Mr. Speaker, I want to

take time this evening to talk about a

very serious situation occurring in Africa

as we speak, a situation of ethnic

cleansing in Darfur, Sudan, and Sudan’s

vicious campaign of terror which

it is raining on its people.

Mr. Speaker, in June 2001, I came to

this floor to speak about slavery and

genocide perpetrated against the people

of southern Sudan. I said then that

innocent civilians are the victims in

this war. We are well aware of the

number of people killed, maimed, displaced

and enslaved during that terrible

conflict, which still goes on. Yet

we as members of the international

community failed to do the right thing,

to end the suffering. In the north-south

conflict, more than 2 million people

perished and an estimated 5 million

people have been displaced during the

40 years of this dread conflict. It is the

same government that terrorized,

enslaved and killed innocent civilians

in the southern Sudan and the Nuba

that is now yet again engaged in a terror

campaign in Darfur in western

Sudan.

When we thought that things were

going well with the Sudan Peace Act

and that negotiations between the Government

of Sudan and the SPLM, Dr.

John Garang’s forces, and that there

had been efforts in time and energy put

in by negotiators, then we see that this

pariah government in Khartoum simply

cannot help itself and now have unleashed

the same reign of terror now on

the west which it had done in the

south. The National Islamic Front government

is solely responsible for the

current atrocities in Darfur. In just the

last 12 months, the National Islamic

Front government of Sudan and its allied

militia, the Janjaweed, displaced

more than 1 million people, forced over

110,000 people into Chad, and killed

more than 10,000 innocent civilians.

Government troops and their allied militia

raped, tortured, maimed and

burned entire villages in a deliberate

and systematic manner to cleanse the

area of African Muslims.

Up to now, the conflict was supposed

to be between the Arab north trying to

push Shiria and Islamic government

onto the people of the south who were

Christians and animists, and it was

then supposed to be a war that lines

were drawn by virtue of religion, which

is also a horrible thing to do. However,

the new battle is that the people in the

west are also Islamic. They are Muslims.

The excuse of religious differences

does not hold water, although

it never should have been raised in the

first place. And so now you have the Islamic

government of Khartoum attacking,

maiming, killing, raping, burning

villages of other Islamic people in the

west.

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What are the differences in these?

They are all the same religion. But

there is a marked difference. Because

the Arab Muslims of the north are different

than the African black Muslims

in the west, and so it cannot be religious

cleansing. It has to only be ethnic

cleansing where black followers of

Islam are being systematically pushed

out and ethnically cleansed by the

Arab Government of Sudan. So regardless

of what we do in the next several

months, more people will die from disease

and hunger. Why? Because we

have a genocidal government bent on

destruction and mayhem.

Mr. Speaker, this is the same government

that gave sanctuary to Osama

bin Laden from 1991 to 1996, allowing

him to build his terror network worldwide.

The bombings of our embassies in

Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam in

Tanzania was planned right there in

Sudan by al Qaeda forces of Osama bin

Laden, harbored and protected by the

Government of Sudan, allowed to

strengthen himself and to develop a

worldwide network as he recruited people

to be a part of his al Qaeda network.

Other terrorists acts are also

linked to Osama bin Laden because

there were a number of terrorist acts

that were going on at that time.

Mr. Speaker, what is stunning to me

is that not a single senior official has

been removed from power in the Government

of Sudan or has gone to jail

because of involvement in or support of

terrorist activities. It is important to

recall that the Government of Sudan’s

involvement in international terrorism

goes back over a decade. Sudanese officials

were involved directly or indirectly

in the first World Trade bombing

in 1993 in New York. The mastermind

of the 1993 bombing, Shiekh Abdel

Rahman, who was sentenced to life in

1995, received his visa in Khartoum,

Sudan, and reportedly was a guest of a

senior Sudanese government official

for several weeks. Of the 15 men indicted

for the terror act, five are Sudanese

nationalists. These Sudanese nationalists

have strong ties with Sudanese

diplomats stationed at the time in

New York in the Sudanese embassy at

the United Nations.

Mr. Speaker, in 1995 members of an

Egyptian terrorist group tried to assassinate

President Hosni Mubarak of

Egypt while he was in Ethiopia for an

OAU, Organization of African Unity,

summit. The 11-man assassination

team that had been given safe haven in

Sudan so that they could prepare for

this attempted assassination were

there, and their plans to kill the Egyptian

President were created and

planned there. The weapons used in the

assassination attempt were reportedly

flown into Ethiopia by Sudan Airways.

The passports used by assassins were

also prepared in Khartoum, according

to a United Nations report.

Why is this relevant to Darfur? It is

relevant because there is a clear pattern

of behavior by this regime targeting

civilians, engaging in terrorist

acts and clear patterns of lies and deception.

Ethnic cleansing in Darfur occurred

while the government was still

negotiating with the SPLM in Kenya,

negotiating for a peace between the

north and the south but still doing the

damage to the west as if this act could

be disassociated with acceptance of

Sudan after peace between the north

and the south could be attained. In

fact, the mastermind of the Darfur

atrocities is the chief government negotiator

and First Vice President

Taha.

Mr. Speaker, it is important for us to

remember that in 1994 the international

community watched with

utter indifference when 1 million

Rwandanese were hacked to death in

100 days. The genocide in Darfur occurred

while the international community

was commemorating the 10th anniversary

of the Rwandan genocide. We

failed to learn from Rwanda, and we

are unlikely to learn from Darfur. The

similarities between the Rwandan

genocide and Darfur are stunning. In

Rwanda the former government of

Rwanda and the Rwandan Patriotic

Front rebels were negotiating while

plans for genocide were underway.

In Sudan, the government was negotiating

with the SPLM while its troops

were engaged in ethnic cleansing in

Darfur. The inaction by the international

community in Darfur was in

large part due to protecting the ongoing

peace process between the government

and the SPLM. So as we watched

10 years ago when the world looked the

other way, when the word ‘‘genocide’’

would not be used, when we had repeated

letters and calls and television

appearances to our government at that

time and to those who would listen, we

saw that the world turned its back.

And as I continue, I see the chairman

of the Congressional Black Caucus,

who has come in. The chairman of the

Congressional Black Caucus has been

doing an outstanding job on all fronts,

today commemorating the Brown v.

The Board of Education 50 years after,

many programs that are to improve

the quality of life for all Americans in

this country and, in particular, those

who are the least among us, those who

need the most help, those who are most

fragile, and those are people in our

rural areas around the country and in

our urban centers.

I yield to the gentleman from the

State of Maryland (Mr. CUMMINGS), the

chairman of the Congressional Black

Caucus.

Mr. Speaker, reclaiming

my time, I thank the gentleman very

much. Let me thank him for his compliment

and for his very thoughtful

presentation. As I have indicated, the

gentleman has really been a beacon of

light for the Congressional Black Caucus,

and we follow his leadership with

pride and with dignity for the justice

that he has laid out for this Nation.

I would like to yield to the gentlewoman

from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE),

a person who has fought for justice, not

only here in the U.S. and in her State

of Texas and Houston, but has traveled

throughout the world; whether it is

Iraqi women that she is fighting for, or

the rights of African women to have

property rights and to have the rights

of what women throughout the world

are looking for, but also on general

issues of just humanitarian importance.

With that, I yield to the gentlewoman

from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE).

Mr. Speaker, reclaiming

my time, let me take this opportunity

to thank the gentlewoman for her very

profound remarks. It is connected. I

think that all that we do is connected.

I think that the gentlewoman’s wisdom

and her interest, her knowledge, is certainly

a great tribute to us here in the

halls of Congress.

The thoroughness of the gentlewoman’s

evaluations are always appreciated.

The gentlewoman is absolutely

right. President Bouteflika said that

we are part of Africa, we are not North

Africa. But the Europeans decided to

divide Africa. They said Africa was not

one continent. You had North Africa

and you had sub-Saharan Africa.

So it is one continent. We have two

countries, major countries in the Western

Hemisphere, we have Canada and

we have the United States, but no one

has separated the continent artificially.

It is all North America. Africa

is North Africa, a separate place, and

when I was a kid it was Asia Minor, but

they decided to call that the Middle

East now, I guess. So we have to try to

keep up with those who try to define

us.

We should not let other people define

us, just as today they say liberals are

bad. They are the ones who are what

our country should not be about. I am

proud to be a liberal. I think that is

what made our country strong and

great. I think a liberal is a person who

worries about their neighbor, wants a

strong defense, wants to provide for the

common defense, but also to promote

the general welfare. And so until we

allow ourselves to not categorize ourselves,

we have to stand tall.

So once again, let me thank the gentlewoman

for her remarks.

That is right.

No, we have not.

That is right.

Again, Mr. Speaker, I

appreciate the gentlewoman’s remarks.

It is something that has been overlooked

for 5 years, that people in

Prince George’s County were unable to

go to school from 1959 to 1964 when the

public schools were privatized and

black children just had no school to go

to for 5 years.

Mr. Speaker, as we continue to focus

on the problem, these atrocities were

well documented. Just recently a

United Nations Human Rights Commission

concluded just a few days ago, I

heard the report at the Security Council

on Friday where this report was

given, and I too have to say that without

the United Nations I think that

this world would be in a much worse

place. I hear people trivialize the

United Nations. I hear people talk

about the fact that they are not needed.

I think that it shows the ignorance

of many of the Members of this House

that have no clue as to the tremendous

asset that the United Nations has provided.

They pushed inoculations worldwide,

they have seen polio almost

eradicated through cooperation. We

have seen all kinds of health issues

taken away. We have seen peace in

many, many countries by virtue of the

United Nations stepping in, whether it

was Sierra Leone and whether it was

Liberia, whether it was with the

United Nations and NATO in Kosovo,

whether it was in East Timor, the

country that Indonesia was going to

take after the Portuguese released it.

It is so many, many places, and I wish

that one day we could have a 101 course

to many of the Members who just

trivialize the United Nations, to really

find out what they have done. I think

that many of them would be amazed

and shocked at how much a better

world this is today because the United

Nations exists. If not, we would have

total anarchy around the world, and at

least we have a place where debates

can go on and peacekeepers can go out

and humanitarians go out. I just cannot

for the life of me understand about

this trashing of the United Nations.

But we have a long way to go in education.

I would like to also say that some of

my friends on the other side, the gentleman

from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO)

and the gentleman from New Jersey

(Mr. SMITH) have all been supportive on

the Sudan issue, California (Mr. ROYCE)

and Senator BROWNBACK and Senator

FRIST. So many have said that this is

an issue that we need to take heed of.

So it is a bipartisan issue.

But as I was indicating, a recent report

by the United Nations Human

Rights Commission concluded that the

mission was able to identify disturbing

patterns of massive human rights violations

in Darfur, many of which constitute

war crimes and/or crimes

against humanity. According to information

collected from refugees, it appears

that there is a reign of terror in

Darfur, the following elements of

which should be highlighted.

A, repeated attacks on civilians by

the Government of Sudan military and

its proxy militia forces, with a view of

their displacement. The use of systematic

and discriminate aerial bombing

and ground attacks on unarmed civilians.

And the only planes that are in

Sudan are controlled by the Government

of Sudan, and they have done systematic

bombing. The use of disproportionate

force by the government of

Sudan and also the Janjaweed force,

that the Janjaweed have operated with

total impunity. They can just move

wherever they want without the government

doing anything; actually, even

in close coordination with the forces of

the Government of Sudan.

The Government of Sudan has said

we have nothing to do with it, but their

planes dropped the bombs, the weapons

come from the Government of Sudan,

and they are in close proximity with

the Janjaweed who are the militia

groups that are terrorizing the people.

The attacks appear to have been ethnically

based, with the groups targeted

being essentially the following tribes

of African origin: The Zaghawa, the

Masaalit and the Furs. Men and young

boys appear to have been particularly

targeted in ground attacks.

The pattern of attacks on civilians,

including rapes, pillage, including of

livestock, destruction of property, including

water supplies. And in May,

2004, the acting High Commissioner reported

that attacks against civilians

involved the destruction of property,

often through burning, as well as the

destruction of central supplies such as

flour, millet, and other crops. The report

stated that a disturbing pattern of

disregard for basic principles of human

rights and humanitarian law is taking

place in Darfur by the armed forces of

Sudan and by its proxy militia known

as the Janjaweed.

According to Human Rights Watch,

the government and its Janjaweed allies

have killed thousands of Fur,

Masaalit, and Zaghawa, often in cold

blood, raped women, destroyed villages.

Foodstocks and other supplies essential

to the civilian population have

been destroyed. They have driven more

than 1 million civilians, mostly farmers,

into camps and settlements in

Darfur where they live on the very

edge of survival, hostile to the

Janjaweed abuses. More than 110,000

others have fled to neighboring Chad,

but the vast majority of war victims

remain trapped in Darfur.

Mr. Speaker, we have lost tens of

thousands of civilians already and

many more will die in the coming

months. We must do everything possible

to save lives and bring justice to

those responsible for the atrocities in

Darfur. The United States must lead a

massive international intervention in

Darfur before it is too late. We should

utilize all available means to deliver

much-needed humanitarian assistance

in Darfur.

Mr. Speaker, we must also hold those

responsible accountable. An international

tribunal for Darfur must be

created. In the meantime, the Bush administration

must impose targeted

sanctions, including travel ban and

freezing of assets against individuals

responsible for Darfur’s atrocities. Targeted

sanctions will punish those directly

responsible by avoiding collective

punishment.

Mr. Speaker, based on the extensive

research and consultation with government

officials and regional actors, we

have been able to put together a list of

individuals directly responsible for the

atrocities in Darfur, and this was done

by very careful investigation right

there on the ground.

These individuals directly responsible

for the atrocities include, in the

first category, top Government of

Sudan officials who are supervising and

controlling Janjaweed activities and

operations, including the following: Ali

Osman Taha, First Vice President;

Major General Salah Abdalla Ghosh,

Director General, Government of

Sudan security; Dr. Nafie Ali Nafie,

former external Intelligence Chief;

Major General Al Tayeb Mohanmed

Hheir, Presidential Security Advisor;

Abdalhamid Musa Kasha, Minister of

Commerce; Abdalrahim Mohammed

Hussein, Minister of Interior; Major

General Adam Hamid Musa, State Governor,

southern Darfur; Brigadier

Mohamed Ahmed Ali, Riot Police Director,

led police attacks on internally

displaced persons at Mayo Camp right

out in Khartoum in mid-March;

Mohamed Yousef Abdala, Humanitarian

Affairs State Minister; Abdalla

Safi el Nur, Cabinet Minister and General

Coordinator of Janjaweed.

In the category right below that is

the Command Coordination and Command

Council of the Janjaweed.

Lieutenant Colonel Sukeirtalah,

leader of Janjaweed-Geneina; Ahmed

Mohammed Harun, commander, State

Minister of Interior; Osman yusif Kibir,

State governor Darfur; El Tahir Hassan

Abbud, NCP; Mohammed Salih Al

Sunusi Baraka, member of the National

Assembly; Mohammed Yusif El

Tileit, Western Darfur State minister;

Major General Hussein Abdalla Jibril,

member of the National Assembly.

Right in the field command in the

third category: Brigadier Musa Hilal;

Brigadier Hamid Dhawai; Brigadier

Abdal Wahid, Kabkabiya sector; Brigadier

Mohammed Ibrahim Ginesto;

Major Hussein Tangos; Major Omer

Baabas.

I believe that these people should be

investigated by a tribunal because

there are thousands of refugees who

have nowhere to go now but to live in

makeshift huts. They have no health

care. Children are dying of diarrhea

and malnutrition, and U.S. officials are

desperately trying to solidify a ceasefire

to get aid to these people, and they

are very inaccessible.

In several weeks, the rainy season

will come the early part of June and

flood much of the area, making humanitarian

delivery nearly impossible.

Children are dying already and will

continue to die of preventable causes,

like diarrhea for lack of water and

health care.

One hundred thousand have gone to

Chad. The whole country of Chad has

271 doctors for a population of approximately

9 million people. So they are in

no shape to be giving assistance, medical

assistance to these influx of refugees.

In the north there is not even a

doctor or a nurse, just one medical

technician who is only qualified to

hand out basic drugs.

The International Red Cross said

there is severe malnutrition, but the

newly set-up health facility is at least

5 hours’ drive from the nearest facility

to get materials and medicines to the

people.

These people say that they had a decent

life in Darfur until the Arab Sudanese

Government went to war against

this region’s indigenous African people.

It is mentioned that Sudanese aircraft

bombed the village and then the militias

came on horseback to burn down

houses and commit atrocities and

human rights abuses.

Rape is being used as a weapon of

war, where women and young girls are

brutally targeted.

Every week, many people continue to

cross the border to Chad because they

are fleeing the campaign of ethnic

cleansing conducted by the Sudanese

Army and its marauding militia called

the janjaweed.

Thousands of Sudanese villagers have

been killed according to American and

other human rights officials. Hundreds

of thousands more lives hang in the

balance.

Darfur is not accessible to outsiders.

We have seen some pictures that show

burned-down villages by overhead aircraft

that have been taken; and so,

once again, the U.N. is ready to go in.

The U.N. must be sure that they take

all means necessary to attempt to get

to these very fragile people.

So as I conclude, I hope that the

world is listening. I hope that we can

get our media, our newspapers to focus

in on the problem in Darfur. We often

see the press cover problems in Europe.

As we said, in Bosnia and Kosovo we

saw NATO and many people come to

their defense. However, in Rwanda 10

years ago, with close to a million people

dying from genocide, we all looked

the other way, and now in Darfur.

Is the life of a black person in Sudan

or in Rwanda any less than a European

life or an Asian life? Of course, we all

know that the question is no. We are

all made in the image and likeness of

God. We are all one people. We are all

one in this life that God has given to

us, and we all deserve the right to freedom,

justice, equality.

So as I conclude, I would like to

thank those Members that came down

to express their thoughts. I will continue

to talk about the atrocities in

Sudan until we get the proper response

by our country and by countries

around the world. It is a tragedy in

front of us, and we should do everything

within our power to see that it

ends.