Mr. President, I want to

spend a couple minutes talking about

Darfur as well. I know my colleague

from Kansas addressed this issue. I

know my colleague, Senator DURBIN, as

well, has been working on this issue for

a long time. Many of us have been

watching this situation. Senator

BARACK OBAMA, I know, cares about

this issue. And many members of the

Foreign Relations Committee have

talked about it. We heard Senator

BOXER, a moment ago, talk about her

deep concern.

There is a tremendous amount of interest

about what is happening and

great concern. It is the moral responsibility

of nations around the globe to

help end the genocide in Darfur.

Even as we speak here this afternoon,

in the closing days of this week’s work,

we are moving backwards in Sudan.

Earlier this week, U.N. Secretary General

Kofi Annan sounded the warning

that Darfur is about to enter a new

phase of needless bloodshed and suffering

on a catastrophic scale. I do not

think we ought to let this happen. It is

not just our responsibility but certainly

the United States should and

can take a leadership role here in marshaling

the forces to stop the events as

they unfold to these poor, poor people

who are caught in this dreadful situation.

The blame lies squarely, of course,

first and foremost, with the Sudanese

Government’s intransigence and murderous

Darfur policy. Since February

of 2003, when rebel groups attacked

government outposts, the Sudanese

Government has used the janjaweed

militia to systematically decimate

tribal groups of African descent in

Darfur.

The warfare has exacted a tragic toll.

Men, women, and children have been

slaughtered in front of their families.

Women and girls are regularly raped.

Entire villages are routinely destroyed

and property looted by marauding militias.

Estimates suggest that the conflict

in Darfur has killed as many as 300,000

people and driven 2.5 million people out

of their homes. The United States has

rightly labeled the Sudanese Government’s

actions ‘‘genocide.’’

I remember, with great clarity,

former Secretary of State Colin Powell

appearing before a Senate committee

on which I served calling the actions in

Darfur genocide, loudly and clearly.

And I commend him for it. He was one

of the earliest voices to do so. We know

what the word ‘‘genocide’’ means and

its full ramifications.

Yet there was a glimmer of hope for

the violence to end in May of this year

with the conclusion of a peace agreement

brokered in large part by the

United States. The agreement called

for a cessation of hostilities between

the Sudanese Government and one of

three major rebel groups in Darfur.

But it is time to face the facts in

Darfur. The peace is over. In fact, it

never really had a chance. Hostilities

between the government and the other

two rebel groups never ended and are

heating up again fast in that part of

the world. Thousands of Sudanese

troops are massing for a fresh offensive

against rebel groups. The International

Rescue Committee has noted an upswing

in sexual violence around refugee

camps.

Meanwhile, from the very beginning,

the Sudanese Government has thrown

up obstacle after obstacle after obstacle

in the path of the African Union

peacekeeping mission in Darfur.

A New York Times report earlier this

week describes these obstacles and the

mission’s lack of funding and authority

in Darfur. A telling example is that

every evening, the African Union soldiers

have to turn over control of the

main military airstrip in Darfur to

government troops. These troops steal

jet fuel from the mission and use the

strip to launch attack helicopters

while the African Union troops stand

by helplessly. Sudanese officials have

also managed to reduce the mission’s

already limited patrols and humanitarian

efforts in Darfur.

The mission’s courageous yet failing

efforts to maintain the peace led the

United Nations to issue Security Council

Resolution 1706 on August 31 of this

year. This resolution calls for the deployment

of a more robust, 20,000-

strong U.N. peacekeeping force.

Yet precisely because such a U.N.

force would have teeth, Sudan’s President

has rejected it on the grounds of

sovereignty. This is a flimsy excuse.

There are nearly 10,000 U.N. troops stationed

in southern Sudan to maintain a

separate peace agreement. And now the

Sudanese Government has asked African

Union troops to leave by September

30—a few short days from

today—when the mission’s mandate expires,

unless they are able to raise additional

funds.

It is all too clear that the Sudanese

Government is not interested in peace

in Darfur. And why should it be? Sudan

has friends like Russia and China who

place a far greater premium in their

commercial interests in the Sudan

rather than on their responsibility to

stop this genocide. In 2005, China purchased

more than half of Sudan’s oil

exports, and is one of its largest suppliers

of arms. Both countries, Russia

and China, abstained in the most recent

vote on deploying U.N. troops.

They continued to give political cover

to the Sudanese Government.

Yet it is also clear that the United

States and the international community

have a responsibility to protect

and prevent genocide in Darfur. The

world’s heads of state affirmed this

precise commitment last September as

part of the Outcome Document of the

High-level Plenary Meeting of the

United Nations General Assembly. The

document calls on the international

community to protect people from

‘‘genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing,

and crimes against humanity’’ on

a case-by-case basis should their own

governments fail to do so.

What could be more clear? What

could be more precise? What could be

more important for us to respond to?

The case for Darfur is painfully clear.

And yet a year after making this commitment,

we and the rest of the international

community are already on the

verge of reneging on it. Our ability to

act remains hostage to a government

that continues to perpetrate terrible

crimes on its own people.

Yet instead of tightening the screws

on this government, our administration,

the administration here in the

United States, unfortunately, is not

doing what it ought to be doing. We are

dangling the incentives of talks with

President Bush before the Sudanese

President in exchange for his accepting

a U.N. force. It is almost unbelievable.

The administration refuses to talk

directly to Iran and North Korea about

their nuclear programs. And yet here it

is bandying Presidential talks with the

head of a regime that our own Government

has declared guilty of genocide.

This is typical, unfortunately, of the

administration’s bumbling approach to

diplomacy. It simply does not know

when to talk and when to brandish the

stick. Clearly, the stick is necessary

here. Days and hours stand between us

and an incredible mass of genocide.

The fact is, we need to take a harder

approach on Sudan. So what can we do

from here on? How do we ratchet up

the pressure on the Sudanese Government

and get it to stop?

First, I think the United States

needs to expedite the appointment of a

special envoy to Darfur.

Let me add, by the way, Senator

BROWNBACK mentioned Bob Zoellick.

He did a fantastic job, by the way, but

he is out of government now. He is in

the private sector. Unfortunately, we

do not have a Bob Zoellick within the

administration right now who understands

it and cared about this issue to

the extent he did. But I believe there

are people who could be asked to perform

this appointment of a special

envoy from the United States. That

might be enough in the short term, to

begin to put the brakes on.

I recently joined colleagues in sending

a letter to President Bush calling

for his immediate attention. With the

departure of Deputy Secretary of State

Bob Zoellick, who played a very important

role in negotiating the May peace

agreement, a vacuum has emerged that

needs to be immediately filled to ensure

a coordinated, focused, and effective

policy.

Our Assistant Secretary of State for

African affairs was made to wait 3

days—3 days—before meeting with Sudan’s

President, only to hear him reject

the U.N. force. This special envoy

must be someone of greater stature and

seniority who can command an audience

and forcefully convey a message.

Moreover, the envoy and President

Bush himself must, in concert with our

allies, publicly reject Sudan’s demand

that African Union troops leave and insist

on the deployment of U.N. forces.

Secondly, the United States needs to

convince states like China and Russia

and the Arab League to apply pressure

on the Sudanese Government to accept

a U.N. peacekeeping force. Unless

Sudan feels the heat from its business

partners and friends, my fear is they

will not budge.

Thirdly, the United States needs to

ensure that the United Nations moves

forward with deploying a peacekeeping

force. Should Sudan continue to put up

a wall, then I think we must implement

a tight sanctions regime against

the Sudanese Government, rebel forces,

and others responsible for the atrocities

that are being committed there.

We must also consider deploying

troops regardless of Sudanese consent.

For many this may raise a red flag,

but, again, it is an international commitment

and a moral obligation agreed

to under U.N. auspices.

Should the U.N. fail to rapidly muster

the requisite troops, I believe we

ought to deploy an interim NATO force

with U.S. participation to Darfur. At a

minimum, NATO forces, which already

provide logistical support to the African

Union mission, should enforce a

no-fly zone in Darfur pursuant to U.N.

Security Council Resolution 1591 to

prevent military flights over Darfur.

U.S. participation, even in a limited

capacity, is critical to showing the

world that the U.S. is not just about

fighting terrorism when it serves our

interests but also about fighting injustice,

terrorism and mass murder when

it affects others far away from us; that

the U.S. will fight for the principles of

respect for human dignity and life, and

not just lecture others about them.

Fourth, despite this administration’s

absurd rejection of International

Criminal Court, the ICC can and must

play a critical role in bringing to justice

those responsible for committing

genocide in Sudan. Last March, Darfur

became the first-ever case to be referred

by the U.N. Security Council to

the International Criminal Court for

investigation.

The U.S. unconscionably abstained

on this vote. My country abstained.

When it comes to conducting an investigation

of the Sudanese Government

for what our own Secretary of State

has called genocide, we abstained.

And we wonder why public opinion of

the United States around the world is

dipping. One reason is because the administration

talks the talk but does

not walk the walk when it comes to upholding

our Nation’s principles. From

military tribunals that don’t allow due

process of law to warrantless surveillance,

the administration simply

thinks it is above domestic and international

law. Its doublespeak continues

to squander our country’s political

and moral authority. The U.S.

needs to lend its full support to the

ICC’s efforts to bring to justice those

found guilty of genocide in Sudan.

Mr. President, 12 years after Rwanda—

and I am glad my colleague from

California raised Rwanda, and Senator

BROWNBACK has as well, along with others

in this body—we remain haunted by

the massacre which occurred. Former

President Bill Clinton publicly expressed

his deepest regret at the U.S.

and the international community’s collective

inaction to stop the killings in

Rwanda. Twelve years from now, none

of us in this body or the administration

want to be forcing the same regrets

about Darfur.

Yet, if we fail that—and it is not a

matter of weeks or months, it is a matter

of hours—then the very kinds of

genocidal mass murder that occurred

in Rwanda will continue to occur in

Darfur and grow worse.

Sudan has been wracked by four decades

of violence and instability. The

scars of that war cut deep throughout

their country. Currently, it is experiencing

what the U.N. has described as

the world’s greatest humanitarian crisis.

We stood by during Rwanda. We

cannot stand by this time. We must not

let history repeat itself. We must act.

The international community has a responsibility

to protect and the U.S.

must lead by example. Let us not fail

this time.

I yield the floor.