my clock."

With every fabric of our bodies, we are refusing to allow the murderous act of the Janjaweed in Sudan and the Khartoum government to continue without impunity. People are dying, and we must cease and have them cease and desist.

Allow me to share some of the words of John Prendergast, who was formerly with African affairs in the Clinton administration and now with the International Crisis Group. He had a unique experience. Making note of the fact that many Members of Congress have gone to Sudan, others will be going. Secretary of State Powell has gone. Secretary General Kofi Annan has gone, but they along with others have been in areas controlled by the government. Mr. Prendergast was able to cross over to areas not controlled by the government, and this is what he saw.

He said, "Indeed, I saw numbing evidence of such a campaign in this Muslim region of Sudan which is populated by Arabs and non-Arabs. Burned villages confirmed harrowing stories we heard from Darfurians who were lucky enough to make it to the refugee camps in Chad. About 1.5 million people have been left homeless and as many as 300,000 may be dead by year's end. In village after village that I visited, the painstakingly accumulated wealth of the non-Arab population of Darfur, their livestock, their homes, their grain stock, have been destroyed in a matter of minutes. I was not prepared for the far more sinister scene that I encountered in a ravine deep in the Darfur desert. Bodies of young men were lined up in ditches, eerily preserved by the 130 degree desert heat. The story the rebels told us seemed plausible. The dead were civilians who had been marched up a hill and executed by the Arab-led government before its troops abandoned the area the previous month. The rebels assert that there were many, many other such scenes."

The government's deadly portfolio in Darfur already includes the wanton burning and bombing of villages, the raping of women and girls, and denial of humanitarian aid. We know this is government and this is Arab Muslims against non-Arab Muslims, black Africans.

We realize that it is, plain and simple, genocide. And so we ask that there be more than tough talk. There has to be tough action. The United Nations Security Council must pass a resolution that has teeth. It must demand the immediate disarming of those Muslims or those Arab Muslims and others who are fostering this deadly attack on the black Muslims in Sudan.

The settlement of the previous actions between the West should not counter what is going on here in

Darfur. It is important to note that, though we are visiting camps and refugees, we must understand that there are areas that have not yet been viewed and violence continues. We must ensure that this resolution calls for peacekeeping troops, and we must ensure that the humanitarian aid begins to flow. We must protect the humanitarian workers. We must stop the raping and killing of women, young men and boys.

We must have these individuals returned to their villages. They are frightened and refusing to return because they believe they will not be provided for. Hundreds of thousands of survivors have fallen through the cracks. Some of them say they are afraid to travel to government-controlled camps and unable to make it to the border. They are running out of food.

We can imagine 300,000 today; 400,000 tomorrow; 500,000 next month; and a million in a couple of months.

Mr. Speaker, this is now a crisis beyond our appreciation, apprehension, and maybe even recognition. But we do have a backdrop to compare this to. We have the deadly silence of Rwanda. The speechlessness, the wonderment of what to do.

We can do something now. We look forward, hopefully, with great hope, meeting with the administration to craft out the advocacy before the United Nations Security Council and all nations that sit on the Security Council, that have the privilege of sitting. None of them will be given a pass on this vote. They must join with us who believe in a civilized world to stamp out the genocide occurring in Sudan. We must do it now. The resolution must be passed, and we must stand up and send in the kind of help to provide the safety necessary to protect the people in Sudan.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KING of Iowa). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. JONES) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. JONES of North Carolina addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

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

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

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

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gen-

tleman from Oregon (Mr. BLUMENAUER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

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

### 30-SOMETHING DEMOCRATS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 2003, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. RYAN) is recognized for half the time until midnight as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. RYAN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I will not quite take our whole half hour. It has been a very long week; and we know everyone wants to get home here, especially the staff, so we will be brief.

There are a couple of issues that I want to touch upon this evening as we have wrapped up legislative business for the week. This is our normal 30-Something hour where the gentleman from Florida and I and Members of the 30-Something Caucus on the Democratic side will talk about issues. Unfortunately, I am flying solo tonight, and I am missing my wing man from Florida who is not here with me. But I am going to persevere.

There are a couple of issues that I would just like to touch upon here in the next couple of minutes. One of the issues that we have been talking about over the past few weeks and almost a few months now is the issue of voter suppression for college students. This is a major issue throughout the country, regardless of what State you live in, regarding voter suppression for these college students. And in a lot of counties, the boards of elections and the people who work at the boards of elections will tell college students that they cannot vote where they live if they are away at school. They are saying that is not a permanent residence.

The Supreme Court established in 1979 under Federal law that students who reside in dorms are allowed to vote where they live. And there have been thousands of students throughout the country who have been denied their franchise because the local boards of election said that they cannot vote there by saying that they are not permanent residents. But both Federal and State courts have clearly established that students have the right to vote where they go to school, even if they live in a dorm.

So a lot of workers would say, well, you live in a dorm. Well, you cannot vote here; or you live out of State, you cannot vote here and you are not allowed. A lot of this has to do with the local politics. But the bottom line is that if you are away at school, whether it is in your State or outside of your State, you can register to vote where you go to school. And that is very important.

The gentleman from Florida (Mr. MEEK) and I are working on this with Rock the Vote, with the different Secretary of States organizations, and this