Mr. President, after

going to the southern Sudan as a medical

missionary and a surgeon 2 years

ago, I came home with a realization

that the unparalleled human disaster I

went there to address was really, to my

own surprise, inextricably linked to my

role as a Senator. Yesterday, that realization

was brought home again to me

in the most horrific and despicable

way.

As background, the Government of

Sudan has, for over 16 years, carried

out a war of unrivaled barbarity

against its own people. Over 2 million

people, mostly civilians, have died in

bombings, intentional mass starvation,

raids by militias on horseback, and

what we call more conventional war.

Slavery there today is common, so

common that the raiding parties the

Government of Sudan in Khartoum

sponsors accept captive humans as

their pay.

Yesterday, the regime in Khartoum

struck once again, this time with old

Soviet cargo planes that have been

crudely outfitted as bombers of a sort,

where large antipersonnel bombs are

simply pushed through large cargo

doors.

The accuracy is poor. Yet the intent

could not be clearer. I received a phone

call yesterday morning around 10

o’clock. It was at 6:25 a.m. yesterday

morning, minutes before the first wave

of relief flights were to leave the

United Nations relief operations in

Lokichokio, Kenya, they received a

phone call from Khartoum instructing

them that no relief flights would be allowed

into Sudan the entire day.

The Government of Sudan then proceeded

with a full day of bombing raids

on nine sites in areas of rebel control.

What were the strongholds the Government

of Sudan hit in those raids

yesterday? What decisive blow did they

deliver to those rebels?

Well, there is one location that I

know for sure was a civilian hospital.

They bombed and destroyed a tuberculosis

clinic and one of the only x-ray

machines in the entire country. They

hit the local marketplace. They hit a

feeding center for the starving and displaced.

In three passes over the small bush

town, they dropped five antipersonnel

bombs. They killed or maimed civilians,

many of them patients in the hospital,

others in the marketplace, others

in a feeding center for the starving.

All of these were known civilian centers

and all were intentionally targeted.

The Government of Sudan

knows exactly what is in that town and

in those hospitals, and they targeted

them anyway.

Why do I mention this? How do I

know this was a civilian target? It is

because it was approximately 2 years

ago that in this very hospital I was operating

in southern Sudan in a small

village called Lui. The TB clinic is adjacent

to a small schoolhouse that was

converted to a hospital. It is in a small

outpost, and there is a little airstrip

town there just north of the border approximately

100 or 110 miles. The press

release I received today describing the

incident in this hospital where I

worked says:

This release came to my office this

afternoon.

Again, these senseless acts are militarily

insignificant, I believe. The only

purpose is to terrify and kill civilians

and the doctors and the relief personnel

who dare to provide life and

comfort to them.

The most outrageous aspect of all of

this is not that I have been there, that

I know this hospital well, that I was

one of the very few physicians and

early surgeons to come to that hospital,

and it is not that this could have

just as easily happened when I was

there; it is that this is not an uncommon

practice. It is a chosen tactic in

the war that lurks on the edge of the

world’s consciousness.

Just 2 weeks ago, the same government

dropped bombs on a town in the

Nuba Mountains area, killing 21.

What was the critical rebel target

that day? It was a group of schoolchildren

under a tree—not child soldiers,

but children trying to learn to

read.

These are just two in a long and sickening

history of intentionally bombing

civilians by the Government of Sudan.

How long does the world intend to

tolerate these outrages? How long will

the regime in Khartoum benefit from

their prowess in public relations in the

capitals of Europe and the Middle East

—and on Wall Street? If indiscriminately

bombing children and the infirm

doesn’t serve as a call to action, then

what will it take?

I am realistic about what the world

is willing to do. Rage and indignation

are expected. But it is about 16 years

past due for the ‘‘international community’’

that responds so generously and

decisively in many other places to act

forcefully and with clear purpose in

Sudan.

The world should be ashamed that it

has gone on so long. I am ashamed the

United States has not made this a

greater priority. For a country that is

willing to act decisively in Bosnia and

Kosovo, we should be ashamed of the

anemic level of action to stop this war

in Sudan. As a country that is willing

to invade another country—Haiti—to

stop violence and injustice, we should

be ashamed by the fact that we are

willing to do so little in Sudan.

I am not suggesting that the United

States or anybody else become militarily

involved in Sudan. Even if that

were politically popular here, it would

not be something I would recommend.

But the world should be ashamed that

we have failed to use all reasonable

tools at our disposal. Some of our closest

allies in Europe and the Middle

East would be especially ashamed for

their receptivity toward the regime in

Khartoum.

Yes, I am outraged and disgusted by

the bombings of yesterday. I am outraged

by the bombings of 2 weeks ago.

I am outraged and disgusted by the

past 16 years of brutality. I believe the

administration and the world should

share that outrage, and in some cases

they do.

But outrage alone gets us no closer

to bringing the war to a conclusion. It

requires a credible, coherent, and

forceful policy from the United States

and from the world.

Our policy is only selectively forceful

and, as a consequence, lacks coherence

and credibility—both in Khartoum and

in the capitals of the countries we

must have on board to end the war.

Correcting those problems cannot happen

overnight, but I propose a few steps

we can now take.

First, the House of Representatives

should act now to take up and pass the

Sudan Peace Act. This bipartisan legislation

was written primarily to address

the deficiencies in the way our vast

amounts of food aid are delivered, and

to compel the administration and our

allies to bring as much pressure to bear

on the Government of Sudan—and the

rebels—to get serious in the limping

peace talks. This is a sensible and helpful

step Congress can take right now.

Second, the United Nations should

deploy monitors to areas of conflict in

the Sudan now. The Government of

Sudan has escaped the condemnation

they deserve in large part because the

eyes of the world are so far from this

remote and enormous land. Human

rights monitors can bring this to light

and give the world the information

they need to push for resolution of the

war. Most importantly, they can force

the turned eyes of the world to confront

the manmade disaster in front of

them.

Third, we must overhaul our humanitarian

operations in Sudan now. They

are in complete disarray. The Government

of Sudan has the right—and routinely

exercises it—to block any food

shipments anywhere in Sudan with the

stroke of a pen. It is an outrage that

we allow them to manipulate our food

aid as a weapon of war. They do it, and

they do it with devastating effect. The

United States and United Nations must

make ending that veto power a top priority.

I also call on the humanitarian

organizations and the rebels to end

their squabbling over the rules of operating

and in rebel-held areas and get

back to work now. In an argument that

can only be described as petty and

childish compared to the catastrophe

at hand, some of the groups most important

to an effective relief operation

are pulling out.

Fourth, the administration and our

European, Middle Eastern, and African

allies must get the floundering peace

process moving on. They need to stop

letting the Government of Sudan manipulate

the process and stop promising

cease-fires and cooperation while

continuing to carry on the war. In fact,

a cease-fire is in effect now, if you can

believe it. Our allies must be convinced

to stop offering ‘‘alternative’’ peace negotiations

to distract from what is

really at issue in the talks in Nairobi.

They must now set aside legalistic excuses

and put the necessary pressure

on the combatants to get to the table

and get serious about ending the war.

Fifth, we must push our allies to stop

responding to what is called

Khartoum’s ‘‘Charm Offensive.’’ This

PR campaign paints a picture where

Khartoum is simply ‘‘misunderstood’’

and unfairly vilified by the United

States. They offer the cruise missile

attack against the pharmaceutical

plant in Khartoum as convincing evidence.

They deny the ethnic cleansing

in the south as just another arm of the

American propaganda machine. The

lies have been alarmingly effective and

little has been done to disabuse the

world of the ridiculous notions.

No. 6, the access to weapons and capital

the regime in Khartoum enjoys

must be addressed now. The oil being

exploited in contested areas of Sudan is

fueling the war and allowing Khartoum

to plow more money back into weapons

purchases. Much of that money has

been raised in the United States. Ironically,

capital is raised on Wall Street,

just blocks from the World Trade Center

Towers, which were bombed by terrorist

who operated with support from

Sudan. I realize that controlling private

and legal funds is tricky business,

but the United States’ continued ambiguity

on this point gives the distinct

impression that there is a price on the

lives of the people of Sudan, and that

the price has been determined. We cannot

afford that ambiguity. We must

begin an internationally coordinated

effort to limit access to the weapons

and capital that allows Khartoum to

continue their war, just as the world

did against the apartheid government

of South Africa. Even now, a grassroots

effort to push large investors in the

United States and Canada to divest of

the stocks of the companies operating

in Sudan is gaining considerable momentum

and having an effect on share

prices. Their successes are drawn purely

on the power of shame. Surely this

tells us that economic pressures can

work if coordinated and if supported

with good information. Governments

will respond to the same shame that

investors respond to. It’s a powerful

tool in a coordinated diplomatic and

economic push, and we would be remiss

to not use it.

These recommendations are not unreasonable

or particularly difficult

tasks. These are things we can do right

now beginning today.

It will not require a great deal of

money. In fact, it may cost less than

we spend now. What it will require,

though, is effort, some discomfort and

a significant amount of diplomatic and

political capital.

What it requires most is leadership.

We in Congress can press these issues,

but we cannot unilaterally form our

foreign policy. That is the Constitutional

prerogative and responsibility of

the President of the U.S.

The President should immediately

become personally involved in seeking

resolution and pressing these peaceful

goals in Sudan. To date, he has not.

Just a little more than a month ago

we observed ‘‘the month of Africa’’ at

the United Nations. There, the war in

the Congo was the focus. That war is

compelling and the implications it has

for the future of Africa are very real. It

too deserves the focus and attention of

the United Nations.

Yet the festering—and much more

deadly—war in Sudan went without

any serious consideration at the United

Nations during ‘‘the month of Africa.’’

Not only is that shameful in itself, it

was a lost opportunity.

We can afford no more lost opportunities

when it comes to Sudan. This

war has continued long enough and has

cost enough lives. It has hovered on the

edge of obscurity for too long. It is

time to get the world to forcefully and

directly address it.

Only the United States can provide

that kind of leadership. And only the

President can direct the United States’

effort with any hope of ever being truly

effective and bring the necessary diplomatic

and economic forces to bear.

The President has a bipartisan group

of Senators and Representatives in

Congress willing and waiting to help in

that effort. As Chairman of the Africa

Subcommittee, I pledge my commitment

to such an effort.

It is unusual that we see such opportunities

for immediate, bipartisan action

in Congress, especially in an election

year. It is an opportunity we cannot

afford to pass up. To many lives

have been lost. Too many lives are still

at stake. The time to act is now.