Mr. President, I want to

comment on one last issue. It is an

issue I have brought to the floor many

times. The issue I speak of is the issue

of the crisis a long way away from Tennessee

which I just spoke to, a long

way away from Washington, DC where

we are tonight, and a long way away

from education which I just spoke to

and which affects our future so much. I

want to speak to an issue that focuses

on the continent of Africa and a region

called Darfur.

A few weeks ago the Sudanese Government

agreed once more to make

peace with its southern region. While

this is encouraging news, and the international

community is hopeful, we

must not overlook the crisis that is

raging right now, as we speak, in

Darfur.

Last night I had the opportunity,

with several others, in a very casual

environment to be with His Majesty

the King of Jordan. And it was interesting.

He had met with the President.

And this was an informal gathering

over dinner last night.

The very first issue he brought up to

me was, are we making progress in

Darfur, which is a part of Sudan. And

my response was: Not as much as we

need to.

He said: I agree.

He told me the story of how his country,

Jordan, is addressing it in many

ways. And they have been so beneficial

throughout the entire Middle East,

whether it is in Iraq or all the way

across to the country of Africa. He told

me the story of a field hospital that his

Government and his military have put

in that region of Darfur.

Darfur is a region about the size of

France which is in this country with

Sudan, the western part of the country

of Sudan. But just the Darfur region is

about the size of France so it is a big

area. He told me the story of a hospital

he has put there and the trust that hospital

is building.

For nearly 2 years now the Sudanese

Government has waged war against the

people of the Darfur region. Despite

two United Nations Security Council

resolutions, pressure from the international

community and neighboring

countries, the Government of Khartoum

continues its genocidal campaign.

In mid-November Khartoum ostensibly

agreed to stop the attacks, but

within hours of their agreement, the

Sudanese police raided a camp in

southern Darfur, destroying homes and

driving out civilians. Such attacks still

continue. Tens of thousands of innocent

victims have died as a result of

this government-condoned and, worse

than that, government-sponsored violence.

Eight million more have been

displaced, have been moved out of their

homes, have been moved out of their

villages, have been transported miles

and miles from home, family, and security.

Entire villages have been burned

to the ground. Women raped, children

abducted, executed.

Special U.N. Envoy Jan Pronk warns

that Darfur is on the brink of anarchy.

We can’t stand by as the people of

Darfur suffer. We cannot allow another

Rwanda. They are calling out to us.

They are pleading for our help. The

international community has a responsibility,

a moral obligation to act, to

respond, to act with solution.

In August, I had the opportunity to

travel to Africa which I do at least

once a year. I usually go to the southern

Sudan, but on this trip I chose to

go to that western region of Sudan, the

Darfur region. But because of difficulties

with getting into that country and

the inability to get a visa, I started

over in the country of Chad which is

west of Sudan. And it is at that Chad-

Sudanese border that refugees by the

thousands are fleeing to get out of the

crisis and these vicious attacks in the

Darfur region.

What a wonderful opportunity it was

for me to see refugee camps which had

sprung up to give support to these refugees

whose families have been fractured.

They didn’t know where their

spouses were. They had lost their kids.

Refugee camps where 5,000, 10,000, 15,000

or 20,000 refugees would come together

in miserable conditions, but still people

coming together, supported by outside

groups.

One of the refugee camps we visited

was in Touloum in Chad, and that is

several hours northeast from the capital

there in N’Djamena.

I was on the ground and met with the

refugees and met with the community

leaders. What I saw there was fairly appalling.

Thousands of refugees are

housed in dust-covered tents. Many

more live in makeshift shelters of

gathered wood and plastic sheeting.

I spoke with a gentleman named

Asman Adam Abdallah. In Darfur, he

had been a man of prominence, an officer

of his tribe and a government official.

He was from a small village in the

Darfur region. It was a village called

Jemeza, just north of the regional capital

of El Fasher.

During the attack on his village he

became separated from his family. He

didn’t know if they were still alive. I

asked about his family and he said, ‘‘I

don’t know.’’ He didn’t know what

would happen the next week. If you

asked, Are you going to be able to go

back to your village, he says, I don’t

know. I don’t know about my wife. I

don’t know about my children.

He recounted witnessing 15 men of

his village summarily murdered. It

took him 18 days to travel from that

Darfur region across the border into

Chad and to reach the refugee camp of

Touloum. Sudanese Government planes

bombarded Asman and his fellow survivors

as they trekked first to Tine, a

town right at the border of the Sudan

and Chad.

I talked to many refugees, and another

one in the Touloum camp described

how during a raid on her village,

several soldiers grabbed a baby

and they wanted to see what gender or

sex the baby was. The soldiers began to

argue back and forth, with the mother

watching, whether to kill the baby boy.

She overheard one soldier remarking,

‘‘But this child is so young.’’ It appeared

that the soldiers were under orders

to kill all male children.

I heard another story of a mentally

disabled 15-year-old boy who was

thrown into a burning house, and these

houses are really huts. He was thrown

into that house to perish. I heard another

story of a paralyzed man being

burned alive in his hut. I heard stories

of women who were raped in front of

their own children.

I asked one refugee in Touloum what

it would take for him to go home. He

said to me, ‘‘I will go if you’’—pointing

to me—‘‘will go with me and stay with

me.’’

The Janjaweed attacks described to

me were so vividly disturbing. You go

from one camp to another camp, one

little tent village to another one. The

stories were exactly the same. You

know it is not isolated. It is occurring

all over the region. You know it is organized

and it is purposeful. The

Janjaweed are preceded by aerial attacks

by the militia. It is preceded by

aircraft flying over; they are government

aircraft. In some cases, soldiers

in government uniforms participate on

the ground and make references to ‘‘orders

from Khartoum.’’ Survivors tell of

racial slurs being hurled at them as the

Janjaweed sweep through the villages

and kill the men and boys and raze

their homes.

The dictatorship in Khartoum says

they are not responsible for the

Janjaweed. They tell us officially: We

cannot control what goes on with the

Janjaweed. To me, that is hard to believe.

I believe otherwise. I believe if

they were sincere in their efforts to

make peace, peace would be at hand.

The direct line between the government

of Sudan, the Janjaweed, and the

raping and pillaging and burning is so

direct that I am convinced there has to

be some sort of order coming from the

top. But if that same order was reversed,

coming from the top, the crisis

would end. That is what I am so hopeful

about. That is why at 9 o’clock on

the Senate floor it is important for our

voice to be heard. If we don’t recognize

or shine light on that, if we don’t call

the international community to act,

that order from the government in

Khartoum simply will not come, this

crisis will not stop, and this genocide

will continue.

The regime in Khartoum has cynically

concluded that it can survive a

moderate amount of diplomatic pressure

and that it can continue the genocide.

I say cynical because it is wrong.

When I say it, I am sure people think it

is wrong, but it is still occurring.

Therefore, we have to shine more light

and put on more pressure, and we need

to go not just before the Senate, but we

need to have our media across the

country focus on what is going on with

the genocide in the Sudan and this

Darfur region.

The government in Khartoum believes

it can ignore what is mostly rhetorical

pressure that has been brought

to bear by the international community

to date. Lip service is being given,

but that is just about it. Khartoum believes

that the threat of a Chinese veto

in the U.N. Security Council will protect

it from more serious sanctions. We

must prove them wrong. I am convinced

we can prove them wrong. It is

going to take our collective wisdom,

but our collective action.

For nearly 7 years, I have had the opportunity

to travel to Sudan and to

neighboring countries more in my capacity

as a doctor, as medical mission

work, than as a Senator. My first visits

there were in 1998. I had the opportunity

to help and participate with a

wonderful group called Well Medical

Mission, establishing a hospital in this

region called Lui. I have had the opportunity

to go back many times to that

southern part of Sudan.

I remember in the year of 2000 going

into the middle part of Sudan, into a

region called the Nuba Mountains, a

village called Kuada. We delivered 35

tons of seed and farm tools for about

8,000 families. That was back in 2000.

Since then, that area has opened up to

relief. We were one of the first relief

airplanes in that region. The Nuba

Mountains are a wonderful part of the

Sudan that has a history rich in tradition

of great Nuba wrestlers—glorious

men—really boys—who were powerful,

big, strong. When I went there, I heard

about the 2,000 years of this history of

wrestling. When I went—and we were

the first relief efforts in there in 15, 20

years—I found sick people—no wrestlers

but thin, emaciated kids, with

stunted growth from conditions imposed

on them by the government.

I mentioned to others there is another

part of the Sudan called Bapong

in the oil region, in the Upper West

Nile area. There the government was

targeting civilians and denying them

basic medical needs. Since that time, a

hospital has been put in that region. I

had the opportunity to go back this

past year.

Sudan does need to be a focus. A lot

is going on that we can participate in

reversing. This fall, the Senate and

House unanimously passed resolutions

pressing for the immediate suspension

of Sudan’s membership on the U.N.

Commission on Human Rights. Isn’t it

ironic that you have Sudan in this

body of the U.N., after everything that

I have just said, participating on that

Commission on Human Rights? Something

is not right. It is hypocritical—

even worse than that.

The House and the Senate acted several

months ago. All 535 Members

agreed that Sudan’s membership on the

U.N. commission to protect human

rights is a travesty. It is a cruel trick.

It defies all decency that a nation actively

engaged in genocide against its

own people could occupy a position of

honor and authority, a commission in

the United Nations supposedly devoted

to human rights.

Mr. President, I do want to applaud

the President of the United States and

Secretary Colin Powell for their efforts

to bring accountability to the Khartoum

Government. This administration

has shown immense leadership in addressing

the crisis in Darfur. In fact,

we can even be proud. The United

States is providing over 80 percent of

all the supplies from around the world

going into Darfur and going into Chad

in these refugee camps—more than 80

percent.

Since February of 2003, we have provided

$219 million for Sudan. The appropriations

bill we just passed provides

over $300 million for Sudan in additional

support for the African Union

peacekeeping activities. It is going to

take Africans to solve this problem,

but it is going to take our support and

our authority to help them solve that

problem.

In September of this year, Secretary

Powell came before the Senate Foreign

Relations Committee and unflinchingly

declared the situation in Darfur

to be government-sponsored genocide.

That showed leadership in the same

way this body showed leadership when

it, through a resolution, called it genocide.

In October, the President of the

United States authorized the use of

three C–130 transport planes to convey

3,300 Rwandan and Nigerian peacekeeping

troops into Darfur. Last

month, the U.N. Secretary Council held

a 2-day meeting in Nairobi, Kenya. At

that meeting, council members discussed

carrot-and-stick approaches to

bringing Khartoum into compliance

with international human rights standards.

U.N. Ambassador Jack Danforth

has worked hard to press the U.N. to

take concrete action, and I support

him in this difficult and critical work.

I am deeply committed to the future

of the Sudanese people. Their plight

calls out to all freedom-loving nations.

As a human being, as a doctor, as a

Senator who cherishes life, I believe it

is our duty to answer that call.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence

of a quorum.