Mr. President, I come

again to the floor this evening to speak

about Darfur in Sudan. Most Americans

are now familiar with what is

going on in this remote part of our

world.

Hundreds of thousands of people have

died. Two million have been forced to

flee their homes and still cannot return.

Humanitarian workers have been

raped, beaten, arrested, and killed.

This is genocide. That is a word we

should use with the utmost caution. If

we misuse the term, we diminish it; we

dilute its power. But if we fail to use

the word or if we use it and fail to act,

then that is even worse.

The entire world has allowed Darfur

to happen. Now it is up to every one of

us to stop it. Those of us who have the

privilege of being elected to office have

a higher responsibility than most. We

sought out these positions, and we

must assume the duties that come with

them.

There are few duties more fundamental

than the obligation to save innocent

men, women, and children from

slaughter.

This week, Luis Moren-Ocampo, the

International Criminal Court’s prosecutor,

presented evidence on the mass

murder in Darfur to the judges of the

International Criminal Court. This evidence

focuses on two individuals as

helping to lead and coordinate this

campaign of violence.

The first individual named by Mr.

Ocampo is Ahmad Muhammad Harun,

former state minister of the interior,

and now a state minister for humanitarian

affairs for the Government of

Sudan. State minister for humanitarian

affairs—it is hard to even speak

those words.

From 2003 to 2005, Harun was responsible

for the ‘‘Darfur security desk’’ in

the Sudanese Government. His most

important task was the recruitment of

janjaweed militias. He recruited them,

as Prosecutor Ocampo points out, with

the full knowledge that the janjaweed

militia members he was recruiting

‘‘would commit crimes against humanity

and war crimes against the civilian

population of Darfur.’’

That was, in fact, the point of his recruitment

effort.

The second individual named in the

prosecutor’s presentation of evidence

to the court is Ali Abd-al-Rahman, also

known as Ali Kushayb.

Ali Kushayb is a janjaweed commander

who personally led attacks on

villagers, just as the Sudanese Government

intended.

This was part of a coordinated strategy

of the Sudanese Government to

achieve victory over rebels not by confronting

the rebels but by attacking

the civilian populations around them,

by destroying entire villages and driving

out or killing every inhabitant.

Let me read a short section of Mr.

Ocampo’s document to illustrate the

crimes these two men helped coordinate

and lead. It is graphic and horrifying.

This is what they wrote:

Many can ask, why, when hundreds of

thousands of people have died and millions

have suffered, why just single out

these two men? What does this presentation

of evidence to a court sitting in

the Hague in Europe accomplish? Why

single them out? Because that is where

you start and because this submission

by the prosecutor illustrates a direct

chain of command from the janjaweed,

who rode into the villages on horseback

to rape, murder, and plunder, to

the official government in Khartoum

that orchestrated these atrocities.

It is an act of accountability, when

up to now there has been none. But it

is not enough.

The International Criminal Court has

issued summonses for the two men

named by Mr. Ocampo. If they do not

appear, it must issue arrest warrants.

If the Sudanese Government does not

turn them over, then the United Nations

Security Council must act.

But this is about far more than two

individuals. It is time for the United

States of America to lead. Here in Congress,

we have been told that progress

is being made. I do not see it at all. We

have been told that we cannot push

harder at the United Nations because

the Chinese may veto any resolution

we put forward.

I have a simple proposition. Let’s put

this matter before the U.N. Security

Council. Let’s let the American representative—

our Ambassador—to the

United Nations vote in accordance with

our finding that a genocide is taking

place. Let’s let every civilized nation

in the world know where we stand. And

let’s ask them on the record where

they stand.

If any country—China or any other—

wants to step up and say we should

take no action to stop this genocide, so

be it. Let the record of history show

where they stand as this genocide

unfolds.

Congress has passed many bills giving

the administration additional sanctions

they can presently use as tools by

the United States to stop this genocide.

On two different occasions, I have

spoken directly and personally with

the President about Darfur. I feel very

intensely about it. I have said on the

floor before—and I think it bears repeating—

as a student in this city at

Georgetown University, I had a famous

professor named Jan Karski. He was in

the Polish Underground during World

War II and came to the United States

to try to alert them to the evidence

that he had accumulated about the

Holocaust that was taking place. He

was a man who spoke broken English,

but he was on a mission, looking for

anyone who would listen to him, praying

that the United States, that he

heard so much about, would step forward

and do something to stop this

Holocaust. He met with a few individuals.

He did not get to the highest levels

of our Government and left in frustration,

having accomplished very little.

Some 25 or 30 years later, Dr. Karski

was a professor at my university. I remember

when he told that story, I

thought to myself: How could this happen?

How could 6 million people die and

no one do anything about it? He tried.

At least he tried. But what about everyone

else? I did not understand it.

But now I do. I do because I have

watched what has happened in Darfur

since the genocide was declared. The

honest answer is: Almost nothing. And

the honest answer is: The United

States of America has done almost

nothing.

I have asked the President directly, I

have spoken to Secretary of State

Condoleezza Rice, and I have spoken to

all who will listen, begging them to do

something, something to respond to

this declared genocide.

Special Envoy Andrew Natsios said

that come January 1, the United States

would exercise sanctions if Sudan did

not agree to a joint African Union-

United Nations peacekeeping mission.

Well, January 1 came and went and

no mission was allowed. There is no

joint peacekeeping mission in the

Sudan today, and it is March 1.

I believe we should use every economic

and diplomatic tool at our disposal.

We should implement additional

sanctions immediately. But, more importantly,

we must convince other

countries and the United Nations to do

the same. And it starts with us personally,

divesting ourselves of those businesses

that are doing business in

Sudan.

I made this speech and put out a

press release a month or two ago, and

some enterprising reporter went

through the 5 or 10 mutual funds my

wife and I owned and spotted one that

had an investment in PetroChina.

PetroChina is the Chinese oil company

in the Sudan. He identified that mutual

fund, and I sold it immediately. I

was not embarrassed because you cannot

really keep up with a mutual fund

and everything they own. But I knew I

had an obligation to do something once

I was advised. It wasn’t that difficult

for my family. Certainly it didn’t damage

my portfolio, as modest as it may

be. But I ask everyone, if you seriously

believe that the genocide in Darfur

must end, start by seeing what you can

do personally. Every American should

ask if their investments are going to

support the Government of Sudan.

Every mutual fund director should ask

the same thing. I have written to every

college and university in my State asking

them to divest of investments in

Sudan until the genocide in Darfur

ends. Unilateral sanctions by the

United States are important, but multilateral

sanctions imposed by the

United Nations can make a difference.

Genocide occurs because the world allows

it to occur. It is time to prove

that the 21st century will be different.

Mr. President, just a few days ago—

in fact, just yesterday—in the Washington

Post, a woman who is well

known to many, Angelina Jolie, published

an article about the situation in

Darfur. It is entitled ‘‘Justice for

Darfur.’’ Ms. Jolie, who is well known

to all of us, is a comely actress whom

I had a chance to meet a year or two

ago when she came to town in her capacity

as goodwill ambassador for the

United Nations High Commission for

Refugees. She has certainly proven her

skill as an actor, and I think she has

demonstrated that her caring for people

around the world is genuine. The

article she wrote in the Washington

Post is one that, at the end of my

statement, I will ask to have printed in

the RECORD so that it is an official part

of our Senate proceedings. She is in

Bahai, Chad. She says in this article

‘‘Justice for Darfur’’ the following:

Ms. Jolie writes:

She talks about accountability. In

this article, she says:

Mr. President, she concludes by saying:

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent

that the article from the Washington

Post be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material

was ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

Mr. President, I conclude

by saying that the subcommittee

which I chair of the Judiciary Committee,

the Human Rights Subcommittee,

had a hearing several

weeks ago on genocide in Darfur. We

are preparing legislation as a result of

that hearing to authorize State and

local governments and others to divest

of investments in Sudan and businesses

that are doing business in Sudan and

furthermore to extend the authority of

the U.S. Department of Justice to prosecute

those whom we find guilty of

genocide in foreign lands. That authority

currently exists for those whom we

accuse and wish to prosecute for torture;

the same thing should apply to

crimes of genocide.

Those two legislative changes may

help, but in the meantime it is time for

our Government to help. I commended

the Bush administration 4 years ago

when they finally used the word ‘‘genocide’’

as it related to Darfur. I thanked

then-Secretary of State Colin Powell

for his courage in using that word. I

said the same to Secretary of State

Condoleezza Rice. But, having said

that, we must understand that if we

use the word and fail to act, what does

it say of us? If we acknowledge that a

genocide is taking place and do nothing,

what does it say of America?

We have the power to do things, to

change this. It will take political courage,

not only in the White House but

here in Congress. History will write in

years to come whether we acted or not,

as it is written about the lack of response

to the Holocaust. I sincerely

hope history will judge us late to the

cause but rising with a sense of justice

that is necessary to end this terrible

killing.