Mr. President, today

the Senate is taking historic action,

stating clearly that the atrocities occurring

in Darfur are genocide, reminding

the world of its obligations under

the Genocide Convention, and calling

on the administration to lead an international

effort to stop the genocide.

This resolution, which I introduced

with my colleague, SAM BROWNBACK,

has broad, bipartisan support, and its

unanimous approval by the U.S. Senate

sends a powerful message—that this

body will not remain silent as genocide

occurs.

The situation remains, as U.N. officials

have called it, ‘‘the world’s worst

humanitarian catastrophe.’’ At least

30,000 have been killed. Mr. President,

1.2 million have been violently displaced

from their villages, of whom

200,000 have fled to Chad. The potential

death toll is horrifying. Andrew

Natsios, Administrator of the U.S.

Agency for International Development,

has predicted that 300,000 will die this

year, even in an ‘‘optimistic’’ scenario

in which humanitarian assistance is

provided, and that up to one million

are at risk.

This disaster is the result of the deliberate

policies of the Government of

Sudan and the ‘‘janjaweed’’ militias

under its control. Earlier this week,

Human Rights Watch reported how Sudanese

government documents themselves

prove Khartoum’s complicity.

Those documents describe, in plain

terms, the government’s military support

for the militias—its, quote ‘‘loyalist

tribes’’—and its policy of tolerating

the abuse of civilians by the militias.

What has been the result? Janjaweed

militias, along with Sudanese forces,

have engaged in systematic attacks

against civilians in Darfur. As recently

confirmed by U.S. Government satellite

photographs, villages have been

burnt to the ground. Livestock and

food stock have been destroyed, and

water sources poisoned. Humanitarian

assistance has been denied. Militias

have murdered civilians and abducted

children.

Just this week, on Monday, Amnesty

International issued a report describing

how rape has been used as a weapon

of war in Darfur. Amnesty described

how women and girls as young as 8

have been raped and abducted, often

with the involvement or acquiescence

of Sudanese authorities. Janjaweed militia

have raped women in public, in

front of their families, with the intent

of adding humiliation to the violence.

Amnesty reports gang rapes, rapes of

pregnant women, and torture and

killings in the context of sexual violence.

Darfurian women, who are often

reluctant to talk about these experiences,

nonetheless described how they

were abducted and held captive during

the day, when militia members were

looting villages, so that they could be

raped at night. Amnesty reported how

rapes have occurred during attacks on

villages, during the flight of civilians,

and in the camps, all with total impunity.

Not a single member of the

janjaweed or the Sudanese armed

forces have been charged with committing

rape or abducting civilians.

In addition to stopping this violence,

we must act now to prevent death from

starvation and disease. Hundreds of

thousands of civilians are currently

crowded into camps, where conditions

are simply stated, horrendous. Humanitarian

organizations now estimate

that nearly half of the internationally

displaced civilians in Darfur have inadequate

food and shelter, that 61 percent

lack sufficient water, and that 87 percent

lack adequate sanitation. Many of

the camps are off limits to international

relief workers, and much of

the countryside is inaccessible as well.

The rains are adding to the obstacles

presented to the humanitarian organizations.

So, too, is the lack of security

created by the militias and Sudanese

forces. The result may be a complete

break in the food pipeline, and the

deaths of hundreds of thousands. As

U.N. Under Secretary General for Humanitarian

Affairs Jan Egelan said last

week, ‘‘We are now in this moment of

truth, which will last for some weeks.’’

Along with my colleague, Senator

BROWNBACK, I have introduced a resolution

declaring the situation in Darfur

to be genocide. Why is this so? To

begin with, it is undisputed that the

murders, rapes, abductions of children,

displacements and denial of humanitarian

assistance have been directed at

particular ethnic groups, specifically

the ethnically African groups—the Fur,

Zagahwa, and Massalit. Both the U.S.

and the U.N. have stated that ‘‘ethnic

cleansing’’ is occurring. The U.S. Ambassador

for War Crimes, Pierre-Richard

Prosper, has said that there are

‘‘indicators of genocide.’’

What does the Genocide Convention

of 1948 state? It defines genocide as

killing, causing serious bodily harm,

and deliberately inflicting conditions

of life calculated to bring about its

physical destruction—all of which have

occurred in Darfur—committed with

intent to destroy, in whole or in part,

a national ethnical, racial or religious

group. The Convention does not require

that a certain number have died before

it is genocide, only that the acts are

occurring.

This declaration is important because

of our obligation—and that of

the world—to stop genocide before it is

too late. After all, the full name of the

Genocide Convention is the ‘‘Convention

on the Prevention and Punishment

of the Crime of Genocide.’’ Article

I of the Convention states that the

contracting parties ‘‘undertake to prevent

and punish’’ genocide. The United

States and every other permanent

member of the U.N. Security Council is

a party to the Genocide Convention.

The Genocide Convention arose out

of the horror of the Holocaust, in a moment

of history in which the world

vowed never again to permit this evil.

But the world has spoken much more

recently. In late January 2004, 55 governments

participated in the Stockholm

International Forum, ‘‘Preventing

Genocide; Threats and Responsibilities.’’

Those governments, which

included the U.S., the U.K., France and

Russia, declared, quote:

The Holocaust . . . challenged the foundations

of human civilization . . . We are committed

to shouldering our responsibility to

protect groups identified as potential victims

of genocide, mass murder or ethnic

cleansing, drawing upon the range of tools at

our disposal to prevent such atrocities in accordance

with international law and fully

upholding the Convention on the Prevention

and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

This was this January. What do these

words mean without action? More

words, mere condemnations are not

sufficient. Nor is humanitarian assistance

possible without real intervention.

The lack of food, water and sanitation

have reached critical levels. But

the problem is caused, and compounded,

by the lack of security. As

Jan Egelan said last week, quote ‘‘The

number one problem now is lack of security.

Our trucks are looted, our humanitarian

workers are threatened and

attacked.’’

We must find ways to stop this catastrophe.

This resolution calls on the

President to lead an international effort

to stop this genocide. In my view,

to be effective, we must take whatever

actions are necessary, including armed

intervention, to save the hundreds of

thousands of lives that are at stake. I

have called for a U.N.-authorized multinational

force, as well as the provision

of assistance to the African

Union’s critically important, but thus

far, inadequate mission.

In the end, the only thing that will

matter is whether we have saved these

lives, whether we have done whatever

it takes to stop this genocide. This resolution

is a powerful statement. But it

must also serve as an impetus to the

administration and to the rest of the

world to act. Morally and legally, we

have no other option.