Mr. President, this

evening there was a meeting in my office

with the U.S. Special Convoy to

the Sudan, Andrew Natsios. It was an

unusual meeting by Senate and Capitol

Hill standards. It was a bipartisan

meeting called by Senator SAM

BROWNBACK, my Republican friend from

Kansas, and myself, inviting our colleagues

on both sides of the aisle to try

to address the escalating crisis in

Darfur, in the Sudan.

In the meeting, we talked about the

urgent need for international action to

stop this genocide. Hundreds of thousands

of people have been killed in

Darfur over the last 3 years. Two and a

half million people have been driven

from their homes. There are refugee

camps not only in Sudan but in Chad

and neighboring countries filled with

those from Darfur who have been driven

out by the violence.

Nearly two-thirds of the people living

in this region are now dependent on humanitarian

aid, and hundreds of thousands

are in need but far beyond the

reach of humanitarian organizations.

Humanitarian access, the ability to

help those in such desperate straits, is,

sadly, diminishing when, in fact, we

need more.

The Sudanese Government in the

capital of Khartoum has orchestrated

this campaign of genocide. It continues

to deny the death toll, and it continues

to reject the United Nations peacekeeping

mission.

On November 21, Special Envoy

Natsios announced that the Bush administration

would resort to an unspecified

‘‘Plan B,’’ as they called it, if

the Sudanese Government does not

agree by January 1, 2007, to allow an

expanded international peacekeeping

force in Darfur. Mr. Natsios made clear

to us in the meeting in my office just

a short time ago that this force is to be

under the command and control of the

United Nations. It is a very important

part of our plan. In September, Secretary

of State Rice warned that Khartoum

faced a choice between cooperation

and confrontation.

I believe it is time—it is well past

time—for the world to make clear to

Khartoum and the Sudanese Government

that serious steps will immediately

follow the beginning of the new

year if a United Nations or combined

United Nations and African Union

force is not agreed to immediately. The

United States and the world have a

number of things we can do, things we

can do to persuade the Sudanese that

they have to stop this genocide in

Darfur.

Militarily, the United Nations has

authorized and the Senate supports the

principle of a no-fly zone over Darfur.

It is not going to be easy to implement

it, but it is possible. Although it is

logistically challenging, that is no excuse

to allow the Government of the

Sudanese people to continue attacks on

the Sudanese people themselves by air.

The United Nations should also be

working with the International Criminal

Court, sharing intelligence that

could help accelerate indictments

against those Khartoum officials and

others guilty of crimes against humanity.

Economically, the United States

has sanctions against U.S. companies

doing business in Sudan, but most

countries don’t. Sudan is a rich country

when it comes to oil. They are expected

to bring in $7.6 billion in revenue

this year from oil. The major oil

companies in the Sudan are owned and

run by the Chinese, the Indians, and

the Malaysians.

Independent reports estimate that 70

percent of that oil revenue is likely to

be used by the Sudanese Government

in Khartoum for military expenditures.

Think of that. An otherwise poor African

nation taking 70 percent of the revenues

from oil, converting it into military

equipment that in many cases is

being used to kill its own citizens.

Those same military expenditures have

financed helicopter gunships, automatic

weapons, and vehicles that have

allowed the Sudanese Government and

their militia to terrorize the population

of Darfur.

The international community needs

to join the United States in sanctions

on Sudan. You can hardly pick up a

newspaper in our country without finding

a full-page ad exhorting our Government

and people to do something

about the genocide in Darfur. I salute

those who are supporting that effort. I

encourage them to take that information

to other countries in Europe and

other places so that they can engage

with us in an effort to stop this genocide.

Civilized nations should not do

business with genociders.

In the United States, we need to do

more. We should close our ports to oil

tankers that have operated in Sudan.

The President could block the assets of

17 individuals named in the United Nations

investigation as responsible for

crimes in Darfur. The list includes the

Sudanese Minister of Interior, the Intelligence

Director, and the Minister of

Defense. To date, the President has

only blocked the assets of four people:

Two rebel leaders, a former Air Force

officer, and a Janjaweed militia leader.

We need to move up the chain of command.

We need to do more, and we need

to do it now.

All across America, State and local

governments, universities, organizations,

and private citizens are doing

more by divesting their pension and

other investment funds from companies

that do business in Sudan, companies

that support and enrich the Khartoum

Government that is looking the

other way when it comes to this genocide.

Divestment is a powerful tool. I

believe Congress and the White House

should support it.

My State of Illinois was one of the

first to step forward and divest its

State pension funds. Five other States

followed. Recently, I joined Senator

BROWNBACK in writing to every other

Governor, urging them to join in the

divestment effort. We have also each

taken steps to personally divest. There

is an interesting side note here. After

Senator BROWNBACK and I sent a letter

to all of these Governors in States that

have not divested from investments in

the Sudan, an enterprising reporter reviewed

my personal financial information

on file and reported to me that

one of the mutual funds that I owned,

owned stock in a company doing business

in Sudan. I was shocked to learn

that. Quickly I sold it. But I think it is

a warning to all that if you want to be

participating in this effort to try to get

the message to the Sudanese, we

should all start with our personal savings

and mutual funds and make sure

that we are not supporting, indirectly,

the Government of Sudan. I have sold

that mutual fund, and I will try to be

vigilant that if another mutual fund I

own purchases something in Sudan,

that I divest very quickly.

All of these are small actions but cumulatively

they can make a difference.

Tonight, as I have done before, I can’t

help but think about Rwanda in 1994. I

mentioned it this morning when I

noted the retirement of my colleague

from Vermont, Senator JIM JEFFORDS.

In 1994, mass murder was launched in

Rwanda. It was carried out by guns and

torches and by the grisly use of machetes.

Five weeks after the killings began,

Illinois Senator Paul Simon, my predecessor

and my closest friend in public

life, who was chairman of the Senate

Foreign Relations Subcommittee on

Africa, and JIM JEFFORDS, then the

ranking Republican on that same subcommittee,

phoned General Romeo

Dallaire, head of the U.N. peacekeeping

force in Rwanda in Kigali and asked

what he needed. A desperate Dallaire

told them that if he had 5,000 soldiers,

he could stop the massacre in Rwanda.

Those two Senators immediately drafted

and hand-delivered a note to the

White House, to the Clinton administration,

requesting that the United

States get the Security Council to authorize

deployment of troops.

In their letter they wrote:

Sadly, they received no reply to their

letter. The killings continued. At the

end of the day, over 800,000 people died

in Rwanda as victims of the genocide.

Last year, about this time, Senator

BROWNBACK and I went to Kilgali. People

there don’t talk about the Rwandan

genocide of 12 years ago unless it is

brought up. As I looked down at a

Catholic Church down the hill from the

Hotel Rwanda made famous by the

movie, I thought it was just a simple

church in an African capital. I came to

learn that over 1,000 people were

hacked to death inside that church

where they sought asylum during this

massacre and the genocide.

Later, after it occurred, Paul Simon

would say:

Hundreds of thousands of innocent

lives would have been saved. So many

times I have stood on this floor pleading

for our Nation to intervene in

Darfur, and I have been thinking about

Paul Simon and what he did in Rwanda.

This time, during the latest chapter

in the world’s history of atrocities,

hundreds of Americans, thousands of

Americans are engaged. It is so encouraging

to go to college campuses across

the State of Illinois and find college

groups that have made Darfur their

issue. It is great to go to meetings of

people old and young in my State and

have someone afterward come up and

discuss the genocide in Darfur. These

people have not been silent. They have

pleaded for action.

Paul Simon was right, in part. The

response this time has been different.

It has been different than the world’s

response to genocides against the Armenians,

the Jewish people, the Cambodians,

the Bosnians, and the

Rwandans. It has been different in that

this time we recognize that truly there

is a genocide taking place on our

watch, in our time in this world. But

we haven’t stopped it.

We are here today not as Democrats

or Republicans but as advocates for the

people of Darfur. The U.S. special

envoy to Sudan, Mr. Natsios, has drawn

a line in the sand. As of January 1, the

Sudanese Government must either accept

the peacekeeping mission or face

the consequences. Personally, I believe

this deadline comes too late. But I

hope it is effective. I hope it convinces

the Sudanese Government to accept

the peacekeepers. If not, then the administration’s

plan B, the consequences

of refusal, must be meaningful

and immediate and decisive.

Let me close with the words of Paul

Simon and JIM JEFFORDS, who retires

this week from the Senate:

I yield the floor.