Mr. President, for

nearly 3 years, the Government of

Sudan has conducted genocide in

Darfur. The United Nations, the African

Union, the U.S. State Department,

and many other organizations possess

detailed descriptions of these crimes

against humanity. This enormous body

of evidence demonstrates unequivocally

that the Government of Sudan

and its jingaweit proxies have attacked,

uprooted, raped, starved,

enslaved, and killed millions of civilians.

In Congress, we have written letters,

introduced and adopted legislation, and

spoken out strongly. We have supported

the African Union peacekeepers,

the international relief workers, and

the people of Darfur. In March, I sent a

letter to President Bush detailing 13

steps that should be taken to address

the crises in Sudan. I reiterate the

steps that are suggested. These include

appointment of a Presidential Envoy to

Sudan; rapid preparation and deployment

of additional, well-equipped,

robustly-mandated international

peacekeepers to Darfur; urgent assistance

to the African Union, including by

NATO; and multilateral enforcement of

existing U.N. resolutions that establish

a no-fly zone over Darfur and hold accountable

those who have committed

crimes.

Thousands of Americans, including

many New Yorkers, have taken a

strong and personal interest in the crisis

in Darfur. I have heard their voices

and frustration. The situation on the

ground is still dire. As we lament this

crisis today, four million people in

Darfur and eastern Chad now depend on

relief organizations for survival—one

million more than a year ago.

The alarm issued on May 19 by the

United Nations Under Secretary General

for Humanitarian Affairs, Jan

Egeland, is therefore especially distressing.

Despite the hopeful signing of

the Darfur Peace Agreement on May 5

by the Government of Sudan and one of

the main Darfur rebel groups, the work

of aid workers remains sharply constrained

by violence, funding shortfalls,

and restrictions being imposed by

the Government of Sudan. Civilians

continue to be attacked and sexuallybrutalized

by Sudanese armed forces,

the jingaweit, and rebel groups. On

May 19, Mr. Egeland warned, ‘‘We can

turn the corner towards reconciliation

and reconstruction, or see an even

worse collapse of our efforts to provide

protection and relief to millions of people.’’

In eastern Chad, Mr. Egeland

said, ‘‘we are confronted with a very

dangerous vacuum that is being filled

by rebels, militia and others, leaving

civilians, internally displaced persons,

refugee camps and relief workers utterly

exposed.’’

In the context of Sudan’s history,

this post-peace agreement reality is

not unique. Nor is it surprising. The

genocide in Darfur, in the west, began

just as the Government of Sudan concluded

a horrific, 20-year campaign of

violence in the south—a campaign that

laid waste to the institutions and infrastructure

of southern Sudan. That

conflict was brought to an end more

than 1 year ago through the Comprehensive

Peace Agreement (CPA)—

but conditions in southern Sudan remain

grim. Deputy Secretary of State

Robert Zoellick said recently that the

challenge in southern Sudan is not one

of re-construction, but rather of basic

construction; years of conflict have destroyed

nearly everything.

Even so, the National Congress Party

in Khartoum—the signatory to the

CPA with the means and the mandate

to implement many of its provisions—

has moved ahead very slowly and selectively.

Khartoum is failing to deliver

on some of the most important provisions

of the CPA, including those related

to the resolution of disputed

boundaries, the sharing of oil wealth,

and the timely withdrawal of armed

forces. Displaced and enslaved southerners

are not being returned as promised

to their homes. Incursions by the

Lord’s Resistance Army and other

armed groups continue, often with impunity.

Amidst these circumstances,

the Government of Southern Sudan

faces great challenges in providing

basic goods to the people—basic goods

such as roads, electricity, schools, hospitals,

food, and clean water. By dragging

its feet and turning a blind eye,

Khartoum is abdicating its commitments

under the CPA, and perpetuating

the suffering of the southern

Sudanese.

If things do not change quickly in

southern Sudan, today’s fragility may

tomorrow become chaos, with grave

and deadly consequences for millions of

civilians. The United States can, and

must, do more. We should support the

continued development of the Government

of Southern Sudan, and urgently

assist its provision of food, health care,

shelter, and security to the southern

peoples. In addition, we should expedite

the safe, voluntary return of displaced

southerners to their homes and families.

More broadly, we should closely monitor

security conditions, humanitarian

access, and implementation of the

peace agreements in both southern

Sudan and Darfur. We must hold the

signatories to their word and bring

other groups on board. The Government

of Sudan must fulfill its pledges

to desist from military offensives; accept

international peacekeepers; disarm

the jingaweit by mid-October, 2006;

and take clear steps to share power and

wealth with the south and west. Members

and sponsors of the jingaweit

should be held accountable for their

gruesome crimes, and not simply integrated

into the national army. Relief

workers and supplies must immediately

be provided free and safe access

to the peoples of Sudan—by the rebels,

the jingaweit, and the Government of

Sudan. If the National Congress Party

in Khartoum fails to uphold its commitments

or its broader obligations

under international law, it must face

consequences—especially if its failure

erodes the security of civilians or aid

workers. The possible sanctions and

no-fly zone that have been authorized

by the U.N. Security Council can compel

compliance. In the meantime, to

transform the Darfur Peace Agreement

into peace, we need to immediately

strengthen the African Union’s ability

to protect civilians and aid workers.

Even with the commendable field

work of the African Union, the United

Nations, and many relief organizations,

we must not lose focus on the current

problems in Sudan. We must urgently

support the work of these partners and

together ensure that peace and justice

prevail for the peoples of Sudan.

I ask unanimous consent that the

letter to which I referred be printed in

the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material

was ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

MARCH 15, 2006.

Hon. GEORGE W. BUSH,

*The White House,*

*Washington, DC.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I write with great

concern about the crisis in Sudan. Despite

the work of the African Union, violence

against civilians and aid workers in Darfur is

increasing and spilling across the border into

Chad. Between 200,000 and 400,000 people have

been killed, and United Nations Secretary-

General Kofi Annan and other credible experts

continue to warn that three million civilians

are displaced and at risk in Darfur

and in eastern Chad. The situation in eastern

Sudan is also of concern.

The United States and United Nations

(U.N.) now possess extensive, official accounts

of the violence and, through a U.N.

Panel of Experts and other sources, we also

know who may be responsible. The Government

of Sudan—reported by the U.S. State

Department on March 8, 2006 to be responsible

for the genocide in Darfur—continues

to deny the existence of a crisis. It continues

to threaten retaliation against an international

intervention, and, according to a

U.N. report dated January 30, 2006, it continues

to introduce additional military aircraft

into Darfur. The United States can and

must do more. Below are 13 ways in which

you can take action.

Convene a meeting of world leaders to address

the crisis in Darfur. For 100 weeks, the

international community has watched, with

little meaningful response, as the first genocide

of this millennium has been carried out

by the Government of Sudan against the people

of Darfur. I urge you to convene, without

delay, a meeting between leaders of the

United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty

Organization (NATO) and the African Union,

and other interested world leaders, to map

out an action-plan for Darfur. The millions

of displaced victims in Darfur deserve at

least this much.

Appoint a Presidential Envoy to Sudan. To

promote lasting peace in both Darfur and

eastern Sudan, and to demonstrate U.S. commitment

to peace negotiations and agreements,

I urge you to consider the appointment

of a Presidential Envoy to Sudan. Like

Senator Danforth, your previous Envoy to

Sudan, a new Envoy should participate personally

in peace talks, oversee and coordinate

U.S. engagement in Sudan, and report

directly to you on these efforts.

Lead the U.N. Security Council in authorizing

a peacekeeping mission in Darfur. To

protect civilians from continued violence—

much of which is documented explicitly in a

42-page U.N. report published on January 27

and the U.N. Secretary-General’s monthly

reports to the Security Council—I urge you

to push the U.N. Security Council to authorize,

under Chapter VII, a U.N. peacekeeping

mission in Darfur.

On January 12 and March 10, 2006, the African

Union endorsed this mission in principle.

U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan has

begun planning this mission, in accordance

with the U.N. Security Council’s Presidential

Statement of February 3, 2006.

Efforts to broker a peace agreement for

Darfur must not forestall efforts to protect

civilians. Our continued inaction will enable

the killings to continue. This fact cannot be

ignored.

A U.N. mission in Darfur must now be authorized

with a clear and robust mandate to

protect civilians; and be supplied with the

troops, air- and ground-mobility, and communications

network required to fully implement

that mandate.

The Government of Sudan must either cooperate

with this mission or face sanctions,

in accordance with the existing U.N. Security

Council Resolutions that are described

below.

Support the African Union. According to

U.N. officials, deployment of U.N. peacekeepers

to Darfur may take six to nine

months. To protect civilians in the interim,

I urge you to support the African Union

peacekeeping mission in Darfur in two ways.

First, I urge you to support the funding

needs of the African Union mission for the

next nine months. As you know, the United

States’ share of these costs is estimated at

$10 million per month.

Second, in accordance with United States

Senate Resolution 383, which I co-sponsored,

I urge you to lead NATO in providing assistance

to the A.U. peacekeepers in Darfur, particularly

in the areas of command and control,

logistics, intelligence, and airlift. I

called for NATO assistance in Darfur more

than 12 months ago, at the Munich Conference

on Security. Since then, NATO has

been helpful, particularly with airlift, but it

can and should do more.

Third, to improve the ability of the existing

African Union peacekeepers to deter violence,

I urge you to explore mechanisms that

would provide African Union commanders in

Darfur with specific, timely, standardized information

about imminent attacks against

civilians in Darfur.

Enforce the no-fly zone that has been established

by the U.N. Security Council and

endorsed by the U.S. Congress. Despite the

enactment of a no-fly zone by the U.N. Security

Council in March 2005—nearly one year

ago—the Government of Sudan continues its

aerial assaults against civilians in Darfur.

This is unacceptable, and I urge you to work

with members of NATO, the U.N. Security

Council, and the African Union to immediately

enforce the ban on offensive overhead

flights in Darfur that was established by Security

Council Resolution 1591.

On March 2, 2006, the U.S. Senate adopted

Resolution 383 calling on you to take steps

to enforce the no-fly zone in Darfur. Senator

Biden and others have suggested that enforcement

of the flight ban would require no

more than 12 to 18 fighter planes and a handful

of AWACs. I urge you to work with other

countries to mobilize these resources, and to

ensure that the Government of Sudan ceases

its overhead assaults. Our continued failure

on this issue is unacceptable.

Similarly, I urge you to raise with Khartoum

the findings of a U.N. report dated January

30, 2006, which suggest that the Government

of Sudan continues to introduce additional

offensive military aircraft into

Darfur.

Lead the U.N. Security Council in enforcing

Resolution 1591, to freeze the assets and

travel of certain dangerous individuals. I

urge you to work with other members of the

U.N. Security Council to fully implement

Resolution 1591, which authorized the Security

Council to impose travel bans and asset

freezes on any individuals believed by a

Panel of Experts to constitute a threat to

stability, to violate international human

rights law, to impede the peace process, or to

conduct offensive overhead military flights.

The Panel of Experts has identified several

individuals who have perpetrated such violations

of international law, and these individuals

must be prevented from organizing or

perpetrating additional violence, and be

sanctioned in full accordance with Resolution

1591. At the very least, the Security

Council should call the named individuals to

the United Nations for dialogue and questioning.

Lead the U.N. Security Council in enforcing

Resolution 1564, to hold accountable the

Government of Sudan for its documented

failure to meet its international obligations

to end violence and protect civilians in

Darfur. I urge you to work with the U.N. Security

Council to fully implement Resolution

1564, which calls on the Security Council

to consider ‘‘additional measures as contemplated

in Article 41 of the Charter of the

United Nations, such as actions to affect Sudan’s

petroleum sector and the Government

of Sudan or individual members of the Government

of Sudan,’’ if the Government of

Sudan fails its previous obligations under

international law, including U.N. Security

Council Resolution 1556 and the Joint Communique

dated July 3, 2004.

Several official reports, including a U.N.

report published on January 27, 2006, demonstrate

unequivocally that the Government

of Sudan has failed its obligations. It has

failed to protect civilians in Darfur, and it

has failed to punish members of the military

and the Janjaweed for violations of international

human rights law. These realities

and Resolution 1564 should now compel the

Security Council to consider Article 41 measures

against the Government of Sudan.

Ensure that the U.N. Security Council listens

to the experts. I urge you to convene a

briefing for members of the Security Council

by experts who can describe the situation in

Darfur, eastern Chad, and eastern Sudan.

The Security Council should hear testimony

from Juan Mendez, Special Advisor to the

Secretary-General on the Prevention of

Genocide. As you know, the Security Council

did not allow Mr. Mendez to present his observations

in October 2005.

Stop the violence from spreading into

Chad. I urge you to monitor tensions along

the Chad-Sudan border and to focus the U.N.

Security Council on this important issue.

The U.N. Secretary-General noted in his January

30 report to the Security Council that

‘‘there has been a worrying build-up of

armed forces of the two States and local militias

on both sides of the border,’’ and that

‘‘it is vitally important that the situation in

the border areas of Chad and the conflicts in

the Sudan do not combine to propel the two

countries and the whole region towards confrontation

and conflict.’’

More specifically, I urge you to work with

the Security Council and the African Union

to monitor implementation of the February

8, 2006 accord between the Presidents of Chad

and Sudan, and to deter all parties from escalating

the conflict. The safety of at least

three million civilians along the Chad-Sudan

border depends on your attention to this

issue.

Call publicly for better behavior from

Khartoum. Using Resolutions 1591 and 1564

and other points of leverage, I urge you to

call on the Government of Sudan—particularly

the National Congress Party in Khartoum—

to immediately desist from violence

against civilians; protect safe passage for aid

workers; cooperate fully with international

peacekeepers; engage constructively in the

peace talks in Abuja; diffuse tensions along

the Chad-Sudan border; and disarm and punish

the Janjaweed and other groups responsible

for genocidal violence in Darfur.

I urge you to call similarly on the Government

of Sudan to implement the Comprehensive

Peace Agreement without delay and in

full consultation with the Government of

Southern Sudan, and to protect civilians and

peacefully address the situation in eastern

Sudan.

Work with the U.N. Security Council to address

attacks by rebel groups in Darfur. I

urge you to work with the Security Council

to make it clear to all rebels and perpetrators

of violence in Sudan and Chad that attacks

against civilians and aid workers are

violations of international law; and that continued

international consideration of their

grievances depends directly upon their immediate

cessation of violence against civilians.

Plan for reconstruction in Darfur. Through

a new Presidential Envoy or other U.S. officials,

I urge you to begin working with the

World Bank and other stakeholders on a

Joint Assessment Mission to plan for reconstruction

in Darfur. This may help to accelerate

the peace process by demonstrating to

the Darfur rebels and the Government of

Sudan that peace can bring financial dividends,

and, once peace has been established,

it will help to speed reconstruction and promote

stability.

Support reconstruction in southern Sudan.

I urge you to provide strong, material support

to the Government of Southern Sudan

as it builds a stable state, economy, and society

in the wake of decades of conflict.

Similarly, I urge you to encourage the Government

of Southern Sudan to engage constructively

in the Darfur peace negotiations.

During the last century, in Nazi Europe,

Cambodia, and elsewhere, the international

community failed to protect millions of innocent

people from genocide and horrific

crimes. We look back and wonder how the

world allowed those killings to continue. We

must find a way to protect civilians in

Darfur, without further delay.

As you know, I and other members of the

U.S. Congress recognized the genocide in

Darfur in July 2004. In September 2004, then

Secretary of State Colin Powell did the

same. A few months later, in January 2005, a

U.N. International Commission of Inquiry established

by U.N. Security Council Resolution

1564 also found strong evidence of genocide

in Darfur. In February 2006, Secretary of

State Rice said that ‘‘genocide was committed

and in fact continues in Darfur.’’

Even so, international agreement on the existence

of genocide has little connection to

the need or basis for action.

Hundreds of acts of violence in Darfur,

many constituting crimes against humanity

and war crimes—along with specific descriptions

of the perpetrators—have been recorded

in detail by the U.S. State Department,

the United Nations, the African

Union, the NGO community, and other organizations.

I urge you to read these gruesome

accounts, and to also review the list of individuals

who have been identified by the U.N.

Panel of Experts established by U.N. Security

Council Resolution 1591. In the case of

Darfur, we are now obligated by the U.N.

Charter, the Responsibility to Protect, several

statutes of international human rights

law, and existing U.N. Security Council resolutions

to transform our awareness into action.

Therefore, I urge you, as President of the

United States, to remind the international

community of its commitments and to work

urgently with the United Nations, the African

Union, and NATO to protect civilians

and address the growing crises in Darfur,

eastern Chad, and eastern Sudan. Thank you

for your attention to these urgent matters.

Sincerely,

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON.