Mr. President, I

want to use most of my time to show

some very graphic pictures of the face

of genocide that is taking place in

Darfur, Sudan. I wish I didn’t need to

do this. I wish the international community,

particularly the United Nations,

was acting so that something

would take place to prevent this manmade

genocide. But this genocide is occurring.

It occurs while we are here

today. It occurs in large numbers. Eric

Reeves is probably the best documenter

of Smith College. He estimates between

300,000 and 400,000 Darfurians

have been killed in this genocide. I

have been there. A number of Members

have been there. Villages are being

burned out by the Arab militia called

Jingaweit. The African Union has not

been in power to put in a sufficient

number of troops or with enough authority

to act to be able to stop this

horror.

What I am going to show on the floor

are African Union monitors’ pictures

taken of people who have been killed

and brutalized in western Sudan. They

are graphic pictures. They are pictures

of people who have been brutally killed

in this genocide. My hope in showing

this is that people will see the face of

genocide and action will occur, specifically

that the United Nations will take

credible action. They have not. They

have not taken credible economic action,

political action, and they certainly

haven’t taken anything in the

way of credible military action to stop

this from occurring.

These pictures come courtesy of

Nichol Kristof of the New York Times,

who wrote a February 23 article in

which some of these pictures appeared

titled ‘‘The Secret Genocide Archive.’’

In it, Kristof says:

He

goes on to say,

I

have yet to determine if that document

has been verified, but understand that

the State Department is analyzing it

for authenticity, and certainly the actions

taking place in Darfur today reflect

those words.

Finally, Mr. Kristof writes,

Mr. Kristof, with all

due respect, you need not apologize. It

is the world community that needs to

apologize for their complete inaction

and indifference to this modern genocide.

Over 6 months ago the U.S. Congress

declared genocide, followed shortly

thereafter with a similar declaration

by former Secretary of State Colin

Powell. Failure to deem this genocide

by the international community, which

would force action, has led to death beyond

measure and the threat of famine

and disease that could wipe out many

more thousands. Eric Reeves of Smith

College reports,

The widely reported official

number of deaths, recorded only

since last March, is 70,000 and nearly 2

million displaced.

To give you a frame of reference, the

tsunami’s death toll has been placed at

around 200,000. We are talking here

about 400,000 deaths in a manmade catastrophe—

genocide—in Sudan.

I ask my colleagues, and particularly

the international community and the

U.N.—and Kofi Annan in particular—

how many more thousands of deaths

does it take?

Nichol Kristof provided me with additional

pictures of the genocide in

Sudan. I have these pictures for my

colleagues to see, but due to their

graphic nature, will not show all of

them on television. I will describe each

picture for my colleagues though, and

would invite them to come and view

these pictures in the cloakroom or in

my office. The images tell a dark story

of tragedy that continues to strike the

villages of Darfur.

The first picture shows a child who

had his face beaten in, presumably

with a rifle butt, in a massacre in

Hamada in January.

The next graphic photograph is of a

man who was castrated and then shot

in the head. This is a common fate of

male prisoners taken captive by the

janjaweed.

Skeletons litter the ground of Darfur

near the sites of massacres. The next

photograph is from a massacre in Adwa

in December, 2004. It’s difficult to determine

if this individual was burned

or if the corpse’s condition is a result

of severe decay. It does appear as

though this person’s last moments

were spent fleeing the attack.

The next image is of a man who was

one of 107 black Africans killed by

Arabs in Hamada in the January massacre.

These photographs, taken by African

Union officials on the ground in

Darfur, were slipped to Nichol Kristof

of the New York Times.

The next photograph is of a girl who

was also killed in Hamada in January.

The killers do not discriminate between

male or female, children or

adults.

Another photo is of a more fortunate

victim of the attack on Hamada in

January. As she displays her injured

arm, I can only help but think what

kind of traumatic experience she endured

and what psychological after-effects

she will have to deal with for her

entire life.

Another young man did not make it

out alive of the attack on Hamada. His

blue flip-flops lay nearby.

Finally, a skeleton, from an attack

in Adwa in December, still has its

wrists bound in this photo. The clothes

were pulled down, suggesting that the

person had been sexually abused before

being killed. If it was a woman, she was

likely raped; if it was a man, he was

likely castrated.

This is the face of genocide in the

World today.

The African Union troops and monitors

on the ground have seen these

atrocities with their own eyes. I am

proud to say that the United States has

supported the African Union’s peacekeeping

efforts on various fronts. To

date, the U.S. has contributed over $40

million to the African Union. We have

done so with hopes of securing an immediate

end to the genocide and humanitarian

crisis. Allowing the pictures

and documents to remain buried

away in a secret file will lend no immediate

help to ending this crisis. However,

we do believe that if these documents

and photographs are made available

to international actors including

the United States, and other United

Nations Security Council member

states, we would see immediate action

that could end the crisis and foster accountability.

I urge the leaders of the

African Union to release these documents

and photos immediately and for

the Government of Sudan to allow

complete unimpeded access to the region

in discussion. The last public report

the African Union posted on their

website was dated January 31, 2005. I

have heard reports of rape and pillage

since that time.

The world community has watched as

there have been numerous violations of

last year’s cease-fire agreement, including

attacks aimed at killing innocent

civilians and destroying villages.

Unfortunately, aid groups have withdrawn

from the region, and each day

we run the risk of watching the current

chaos spin out of control beyond imagination.

Despite numerous bills and resolutions

passed in the House and the Senate

and several U.N. Resolutions, the

international community has failed to

act efficiently and effectively to end

the crisis. On July 30, 2004, United Nations

Security Council passed a resolution

in 1556 calling on the government

of Sudan to disarm the janjaweed militia

and to provide unfettered access for

humanitarian relief agencies. The resolution

also imposed an arms embargo

on ‘‘nongovernmental entities and individuals’’

in Darfur. Essentially, this

arms embargo only embargoed the

rebels and not the janjaweed who were

receiving arms from the government of

Sudan.

In September, the Council passed

Resolution 1564, calling on the government

of Sudan to cooperate with an expanded

AU force and threatened sanctions

if the government failed to meet

the Council’s demands. We have seen

no sanctions.

Despite all of these actions, the Government

of Sudan has not acted to end

the violence against civilians, nor have

they disarmed the janjaweed, or abided

by cease-fire violations, including use

of air power against civilians. In addition,

reports indicate that the United

Nations was undermining the cease-fire

through agreements they were making

with the Government of Sudan, including

authorizing police forces and security

forces to patrol IDP areas without

approval from the AU Commission.

Several weeks ago with my colleague

Congressman FRANK WOLF, I called on

Kofi Annan to ‘‘lead or leave.’’ In other

words, he should lead the Security

Council to pass a strong, meaningful

resolution, or he should resign in protest

at the complacency of the world.

The Commission of Inquiry began its

three-month mandate on October 25,

2004. The report, which was leaked by

the government of Sudan despite agreements

with the U.N., has clearly been

jaded by inside politics. I fear that we

will continue to see lip-service without

meaningful action. Somehow, the report

has spawned a political debate

over where to try the criminals and not

on how to effectively and immediately

provide security and end the crisis. We

are simply buying time for the murderers

in Sudan.

The Report of the Commission of Inquiry

makes clear the need for appropriate

U.N. Security Council action. So

it is in the best interest of all, especially

the people of Darfur, to avoid

protracted debate as to where the trial

is taking place. The key is to stop the

killing that is taking place in Sudan.

The deployment of African Union

peacekeeping troops must be accelerated

and expanded immediately. With

only 2,000 troops currently in Darfur,

and plans for 3,300 total, we must provide

the appropriate technical assistance

to see that the numbers needed to

effectively patrol Darfur are on the

ground immediately.

I believe that the United Nations

should vote to immediately levy hefty

and serious economic and diplomatic

sanctions against the government of

Sudan, the government-sponsored

janjaweed, and any businesses or companies

complicit through their government

connections. We must insist upon

an arms embargo against the Government

of Sudan, travel restrictions of

Sudanese government officials, and a

freeze on the assets of companies controlled

by the ruling party that do

business abroad. Twenty months after

the conflict in Darfur began, not one

punitive measure has been imposed on

the government of Sudan. It is time to

act.

As the United States, European

Union, African Union, and others begin

deciding what steps are next, my colleague

Senator CORZINE and I have decided

to introduce a bill called the

Darfur Accountability Act. This bill reiterates

that the atrocities taking

place in Darfur are genocide, it calls

for sanctions in the UN Security Council.

It also calls for accelerated assistance

to the African Union force in

Darfur, for the establishment of a military

no-fly zone in Darfur, for an extension

of the multilateral arms embargo

to include the Government of

Sudan, and it freezes the assets and

property of criminals and denies visas

and entry to them while also calling

for a multilateral effort to do the

same. In addition, it calls for a Special

Presidential Envoy for Sudan, and

states that the United States supports

accountability through a competent

international court of justice, and requires

that the administration report

to Congress on such efforts.

I encourage my colleagues to join us

in moving this bill through Congress.

We do not have days and weeks to

spare when millions of lives are in

jeopardy. We cannot grant the Government

of Sudan and the janjaweed more

time to execute the African tribes in

Darfur. I look forward to working with

Senator CORZINE and others to see passage

of this bill.

I hope these pictures will serve as a

reminder to my colleagues that we

must act to end this genocide. Members

of this body have traveled to

Rwanda and to Auschwitz to commemorate

genocides of the past. We

are doing no victims of genocide a

favor by turning a blind eye to the

atrocities in Sudan. Let these pictures

and stories serve as a reminder of our

responsibility to uphold dignity and

human rights around the world. We

need to act now.

I yield the floor.