

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. TERRY). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan? There was no objection.

CALLING FOR THE SUSPENSION OF SUDAN'S MEMBERSHIP ON THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and concur in the Senate concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 137) calling for the suspension of Sudan's membership on the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

The Clerk read as follows:

S. CON. RES. 137

Whereas in Darfur, Sudan, more than 30,000 innocent civilians have been murdered, more than 400 villages have been destroyed, more than 130,000 men, women, and children have been forced from their villages into neighboring countries, and more than 1,000,000 people have been internally displaced;

Whereas the United States Government has been, and remains as of September 2004, the largest contributor of assistance to the people of Darfur, having provided over \$200,000,000 in assistance, which constitutes more than 70 percent of the total assistance provided to that region;

Whereas the United States has pledged \$299,000,000 in humanitarian aid to Darfur through fiscal year 2005, as well as \$11,800,000 in support of the African Union mission in that region, and is likely to provide support in excess of those pledges;

Whereas United States citizens and private organizations, as well as the United States Government, have admirably worked, at great risk and through great effort, to ease suffering in Darfur, Sudan, and in eastern Chad;

Whereas based on credible reports, Congress determined in late July 2004 that acts of genocide were occurring in Darfur, Sudan, and that the Government of Sudan bears direct responsibility for many of those acts of genocide;

Whereas expressing its grave concern at the ongoing humanitarian crisis and widespread human rights violations in Darfur, including continued attacks on civilians that place thousands of lives at risk, the United Nations Security Council on July 30, 2004, unanimously adopted Security Council Resolution 1556, which called upon the Government of Sudan to fulfill immediately its obligations to facilitate humanitarian relief efforts, to take steps to disarm immediately the Janjaweed militias responsible for attacks on civilians and bring the perpetrators of such attacks to justice, and to cooperate with independent United Nations-sponsored investigations of human rights violations;

Whereas the Government of Sudan has failed to take credible steps to comply with the demands of the international community as expressed through the United Nations Security Council;

Whereas according to press reports, reports from nongovernmental organizations, firsthand accounts from refugees, and other sources, the Janjaweed attacks on the civilians of Darfur continue unabated as of September 2004;

Whereas there are credible reports from some of these same sources that the Government of Sudan is providing assistance to the Janjaweed militias and, in some cases, that Government of Sudan forces have participated directly in attacks on civilians;

Whereas the United States Government, after conducting more than 1,000 interviews

with survivors and refugees, has determined that genocide has occurred in Darfur, that it may still be occurring, and that both the Janjaweed and the Government of Sudan bear responsibility for these acts;

Whereas the Secretary of State has determined that the attacks by the Government of Sudan and the Janjaweed on the non-Arab people of Darfur and their villages are based on race, not religion;

Whereas the United States has recently introduced a new resolution in the United Nations Security Council that calls for the Government of Sudan to cooperate fully with an expanded African Union force and for a cessation of Sudanese military flights over Darfur;

Whereas the introduced resolution also provides for international overflights of the Darfur region to monitor the situation on the ground and requires the United Nations Security Council to review the record of compliance of the Government of Sudan to determine whether the United Nations should impose sanctions on Sudan, including sanctions affecting the petroleum sector in that country;

Whereas the resolution also urges the Government of Sudan and the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement to conclude negotiations on a comprehensive peace accord and, most important, calls for a United Nations investigation into all violations of international humanitarian law and human rights law that have occurred in Darfur in order to ensure accountability;

Whereas the United Nations Security Council, in United Nations Security Council Resolution 1556, emphasized that the Government of Sudan bears primary responsibility for respecting human rights and protecting the people of Sudan;

Whereas United Nations Security Council Resolution 1556 calls upon the Government of Sudan to cooperate with the United Nations;

Whereas the United Nations Human Rights Commission, established in 1946 and given the responsibility of drafting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is responsible for promoting respect for and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all;

Whereas the Universal Declaration of Human Rights declares that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights, that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in the Declaration regardless of race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, or national or social origin, property, birth, or other status, that everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person, that no one shall be held in slavery or servitude, and that no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment;

Whereas the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, done at Paris on December 9, 1948 (hereafter in this resolution referred to as the "Genocide Convention"), delineates the criteria that constitute genocide and requires parties to prevent and punish genocide;

Whereas Sudan is a state party to the Genocide Convention and remains a member of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights;

Whereas the Secretary of State determined that, according to United States law, the Government of Sudan is a state sponsor of terrorism and has been since 1993 and therefore remains ineligible for United States foreign assistance;

Whereas due to the human rights situation in Darfur, it would be consistent with United States obligations under the Genocide Convention for the Secretary of State and the

United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations to seek the immediate suspension of Sudan from the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and, in the event a formal investigation results in a determination by the United Nations that genocide has occurred in Darfur, the ultimate removal of Sudan from such Commission; and

Whereas it is a mockery of human rights as a universal principle, a challenge to the United Nations as an institution, and an affront to all responsible countries that embrace and promote human rights that a government under investigation by the United Nations for committing genocide against, and violating the human rights of, its own citizens sits in judgment of others as a member in good standing of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights: Now, therefore, be it

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

(1) recognizes and approves of the findings of the Secretary of State that genocide has occurred and may still be occurring in Darfur, Sudan, and that the Government of Sudan bears responsibility for such acts;

(2) supports the Secretary of State's call for a full and unfettered investigation by the United Nations into all violations of international humanitarian law and human rights law that have occurred in Darfur, with a view to ensuring accountability;

(3) supports the resolution introduced by the United States Government in the United Nations Security Council on September 9, 2004, with regard to the situation in Darfur;

(4) calls upon the Secretary of State and the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations to take immediate steps to pursue the establishment of a formal United Nations investigation, under Article VIII of the Genocide Convention, to determine whether the actions of the Government of Sudan in Darfur constitute acts of genocide;

(5) calls upon the Secretary of State and the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations to take immediate steps to pursue the immediate suspension of Sudan from the United Nations Commission on Human Rights;

(6) calls upon the Secretary of State and the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations to take further steps to ensure that the suspension of Sudan from the United Nations Commission on Human Rights remains in effect unless and until the Government of Sudan meets all of its obligations, as determined by the United Nations Security Council, under United Nations Security Council Resolution 1556 of July 30, 2004, and any subsequent United Nations Security Council resolutions regarding this matter;

(7) calls upon the Secretary of State and the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations to take steps to ensure that, in the event that the formal investigation of acts of genocide in Sudan results in a determination by the United Nations that genocide has occurred or is occurring in Darfur, the United States Government takes appropriate actions to ensure that Sudan is removed from the United Nations Human Rights Commission;

(8) calls upon the member states of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to convene an immediate special session to consider the urgent and acute human rights situation in Sudan for the purpose of considering whether Sudan should be suspended from membership in such Commission; and

(9) expects the Secretary of State to report to Congress on progress made toward taking the actions and accomplishing the objectives

outlined in this resolution not later than 60 days after the date on which Congress agrees to the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH).

(Mr. SMITH of New Jersey asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

In April of 2004, Mr. Speaker, at the same time as world leaders were gathered in Kigali, Rwanda, to remember the Rwandan genocide of 10 years earlier, a humanitarian cease-fire was signed between the government of Sudan, the Sudan Liberation Movement/Army, and the Sudan Justice and Equality Movement to end the atrocities and reverse the humanitarian crisis in Darfur. The agreement was facilitated by the U.S., European Union, the African Union and the United Nations. All parties agreed to take immediate steps to stop the violence and atrocities being perpetrated by the Janjaweed militias.

Sadly, the agreement was not worth the paper it was written on, and the violence continued. The U.N. Humanitarian Coordinator for Sudan later said, "The only difference between Rwanda and Darfur now is the numbers involved." President Bush confirmed this conclusion on September 9 by declaring "The United States is appalled by the violence in Darfur, Sudan. The world cannot ignore the suffering of more than 1 million people."

Mr. Speaker, despite the best efforts of the U.S. Government, including the extraordinary efforts of Ambassador Williamson at the U.N. Conference in Geneva, and I was there and I saw it up close and personal, he did an extraordinary job; Sudan was given nothing more than a half-hearted slap on the wrist during the sixtieth session of the U.S. Commission on Human Rights which concluded its work in May. Like I said, I was there in Geneva, and I was appalled when Sudan was reelected to serve on the commission for another 2 years. The hypocrisy 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 should not be lost on anyone. It is utterly outrageous.

Sudan now, as it has in the past, uses its clout on the Human Rights Panel to thwart scrutiny of its policies and to water down resolutions of condemnation. Sudan uses its seat on the committee to network and to collude with other rogue nations to run interference for the dictatorships. And again, I saw that firsthand as they were walking the halls in Geneva and working the room to try to water down resolutions.

Finally, let me just say, Mr. Speaker, the atrocities committed in Darfur

have all been well documented. An estimated 50,000 people have been killed and another 300,000 face imminent death in the coming months. Over a million have been displaced, and some 200,000 others have been forced to flee to neighboring Chad. This atrocity must come to an end. This resolution again puts us on record in trying to mitigate and, hopefully, end this crisis.

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Despite the best efforts by the United States Government, including the extraordinary efforts of Ambassador Williamson, Sudan was given nothing more than a half-hearted slap on the wrist during the 60th Session of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, which concluded its work in May. I was there in Geneva and was appalled when Sudan was reelected to serve on the Commission for another two years. The hypocrisy 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 should not be lost on anyone. It is utterly outrageous.

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Mr. Speaker, this is the third time in the past 4 months that this House has considered resolutions which have shed light on the crisis in the Darfur region. The first resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 403, condemned the Government of Sudan for its attacks against civilians in Darfur. The second, House Concurrent Resolution 467, declared that the atrocities taking place in Darfur constitute genocide. This declaration of genocide was affirmed by President Bush and Secretary of State Powell. Senate Concurrent Resolution 137, which lies before you now, represents a logical next step.

Senate Concurrent Resolution 137 endorses the Secretary of State's call for an investigation into violations of international humanitarian law and human rights law that have occurred in Darfur, and calls for Sudan's suspension from the Commission on Human Rights until that investigation has been completed. Should the investigation lead to a determination by the United Nations that genocide has

occurred or is occurring in Darfur, the resolution calls for the removal of Sudan from the Human Rights Commission. Finally, the resolution calls upon the Member States of the Human Rights commission to convene an immediate special session to consider suspension of Sudan's membership.

The atrocities committed in Darfur have been well documented. An estimated 50,000 people have been killed, another 300,000 face certain death in the coming months, over a million have been internally displaced and some 200,000 others have been forced to flee to neighboring Chad. Attacks show a systematic pattern and include murder, rape, gender-based violence, and other scorched earth tactics. Despite the existence of a cease-fire, African Union monitors have confirmed government support for and participation in attacks against civilians in Darfur as recently as August 26, 2004. Human Rights Watch reports that the Sudanese Government has allowed the Janjaweed to maintain military camps in all Darfur states—several of which they share with the Sudanese Army—and that many Janjaweed have been incorporated into the army or police.

On July 22, 2004 the House voted unanimously to declare that the atrocities in Sudan constituted genocide. On September 9, 2004, the State Department followed suit, releasing a report which outlines these atrocities and concludes that the Sudanese Government has "promoted systematic killings based on race and ethnic origin," and that these acts constitute genocide.

It is unconscionable that a government which has perpetrated genocide would be welcome to sit on the U.N. Commission on Human Rights—the very body charged with the protection of human rights around the globe. Sudan should be in the dock—being held accountable for crimes against humanity. Sudan's flagrant disregard for the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights makes a mockery of the Human Rights Commission's work, and tangibly undermines that work. Its continued presence on that Commission degrades the United Nations system as a whole.

The preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights places great importance on each member country having a common understanding of human rights and freedoms. One must wonder if the Government of Sudan, which has demonstrated such a flagrant disregard for these principles, has ever read that document. If they have, surely they have not taken it to heart.

Mr. Speaker, I welcome the recent adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1565, which establishes the International Commission of Inquiry called for by both this body and by President Bush. But in light of the evidence already before us, I believe it would be extraordinarily difficult to make an argument against suspending Sudan's membership from the U.N. Commission on Human Rights. This resolution is timely, it is logical, and I urge your support.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York (Mr. MCHUGH) control the remaining time on our side.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

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

Mr. Speaker, I would first like to commend our colleagues in the Senate for passing this critically important resolution. The passage was in the spirit of a bipartisan, bicameral coalition that has worked together over the last few years and few months, in particular, on the problem in Darfur, to bring peace and justice there. I commend the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) on his statement and all of those who have worked so diligently, including the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO), the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF), the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CUMMINGS) of the Black Caucus, who have all come together to support the terrible actions of the government of Sudan.

Mr. Speaker, this past May, the United Nations Economic and Social Council voted on candidate states for 14 open seats on the Human Rights Commission, the monitoring watchdog of the United Nations. To the dismay of the international community, Sudan was nominated from the Africa group.

Just one month later, the commission censured Sudan over its severe human rights violations in the country's western Darfur region. Sudan was charged with systematically destroying whole villages, executing civilians, raping women and displacing hundreds of thousands of people. I went to that region, to Chad and went 30 miles from the border of Sudan and talked to the refugees there and heard firsthand the horrible stories that they told us about rapes and beatings of children, boys being forced into huts and the huts being burned, just horrible, horrible stories.

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. In fact, I would argue that al Qaeda was conceived and created in Sudan in the early 1990s. Other terrorist acts also link current officials directly to a number of the terrorist acts, and they still sit in the government of Sudan.

Mr. Speaker, in the north-south conflict, more than 2 million people perished, and an estimated 5 million people have been displaced over the last decade. It is the same government that terrorized, enslaved and killed innocent civilians in southern Sudan and the Nuba that is now yet again engaged in the terror campaign that we see in Darfur in western Sudan. We cannot stand idly by, silent and allow Sudan a seat on that body while it is responsible for the ongoing genocide against the people of Darfur.

Before the House and Senate adjourned for summer recess, both cham-

bers took a historic step in passing a resolution declaring that genocide is occurring in Darfur. The Congress has never declared genocide while it was occurring. So this was a giant step forward.

Finally, the administration came to the same conclusion following its own independent investigation, that the Sudanese government was sponsoring genocide by the Janjaweed militia against the ethnic Africans in Darfur.

This past Saturday, the U.N. Security Council approved a U.S.-sponsored resolution asking U.N. Secretary Kofi Annan to set up an investigative commission. This Commission would determine whether the violence in Darfur amounts to genocide. The resolution also threatens oil and other targeted sanctions against Sudan if atrocities continue in Darfur.

We were disappointed by the weak nature of this resolution and for its limited effects. The reaction from Khartoum that "it could have been a lot worse" shows us how far we are from a strong resolution on Darfur. While it passed by 11 votes, I must express extreme disappointment with China, Algeria, Russia and Pakistan, the four nations that abstained from supporting this resolution. As a matter of fact, China had declared that it may veto it, and therefore, the resolution was really diluted, and they still abstained.

We, as the United States, need to rethink our relationships with these nations. One suggestion could be that we revoke Normal Trade Relations status with the People's Republic of China. How would they like it if we said, no longer do you have normal trade relations or, as we used to call it, preferential treatment. I think it would perhaps make them sit up and listen.

Pakistan, called a friend by the administration for its partnership in the war on terrorism, is promoting the terrorist government of Sudan by abstaining on the vote. In a statement today, Khartoum called these nations its "true friends."

While the government of Sudan grudgingly accepted the resolution, as we speak its surrogate militias continue their gruesome assault on innocent men, women, and children in Darfur. Further, in response for calls to international civilian protection forces, Khartoum's leaders threatened to open the "five gates of hell" against such protection.

In a cynical attempt to pretend it has taken action to protect its civilians, Khartoum has recycled Janjaweed militia killers to the Sudan police force and is now using them to guard the camps for the displaced.

Mr. Speaker, how can we expect killers to protect those who they seek to kill? It is an unconceivable notion. How can we stand by and allow this murderous regime to sit on the U.N. Human Rights Commission?

Mr. Speaker, with more than as many as 50,000 civilians slaughtered

and over 1 million driven off their lands into unprotected camps, we cannot allow Khartoum to degrade the purposes of the Human Rights Commission by its presence. It is incumbent that the United States Government continue to lead the world on this matter of genocide and do everything possible to have Sudan suspended from the Commission.

The African Union should be recognized for what they are doing in sending 300 monitors to Darfur, but this is definitely not enough. The AU has been sponsoring negotiations between the parties in Abuja, Nigeria, since August 23. The combination of international pressure and facilitation by the AU hopefully will help move Darfur out of this crisis and on to the road of peace.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Secretary of State Colin Powell for finally calling the Darfur genocide by its rightful name. I also want to say that we must, as Secretary Powell has stated, support the AU. It is our responsibility as members of the international community and the United States in particular, as the world's wealthiest Nation, to work along with the African Union and not leave the formidable Darfur crisis to fall on their shoulders alone. They need our support.

So, therefore, I would like to also urge all of our colleagues in the House to support H.R. 5061, introduced by the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO) and myself to provide assistance for the current crisis in the Darfur region of Sudan and to facilitate a comprehensive peace plan in Sudan. I urge my colleagues to support S. Con. Res. 137.

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

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. MCHUGH. 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 the Senate concurrent resolution now under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. MCHUGH. Mr. Speaker, it is my honor now to yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF), a gentleman who is certainly no stranger to humanitarian causes and who has traveled the world over in support of the oppressed wherever they may be found and no stranger to this region and the good people of this Congress.

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

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time, and I thank the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) for his faithfulness and his leadership on this issue. I share his statement, and I am a supporter of his bill and the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO), and I urge all

Members on both sides to cosponsor his bill.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of S. Con. Res. 137 calling for the suspension of Sudan's membership on the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. I want to commend Majority Leader FRIST and the gentleman from Illinois (Speaker HASTERT) for moving this important resolution very quickly through the Congress, and also the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS).

On September 9, Secretary of State Colin Powell declared that genocide is occurring in Darfur, and we all owe Secretary Powell a debt of gratitude, because that took a tremendous amount of courage, and he did it.

Sudan is accused of the most heinous crime which can be inflicted on an entire group of people. The gravity of what is occurring must not be lost on anyone, not the United States, not the international community and certainly not the United Nations.

On July 30, the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted Security Council Resolution 1556, calling on the government of Sudan to fulfill immediately its obligation to facilitate humanitarian relief efforts and disarm the Janjaweed militia, bring those responsible for atrocities in Darfur to justice and to cooperate with U.N.-sponsored human rights monitors.

To date, the government of Sudan has failed, has failed to comply with that U.N. resolution.

The Janjaweed is still attacking innocent civilians with support from the government of Sudan, and as recently as late August, credible reports point to direct attacks on villages by the government of Sudan. Just last week, the U.N. Security Council passed a new resolution, as the gentleman from New Jersey said, stating that the government has failed to meet the requirements under the previous resolution and calling on Sudan to cease attacks and cooperate fully with the expanded African Union force or face economic sanctions.

It may come as a surprise to some that Sudan, the country that is committing genocide, the country that is allowing people to go on to kill men, rape women, abduct children and burn villages, sits on the United Nations Human Rights Commission, the lone body responsible for promoting respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

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I call on the United Nations to seek the immediate suspension of Sudan from the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. And if the United Nations determines that genocide has occurred in Darfur, to see that Sudan is permanently banned from the commission. This is a test for the United Nations. More importantly in some respects, this is a test for Kofi Annan. Kofi Annan is a good man, decent, hon-

est. But Kofi Annan was the head of the U.N. Peacekeeping Forces in 1994 when the genocide swept through Rwanda and 800,000 Tutsis died. The fact that he was in at that time when genocide took place in Rwanda and is now the head of the whole organization when genocide is taking place in Darfur gives him a tremendous burden and responsibility and that responsibility is to immediately seek the suspension of Sudan from the Commission of Human Rights. It is a slap in the face to the pursuit of universal human rights and a direct affront to the United Nations and all countries which respect the God-given rights of their citizens to have Sudan sit in judgment of others as a member of that commission.

I urge every Member to vote in favor of this resolution. I thank the chairman. I want to particularly thank the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE). He has been there from the very, very beginning as many others have, the Black Caucus has, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDI), Senator BROWNBACK, Senator FRIST and many others. I think eventually we will be successful, but I want to thank the gentleman.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, let me thank the gentleman who has really done an outstanding job in this area for a decade, and I certainly would like to associate myself with his remarks.

Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER).

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), for yielding me time.

I want to join the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF) and the gentleman from New York (Mr. MCHUGH) and others in congratulating the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) for his leadership, his tenacious, unwavering leadership on this issue, calling the Congress's attention, calling America's attention, indeed, focusing the international community's attention on the genocide that is occurring before our eyes.

Mr. Speaker, the international community can no longer avert its eyes from the humanitarian and human rights catastrophe that is occurring in the Darfur region of Sudan today. Secretary of State Powell has labeled the killings in Darfur as genocide, pointing out that the attacks on innocent men, women, and children by the Sudanese government and the Arab militia group called the Janjaweed are part of a "coordinated effort, not just random violence." This is an intentional, considered act of murder.

The United Nations calls the situation the "world's worst humanitarian crisis." An estimated 30,000 civilians have been murdered. More than 400 villages have been destroyed. One million people have been displaced, and 130,000 have fled to neighboring Chad. And still, and still the international community stands on the sidelines.

Mr. Speaker, inaction in the face of genocide must not be an option. The international community and the United States must be prepared to act to end the armed conflict at the heart of this crisis. Regrettably, the U.N.'s record of responding to crises of this type and magnitude, notably in Rwanda and the Balkans, has been shameful, shameful. The United Nations talks about it, but it does not walk. The United Nations rings its hands but does not raise its hands to stop the killing.

I watched with grief as the United Nations blue helmets were on the ground in Bosnia, watching genocide be perpetrated, and they did nothing to stop it. We watched as the world, ourselves included, lamented what was happening in Rwanda and 800,000 defenseless, innocent souls perished because the mighty stood by and watched. History will not judge us well for that negligence.

Did the slaughter of hundreds of thousands 10 years ago not teach us anything? Does the painful memory of our inaction then not compel a different response today? The answer is muted at best.

We pass resolutions in this body. We talk in New York and people die. We continue to talk in New York and people are displaced. We continue to talk in New York and women are raped. We continue to talk in New York and children starve. Talk is cheap. Talk does not stop killing. Talk does not stop genocide.

It is time for the world to act. This resolution by itself will not diffuse the crisis or stop the bloodshed, but it is nevertheless a siren call to the world that we can no longer ignore the genocide, we can no longer rationalize those who commit it. We ought not to treat as citizens of the world and the United Nations nations who commit genocide.

This resolution is an explicit recognition that is not only a perverse, but a grotesque, situation that Sudan is allowed to retain its membership on the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. What kind of world do we live in where the perpetrator of genocide is included on the nations of the world's Commission on Human Rights? Is there no intellectual honesty in the international community?

This resolution would urge our Nation's representatives at the U.N. to seek the immediate suspension of Sudan from the commission. I would go further than that. I would suggest the immediate suspension of Sudan from membership in the United Nations until this genocide stops. But this resolution is appropriate. It is not enough, but it is a step; and I support it.

I thank my friend from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE) for his leadership and for his yielding me time.

Mr. MCHUGH. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. BACHUS) who also has a great interest in this resolution and is a member of this cause.

(Mr. BACHUS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks, and include extraneous material.)

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

I too want to commend the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE). As the gentleman knows, I have been a member of this Congress since 1992; and it seems like ever since I have been a member of this Congress, we have been hearing about Sudan. We first heard about Sudan when the Secretary of State declared Sudan a state sponsor of terrorism and determined that they had been since 1993.

We may recall that Osama bin Laden, who many of us were unaware of who he was and what he was until 9/11, but he in fact had his base of operations in Sudan. He was sponsored by the government of Khartoum. It is the same Sudan that we are here today talking about. The gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF), Senator BROWNBACK, many have traveled to Sudan. We have talked to refugees. We have talked to survivors from Southern Sudan, people who have witnessed their families being killed.

At that time we suspected that religion may be the root cause because many of those in Southern Sudan were Christians. The Khartoum government was a Muslim government. All was a factor. But whatever the factors, we spoke out and as this House sponsored a sanction, a similar sanction to what the U.N. is considering now against the oil. The Sudanese government duly pulled back at that time, and we passed with only two dissenting votes. It was a strong sanction. It went over to the Senate, and it died there.

Since that time, the one difference in the sanctions that are being considered now and the sanctions that were being considered then is that 2 million Sudanese have died. Action is too late for them. Their bones have long since been buried in Sudan where there are too many graves.

This latest action by Sudan, and all this time they were members of a select group, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, a country where we have witnessed the worst human rights violations and the worst humanitarian violations known to the world, has sat this entire time on the U.N. body that is designed to take action against. What a travesty. What an embarrassment. What a blight on our international community and on the U.N.

This resolution is a start; but, I would say, and the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF) and I had thought maybe he might do it today, he introduced back on September 9 "Documenting Atrocities in Darfur." And what we are now witnessing in Western Sudan, for a while in Southern Sudan it was hidden, and there were explanations given by the Sudanese government. There is no explanation. There is

no justification. There is no, there are simply no grounds for what is happening in Western Sudan today.

It follows a pattern. And the Sudanese government says we cannot control these Arab militia, Janjaweed. We cannot control them. They say this is a historic thing between nomadic Arab tribesmen and black farmers, and it is just something that has gone on for hundreds of years.

What has gone on for hundreds of years is they have lived peacefully together for hundreds of years. What is going on today is not an Arab militia out of control. It is, in fact, the government of Khartoum.

Thirteen hundred survivors were interviewed, and 25 percent of them said it was not Arab militia. It was government bombers and aircraft and helicopters who flew over our villages, strafed our villages, killed our people. It was not Arab militia because the Arab militia did not have aircraft. They did not have helicopters. This was the government of Khartoum.

Of those interviewed, half of the survivors say that government troops participated in these raids and in these attacks. Read, if you will, what some of these refugees said. Here is what one said. He said, "Slaves run. Leave the country. You don't belong here. Why are you not leaving this area? This area is for Arab cattle to go graze, not yours."

A Sudanese tribesman was told by a man in a brown uniform and a hundred of his followers, "This place belongs to Arab tribes. Blacks must leave."

Look, if you will. I would ask every Member to read "Documenting Atrocities in Darfur." It is only five pages long.

□ 1730

First, the government aircraft comes in and strafes the village, and then the Janjaweed or government soldiers come in. They burn the village. They kill the livestock, they drop them down the wells to poison the wells, but then they began shouting racial epithets at the survivors. They rape women in front of their husbands and children. They kill any young man that is of military age between the ages of 18 and 25 and then they drive the rest off.

Today, as a result of all this, what do we find? We find that 1.25 million Sudanese are living in refugee camps. Those are the fortunate ones that have survived, but they are not fortunate by any other terms because they are at this time permanently displaced.

Let me say this. This is what we should always be mindful of. We need a permanent solution. What the Sudanese Government has done is, they have allowed humanitarian aid to come in on occasion to feed these people in these refugee camps. They have talked to some of the leaders of the opposition. They have engaged in talks, and they have allowed government troops from other areas to come in and pro-

tect the refugee camps. But all of this time, they have not gone after the Arab militia.

They have not controlled them. They are continuing to arm them, and they go out in the villages and destroy villages, this month, last month. And their design is to never let these people return home, never to let them go home, to allow them to stay in these refugee camps, a permanently displaced population of millions of people, and let international forces feed those people. That simply will not do.

Those people need to return to their villages. They need to be protected. These Arab militia and their leaders need to be brought to justice, and we can at least start this process.

The last time we voted sanctions on Sudan, 3 years ago and a million deaths ago, two Members of this body voted against it. Today, I hope, as God is our witness, that this is a unanimous vote and that it is not the end of things, it is only the beginning of things.

I second everything that the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER) and the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF) said about the United Nations. This is genocide in every sense of the word. It is ethnic cleansing in every sense of the word. And for it to be permitted, sanctioned by the United Nations is a travesty and an atrocity in and of itself.

Analysis of the refugee interviews points to a pattern of abuse against members of Darfur's non-Arab communities, including murder, rape, beatings, ethnic humiliation, and destruction of property and basic necessities. Many of the reports detailing attacks on villages refer to government and militia forces, preceded by aerial bombardment, acting together to commit atrocities. Respondents said government and militia forces wore khaki or brown military uniforms. Roughly one-half of the respondents noted GOS forces had joined Jingawit irregulars in attacking their villages. Approximately one-quarter of the respondents said GOS forces had acted alone; another 14 percent said the Jingawit has acted alone. Two-thirds of the respondents reported aerial bombings against their villages; four-fifths said they had witnessed the complete destruction of their villages. Sixty-one percent reported witnessing the killing of a family member. About one-third of the respondents reported hearing racial epithets while under attack; one-quarter witnessed beatings. Large numbers reported the looting of personal property (47 percent) and the theft of livestock (80 percent).

Most reports followed a similar pattern:

1. GOS aircraft or helicopters bomb villages.
2. GOS soldiers arrive in trucks, followed closely by Jingawit militia riding horses or camels.
3. GOS soldiers and militia surround and then enter villages, under cover of gunfire.
4. Fleeing villagers are targets in aerial bombing.
5. The Jingawit and GOS soldiers loot the village after most citizens have fled, often using trucks to remove belongings.
6. Villages often experience multiple attacks over a prolonged period before they are destroyed by burning or bombing.

Mr. PAYNE. I thank the gentleman from Alabama for his very passionate remarks and all of his support for

many years, even in the capital market sanctions. I really commend him for that.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. MEEKS).

(Mr. MEEKS of New York asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MEEKS of New York. Mr. Speaker, let me just say thanks to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF) and the gentleman from New York (Mr. MCHUGH) for the fine work that they have done in bringing this resolution to the floor.

We are here to speak about, why is it that the world is not doing more to stop the Sudanese Government troops and their allied military, the Janjaweed? Together, they have raped, tortured, maimed and burned entire villages to cleanse the area of African Muslims resulting in close to 50,000 deaths.

Another 1.5 million persons have been forced from their homes into camps where they remain vulnerable to attacks by the Janjaweed, who are among the police guarding the camps. The world cannot continue to condone this genocide.

We can also not continue to condone the presence of human rights abusers on a commission that is charged with protecting human rights because it is ridiculous and unconscionable to think that the very perpetrator of a genocide could also be the enforcer of human rights. But that is exactly what is happening by allowing Sudan to continue to serve on the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

That is why I stand behind this bill to suspend the Sudan from the U.N. Commission on Human Rights and for the U.N. to launch a formal inquiry into its acts of genocide in Sudan.

Let us hope the world will begin to work harder to end the atrocities by, first, suspending Sudan from a commission it fails to respect, and second, by standing behind the efforts of the African Union to stop these atrocities.

We are here today to simply speak about why it is that the world is not doing more to stop Sudanese government troops and their allied militia, the Janjaweed. Together they have raped, tortured, maimed, and burned entire villages to cleanse African Muslims from the area—resulting in close to 50,000 deaths. Another 1.5 million persons have been forced from their homes and into camps, where they remain vulnerable to attacks by the Janjaweed, who have been hired as police to guard the camps. The world cannot continue to condone this genocide.

We can also not continue to condone the presence of human rights abusers on a Commission that is charged with protecting Human Rights. It is simply unconscionable to think that the very perpetrators of genocide could also be the enforcers of human rights. But that is exactly what is happening by allowing Sudan to continue to serve on the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

Numerous reports provide evidence of the Sudanese government's involvement in ac-

tively committing atrocities in Darfur. However, the Sudanese government continues to deny any connection to the atrocities carried out by the Janjaweed and simultaneously, has done little to stop them. By insisting that no genocide is taking place and repeatedly denying any responsibility for protecting their own people, the Sudanese government has demonstrated that it is not fit to serve on the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

What is needed now is action from the international community. First, Sudan's membership on the United Nations Human Rights Commission must be suspended. The universal declaration on human rights states that, "everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person" and that no "state, group or person has any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms." The Sudanese government, through its involvement in perpetrating the genocide in Darfur, and its inaction in doing anything to resolve the humanitarian crisis, is in violation of the basic principles of the United Nations Human Rights Commission. It, therefore, cannot remain a member.

Second, the international community must offer increased support to the African Union, which has been a leader in attempting to resolve the conflict in Sudan. In addition to leading peace talks, the African Union has led a small contingency of troops to Darfur to monitor the cease-fire and serve as observers. The African Union must be congratulated on these efforts. Additionally, support for their efforts must be increased. It is essential that the African Union's force be enlarged and allotted a robust mandate to protect Darfur's civilians from new attacks.

We can no longer sit on the sidelines and pretend that nothing is going on while the Sudanese government commits crime after crime against humanity. Murder, rape, forced displacement—these are clearly not the tools of human rights supporters. That is why I stand behind this bill to suspend Sudan from the U.N. Commission on Human Rights and for the U.N. to launch a formal inquiry into the acts of genocide in Sudan.

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

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

Very briefly, I thank all of the Members on both sides, certainly the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE). And my compliments to the gentleman from New Jersey for his leadership not only on this issue but on so many involving human rights. And the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), my colleague, the gentleman from New York (Mr. MEEKS), of course, and my two colleagues on our side of the aisle, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF) and the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. BACHUS) have summed up the horror of this situation and the incredible circumstances which surround it.

I join with the gentleman from Alabama's (Mr. BACHUS) closing comments that certainly all of us hope and pray that we will have resounding support for this very necessary, unfortunately very necessary resolution, and one that

in no way exceeds the dire circumstances in which the Sudan, the Darfur region, finds itself.

Mr. LANGEVIN. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, I am pleased to support the resolution before us today and to add my voice to those speaking out against the brutality the world is witnessing in Sudan. This Congress has repeatedly condemned both the atrocities committed by the Janjaweed militia and the Sudanese government's insufficient response to such horrendous acts. Since violence began in the Darfur region in February 2003, tens of thousands of people have been killed and more than a million have been displaced from their homes. Sadly, despite repeated calls from the international community, the Sudanese government has not reined in the militia groups, and the killing continues. The World Health Organization now estimates that between 6,000 and 10,000 are dying every month from violence and disease.

It is unfortunate that we must again come to the floor to express our collective outrage about the situation in Sudan. I was pleased that the U.N. Security Council adopted a resolution last week that establishes an inquiry into the violence in the Darfur region to determine whether it constitutes genocide. The resolution also threatens sanctions against Sudan, a tool we must seriously consider if we do not witness rapid improvements. However, the strong sentiments expressed in the U.N. Security Council Resolution are undermined by the fact that Sudan still holds a seat on the U.N. Human Rights Commission—even while its government betrays the very principles on which the Commission was founded. The resolution before us today is a clear condemnation of this glaring inconsistency and will place greater pressure on the Sudanese government to act responsibly and protect its citizens from harm. I urge my colleagues to support S. Con. Res. 137.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. TERRY). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) that the House suspend the rules and concur in the Senate Concurrent Resolution, S. Con. Res. 137.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the Senate concurrent resolution was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CONDEMNING TERRORIST ATTACK IN JAKARTA, INDONESIA, ON SEPTEMBER 9, 2004

Mr. MCHUGH. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution (H. Res. 767) condemning the terrorist attack in Jakarta, Indonesia, that occurred on September 9, 2004, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. RES. 767

Whereas on September 9, 2004, terrorists attacked hundreds of innocent civilians, killing at least nine bystanders, in front of the Australian Embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia; and